I. REMEMBRANCES, 1671–1714

[fol. 46v]

Some few remembrances of my misfortuns have attended me in my unhappy life since I were marryed, which was November the i4, i67i

i67i, **Novembr i4** Thursday, Novembr i4, i67i, and Childermas Day, I was privatly marryed to Mr Percy Frek by Doctter Johnson in Coven Garden, my Lord Russells chaplin, in London, to my second cosin, eldest son to Captain Arthur Frek and grandson to Mr William Frek, the only brother of Sir Thomas Frek of Dorsettshiere, who was my grandfather, and his son Mr Ralph Frek [was] my own deer father.¹ And my mother was Sir Thomas Cullpepers daughter of Hollingburne in Kentt; her name was Cicelia Cullpeper. Affter being six or 7 years engaged to Mr Percy Freke, I was in a most grievous rainy, wett day marryed withoutt the knowledg or consentt of my father or any friend in London, as above.

i672, Jully 26 Being Thursday, I were againe remaried by my deer father by Doctter Uttram att St Margaretts Church in Westminster by a licence att least fowre years in Mr Freks pocttett and in a griveous tempestious, stormy day for wind as the above for raigne.² I were given by my deer father, Ralph Frek, Esqr, and the eldest of his fowre

¹ The Registers of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, London, ed. William H. Hunt, Harleian Society, 35 (1907), 49, indicates they were married on 14 November 1672. Freke confirms the 1671 date in an entry she adds to the West Bilney register and in her miscellaneous documents (below, p. 315). Childermas, the Feast of the Holy Innocents, commemorates on 28 December the young children Herod killed. Childermas was also, however, 'the day of the week throughout the year on which that feast fell, widely held to be a day of ill omen' (*ODCC*, 329). In 1671, 28 December was also a Thursday, so conceivably Freke intended the ominous association. See, however, her reference to Childermas, below, p. 75 n. 117. Samuel Johnson (1649–1703) became the chaplain of William Russell, Lord Russell, in 1679; he consoled his patron when Russell was executed for his alleged involvement in a plot against the king's life. See also below, p. 143 n. 256.

^a The Register of St. Margaret's Westminster London 1660-1675, transc. Herbert F. Westlake and ed. Lawrence E. Tanner, Harleian Society, 64 (1935), 184, dates the marriage 26 June 1673. In her miscellaneous documents (below, p. 315), however, Freke dates the marriage 24 July 1672. William Owtram (1626-1679), archdeacon of Leicester and prebendary of Westminster, was rector of St Margaret's for the last fifteen years of his life. Two London marriage licences issued by the dean and chapter of Westminster contain different biographical information: '1669 June 23 Percy Freke [siz subs] of Middle Temple, Gent., Bachr, abt 24, and Mrs Elizabeth Freke, of St Martin's in the Fields, Spr, abt 22 & at own dispose'; '1672 Aug. 7 Percy Freake, of Middle Temple, Esq., Bachr, abt 27, & Mrs Elizabeth Freke, of Westminster, Spr, abt 22, her parents dead' (Chester and Armytage, eds., Harleian Society, 23 [1886], 165, 206). daughters and the last marryed, being contracted to him by promise for five years before, butt unwilling to give my sisters any president of my misfortunes prognosticated to mee by the two tempestious and dreadfull days I were marryed on and which I looked on as fattall emblems to me. Eliza. Freke

Agust 26 Mr Frek, Agust 26 coming over St James Parke aboutt iz a clock att night, challenged my lord of Roscomon either to fight him in St James Parke presently or to pay him downe a thousand pounds my lord had long owed Mr Freke.³ Butt the 26 of Agust att three a clock in the morning ten men of the lifegard came and fetched Mr Freke outt of his bed from me and immediatly hurryed him to Whit Hall before Secetary Coventry, I nott knowing whatt itt was for more then words spoken.⁴ This was the begining of my troubles for my disobedience in marrying as I did. Eliz Freke

i673, Febuary i4 My deer father was pleased to bestow on me as a portion a mortgage on Sir Robertt Brooke estate of 500, five hundred, pound a yeare neer the Green Man in Epping Forrest, five miles from London, thatt I might nott bee disapoynted of a subsistance for my life.⁵ Which estate Mr Frek sudenly, unknown to me, contracted for to sell to Sir Josias Child for five thousand six hundred sixty fowre pounds or thereabouts, who was a greatt bruer in London; which niether my deer father, my selfe, or my 5 trustees did know any thing of.⁶ Soe off itt was sould.

[fol. 47r]

i673, July 7 About the begining of Jully i673, to the best of my memory, Mr Frek sold outtright my fortune given me by my deer father, unknown to him or me or any of my fowre trustees, to Sir Josias Childe for the sume of 5764 pounds, or 5664 l. This was nott kind, for

³ Wentworth Dillon, fourth earl of Roscommon (1633?-1685), a poet, translator, and essayist, had, like Percy Freke, ties to the Boyles: his first marriage was to Frances, the daughter of Richard, first earl of Burlington and second earl of Cork.

⁴ Henry Coventry (c. 1618–1686), a prominent member of parliament, became one of the two secretaries of state in 1672, serving until 1680 (*HC*, ii. 148–54).

⁵ The Green Man was in Epping Forest off Wall Wood Lane in the area of Waltham Stow (John Rocque, An Exact Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster ... with the County about It for Nineteen Miles [London, 1747], plate 9). Robert Brooke's mother, Elizabeth, was the sister-in-law of Judith, the sister of Ralph's wife; 'Lady Brook' and 'Lady Mary Brooks', probably Robert's sister Mary, contributed to Freke's collections of recipes and remedies.

⁶ When Brooke (c. 1637–1669) died, his trustees sold his Wanstead estate in Essex to Sir Josiah Child (c. 1630–1699) for £11,500. Child, the owner of a brewery in Southwark and a prominent figure in London commerce and government, rebuilt Wanstead House (*HC*, i. 726–7, ii. 57–9).

now I were by itt turned outt of doors and had nott a place to putt my unfortunate head in; and all my fortune, being in mony in a bankers hand, was in danger to be spentt by us or lost by him, which a little affter greatt part was to the vallue of i500, fifteen hundred, pounds.

September i5 Aboutt the midle of September Mr Frek endeavouring to place my fortune on an estate in Hampshire of one Mr Coopers and trusting to one Mr Worldlige as his agentt in the purchas, wee weer cheated by them on a composition for aboutt fifteen hundred pounds as the least loss; or elce Coopers cheatt was above two thousand (2000) pounds in fallce mortgages, he nott being worth any thing; and [we] had received att the first galle a thousand pounds in mony and three or 4 years law, butt to noe purpose.⁷

Thus was three of my unhappy years spentt in London in a marryed life, and I never had, as I remember, the command of five pounds of my fortune. Wher I miscaried twice and had very little of my husbands company, which was no small grife to me, I being only governed by my affections in this my marrying and withoutt the consent of any of my frinds; and fearing all my fortune would be spentt, resolved with Mr Frek to goe for Ireland to his estat and try our fortuns there.

i674, Jully i4 Aboutt the midle of Jully my husband and my little familly wentt downe to Hanington to my deer fathers to take our leaves of him to goe for Ireland.

Agust 2 From thence I wentt to Leigh to Sir George Norton neer Bristoll to take leave of my sister Norton, who was then redy to lye in, as in two days affter she did.

4 My Lady Norton lay in of a daughter, a lovely fine child; **i2** which on my sisters desire I christned itt with the Lady Balldin, who was the grandmother, by the name of Grace.⁸

22 I, lyeing still for wind and shiping to goe for Ireland, wentt aboutt

⁷ Thomas Freke of Shroton and John Cooper's son Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper were friends (K. H. D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* [Oxford, 1968], 626), but the transaction seems not to have involved the immediate family. The dispute concerns the 800-acre manor of Ditcham and Sunworth in the Hampshire parish of Buriton that Percy Freke had agreed to buy from a 'Richard Cooper esqr' for £7,300, the details of which are in Cooper's answer to a bill of complaint by 'Pearcy Freake esqr' (PRO, C 9/64/27). No relationship has been established between the agent and the only Hampshire Worldlige to have been identified, John Worlidge of Petersfield, an author of agricultural books (*The Victoria History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, ed. William Page, 5 vols. [London, 1900-12], v. 425, 475). A composition is an agreement between a creditor and debtor in which the creditor settles for less than the original debt (Black, 259).

⁸ Grace was born on 3 August and baptized on 10 August. Frances Norton's fatherin-law, George Norton, died on 29 February 1667/8 and was buried at Holy Trinity Church in Abbots Leigh on 4 March; his wife, Ellen, who then married Sir Timothy Baldwin, was buried on 10 May 1677 in Abbots Leigh.

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the two and twentieth of Agust to the Bath, wher with my husband I staid above a month.

Octtober 7 When my deer father heering I were with child sentt his coach and horses to fetch mee from the Bath to him to Hanington, wher I wentt aboutte the begining of Octtober. Mr Frek and I with my family went to my fathers to lye in att Hanington with him and my deer aunte Freke.⁹

[fol. 47v]

i674, Octtober 7 From Octtober the 7 to the Jully affter, I staid with my deer father and my auntt Frek thatt bred me up till the Midsomer affter, most kindly treated and used by both att Hanington till I were able to goe for Ireland.

i674/5, March 7 Sunday, March the 7, God took to himselfe my deer sister Sir George Chouts lady, who dyed of the small pox, as did Sir Georg Choutt, her husband, aboutt twelve years before of the small pox, which time she continued his widow from two and twenty years of age to her death.¹⁰ My deer sister left behind her one son and one daughter, viz., Sir George Chout, a barranett now liveing (November 1702) and a batchaller, and her daughter, named Cicelia affter the name of her mother and my mothers-<dyed presently after of the small pox in London; both buryed att Hanington in Kent>.

i675, March 26 Aboutt the 26 of March my deer sister Choutt, being imbalmed in London where she dyed, was carryed downe to Hollingburne in Kentt and interred in my deer mothers grave in the chancell there, who dyed when I were butt seven years and a week old and the eldest of five daughters shee left behind her; who was nott mised by us, wee haveing soe good and kind a father and an aunt of my mothers sister.¹¹

Aprill 5 God took to himselfe my deer neece Mrs Ciceally Choute of the small pox neer a month affter the death of my deer sister, which

⁹ Frances Freke was baptized in Hollingbourne on 3 October 1613 and buried there on 19 December 1682.

¹⁰ The date also on her monument in the Hollingbourne church of All Saints (BL, Add. MS. 11259, fol. 5v; Cave-Browne, 35). Cicely's husband was buried on 8 June 1664 at Bethersden. Her son, Sir George Choute/Chute, baptized in Bethersden on 10 February 1664/5, was buried there on 13 February 1721/2. The baronetcy he received on 17 September 1684 became extinct when he died without an heir, having never married. The estates then went to Edward Austen, the grandson of Judith Austen described in her will as his 'good firiend and dear Relation' (*CB*, iv. 134; Hasted, vii. 488–9; PRO, PROB 11/587/177 and PROB 11/560/201).

¹¹ The Hollingbourne register records an earlier date of burial, 12 March; it and a church monument also date the burial of Cicely Freke 6 January 1650/1, two years later than Freke's age implies.

on her death bed request was buryed in her mothers grave in the chancell of Hollingburne in Kentt. Shee did dye in London, as did my sister, both to my greatt grife.¹²

June 2d Wensday, June the second, my deer son, Mr Ralph Freke, was borne aboutt three a clock in the affternoone att my fathers att Hanington, and by him with my aunte Frek and Sir George Norton hee was christned Ralph Frek of my deer fathers name.¹³ I were 4 or 5, five, days in labour of him and had for him fowre midwifes aboutt me when he was borne, the man midwife afirming he had bin long dead in me to my husband and aunte [and] sister Norton with my Lady Thinn, all who were with mee severall days in this my extremity.¹⁴ Att last the resullt was thatt he should be taken in peices from me or I should not live one howre, which concideration of my life all consented to the takeing away my dead child from me in peices. Butt whilst the man midwife was putting on his butchers habitt to come aboutt me, my greatt and good God thatt never failed me (or deneyed my reasonable request) raised me up a good woman midwife who came in att this junture of time and for aboutt two or three howrs in her shift worked till by my Gods mercy and providence to me I was saffly delivered. [fol. 48r] And tho of a dead child hurt with severall greatt holes in his head, hurtt by midwiffes, my God raised him up to me thatt he was the same night christned by my deer fathers name, Ralph Frek. For which mercy to him and me I beg I may never forgett to be thankfull.

3d June I putt my son into the hand of a good surgion for att least six weeks, who came every day from Highworth, a mile from my deer fathers, to dress him, I being allmost all the time confined to my bed by the misfortune of this my hard laboure of him.¹⁵

Jully 7 In July my son was taken with a through thrush with which, and his head, he was againe given over for dead and carried away from me in order to a buriall.¹⁶ Butt from this misfortune my God

¹³ 'i675. June 2nd. Ralph the sonn of Peircy Freke Esq & Madam Elizabeth his wife was borne & baptized'.

⁴⁴ Lady Thynne, who also contributed several of the recipes and remedies Freke collected, is either Mary, the wife of Sir Henry Frederick Thynne and the mother of Thomas Thynne, the future Viscount Weymouth who represented Oxford University in parliament and would inherit the Longleat estate in Wiltshire in 1682, or – less likely – his wife, Frances, the daughter of Heneage Finch, third earl of Winchilsea (*HC*, iii. 565–6; *CP*, xii, pt. 2. 585–8).

¹⁵ No contemporary surgcon from Highworth appears in the Wiltshire Articles of Subscription (Wiltshire Record Office, D1/22/3-5).

¹⁶ A mouth and throat infection, thrush was considered common among children; malign forms, however, were 'putrid, corrosive and spreading', covering 'the Roof of the

¹² A monument now missing from the Hollingbourne church also states that she died on 5 April 1675 'in the 12th year of her age' (Cave-Browne, 35, 36; BL, Add. MS. 11259, fol. 5r). She was buried on 15 April.

raised him up againe, I hope, to be his servantt and a comfortt to mee insteed of my deer sister Choutt, whom God took from me about two month before and who was to have binn with me in all this my troubles of lying in, wher my sister Norton and a greatt many of my frinds were mett together att my deer fathers to be merry. Which mirth my God soone turned to mourning
by the death of my sister and her daughter>.

December i4 Aboutt the midle of December whilst Mr Frek and I were in Ireland, my sons nurse by carelesness brok his legg shortt in the hackle bone.¹⁷ Which she kept private for neer a quarter of a yeare till a jelley was grown between itt, she keeping him in his cradle and every body belived he was breeding of his teeth, hee haveing two att eighteen weeks old and att thatt age could stand allmost alone till this misfortune befell him.

i675/6, January 8 Aboutt the begining of January my deer father and deer sister the Lady Norton sentt and took my child away from nurse (Mr Freke and I being in Ireland knowing nothing of itt for troubling of us) and putt itt to a dry nurse close by my father att Hanington. Wher with nurse Deverall and in her lap affter the bone was sett, he lay in a sad condition for above half a yeare nott to stirr hand or foott, all dispaireing of his life.¹⁸ Butt from this misfortun my God, I humbly thank him, recovered him with my poore, weak endeavours and his blesing on them thatt now, I thank God, he goes straight and well, and noe signe of these misfortunes, and the father of two lovely boys in Ireland, November i4, i702.

i675, September 5 I wentt with Mr Frek for Ireland the first time and left my deer and only son aboutt a quarter [year] old att nurse att Hyworth. I landed att Youghhall in the county of Watterford, where when I came I had noe place fitt to putt my unfortunat head in. From whence Mr Frek and his mother carryed me to Rustillian, a house of the earls of Inchequeens,¹⁹ where I staid neer eight months and miscaryed, my husbands mother being very unkind to mee – which

Mouth and Tongue', making 'deep Scabs', and affecting 'the internal Parts of the Throat' (John Pechey, *The Store-house of Physical Practice* [London, 1695], 432).

¹⁷ Huckle-bone: hip bone.

¹⁸ Anne, the wife of Samuel Deverell, gave birth to Jane in 1647; Jane Deverell married Daniel Bayly in Hannington on 6 November 1676. Either could have been the nurse.

¹⁹ The estate of Rostellan, 'a noble seat, pleasantly situated' on the eastern side of Cork Harbour about two miles from Cloyne (Smith, i. 141). The second earl of Inchiquin, William O'Brien (c. 1640–1692), was married at the time to Margaret Boyle, the daughter of Roger Boyle, first earl of Orrery. Besides the family links with the Boyles, Arthur Freke and the first earl of Inchiquin had supported Charles I against the Irish insurgents; Percy Freke and the second earl traveled together from England to Ireland and were later attainted for their resistance to James II (Lodge, ii. 48–58; *CP*, vii. 52–3). wentt very neer me, [fol. 48v] I never haveing had one unkind word from my father in all my whole life.

i676, Aprill i4 My deer fatther sentt for Mr Frek and me over from Ireland aboutt my deer son, whom all expected hee would be a cripple or dye of his legg, he being given over by all.

May 7 Aboutt the begining of May or end of Aprill I landed att Bristoll, where Mr Frek sent to Abots Leigh to my Lady Norton to come to me. Butt my deer sister giveing me soe sad an account of my son, wee wentt away immediatly for London and sentt our servants to my deer fathers to bring him up with his nurse in a coach to us. Butt my child nott being able to stirr and my father every day, as he told mee, expectting his death, [he] would nott lett me goe downe into Hanington soe much as to see him, which was noe small grife to mee.

June i5 Aboutt the midle of June my deer father came up to London to me to satisfye me aboutt my son, of whose life he dispaired.

September 29 Aboutt the end of September, to my best remembrance, Mr Freke bought of my brother Austin with the consent of my deer father West Billney in Norfolk, which he was pleased to bestow on mee and to settle itt on my son, now by Gods mercy to me in a faire way of recovery. He bought this estate of the Lord Richerson att the yearly rentt of 526 l. a yeare.²⁰ Butt Mr Frek nott being stronge enough with my mony to pay for itt, my deer father lentt me neer a thousand pounds to compleatt the purchas for mee on my husbands bond, which bond when I came over to see my own deer father the next springe he gave mee up withoutt paying him a peny of intrest for itt, to the greatt grife of my cosin Thom Frek, his executor.²¹

December i4 Aboutt the midle of December, to my best remembrance, Mr Freke sentt by my cosin Thom Frek to purchass outt my fathers right of Leeds Castle in Kentt. His arears on itt were, as to my best remembrance, two thousand five hundred pounds (2500), for which

²⁰ Thomas Richardson (1627–1674), second Baron Cramond, had inherited the manors of West Bilney and Pentney from his father, Thomas; his right to the Scottish peerage came from his father's stepmother, Elizabeth, baroness of Cramond. In 1647 he married Anne Gurney, the daughter of the lord mayor of London Sir Richard Gurney, and the title of Lord Cramond went first to Henry and then to William, their sons. Richardson represented Norfolk in the first two sessions of parliament to meet after the Restoration; he died on 16 May 1674 and was buried in Honingham (*Scots Peerage*, ii. 580–3; Blomefield, viii. 354, ii. 447; Rye, ii. 734; *HC*, iii, 330–2).

²¹ Elizabeth's first cousin Thomas (c. 1638–1701), the son of John Freke of Cerne Abbas, Dorset and his second wife, Jane Shirley, had been educated at Middle Temple, where on 25 May 1655 he was 'bound with Messrs. Ralf Freake and John Rieves' (*Middle Temple Records*, iii. 1,079). A prominent Dorset official, he served as sheriff and high sheriff before his election in 1679 to the first of many parliaments. Luttrell notes his death in a 27 November diary entry for 1701 (v. 114); his will, however, was dated 29 November, and Iwerne Courtney parish records indicate he was buried on 12 December 1701 (PRO, PROB 11/463/5; SG, DO/R51, transcribed by P. J. Rives Harding; *HC*, ii. 365–6).

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Mr Frek as earnest paid my deer father downe five hundred pounds (500 l.). The rest he was to pay when he had recovered itt of the Lord Cullpeper by law, and my master to sue in my fathers name for itt. Which he did and had a decree in chancery for 5750 pounds and the greatt guns of Rochester with the undershrife and 24 baylyes to give Mr Frek a quiett possesion.²²

23 Which Mr Frek wentt downe into Kentt to take, where the tenants all aturned to him;²³ butt the Lady Cullpeper in with Alexander Cullpeper held outt the castle [fol. 49r] as the Lord Cullpepers right by the artt of a draw bridg in the mote and the falleness of the shrifes and baylyes.²⁴

i676, Decembr 24 Soe thatt affter the spending of five hundred pounds in law, and a hundred pound enroleing our decree, and a hundred and fiffty pound to the shrife and baylyes (I borrowed of my deer sister Choute), my deer cosin (Mr Frek) returned to London allmost dead of his jorney outt of Kentt Christmas Eve late att night. In which time the Lord Cullpeper privatly made his intrest with King James and with threats to the Lord Chancellor Finch, with threats of his futer rhuin iff he did nott revoke and reverse his decree given Mr Frek in Michellmas tearme.²⁵ Which was by these two greatt persons privattly done in the Candlemas tearme following and withoutt our

²² Leeds Castle, a royal residence until Anthony St Leger gained possession in 1552, passed from his descendants into the hands of Sir Richard Smyth; his daughters and coheirs sold the castle in 1632 to Sir Thomas Culpeper, who settled the property on his son Cheney (1601–1663), the oldest brother of Elizabeth Freke's mother, Cicely. Cheney mortgaged the castle to Ralph Freke in 1652; and when Cheney died intestate and in debt, his administrator John Colvert sold Leeds Castle to Thomas, second Lord Culpeper (1635–1689), the son of Cicely's sister Judith and John, Lord Culpeper. The Frekes' suit in chancery claimed rightful ownership because the mortgage had not been paid (*Leeds Castle: Maidstone, Kent* [London, 1989]; David A. H. Cleggett, *History of Leeds Castle and Its Families*, 4th edn. [Maidstone, 1994]; Attree and Booker, 'The Sussex Colepepers', 67–8).

²⁴ Margaret, the wife of the second Lord Culpeper, was the daughter of Jean Van Hesse; Alexander Culpeper (1631?–1694), the son of Thomas Culpeper and Katherine St Leger, was a cousin and the secretary of the second Lord Culpeper (Attree and Booker, 'The Sussex Colepepers', 68–9, 71; Cleggett, *History of Leds Castle*, 90).

²⁵ In a letter from Leeds Castle on 14 September 1675 to Secretary of State Joseph Williamson, Culpeper contends 'that some near relations of mine, who presented a petition to his Majesty against me', 'put in a bill against me in Hilary Term, and obtained a sequestration against me for not appearing'. The letter mentions that the king 'told me he was satisfied' with Culpeper's claim 'and would meddle no farther'; it concludes that the matter should be settled in court (CSPD, 1675–6, 294). The disputed issue may be that of Leeds Castle. James, duke of York, in any case, was not king. Heneage Finch (1621–1682), who began his public career in 1660 first in parliament and then as solicitor-general, rose to the position of lord chancellor in 1675. The year before his death he received the earldom of Nottingham (HC, ii. 317–22).

knowledge a month, tho we lived in London to atend this suitt and business.

i676/7, Febuary i2 Mr Frek petitioned the lord chancellor and King Jams to have butt one heering of his cause more, tho they threw him outt thatt he might fall by law, and nott soe clandestinly, withoutt soe much as being favoured with a heering for itt. This was noe small loss and trouble to Mr Frek and me, butt nott to be holped butt by patience, our name being hatefull to King Jams for my cosin John Frek sake, whom he attempted to hang three severall times and once stood his tryall in the Old Bayly aboutt our time of being turned outt of our possesion of Leeds Castle.²⁶

i677, May 2d I lay in of another son in Southhampton Square in London which by hard labour and severall frights was dead borne, which lyes buryed att the uper end of St Gilges chancell in London.²⁷

Jully 20 I wentt with Mr Frek againe to my deer fathers in order to goe for Ireland, England being then full of plotts and troubles; where I staid for aboutt a month and wentt for Bristoll to gett a shipp for Ireland.²⁸

²⁶ Elizabeth's second cousin, possibly once removed, was a descendant of her grandfather's brother John Freke. The Freke genealogy lists his father as Robert, but he is in fact the oldest of John and Margaret Freke's five children named in the father's will and residing at one time in the Dorset parish Winterbourne Strickland (PRO, PROB 11/278/360). Anthony à Wood's incomplete entry of 24 May 1676 seems relevant: 'In this month (May) ... Freake sent to the Tower for the ...; sometimes of Wadham. I have seen the libell, quaere' (The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, ed. Andrew Clark, 5 vols. [Oxford, 1891-1900], ii. 346). The Registers of Wadham College, ed. Gardiner, i. 279, indicates 'fil. Johannis Freke de Strickland, Dorcestr. gen. aet. 17' matriculated on 2 April 1669. John Freke, (1652-1717), who later handled Elizabeth Freke's legal business, was admitted to the Middle Temple on 30 June 1669 and was called to the bar on 5 May 1676 (Middle Temple Register, i. 179). A warrant issued on 28 May 1676 directed the constable of the Tower to hold John Freake 'for high treason, close prisoner' on undefined charges that seem connected to the publication of 'a scandalous paper of verses by one Belding alias Baldwin' of Gloucester (CSPD, 1676-7, 133; 1675-6, 567). On 6 June he was brought before the king's bench 'for high treason' but released on bail (Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Manuscripts of S. H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall [London, 1890], 127). An 11 September letter to Williamson notes 'We hear that Mr. Freke is also quitted'. On 10 July 1683 he was summoned in connection with Robert Ferguson, who was deeply implicated in the Rye House Plot to assassinate Charles II and the duke of York. Then on 19 May 1685 his name appeared among several sought, perhaps because of the threat posed by the supporters of the duke of Monmouth (CSPD, 1676-7, 318; 1683, 92; 1685, 157).

²⁷ Known by the eighteenth century as Bloomsbury Square, its three-and-one-half acres formed a 'pleasant, large, and beautiful Square' (Hatton, i. 9). The Church of St Giles in the Fields, St Giles's High Street, was razed and rebuilt in the 1730s. Its parish registers contain no entry of the burial.

²⁸ Charles II had adjourned parliament in May 1677, increasing the suspicions and fears of arbitrary government and popery raised by the king's dealing with France and Holland (David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, and edn., 2 vols. [Oxford, 1966], ii. 540–9).

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Agust 25 An imbargoe being on all ships and all passengers nott to cross the seas withoutt a permitt, which we could nott procure, we wentt privatly off from Pill by boate to a shipp on Satterday, the 25 of Agust, and my second time of goeing for Ireland, when I left my deer son att Hanington with my deer father under his dry nurses care. Butt we were all like to be lost by most tempestyous winds and raine, butt by Gods mercy we putt in att Illford Combe.²⁹

[fol. 49v]

i677, Agust 26 We putt in Sunday night att Illford Coomb, wher we stayed till Tuesday night.

28 A Wensday by two a clock in the morning, the 28 of Agust, wee wentt againe to sea and came thatt [night] within a watch of reaching Watterford, butt aboutt sun sett thatt night the wynd changed with the most hidious tempest of wynd and raine. **29** Which brought us back againe next day to Lundy, wher we lay with 4 ships more dispairing of life.³⁰

30 With our mast all downe, our cabin shutt upp, wee lay roleing on an anker till nextt night; when being in a despratt condition, we atempted to shott the bay of Barstable, wher all thatt saw us on the hill gave us over for lost. When by Gods greatt mercy wee safe landed att Barstable.³¹

September 5th Wher we staid a weeke, till aboutt September 5, when we went to sea againe and by Gods mercy landed safe in Corke harbor the sixth of September. For which mercy the greatt God make me ever thankfull and grantt I may never forgett his goodness to me whilst I am Eliz Freke.

i678, May io I wentt againe for England with Mr Frek by the desire of my deer father, who sentt for me, and when I came to him to Hanington. Affter a little stay Mr Frek wentt for London, where unknowne to me or my father hee privatly sold outt his right in Leeds Castle to Allexander Cullpeper for the use of the Lord Cullpeper,³² tho he had promised my deer father to settle itt as itt was on mee and mine – for which concideration my father gave my husband up a

²⁹ Pilots who navigated the Bristol waters lived in the village of Crockerne Pill on the River Avon approximately a mile from the coast. On the northern coast of Devon, Ilfracombe was also a port for those who guided ships up the Bristol Channel (Walter Minchinton, 'The Port of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century', in *Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Patrick McGrath [Newton Abbot, Devon, 1972], 135).

³⁰ Lundy Island, eleven miles northwest of Hartland Point on the Devon coast.

³¹ Barnstaple, a Devon seaport at the estuary of the River Taw.

³² Lord Culpeper succeeded the governor of Virginia Sir William Berkeley, who died in 1677; although Culpeper did not leave for Virginia until 1680, he had given Alexander Culpeper power of attorney (Cleggett, *History of Leeds Castle*, 92, 93). bond he owed him of eight hundred pounds (800 l.), as he did another nott long before of 760 l. due to him on our estatt in West Billney; which were then very wellcome to us and done by Gods derecttion.

i679, Aprill 3 Mr Freks mother dyed in Ireland whilst we were both in England att my fathers. On which news he went for London in order to goe for Ireland, wher he fell sick of an ague and feaver allmost to death thatt I were forced to returne againe to my deer fathers to Hanington. **June** Wher he lay sick of a plurisy and quinsy for neer six weeks.

Jully 23 Affter which we wentt to Bristoll, tho very ill.

i680, Agust i8 Butt my God had mercy on me, and with my deer sister Nortons kindness and care heer with my son [fol. 507] endeavoured our jorney and took shipping aboutt the i8 of Agust.³³

2i Where by Gods greatt mercy my husband, my selfe, and my son weere safe landed at the Cove in the Greatt Island neere Corke – my son being just five years of age the second of June before and his first coming for Ireland and my third time.³⁴ For which mercy God make me truly thankfull.

September i6 I came with my husband and son to Rath Barry, wher my husban sister Barnard had cleered my house of every thing good in itt, even to seven years letters which past between us before I were married and my cirtificate of my first mariag.³⁵ This I thought very hard to me. Besids she was pleased to take away all my plate to the vallue of neer two hundred pounds, tho I had itt before I married and itt was engraven with my own coat of arms in a losseng. And of two dosen of silver spoons of my own, I had nott one left or one scrip of my best linnen; all was conveyed away by my husbands sister Barnard, pretending itt was her mothers. And tho Mr Freke was her executor, neither hee nor my self had the vallue of five shillings (as I know of), butt a bill sentt in by my cosin Barnard of fowrescore pounds to pay for her buriall and doctters, and said I had bin her mothers death.

November But with much adoe and high words I gott my plate and for any thing elce thatt was taken away. This was very unkind usuage butt the best I have had in the family, as I am E Freke.

i68i However, I staid in Ireland allmost 22 month. In which time Mr Frek haveing before contracted with the earle of Barrimore for his

³⁵ Percy's older sister, Mary, was married to Francis Bernard; their marriage settlement is dated 5 December 1661 (Bennett, 228). The oldest of their seven children, Francis (1663–1731), served with Percy Freke in the Irish parliament and became a judge of common pleas.

³³ Freke has no entries for the year between July 1679 and August 1680.

³⁴ Great Island, about five miles in length and three miles across, is located in the harbour of Cork. The port town of Cove on its southern shore is now known as Cobh.

revertion of Rathbary affter our lease of 63 years, we were to pay for itt, as I remember, (1400) fowrteen hundred pounds, with some privileges on Allaglason and the royallties and court therto belonging.³⁶ This being concluded, Mr Frek made me write to my deerst father to lend him a thousand pounds on Billney security and the presentt settling of itt on me, which accordingly I did. And my deer father immediatly returned me a thousand pound (iooo l.) on Mr Freks bond rather then charge my Billney with itt, as he was pleased to say. This mony Mr Frek presently drue over, and with itt and some we had finished his purchas of Rathbarry, and has now, I thank him, settled itt on my son in the yeare i600 (on his mariage with Sir John Meads eldest daughter). And for a pull back, affter all our mony was paid on the Lady Barrys promise of her levying a fine on there son my Lord Buttivantt, neither of them would levy withoutt a hundred pound for there consents.³⁷ [fol. 50v] Which as itt was an unexpected disapoyntment to Mr Freke, soe itt was a greatter trouble to him then getting all the rest.

i68i, November 22 Aboutt November we paid of all to thatt familly; and I made all the hast I could for England, my deer fatther sending for me and my son to come and receive his last blessinge.

i682, Aprill 30 Soe thatt in Aprill I left Rathbary and wentt to Kingsale with my son to atend for a shipp for England.

May io Wher affter a fortnight weighting I had the oppertunity of a man of warr in which I putt my self and son, I haveing noe frind to take any care for me, and wentt outt to sea, as to my best remembrance, a Sunday, the io of May. **i7** Wher by Gods infinite mercy (affter striking three times on the sands), wee landed safly att the Pill att Bristoll the i7 of May with my son and 4 servants.

22 Att Bristoll I staide till I could send to my deer father, who aboutt the twenty second of May sentt his coach and horses to fetch me and my son safe to him to Hanington; 24 where wee came to my deer father about the 24 of May, and all my mony spentt in my travells.

Jully 7 Soe soon as I came to my deer father, he made me promise

³⁷ Pull back: a draw back or hindrance (*EDD*). A fine is 'an amicable composition or agreement of a suit, either actual or fictitious', acknowledging ownership. The party who transferred the land 'was said to *lavy* the fine'; the recipient had the land 'levied to him' (Black, 569). Before fines were abolished in 1833, a married woman thereby conveyed her land; entails on land could also be broken through a fine (Jowitt, i. 792).

³⁶ The legal agreement is with Richard, second earl of Barrymore (1630–1694), and his third wife, Dorothy Ferrer, the stepmother of Laurence, third earl of Barrymore (d. 1699), and mother of the fourth earl of Barrymore, James (1667–1748) (Lodge, i. 300–11; E. Barry, 'Barrymore', *CHAS*, and ser., 6 [1900], 201–5). A reversion is the vested interest an owner retains in an estate upon termination of the grant (Jowitt, ii. 1,575). Allaglason, the land immediately to the west of the estate, is identified as Aghalasin on Smith's 1750 map, Aughaglaslin in Thomas Sherrard's 1787 survey of the estate then owned by Sir John Freke, and Ahaglaslin in the Ordnance Survey.

him thatt I would nott leave him whilst I lived, which I redily and gladly did. And then he bid me take noe care for I should wantt for nothing his life, who made his words good with the greatest kindnes to me and my son. A greatt allterration itt was to whatt I found in Ireland from a husband.

Agust i5 And on my looking a little malloncally on some past reflections, he fancied itt was my wantt of mony; and my deer father, withoutt saying a word to me, went up into his closett and brought me downe presently in two baggs two hundred pounds, which 200 l. hee charged me to keep privatt from my husbands knowledge and buy needles and pins with itt. This was very kind in my father; and which the very next post I informed Mr Frek of, who presently found a use for itt. Butt I, thatt had nott had two and twenty shillings from my husband in the last two and twenty months I were in Ireland with my son, kept itt for my own use. Which with more my father had given me and the intrest, all which made up eight hundred pounds, [Mr Freke] took from me the year affter my son maryed and soe left me att Billny a beger againe.

i682/3, Febeary i8 Aboutt the midle of Febeary Mr Frek came to my fathers to Hanington unknown to me and to fetch me and my son over for Ireland. Butt on the ill usage I had there suffered from them, I positively refused ever more goeing with him, aleadging my promise to my deer father and ther <originally: his> unkindness to mee when ever I were in ther <originally: his> powre of command. Besides his last parting wish att Kingsaile (which was) <deleted: thatt he might never se my face more>; and this stuck deep in my stomack, tho [fol. 51r] to this day (i7i2 <originally: i702>) I never lett my father know the least of difference between us or any unkind usage from the family I have received in thatt kingdome or elcewhere for feare of griveing of him, butt prepared to goe for Ireland with Mr Frek againe.

i683, Jully 24 When I takeing my last leave of my deerst father, hee gave me up the bond Mr Freke was bound for to him of a thousand pounds hee borrowed on the purchas of Rath Barry. For which he had only my thanks for thatt and all his other blesings to me since I maryed.

25 Thus haveing stayd about thirteen months with my deerst father and the last time I ever saw him, I wentt Thursday, 25 of Jully, to Bristoll with Mr Frek and left my son att schoole att Sumerford with Mr Turner, aboutt 7 miles from Hanington.³⁸

26 I took shiping att Pill, and by my Gods greatt goodness and

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³⁸ The Turners were an established family in Somerford Keynes, since 1896 a part of Gloucestershire. John Turner, whose father had been the parish vicar, was its present minister; an Isaac Turner is identified as a schoolmaster at the time of his marriage on 18 December 1717 (Wiltshire Record Office, WL/R67). Thomas and William Freke, the subsequent owners of the Hannington estate, were also educated in Somerford Keynes.

mercy to me wee both came to Corke the Satterday following, being **29** of July. When itt being a troublesome time by plots in England, wee were both garded like prisoners before the maire of Cork to be searched, who being one Mr Covett was extreamly civell to us and treated us both like a gentleman, saying hee would and dared be securitty for us and our name.³⁹ And affter 3 or 4 botles of wyne drunk in his house, hee released us, giveing order for the presentt landing of our clothes and our other goods on ship board, to the amasementt of all beholders. Thus God provided for us when we had none to help us. And itt was the whole report of Cork thatt my husband was by the order of King James hanged up on ship board att Minhead for making his escap for Ireland withoutt his permitt (which we could nott gett).⁴⁰

i683/4 January i My deer father sentt mee into Ireland a hundred pounds for a New Years guiftt, itt being my unhappy birth day, and ordered mee thatt iff Mr Frek medled with itt itt should be lost or he to answer itt with the Irish intrest to my son. Butt Mr Frek took itt from me; and I wer faine to make itt good to my son with the full Irish intrest the day affter he was of age, when I gave him two hundred pounds and five pound for a purse to putt itt in. Eliz. Frek, paid i696.

Febuary 24 Aboutt the 24 of Febuary and the dreadfull hard winter, my deer father sentt to me to come to him to Hanington with my husband and familly, wher I should meet my two sisters, the Lady Norton and my sister Austin, and be mery there together a little before he dyed, and thatt he would pay the charge of my jorney and give me his last blesing.

i684, March 26 In order to which about the end of March Mr Frek, to my best remembrance, contractted with John Hull for the rentting of Rathbarry for a lease of one and forty years comenceing the May Day following att the yearly rentt of two hundred and fiffy pounds a yeare and, unknown to me, lett itt [to] Hull [fol. 5IV] and took of John Hull twenty guinies as earnest, Mr Frek resolveing we should both goe and live with my deerst father as he desired me whilst he lived. In order to which hee signed this lease for one and forty years, to my greatt joy and satisfaction the liveing with my deer father.

i684, Aprill 24 Butt oh, the saddest of fattes thatt ever atended mortall was mine, for on the 24 of Aprill my God took to himselfe by death my deer, deerst father to my greatt loss, grife, and unspeakable sorrow before I could gett a ship to see him and receive his last blesing, which of all things in this world I desired. Butt my God knew whatt

³⁹ The Rye House Plot had been revealed in June. Richard Covett was mayor of Cork in 1682 (*Cork Remembrancer*, 309).

⁴⁰ Charles II was still king; Minehead: a Bristol Channel port in western Somerset, which Freke often mistakenly locates in Devon.

was best for me, for in the eighty ninth yeare of his age hee joyfully gave up his soule into the hand of his God and his body to be privatly inter'd in the chancell of Hanington;⁴¹ and haveing noe son of his own, left his youngest brothers grandson Mr Thomas Frek his executtor to severall thousand of pounds personall estate and neer a thousand pounds a yeare land of inheritance lyeing round his house and mee, his unhappy child, ever to lamentt him, hee being known by noe other carractter then honest Mr Ralfe Frek.⁴² I doe most humbly beg of God thatt as I have a blesing of a son thatt carries his name, may likewise his age [and] character follow his example in life and death. Eliza Frek

i684, May Day John Hull betims in the morning came to Rathbary when our house was full of company and with Sir Emanuell Moor, his unkle, demanded the posesion of the house, tho by his faithfull promise we had three weeks time to remove all our goods.⁴³ Butt nothing could prevaile butt they must bee immediattly thrown outt of doors and I with them. Butt the country heering of this inhumanity sent us in carts and horses to remove them as fast as we could (to Donowen) aboutt a mille from Rathbarry, wher by the way we lost neer halfe our goods, the whole country coming to see this cruellty to us. However, late att night I gott up behind Mr Freke and wentt thatt night to Cloghein, neer Clanikilty, to my cosin Hester Gookins, wher I staid three or 4 dayes and rested my selfe, leaveing my God to avenge my cause.⁴⁴ Which he did, for in 3 or 4 years King Jams came for Ireland and seised by the Irish all he had and gave away our estate to Owen

⁴¹ His monument in the Hannington church erroneously indicates he 'died in the 88th year of his age Aprill the 23d 1683' (Fry's transcription, *Hannington*, 74). The register states that he was buried on 26 April 1684, 'aged 88 years & upwards'.

⁴² Thomas Freke (1660–1721), the grandson of Ralph's brother Thomas and the son of Thomas Freke of Hinton St Mary, Dorset and his second wife, Elizabeth Clarke, inherited the Hannington estate. Neither he and his first wife, Elizabeth Pile, who died in 1714, nor his second wife, Mary Corbett, had children. He was buried in Hannington on 13 May 1721, leaving the Hannington property to his brother William (*HC*, ii. 366–7; PRO, PROB 11/580/129).

⁴³ Sir Emanuel Moore had married Martha, the daughter of William Hull and aunt of John Hull. Moore's wife was the granddaughter of Richard Boyle, the archbishop of Tuam; their son William's widow, Catherine, married in 1699 George Freke, the son of Elizabeth Freke's cousin Robert Freke of Upway, Dorset (*CB*, iv. 215; Ffolliott, 126).

⁴⁴ Donowen, located on Smith's eighteenth-century map to the east in the area of Ardfield; or perhaps Dunamore, on Smith's map to the northeast in the direction of Clonakilty. Hester Hodder, married Robert Gookin of Courtmacsherry in 1681 (Marriage Licence Bonds, 56); an uncle Thomas Gookin, identified in his brother Vincent's will as 'late of Clogheen', also had a wife named Hester who may well be the Hester Gookin, widow, buried at All Saints in Bandon on 21 June 1712. Unfortunately her maiden name is unknown, and the relationship implicit in 'cousin' is uncertain. The Gookins were, however, descendants of the Kent family from Ripple Court who controlled property in Hollingbourne and were long established in County Cork (Edward Elbridge Salisbury, Family-Menorials, 2 vols. [New Haven, 1885], ii. 414, 417; SG, IR/Reg/46762 in IR/R31).

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Macarty, the loss of which with all his goods and his own estate brok his hartt, he haveing nothing left for his wife or family to subsist on butt with one of his children lies buryed in the open part of the church of Rathbary amongst the Irish.⁴⁵

[fol. 52r]

i684, Jully 7 Being Monday and the 7 of Jully, Mr Frek and I took shipping att Kingsaile in a man of warr with Captaine Clemontt and came round to England by long sea.⁴⁶ Thatt night we were most griveously storm'd. **i2** Butt by Gods greatt mercy (affter we were like to be lost on the Goodwin Sands neer Dover) wee were all safe landed att Billingsgatte in London the Satterday following.⁴⁷ For which greatt mercy I humbly thank my greatt and good God.

Agust 4 Mr Freke wentt into Norfolk, i7 and returned to London againe the seventeenth of Agust, leaveing me a lodger in Brownlow Streett in the house with my cosin Clayton, wher I lay aboutt ten weeks and never had his company att diner with me ten tims.⁴⁸ Which I cannott forgett; itt was soe griveous to me.

September i7 Mr Freke wentt againe for Ireland with the Lord Inchequeen, unknown to me till the night before he wentt, and left me with my son and a man and maid att lodgings att Mrs Murrys in Brownlow Streett to shiffit for my selfe and family, declareing the morning he left me before his nephew Barnard and my cosin Clayton and the 3 Gookins with severall others thatt his estate in Norfolk would nott finde him in bread and cheese besids the charges of itt.⁴⁹ Which

⁴⁵ Owen MacCarty or Macartie represented Clonakilty in James' 1689 Irish parliament. A lieutenant-colonel in one of the infantry regiments raised for James II, he later served Louis XIV in continental military campaigns (John D'Alton, *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List, 1689,* 2nd edn., 2 vols. [London, 1861], ii. 99, 101; English Army Lists, i. 209; Charles Dalton, Irish Army Lists, 1661–1685 [London, 1907], 118, 120 n. 5; Bennett, 276).

⁴⁶ Possibly John Clements, commissioned as a captain on 1 May 1667 and died on 10 June 1694; his name does not appear, however, among the officers listed in the sailing record of the royal fleet for 1684 (*Commissioned Sea Officers*, 85; PRO, ADM 8/1). 'Long sea' is a contemporary expression for the longer route around Land's End (Gordon Read, National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside).

⁴⁷ The Goodwin Sands, known in history as the 'shippe swalower', is an area some ten miles long by four miles wide, five miles off the Kent coast east of Deal.

⁴⁸ A 'pleasant and regular' street between Shorts Gardens and Castle Street off Drury Lane (Hatton, i. 12), Brownlow is now known as Betterton Street. Cousin Clayton is unidentified.

⁴⁹ The ratebooks and valuation lists that might identify residents of Holborn, which would include Brownlow Street, begin later. The nephew is his sister's son Francis or Arthur Bernard; the Gookins remain unidentified. The Gookins of Cork were, however, related to the Claytons: Augustine Gookin had married Ann Clayton in 1682; his aunt Dorothy, the widow of Captain Robert Gookin of Courtmacsherry, married Randal estate is now lett for fowre hundred and fiffty pounds a yeare (i7i2 <originally: i702>) and bought by my deer father for the yearly rentt of 526 pound a yeare <and in i7i0 is lett for 500 l.>. Mr Frek staid aboutt Bristoll till the 8 of November following, neer 9, nine, weeks, before he took shipping.

September 28 Being thuss left by my husband to shifft for my self and familly and butt fiffteen pounds in the world, all which I laid outt the next day he wentt (butt three pound) in i suite of close of second morning (for my deer father) on his son and Own Killty, his man, and on a chest of drawers of aboutt fowre pounds, I were forced to try my fortune amongst my friends.

Octobr i5 And heering my deer sister Austin was very ill and brought to bed of a dead child, I wentt downe to Tenterden to my deer sister and brother aboutt the i5 of Octtober,⁵⁰ makeing a vertue of necesity by being thrown <deleted: off by my unkind husban; never in his life took any care for me or whatt I did>. Butt with my deer sister I staide with all the kindness imaginable till the i5 of June following.

June i5 When on my earnest request, thinking I had with my little familly bin troublesome longe enough, my sister brought me up with my son and servants in her own coach to London and on her own charge, I resolveing to try for a subsistance in Norfolk affter nine month stay with my deer sister Austin. <For which I presented her with six silver plats cost mee thirty six pounds (36). Eliz Freke>

[fol. 52v]

i685, Febuary 6 Febuary the 6 King Charls the Second dyed, being on Fryday, nott withoutt suspition of being poysoned by a French whore he kept, Madom Carrolus, whom he made a little before dutches of Portsmouth and her son duke of Richmond; and itt was talked this was done by the connivance of King Jams and his queene.⁵¹

Clayton of Mallow, County Cork. Gookins and Claytons were later among those who left the Jacobite-controlled Ireland (*Marriage Licence Bonds*, 56; Salisbury, *Family-Memorials*, ii. 413; Cork Remembrancer, 330).

⁵⁰ The residence of Judith and Robert Austen was located south of Tenterden, a Kent village ten miles north of Rye. Robert Austen had inherited the Heronden estate from his father's older brother John, who died without issue on 11 December 1655; their son Robert, in turn, lived there (Hasted, vii. 207; Kentish Monumental Inscriptions ... Tenterden, ed. Leland L. Duncan [London, 1919], 57).

⁵¹ The London Gazette, which records that the king was 'seized with a violent Fit' on Monday, states on Friday, 6 February, that 'he expired this day about Noon' (2006). Gilbert Burnet mentions the 'many very apparent suspicions' that the king had not died of natural causes (ii. 473-8). The duchess was rumoured to have poisoned him with a cup of chocolate (Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, ed. Charles Harding Firth, 6 vols. [London, 1913-14], i. 435). Supporters 54 REMEMBRANCES OF ELIZABETH FREKE 1671-1714

i685, June i5 I came from my sister Austins att Tenterden, wher I had staid nine month. She brought me in her coach to London, the tims then being very troublesome and I had noe place to hid or putt my head in for my selfe and son and three servants. Butt the duke of Monmouth then landing att Lime in Dorsettshire, noe mortall could stirr and all roads were stoped, soe thatt I were faine to send downe my son againe into Kentt with my sister Austin and stay my selfe in London with my deer sister Nortton.⁵² And I sent Richard Clark to Billney before me, nott being able to goe my selfe.⁵³

July io The duke of Monmouth was brought to London for an insurrection in the west of England, being Fryday putt in the Towre; **i5** and Wensday, the i5 of July, most barbarously beheaded on Towre Hill, choping his head, shoulders, and neck in five severall places.⁵⁴

3i of July I sentt for my son from Tenterden to goe with me to Linn; who as soon as he came and I had given earnest for 4 places in the coach fell very sick att the Green Dragon in London, soe thatt I were faine to returne to my deer Lady Nortons againe.⁵⁵ Which sickness proved to be the small pox.

Agust i4 About the i4 of Agust I wentt with my deer sister Norton to Epsom for my son to drink the watters, where affter he had drunk them a forttnight, he fell sick of the small pox.⁵⁶ And like to dye hee was before they came outt to my greatt torture and distraction, Mr

of the duke of Monmouth would also allege James II's complicity in the death of the king. Louise de Kéroualle (1649–1734), the mother of the king's illegitimate son Charles Lennox, first duke of Richmond (1672–1723), became in 1673 the duchess of Portsmouth. On his deathbed Charles, in the words of Burnet, assured the duke of York that 'he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last' (ii. 473). She returned to France and her Aubigny estate.

⁵² James Scott, first duke of Monmouth (1649–1685), the illegitimate son of Charles II and Lucy Walter, led an armed attempt in June 1685 to take the crown from James II. Monmouth landed in Dorset at Lyme Regis on 11 June; within a month the rebellion ended in defeat at Sedgemoor and the capture of Monmouth near Ringwood.

53 Her servant.

⁵⁴ Monmouth was taken to Winchester on 10 July and then to London on 13 July, where he was beheaded on 15 July. Among the accounts of the execution, Luttrell (i. 353), Evelyn (iv. 456), and Burnet (iii. 55–6) all stress the ineptitude of the executioner, Jack Ketch. 'The wretch made five Chopps before he had his head off', Evelyn writes, 'which so incens'd the people, that had he not ben guarded & got away they would have torne him in pieces'.

⁵⁵ The Frekes travelling through London to Norfolk would have stayed most likely at the Green Dragon Inn off the west side of Bishopsgate Street near Gresham College, one of three 'great Inns' in the area 'of a considerable Trade, and resort for Waggons and Stage Coaches that go Northwards' (Strype, i. bk. 2, 107).

 56 Epsom's location only fifteen miles from London made it especially attractive to the city's citizens drawn to its mineral waters. The spa enjoyed greatest popularity around the turn of the century with its shops, walks, and four inns (Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa, 1560–1815* [London, 1990], 104–10).

Frek being all the while in Ireland from me. Butt in the midst of all my dispairing, my God looked on me and brought them out most favourably on him and with less mallignity with drinking of the waters. For which mercy I am most humbly thankfull to my God for his mercy and my good sister Norton for her greatt kindness to me, I haveing bin now with her fifteen weeks with all the kindness and pity immaginable. E Freke

[fol. 53r]

i685, September 29 Thus lefft by Mr Frek, I attempted againe to seek my fortune to Billney, to seek my bread. Wher on the 29 of Septembr I came with my son and three servants to Linn, wher I boarded in private lodgings till the eight of Febuary following.

December 24 Mr Frek came over by Dublin from Ireland, I haveing hardly heard of him or from him in three quarters of a yeare. As he came unlook'd for by me, soe he was very angry with me for being on this sid of the country, tho in all his tims of his being from me he never took care for a peny for my subsistance or his sons. For which God forgive him. My husbands erantt for England was to joyne with him in the sale of West Billney to Sir Standish Harts Tongue for the like in Ireland.⁵⁷ Butt I being left the only trusty for my self and my son, God gave me the courage to keep whatt I had rather then part with itt and be kept by the charity of my friends or trust to his or any ones kindness. Soe in a greatt anger Mr Frek left me alone againe and wentt for Ireland, wher he staid from me allmost two years.

Febuary 8 I came to my thacht house in West Billney, and the first time of my coming thither, to take a possession of thatt estate for my self and son by the gift of my deer father. When I came I had neither a bed to lye on, chair to sett on, table to eat on, or dish, or spoon, or bread to eate. Butt by Gods goodness to mee I quickly gott all and my little house very well furnished, wher I lived by my selfe eight years in my thacht house, eight years with ease and comfort, tho every day threatned by the neighbours thatt iff I thought to nest my self att Billny I should wash my dishes my self and milk my cows too. Butt when I gott footing, I soon evidenced my right to itt and as fast as I could removed those thatt thretned to turne me outt of doores and Billny

⁵⁷ Sir Standish Hartstonge (1627–1701), born in South Repps, Norfolk and heir to property in Ireland, represented Limerick in the Irish parliament from 1661 to 1666 and twice became a baron of the exchequer; he received a baronetcy in 1681. He, his son Standish, and Percy Freke were among those attainted in 1689; all three were later members of the Irish parliament, where in 1692 Hartstonge sat in the House of Lords (R. C. B. Oliver, 'The Hartstonges and Radnorshire: Part I', *The Radnorshire Society Transactions*, 43 [1973], 34–48; *CB*, iv. 213). too. And being by Mr Frek thus thrown off with my son and my deer father dead, I durst say nothing to them.

i3 Mr Frek wentt for London (and left me to seek my fortune) in order to goe for Ireland, wher att sea he was twice like to be cast away; butt by Gods greatt mercy to me he was saffly landed in Ireland Aprill 4th. For which mercy God make me thankfull. Wher he staid from me till the i4 of June i687.

i687, Aprill 9 Goode Mamons house next to mine was about ten a clock att night burnt downe to the ground with heatting her oven for Goody Saywells christning, and the poor woman burnt in itt on Satterday night.⁵⁸ And tho I were up my self att the house calling of the parrish, nott one would come to my help to save my house she lived in or the poor woman in distress.

[fol. 53v]

i687, May 26 My deer sister Austin came to see me in my thacht house with my deer neec and god-daughter Mrs Grace Norton, when affter they had come from London in my sisters own coach. I were soe ashamed thatt I would nott see them in my poor thacht house. Her erantt was to fetch me up to London to live with her and to give me her own and her husbands creditt in Mr Freks absence for any thing I wanted.

June 6 My deerst sister Austen left me att Billney and wentt home againe for London with my neece Norton.

i4 Mr Frek came againe from Ireland by Dublin to West Billney affter he had left me sixteen months and three days.

September ig Mr Frek wentt againe for Ireland affter he had staid with mee aboute three months and five days to gett whatt mony he could from mee, which he did att least five hundred pounds. With which and some more aded to itt he bought six and forty pounds a year att Pentney and putt in his own life into itt. Eliz Frek

i688, March 27 Mr Frek came againe to Billney affter he had staid from mee and his only child neer nineteen months, he being prosecuted by one of King Jams captains, one Buttler, to be shott to death for refuseing to drink the Lord Tirconells health.⁵⁹ Which of two evills he chose to come to Billney, Ireland being now very hott and unsafe for

⁵⁸ Mary Mammont, the widow of Thomas Mammont, was buried on 10 April 1687; her husband had been buried on 12 January 1686/7. The West Bilney register also records the 10 April christening of John, the son of James Sowell and Mary Scarning, who were married on 28 April 1686.

⁵⁹ Among the many Butlers in the Irish army, two named Edward received commissions as captains from Richard Talbot, lord deputy and later duke of Tyrconnell (D'Alton, *Illustrations*, i. 10, 12).

any of the English, espeshally officesers – of which Buttler had Mr Freks company, affter he had on his own charge equipied itt by the desire of King Charls the second; wher he staid the heat of the Irish warrs till the 4 of March i6qo.

Aprill 5 Richard Clark, my friend and servantt, dyed with me (aboutt a ten days affter Mr Frek came to Billney). He had lived with us neer eight years heer and in Ireland; and a good servant he was, just and faithfull, and dyed of a creek in his neck unexpected to mee.⁶⁰

i688, November 5 The good King William the Third came in to Englands relife, he being then prince of Orange. He landed in the west of Dorsettshire neer Exetter. He had with him aboutt i2 saile of Dutch ships and aboutt i2 thousand men; against whom King James wentt with neer threescore thousand to oppose him. Butt for want of corrage he returned back to London and left his men to joyne with the prince of Orange, who came into London aboutt the end of November, when King James and his queen run away for France with her pretended prince of Walles.⁶¹ The king was taken with Sir Edward Halles in a seamens habbitt att Feversham in Kentt and both brought to Rochester Casstle,⁶² from whence affter aboutt three weeks stay King William lett him steale away into France to his queen to St Germans, wher he was by actt of parliament and the consent of the whole nation abdicatted.⁶³

[fol. 54r]

i689, Febuary i3 King William and Queen Mary, the daughter of King James, were proclaimed king and queen of England, &c., and were both crowned the eleventh of Aprill i689 in London.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Richard Clark was buried in West Bilney on 5 April 1688.

⁶¹ Prince William of Orange landed at Torbay on 5 November and entered Exeter on 9 November. James soon abandoned attempts to resist invasion; by 24 November he decided to withdraw his forces to London.

⁶² The sentence in the manuscript begins 'Affter a years reigne'.

⁶³ The queen and her son left for France on 9 December 1688; two days later James tried to follow. He was discovered in disguise at Faversham and brought back to London on 16 December. From there William permitted James to go to Rochester, where he was allowed to escape on 23 December. On Christmas Day James reached France and three days later was reunited with his wife and son. Edward Hales, the former governor of the Tower, was imprisoned for more than a year before he joined the exiled monarch in France (David Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III [Oxford, 1957], 218-20; John Miller, James II, a Study in Kingship [London, 1991], 205-9).

⁶⁴ On 28 January 1688/9 the House of Commons resolved 'That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom; ... having violated the fundamental Laws; and having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom; has abdicated the Government; and that the Throne is thereby vacant'. At Whitehall on 13 February George Savile, marquess of Halifax, presented William and Mary with the Declaration of Rights drawn up by parliament; he then offered them the crown, and they were proclaimed king and queen (CJ, x. 14, 28–30). The London Gazette describes the

Octtober 25 I wentt to London to see my sisters and friends affter I had staid in my thacht house fowre years by my selfe dureing King Jams warrs, and staid ther with my two deer sisters about seven weeks, and then returned home againe to Billney December the eighteenth.

Aprill 29 My cosin Percy Crossby, my husbands nephew, came downe from London to me to Billney like to dye of a consumtion. He dyed a marter to King James the iq of May following and lyes buried in the chancell of Billney.⁶⁵

i6go, March 4 March 4 Mr Frek left me and wentt away againe for Ireland, I nott knowing of itt above two days before, to endeavour the getting of his estat, tho given away by King James to Owen Maccarty. My husband being then outtlawed for an absentee had all his estate of above 700 pound a yeare with all his stock and good given away by the said kinge and his greatt house att Rathbarry burnt downe by the Irish to prevent its being made a garrison, as itt had held outt on nine months for King Charls the First by Captaine Arthur Frek, my husbands father.⁶⁶

i690, June 4 King William came over for Ireland to the conquest of itt, and he had putt itt againe into the posesion of the English.

Jully i The greatt fight of the Boyn was fought by King William and King James army. King William was shott through his hatt and in his shoulder as he pased the Boyn with all the English army, the sight of which made King Jams with his Irish army run away to Dublin to gett for France.67

3 Affter this greatt fight att the Boyne, King William posest himself of Dublin, King Jams and his deputty Tirconell being both shipt off for France the night before to save themsselves being taken by the English.⁶⁸ Then wentt King William to raise the seig of Limbrick, the only place which held outt against the Irish in Ireland, wher ther was neer six thousand, as said. They were soe straitly beseiged by the Irish army thatt when our good king came there was nott, as said, a thousand left in the towne (most starved).⁶⁹ Affter which our Protestant king

⁵⁶ At the time the loss was set at $f_{1,520}$ (above, p. 12 and n. 33); her later remembrances value the estate at £800. The castle was regained the next year and served as a garrison until 1650, when Cromwell's forces took control. See also p. 7 and n. 19.

⁶⁷ See Freke's history of the Irish war below, pp. 145-6.

⁶⁸ Tyrconnell did not flee with James II to France.

⁵⁹ Freke confuses the siege of Limerick with that of Londonderry, where those loyal to William earlier had withstood a long, bitter siege.

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¹³ February ceremony at Whitehall; it also recounts at length the coronation ceremonies on 11 April (2427, 2444), which Luttrell (i. 520-1) and Evelyn (iv. 632-3) also describe.

⁶⁵ Patrick Crosby, the second son of Colonel David Crosbie, married Percy's sister Agnes in 1664. Percy or Pierce Crosby, the eldest of their seven sons and two daughters, was among the absentees who were attainted. He was buried in West Bilney on 20 May 1690 (Lodge, iii. 329-30; Marriage Licence Bonds, 51).

returned for England with greatt glory and tryumph to London, wher he was joyfuly received. Eliza Freke

[fol. 54v]

i6gi, Jully My servant Henry Crutland shott off his hand with my sons gun a shoutting of a pigion and lay in a sad condition fowre month under the surgions hand. And then I took itt to cure, which with Gods blesing I effecttually did. He was the most patient creture I ever saw.⁷⁰

Jully 2i I had my last tryall with Captaine Spillman of Norbrow aboutt inhabitting of Doching. He wentt to the sesions of Linn through Billney against me with his two Norwich lawyers and aboutt sixteen behind him, horsemen of his own parish, against me in Mr Freks absence, all of them calling to mee to come and justifye my cause. And I had nott one to appeare for me of my side butt my greatt God and my son, aboutt i7 years of age, with his man. And God gave itt of my side thatt I cast him in the publick courte.⁷¹ Eliz Freke

i692, March 30 Mr Frek, haveing now left me to shifft for my selfe above two years, never lett me have any quiett butt commanded me to leave all my affairs att Billney and come over to Ireland. Wher affter halfe a years concideration I forced my selfe to undertak againe a jorney for Ireland, and in order to itt wentt with my son and servants to London in my deer sister Nortons coach and left my house and goods in the care of Jams Wallbutt, then my servantt and affter my cheating tenant.⁷²

Aprill 2 I came to my deer sister Austins, who lived then in St Jams Sttreett in London (my brother Austin being then one of the lords of the admirallty); wher by reason of the French invation I

⁷⁰ Henry Cruckland was buried in West Bilney on 9 November 1693.

⁷¹ The Spelmans of Narburgh Hall were a long-established family in Narborough with links to both Westacre and Grace's Manors. Mundeford, the son of John and Ann Spelman, resided at the Hall with his wife Ann, who died in September 1691. He is not listed at this time, however, as a member of the Norfolk militia or among the regular commissioned officers (Blomefield, vi. 150–4; *The Visitation of Norfolk Anno Domini 1664 Made by Sir Edward Bysshe, Knt.*, ed. A. W. Hughes Clarke and Arthur Campling, *Norfolk Record Society*, 5 [1934], 204–5). John and Mary Dochin had apparently been living in West Bilney, where their son was born and buried earlier that year. The Norfolk quarter sessions at King's Lynn on 28 April 1691 decided that the order of two justices of peace for settling the Dochins at Narborough 'be respited til the next general quarter session of the year to be held for this division' (NRO, C/S2/4). The next record of a Lynn session is 3 October 1691; the disposition of the case is not mentioned in the NRO records of this or other Norfolk quarter sessions that year. Cast him out: 'defeated at law, condemned in costs or damages' (Jowitt, i. 292).

⁷² James Wallbut and Martha Mee, who were married in West Bilney on 1 January 1692/3, lived in the dwelling known as the Ale House.

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staid till aboutt the twentieth of July following with all the kindness immaginable.⁷³

May 24 I putt my son, Mr Ralph Frek, being within one week of seventeen years of age (viz., 2d of June), to Mr Du Veales, a French Hugonett, to learne French and all other qualifications of a gentleman; wher I paid for his dyett and chamber forty fowre pounds a yeare.⁷⁴ And when I had seen my son settled, I endeavoured for Ireland.

Jully 25 Aboutt the 25 of Jully I wentt to the Bath, wher I rested my self neer a month for shiping.

Agust i4 From Bath I wentt to Bristoll to be neerer the shiping about the midle of Agust, wher I took me a lodging on Bristoll Green neer the cathedrall church; where I staid (for feare) and ship till the 2d of Octtober following.

Octtober 2d When in Captain Poole ship I went to sea;⁷⁵ 5 and the 5 of Octtober, Thursday, I safe by Gods mercy landed att the Cove in Cork, wher the day before the French privatteers had taken two ships outt of the harbor and kild the captaine, &c., and stript all the pasengers, setting them on the shore. From whom God did preserve me to be thankfull. E Freke

[fol. 55r]

i692, October 26 I came into Cork late att night, wher in a boatt wee were all like to be lost on the key by the ships and boys which we cold nott see, itt was soe darke. And with much adoe I landed. And when I came, the day before Mr Frek was gone to the parliament of Dublin; and I knew noe Christian in the towne, nor could I gett a

⁷³ Austen was commissioned a lord of the admiralty on 23 January 1690/1, a position he held until his death in 1696 (John Ehrman, *The Navy in the War of William III, 1689– 1697* [Cambridge, 1953], 639–40). Thomas Freke of Hannington also had a residence on St James Street, a 'spacious Street, with very good Houses well inhabited by Gentry' (Strype, ii. bk. 6, 78). Evelyn notes in April 1692 the 'Greate talke of the French Invading; & of an universal rising'; on 5 May he writes that the fears of invasion 'alarmed the Citty, Court & People exceedingly' (v. 97, 99). The defeat of the French in the naval battle of the Hogue (May 19–24), however, ended the threatened invasion of 20,000 French and Jacobite supporters of James.

⁷⁴ No Du Veales appear in Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization in England and Ireland, Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, 18 (1911), 27 (1923), and 35 (1932). A Charles Marie Du Veil who emigrated in 1677 and became a minister and a Hans De Veille who was later a library keeper at Lambeth appear in a list compiled by Samuel Smiles, The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland (London, 1876), 392, 386.

⁷⁵ Two Pooles, both named William, were captains by 1672; Benjamin Poole was commissioned a captain on 20 December 1680. None of these officers, however, appears as a captain in the records of sailings by ships in the royal fleet for this period (*Commissioned Sea Officers*, 362–3; PRO, ADM 8/8).

lodging in the whole city till Doctter Edwards in pitty took me into his house.⁷⁶ Wher affter I had bin two days, I fell sick with the hardness of my jorney and the coldness of the watter thatt the docter and every body thought I would dye. Butt my God spared my life to know more misery.

November i2 For about the midst of November I came a horse back to Rathbary, from whence I had bin absent eight years. Where when I came, I found the house burnt downe: neither a bed, table, or chair, or stool fitt for a Christion to sett on, dish or plat to eate outt of, or meat or drink fitt to suffise natture; and on the land, to the best of my remembrance, only two sheep and two lambs and three or 4 garron horses worth about ten shillings a peice. And this was the fifth time I came to bare walls and a naked house since I were married.

December 2i In this most deplorable condition I staid till neer Chrismas the Irish parliamentt adjorned, when Mr Frek came home affter hee had left me thus shifting aboutt from place to place for three years and a quarter or more.⁷⁷ However, in this miserable place I staid for fowre years and a halfe and sick all the whole time thatt I hardly wentt downe stairs butt as I were carryed to the garden.

i693, March 27 Att the asises of Cork Mr Frek had a letter to goe for England againe for my son to come over for Ireland.

Aprill i7 When on Easter Munday, Aprill i7, he left me att Rathbary and wentt to Kingsaile for a shipp.

May i5 And he landed in England aboutt the midle of May. From thence he went to London and suprised my son and my friends; wher he staid aboutt a month and went with my son to Billney, wher they staid aboutt a fortnight. And they fetched all my plate, linnen, thre of my best beds, and all I had worth carraige or removeing and brought itt away for Ireland to furnish Rathbary – and, which was most my concerne, my downe fether bed I allwaise lay in. Soe thatt of my eight years industry heer att Billney I had nothing good now leftt mee. This is my true and miserable hart fate. Eliz Frek

Agust i6 However, Agust the i6 the greatt and good God brought both my husband and son safe home to me to Rathbarry when I did nott the least look for either of them. For which mercy the Lord make me for ever most humbly thankfull. Eliz. Freke

⁷⁶ 'Mr Edwards' in the other remembrance; no Dr Edwards, in any case, has been identified as the Cork physician.

⁷⁷ Percy Freke and his nephew Francis Bernard represented Clonakilty in the parliament that convened in Dublin on 5 October 1692 and adjourned on 3 November. He remained one of its representatives until 1699; when parliament next met on 21 September 1703, he represented Baltimore and his son, Ralph, served Clonakilty (C7I, ii. 568, 634; iii. 4).

[fol. 55v]

i693, November 2d A greatt Dutch ship was lost on Rathbary strand. By a mistak of the Old Head of Kingsaile [it] overshott his course and was staved all to peices, and every creature in itt drowned with all the goods in itt butt fowre men Mr Frek took upp amongst the rocks and buried them in Rathbary church.⁷⁸ This sad prospectt happned in little more then two months affter my deer cosin and son landed saffe. For which mercy to mee the great God grant I may never forgett and make me thankfull. Eliz Frek

i694, November 3d Mr Frek was made shriff of the county of Corke in Ireland. He kept his first asises in Cork, wher I were with him, and did putt against the asises two and twenty handsome proper men all in new liveryes to attend him. Sir Richard Pyne and Sir Richard Cox being the two judges, wher thatt asises were condemned eight and twenty to be hanged and burned – and one young English man, an only son whose life I begged, itt nott being for murder.⁷⁹ I concidered my own condition thatt have butt one child and his father an estated gentleman in Devonshire. E Frek

i695, March 2d Mr Frek went to Dublin to give up his shrifes accounts, wher was by the Lord Drohedea a match proposed to him for my son and his eldest daughter, the Lady Ealce Moore, with a portion of three thousand pounds presently laid downe.⁸⁰ She was a very handsome, fine lady and nothing to be objected butt her quality, which I thought too much for a gentleman.

May 28 Mr Frek returned from Dublin from giveing up his shrifs accounts.

Agust 22 Mr Frek wentt againe to Dubblin to the parliament, where he staid for three months, and had againe the match earnestly renewed

^{237).} ⁸⁰ Henry Moore, third earl of Drogheda (d. 1714), was with Percy Freke attainted in 1689; both were members of the Irish parliament, where in 1692 Moore assumed a seat in the House of Lords. Moore and his wife Mary, the daughter of John Cole, first baronet of Newland, had eight sons and two daughters. Fifteen-year-old Alice was baptized on 29 December 1679 (Lodge, ii. 109–12; *CP*, iv. 464).

⁷⁸ Old Head juts into the ocean west of Kinsale Harbour, rising to 265 feet. It was still 'sometimes fatally mistaken' by eighteenth-century sailors for the promontory near Rathbarry Castle known as Galley Head (Smith, i. 249).

⁷⁹ Richard Cox (1650–1733), later chief justice of the common pleas, lord high chancellor, and chief justice of the queen's bench, would receive a knighthood in 1692 and a baronetcy in 1706. Richard Pyne (1644–1709) also became a chief justice of both the common pleas and the king's bench; he too was knighted in 1692. Appointed first commissioner of the great seal, he would sit in the Irish House of Lords (F. Elrington Ball, *The Judges in Ireland, 1221–1921*, 2 vols. [New York, 1927], ii. 51–6, 59–60; *CB*, iv. 237).

for his son with the Lord Droghedas daughter the Lady Ealce Drogheday <Moore>.

Octtober 22 Mr Frek sent for my son to see this young lady (about fiffteen years of age), wher he was very kindly received by my Lord and Lady Drogheday. Wher he staid till the 2d of December following, all the while kindly received.

December 20 Mr Frek and my son came from Dublin mightilly fancing the young lady and brought me letters from the Lady Poorscortt and others to expediatt the match presently.⁸¹

i696, Aprill i4 Mr Frek and my son wentt againe to Dublin to finish the match or break itt quitt off. Which affter aboutt three weeks stay and atendance was brok off. My son was to be wholy tyed to live in thatt parts of the country, which I thought very hard to loose my only child when they had ten chilldren [fol. 56r] might as well have trusted mee with their daughter or att least to have lived within twenty miles of me. Which nott being alowed of, I resolved to be indiffirentt in itt. Besids they found my son soe taken with the young lady thatt they would have made us their servants in being paymasters to the young cupple, tho my husband offered the earle of Drogheda as much mony as would buy six hundred pounds a yeare for the ladys joynter to be laid outt any where (by her frinds) in the county of Cork, wher all Mr Freks estate lay. Besids which I promised to settle all my estate in West Billney in the county of Norfolk on them to oblige my only son. Butt they thought my sons affections engaged. Yett to my greatt concerne and my sons trouble, off wentt this greatt match, which I foresaw would elce be rhuinous to us, tho my son was most bitterly angry with me for itt. And home both father and son came in aboutt the midle of May.82

May 28 In their jorney from Dublin home my son was taken most dangerously ill, when he was nott able to reach further then Watter Parke, Sir Richard Pines house, where he lay six weeks of a voylentt feaver like to dye and given over by all the phisitions. Butt my greatt God had mercy on me and restored him to me againe (with the good Lady Pins care), I hope to be his humble servantt and a comfortt to me, Eliz Freke.⁸³

 $^{\vartheta_3}$ Waterpark was on the River Blackwater. Sir Richard Pyne, the son of Nicholas of Mogeely, inherited the estate in 1674 from his brother Henry, who had gained title to Waterpark under the Act of Settlement. His third wife, Catherine (1664–1732), the

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⁸¹ The wife of Folliott Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt, Lady Elizabeth was the elder daughter of Roger Boyle, first earl of Orrery; two of her recipes are among those Freke collected. Lady Powerscourt died on 17 October 1709 without children (Lodge, v. 274–6; *CP*, x. 636–7).

⁸² A year later on 11 September 1697 Alice married Sir Gustavus Hume; she died on 13 April 1750 (CB, ii. 443).

June 2d My son, Mr Ralph Frek, was of age of one and twenty years when I gave him for a New Years guift two hundred pounds (200 l.) and five pounds for a purse to putt itt in <of my fathers>.

5 June 5 I left Rathbary in order to goe for England affter I had staid ther 4 years and a halfe, most of the time very sick (being frighted att my first coming to see whatt a place I weere come to). I rested my self a week or more att Castle Mahon;⁸⁴ from thence I wentt to Corke to try for shipping by my selfe.

25 Wher the 25 of June i696, I came on ship board of Captain Townsend with a maid and another woman, a man and a boy, and my husbands nephew Thom Crosby, for whom I were to gett a place in a shipp to serve the king as a vollenteere.⁸⁵

Jully i I landed att Plymouth, wher I mett Collonel Robert Frek, then haveing his company ther, [who] was govener of [the] towne.⁸⁶ Who was most extreamly kind and civill to mee: who offered 20 l., twenty pounds, for a coach to carry mee to Portsmouth rather then I should goe againe to sea and thatt he would goe with me thither to putt me in a coach for London. [fol. 56v] Butt I could gett none excep I would borrow Madam Found, who very kindly offered her coach to me; which I thought nott proper to accept on the little acquaintance I had.⁸⁷

i696, Jully 6 Soe thatt Sunday, July 6, wee wentt againe to sea, where we lay beating up and downe the sea till Thursday in a tempest and mists, nott knowing where we were. **io** This forced us to an anker

daughter of Sir Christopher Wandesford, was the hostess (H. F. Morris, 'The Pynes of Co. Cork', *The Irish Genealogist*, 6 [1985], 696–710).

⁸⁴ Castle Mahon, which dates from the reign of John I, came through the Beecher family into the possession of the Bernards. The 1657 will of Francis Bernard describes an estate of '357 acres English'. In the eighteenth century, when it was renamed Castle Bernard, the residence underwent a series of major changes. A fire in 1921 gutted the castle; its once extensive lands of 60,000 acres are now less than 300 (Ffolliott, 34; Smith, i. 240–1; Bennett, 241–2, 245–6; Paddy Connolly, 'Castlemahon/Castle Bernard', *Bandon Historical Journal*, 12 [1996], 27–34).

⁸⁵ If her ship were among those of the royal navy, its captain might have been Sir Isaac Townshend, commissioned a captain in 1690 and commander of the seventy-gun *Ipswich* and its 446 men 'With the Fleet' in July 1696 (*Commissioned Sea Officers*, 442; PRO, ADM 8/4). Percy Freke's nephew Thomas Crosby, the son of Patrick Crosby and Agnes Freke, is said to have become a colonel in the army (Lodge, iii. 330), but his name does not appear in *English Army Lists* or in Charles Dalton, *George the First's Army*, 1714–1727, 2 vols. (London, 1910–12).

⁸⁶ Robert Freke (1655–1709) was the oldest son of Elizabeth's cousin Robert Freke of Upway. A career officer who rose to the rank of colonel, he was appointed deputy governor of Plymouth in 1696 (*English Army Lists*, iii. 317, 397; v. 281).

⁸⁷ One of the Fownes of Plymouth, she was probably Petronell Fownes, the daughter of Oliver Edgecumbe of Ugborough and the husband of Richard Fownes of Ugborough, or possibly Anne Fownes, daughter of Edward Yard and wife of John Fownes of Kittery Court (J. L. Vivian, *The Visitations of the County of Devon* [Exeter, 1895], 372–3).

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for two days more in a tirrible storme, our shipp soe crasy itt durst nott stirr again any more to sea and our boatt nott worth a crowne. Thuss were I sentt outt of Ireland by long sea, or round the whole Lands End.

i2 And in this storme we att last ankered on the Goodwin Sands ia of July, wher a shipp was lost a little before of 300 tun by shiping her anker with all their crue, when my God preserved me round the world in a leaky shipp and boatt.⁸⁸ However, I being tired att sea took the costom boatt to land me att Deal. Wher when we came to the beech, the boattmen and all belonging to me jumpt on the shore; butt I nott beeing able to stirr with my sickness and jorney were by a greatt wave carried away againe to sea and expectted to be lost, when by another greatt wave the boatt was thrown on the beech and I in itt. When severall men with iron graples pull'd itt soe farr on the shore as to take mee out, butt I am insencible how; till they demanded five guinyes for bringing five of us from the Goodwin Sands. Butt outt of all my troubles and from all these my misfortuns my greatt and mercifull God has delivered mee and brought me safe into my own country againe. Eliz Frek

Jully i3 We landed at Deall, wher I hired a coach for London and a horse for my cosin Crosby. **i4** Wher att Maudlin in Kentt I were besett by five highwaymen, one of which told mee I would never reach Cittingburne and bid my boy behind my coach drinke hartily for itt was the last he would ever drink.⁸⁹ From these blads they rid, and wee drove for itt and reached the towns end just before them.

i6 I came from Cittingburn to Rochester and soe to Gravs End.

i7 Latte att nightt I landed att Billingsgate, wher my maide Margarett lost every ragg of my clothes and a mantue and petticoatt I would nott have taken thirtty pounds for, nor shall I ever be mistress of the like againe.⁹⁰ Butt withoutt a ragg to my back I came aboutt midnight to my deer sisters [fol. 57r] the Lady Nortons att her house in Brownloe Street in Drurey Lane.

i696, Jully i8 And the next day my deer sister Austin came in her coach and fetch'd me to her house in Soho Square, where I staid aboutt a week and wentt to lodgings of my own neer Soho Square.⁹¹

⁸⁸ No shipwrecks for 1696 appear in the list Richard Larn compiles in *Goodwin Sands Shipwrecks* (Newton Abbot, Devon, 1977), 165–74, though he documents three in 1697.

⁸⁹ Maudlin does not appear on contemporary maps or among the placenames of Kent. A. C. Entwistle, Centre for Kentish Studies, has suggested Maudlin may refer to one of the parish churches dedicated to Mary Magdalene; if so, the nearest to Sittingbourne would be in Davington, a village about six miles away.

⁹⁰ Mantua: a loose gown; see below, p. 166 n. 323.

⁹¹ Originally known as King's Square, in the first decades of the eighteenth century Soho was a 'fine large square' 'near 3 Acres' (Hatton, i. 43) with 'very good Buildings

66 REMEMBRANCES OF ELIZABETH FREKE 1671-1714

Thiss, the loss of all my cloths, was my first wellcome into England.

August i8 By the favour of my brother Austin, who was one of the lords of the admirallty, I gott my nephew Crosby a comision to serve the king in a man of warr, which he as carelesly lost, spending his mony in coach hire and sights which should have supplyed his occations att sea. Affter which I offered my cosin Thomas Crosby, iff he would goe to sea, to fitt him with all conveniency on my charge before my brother and sister Austin. Butt hee ungrattfully refused itt, saing he was nothing beholding to me (tho then I had bore all his charges from Plimouth), and said iff I had nothing elce to doe I might send his unkle, my husband, word of itt and his mother too, to whome he would returne on purpose to vex his friends in Kerry.

20 Soe I gave him five pounds to carry him to Bristoll for him to returne againe.

2i I gott my usquabath on shore I still'd for my deer fatther, all which was by bringing in vessells forffitted to the kinge; and I were faine to pay to the customers above six pound.⁹² Besids they had soe mingled itt thatt itt was good for nothing.

22 Agust the 22 itt pleased God to take to himselfe my deer brother Austin a Satterday about two a clock in the affternoon, just entered the 56 year of his age the 6 of Agust. He was a very good friend of mine. He left my sister 450 pound a yeare rentt charge on his estatt, and the rest of his estate to his son Collonel Robert Austin and three thousand pounds debt to pay, and his three younger chilldren never a cross for ther fortuns.⁹³

i696, September 5 I came againe to West Billney, againe to bare walls and every thing elce wantting, Mr Frek haveing taken away all I left good behind mee. Wher when I came, by the management of Jams Wallbutt I found allmost the whole estatt in my hand and the tennants run away with my rentt and every thing in a disorder. Where I lost by the tenants and the calling in of all the mony of the nation to new quine itt twas above 500 pounds outt of Mr Frek way and loss to him.⁹⁴ E Frek

on all Sides, especially the East and South, which are well inhabited by Nobility and Gentry' (Strype, ii. bk. 6, 87).

⁹² Usquebaugh: aqua vitae; often a mixture of herbs, raisins, and aqua vitae.

⁹³ Robert Austen was buried at St Mary's Church in Bexley on 23 August 1696 (SG, KE/R19, fol. 206, transcribed by Thomas Colyer-Fergusson). Besides his son Robert, a lieutenant at the time of his father's death, were Judith, Elizabeth, and Thomas.

⁹⁴ An act passed by parliament in January limited the circulation of clipped or debased silver coins to the payment of taxes made before 4 May and of government loans before 24 June. Milled coins newly minted from the debased silver coinage began to circulate in February, but Evelyn's complaint about 'Money still continuing exceedingly scarse' was not eased until the end of the year (v. 242). Left with money no longer legal except in the discharge of taxes or loans, the inhabitants of Norwich complained to the [fol. 57v]

i6g6, Decembr ai I left Billney and wentt to Lin Regis to Mr Benetts, an aturney, to finish my accounts and leases there made fallen by the managementt of Jams Wallbutt neer fiffty pounds a yeare (and this in fowre years time) besids the loss of neer 500 pounds.⁹⁵ This is to trust stuards.

3i of Decembr I came with my two servants to my deer sister Nortons in Covent Garden.

January i, i696/7 I came to my own lodgings in Red Lyon Streett over against my deer sister Austins very sick and ill, and in the doctters hands there I staid for fowre or five months sick.⁹⁶

Febuary i6 Shrove Tusday, February i6 (I take itt), my deer neece and god-daughter was privatly marryed to Sir Richard Gettings, an Irish barronett, and dyed the eleventh of Octtober following to the unspeakable grife and loss of my deer sister the Lady Norton, her mother, she being her only child.⁹⁷ And iff she had lived butt to have bin blest with a child, itt might have enjoyed an estatt of neer fiffteen hundred pounds a yeare of Sir George Nortons. This Lady Grace Gettings was a lovely, fine woman; and as she lived good to all thatt knew her and in the schoole of afflictions all her life, soe shee evidenced itt signally att her deatth like a saintt or angell. She manifested itt att her death to the admyration of all beholders and the unspeakable grife of me, whom I loved as my own life.⁹⁸ Eliz Frek

i697, Aprill i7 I came againe to Billney with my deer sister Austin, being encouraged by letters from the Lady Richerson on security for her rentt for the Hall, which she had then keptt from me twenty seven years for her thirds of her dowre given her by my deer father frely when she stood suitt for all the rest of her dowre. However, I brought

government about the hardships of a devalued coinage (Albert Feavearyear, *The Pound Sterling*, and edn., rev. E. Victor Morgan [Oxford, 1963], 136-49).

⁹⁵ No Benett is identified as an attorney in the King's Lynn poll and land taxes for the period; the 1689 poll tax does, however, list a William Bennett, gentleman.

 $^{^{96}}$ Red Lion Street: a 'spacious' street on the east side of Red Lion Square 'betn *High* holbourn S. and the Fields' (Hatton, i. 68).

⁹⁷ According to the marriage licence issued on 15 February 1696/7 Grace married Richard Gethin (1674-1709) of Gethins Grot, County Cork at St Mary Magdalen in London (*Allegations for Marriage Licences Issued by the Bishop of London, 1611 to 1828*, ed. Joseph Lemuel Chester and George J. Armytage, *Harleian Society, 26* [1887], 320; *CB*, iv. 201). She died within the year, on 11 October 1697, in St Martin in the Fields and was buried in Hollingbourne on 15 October.

⁹⁸ A commemoration of Elizabeth's mother in the Hollingbourne church of All Saints recalls the last hours of her granddaughter 'ye Lady Gething who lay 12 hours in a trance, which when she came out of, she often repeated these words, Glory be to God who has chose me for his own, and thus resigned her pious soul to God' (BL, Add. MS. 11259, fol. 7v; Cave-Brown, 35).

downe my security, viz., a bond of Sir George Chouts with Collonel Robert Austins, both of them my nephew and which she knew, for ten thousand pounds and my sister Austin, a widow with five hundred pound a yeare charged on her husbands estate.⁹⁹ Butt when I came to treatt with her, she prefer'd a little Shepherd before mee, soe thatt still I were destitutt of a place to putt my head in.¹⁰⁰ Therfor [I] resolved to returne to London againe, which I did very ill.

May i8 Aboutt the midle of May I heard of my deer sons, Mr Ralph Frek, being like to dye of a malignantt feaver in Ireland, which soe terryfied and frightned me thatt I had noe rest in me. And affter a eleven weeks stay there I leftt Billney and with my deer sister Austin came to London. Eliz Frek

[fol. 58r]

i697, June 29 The greatt God haveing recovered my son, for which I most humbly thank him, I left Billney June 29. I came to London againe in order to goe to Tunbrige to drink those watters for my health.

July i I rested my selfe att my sister Austins house in Red Loyon Streett till Jully twentieth.

20 I wentt with my deer sister Austin to Tunbrige very ill, wher with her I staid three weeks oppositt in a fine house on the walks, butt growing worse were forced to remove more to the country att Rust Hall.¹⁰¹

August 24 Butt still continueing very ill, affter five weeks stay I wentt back to London with my deer sister to her house in Red Loyon

⁹⁹ The letter from the nephews George Choute and Robert Austen dated 2 April 1697 is in BL, Add. MS. 45721 A: 'Madam, We are both of us extreamly glad that we can in any thing be serviceable to you, and should have been obleig'd to the lady who hath put us into a possibility of being so if itt had not given you so great a trouble as you have been att to inform us how itt lay in our power to do you any. But if her ladyship thinks her security sufficient to give her that satisfaction she desires, we shall both of us be ready to enter into itt when she pleaseth, that we may in some measure be instrumentall in making you easy upon your own estate. And we heartily wish itt lay more in our power to testify to you how much we are, dear madam, your most affectionate nephews and humble servants. Geo. Choute, Robt. Austen' (fol. 3r).

¹⁰⁰ A member of the Shepherd family, perhaps one of the children of Thomas and Mary Shepherd, who both died in early 1679. He had been a tenant at West Bilney. Ambrose Shepherd, the miscellaneous documents claim, had purchased the West Bilney manor along with Edward Richardson, holding it in trust for Thomas Richardson.

¹⁰¹ By the end of the seventeenth century, Tunbridge Wells was a popular and fashionable summer spa. Daily coach service from London eased the thirty-six-mile journey, and the many shops along the upper and lower walks together with the greens for bowling and dancing catered to those who sought more than medical benefit. The lodgings and spacious greens at Rusthall and Southborough, about a mile from the wells, were especially attractive (Hembry, *The English Spa*, 45, 79–85; Alan Savidge, *Royal Tunbridge Wells*, [Tunbridge Wells, 1975]).

Street, being Barthollmew Day; wher I staid very ill, nothing better butt worse with the fright of my deer sons sickness, till September i5.

September i5 I fell downe quite sick att my deer sister Austins of a malignant feaver (of which my deer Lady Gettings dyed) and of which I kept my bed like to dye for neer two month under the hand of the doctters, apothicarys, and surgions.¹⁰² Affter two month this feaver fell into my left side and settled in my foott and ankle as black as a cole; wher ill I lay of itt nott able to stirr in my bed for neer three month more, all concluding itt would kill mee (of which feaver my maid lay sick for half a year, given over by all the doctters and apothycarys; hers settled in her back). Butt outt of this and all my other afflictions (and my husband neer three year frome me), my greatt and good God delivered mee and raised mee up againe to know more of his mercyes; and for which I am most thankfull for all those I have received. Eliz. Freke

i697, Octtober ii My deerst neece Norton (now Lady Grace Gettings) gave up her pious soule to God on Tuesday, as I take itt; shee dyed of this mallignantt feaver, of which my God raised me up off, and made a saintlike end to the presidentt of all thatt knew her and the perpetuall sorrow and grife of her deer mother, my sister, and my selfe. She lyes buryed and interded in my own deer mothers grave in Hollingburne church in Kentt amongst all our relations. Wher there lyes neer threescore of them in Hollingburn chancell, amongst which is my deer mother and seven brothers and sisters of my own besids my grandfather and grandmother with their ten children, all butt one maried. And all their posterity of ther chilldren lye in the said chancell; and in which my deer sister the Lady Norton has erectted a very fine monumentt in the memory of her of black and whitt marble to the vallue of aboutt two hundred pounds, as she has another in the south side of Westminster Abby with a sermon for ever to be preached in memory.¹⁰³ [fol. 58v] And my sister has given fiffty pounds to the

¹⁰² Ague and fever are listed in the London Bills of Mortality as the third greatest cause of death in both 1697 and 1698 (Thomas Birch, *A Collection of the Yearly Bills of Mortality, From 1657 to 1758* [London, 1759], sigs. P47, Q17). Contemporaries categorized fevers by severity: putrid, malignant, and pestilential (Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2 vols. [1891-4; reprinted with additional material, New York, 1965], ii. 16). The later remembrances call it plague fever. It is also an obsolete term for an intense form of autumnal fever.

¹⁰³ A monument on the north wall of the chancel in All Saints Church and a gravestone mark her remains. An engraving of the monument in the south choir aisle of Westminster Abbey appears in the third edition of *Misery is Virtues Whetstone. Reliquiae Gethinianae* (London, 1703) along with two poems by William Congreve. The poet was not alone in the praise he bestowed upon the posthumously published collection of Grace's writing: 'so compleat the finish'd piece appears, / That Learning seems combin'd with length of Years' (4); a century later Isaac Disraeli pointed out in the seventh edition of *Curiosities of Literature* (London, 1823), v. 117–24, that she had done little more than transcribe passages from a number of

presentt bishop of Rochester, Dr Spratt, for this sermon and bread to the poor to be given every Ash Wensday for ever to continue her memory. The like has my deer sister given of a hundred pounds to Hallingburne church, wher she lyes inter'd.¹⁰⁴

i697/8, Febuary i6 February i6 I left my deer sister Austins house, being just recovered of my malignantt feaver; and I came a Satterday, the i9, to Billney to take in Mr Freks name posesion of the Lady Richersons dowre, who was in her closett burntt to death the Christmas before.¹⁰⁵

2i I took by Gods leave posesion of West Billney Hall and with itt a house to putt my poor unfortunatt head in, I haveing bin marryed above six and twenty years and have had noe place to rest my wearyed carkas in butt troubling my frinds. This was, as I remember, the seventh time since I were an unfortunatt wiffe thatt I have come to an empty house with nothing in itt butt bare walls and just redy to fall on my head, as was the chancell with the rest of the houses in the possesion of the Lady Richerson. Eliza Freke

i698, Aprill 8 My husband and son (affter leaveing of me to seek my fortune by shifting for my selfe above three years all alone) both landed safe att Minhead in Devonshire aboutt two howrs before a most grievouss storme hapned.

i3 They came both to London safe, which was a greatt mercy to mee, 23 and the three and twentyeth saffe to West Billney. For which the greatt God make me for ever most thankfull. Eliz Frek

May 30 My husban and my son wentt both to London aboutt a greatt match for my son, which he would nott be perswaded to see.

3i May 3i my cosin Bradrup, the prebend of Norwich, with his wife and neece came to see me and staid with me till the third of June following.¹⁰⁶

seventeenth-century essayists, especially those of Francis Bacon. Freke's copy of the third edition of her niece's work, now at the Beinecke Library, is signed 'Elizabeth Frek her Book Given me by my Deer Sister the Lady Nortton, June 21 1703'.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Sprat (1635–1713), who wrote the history of the Royal Society, was both dean of Westminster and bishop of Rochester. After the sermon on the morning of each Ash Wednesday, loaves of bread were distributed to forty poor men and women; ceremonial shillings were also bestowed upon widows (J. Jancar, 'The Gethin Shilling', *Bristol Medico-Chirurgical Journal*, 89 [1974], 1–3). The Gethin legacy is now part of the Dean's Gift; the last commemorative Ash Wednesday sermon was in 1990 (Christine Reynolds, Assistant Keeper of the Muniments). No Gethin commemoration is observed at All Saints Church, Hollingbourne.

¹⁰⁵ Anne Richardson died in Honingham on 31 January 1697/8 and was buried there (Blomefield, ii. 447).

¹⁰⁶ Richard Broadrepp (d. 1717), the son of John and Elizabeth Broadrepp of Shroton, Dorset, was installed a prebend of the Norwich cathedral on 11 August 1697 (*Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 56). From 1681 to 1685 he had been the vicar at Hannington, presumably through the influence of Ralph Freke, a signatory in the parish register to his possession **July i6** My husband and son returned from London without the sight of any good fortune, tho he had severall great ones made him. Butt I suppose he was before fixt in Ireland on Sir John Meads eldest daughter, wher he soon affter marryed, unknown to mee.

July 23 My deer sister Norton sentt me towards furnishing my bare house a large, fine tortershelld cabinett, which now stands in my best chamber, vallued att neer a hundred pounds, with some china for the top of itt.

[fol. 59r]

i698, Jully 23 Jully 23 my deer sister Austin sentt me towards my house five greatt china jarrs for my best chamber with a new cane squab now stands in the greatt parlor.¹⁰⁷

29 Aboutt the same time I bought for my self a new green damask bed with tapstry hangings for the parlor and two chambers with two greatt glasses and a new damask coach for my self with severall other things to aboutt the vallue of thre <originally: two> hundrid and fiffty pounds.¹⁰⁸ All which I bought outt of my own mony, which was neer a thousand pounds given me by my deer father the last time I saw him to buy pins with, with 8 or 9 years intrist.

i698, Agust the io Mr Frek and my son Frek left mee all alone att West [Bilney] with two maids and a man and a hundred pounds a year in my hand and nott one peny to stock itt, he haveing before he left me took from mee my thousand pounds given me by my deer father and putt itt in his own name in the East Indy Company in order to remove itt for Ireland, which he did in Agust i8, i702, with the intrest.¹⁰⁹ This I thought very hard usage, butt tis true. E Frek

Agust i5 They both came safe to Chester and took shipping the nextt day, butt were tost up and downe by storms and tempest till the 25 of September and putt in to five severall harbours. **Octtober i** Att last in an open boatt withoutt the least of shellter or subsistance, every day expectting the fate of a mercyless sea, the greatt and the good God of his infinitt mercy landed them both safe in Dublin affter haveing bin neer seven week cast up and downe to my unspeakable torture and

of the vicarage on 11 October 1681. Broadrepp was married to Ann Freke, the daughter of John and Margaret Freke of Winterbourne Strickland and the sister of John Freke of Middle Temple, the cousin to whom Elizabeth Freke entrusted legal and financial concerns.

¹⁰⁷ A couch or sofa.

¹⁰⁸ Damask: silk or linen fabric with a figured or patterned weave; glasses: mirrors.

¹⁰⁹ The stock ledgers, transfer books, and lists of shareholders in the British Library Oriental and India Office Collections (L/AG/14 and H/2-3) contain various transactions by John Freke, Esquire, as well as John Freke of Change Alley, none of which can be linked specifically to Elizabeth and Percy Freke.

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72 REMEMBRANCES OF ELIZABETH FREKE 1671-1714

the infinitte mercy of God to me. For which mercy I humbly [beg] I may never forgett to be thankfull. Éliz Frek

Novembr 3d Affter this greatt fright I could nott stay any longer att West Billny nor have any rest night or day in my mind; **6** therfor left my house and servants and came up to London to try my frinds kindnes of being heer with mee.

30 When on the 30 of November my deer sister Austin, commiseratting my deplorable condition to be thiss cruly disgarded by both my son and my husband, was soe kind to come downe with me, which I shall never forgett itt; wher she staid with me confined to my chamber in bare walls and hardly a bed for her to lye in till the fourth of Aprill following, full fowre month. For which I am thankfull to her, itt being more then Mr Frek has afforded me this i7 yeare. Eliz Freke

[fol. 59v]

i699, March 5 My son Freke was marryed to Sir John Meads eldest daughter.¹¹⁰ He had with her three hundred pounds a yeare land in Ireland; or iff Mr Frek liked to sell the land, hee would give with his daughter fowre thousand pounds. My deer and only son never soe much as asked my blesing or consentt in this match. For which I have and doe forgive him and wish him better fortune then I, who marryed withoutt my deer fathers knowledg or consentt. E Frek

Aprill 4 My deer sister Austin left me affter she had done penance with me aboutt fowre month, a greatt kindness indeed. Shee then returned home againe to her house in Plumbtree Streett.¹¹¹

June i3 I wentt with Prebend Bradrapp and his wife to London affter they had staid neer a week with me heer att Billney. Wee hired a coach to our selves att Linn to travill att ease.

Jully i I came home by my selfe from London to West Billney, when about this month I new slatted and lathed and made the whole chancell of Billney church, left redy to fall by the Lady Richerson.

Aprill 23 And aboutt the Easter before, being in Aprill, I gave to

¹⁰ Freke also enters in the West Bilney register her son's marriage 'in the County of Corke in Ireland'. Elizabeth was the daughter of John Meade (1642-1707) of Ballintubber, near Kinsale, and Elizabeth Redman, the second of his three wives. Both Meade and Percy Freke were representatives in the Irish House of Commons, where the prominent lawyer and future baronet was a significant presence. Elizabeth, who married on I January 1717/8 the fourth Baron Kingston, James King, died on 6 October 1750 (*CB*, iv. 232-3; Lodge, iii. 233; *CP*, vii. 298-9; *The Register of the Parish of S. Peter and S. Kevin Dublin.* 1669–1761, preface James Mills [Exeter, 1911], 236).

¹¹ Between Great Russell Street and St Giles's High Street, Plumbtree Street was 'a new built Street, with pretty good Houses, runs up to the back side of great *Russel Street* (Strype, ii. bk. 4, 84).
the chancell of West Billney a handsome table cloth of my own and my deer mothers worke embrodered on purple cloth as likewise a pullpitt cloth of my own work embrodered and pullpitt cushion to itt.

i700, Aprill 30 My son Freks eldest son was borne the thirttieth of Aprill and christned by the name of Percy Frek, my husbands name.¹¹² Hee was borne two days before the last quarter chang of the moone; whom I humbly begg of God to bless and to preserve with his grace, long life, and health. E Frek

June ig I wentt to London to see my deer sister the Lady Norton, wher att her house in Brownloe Streett I staid till the 3i July.

July 3i I came from London with my neece Judith Austin and Mrs Willis, where att Billney we all staide till December 2d.

December 2 I wentt to London with my neece Judith Austin and Mrs Willis, I haveing lett outt part of my house with all the land to Harry Fish the Michellmas before and given away all my stock, &c.¹¹³ Mr Frek thus <deleted: barbarously> leaving of me to my shiffts without any pitty or comiseration two years. E Frek

[fol. 6or]

i700, December 5 I came to London December the 5 to my deer sister Austins, where the very next day I fell down right sick and soe stufft up with a tissick thatt I could hardly fetch my breath in the doctters and surgions hands or goe cross my chamber or downe a paire of staires till about the midle of Febury i700/i.¹¹⁴

i70i, May io I came home to Billney with my two maids and a boy. And about the end of May I had a letter from Bristoll from Mr Frek of his saffe landing the twentieth of May butt very like to dye of a dropsey and scurvy – distempers he purchased in Ireland rather then to live with me, he haveing bin now within three months three years from me. Eliz Frek

June i7 Tuesday, I heering Mr Frek was like to dye att the Bath, tho nott well able, left my house and servants att Billney and came to London and soe as fast as I could to the Bath; **2i** wher I came the 2i

¹¹² Freke wrote in the parish register that her grandson Percy 'was borne Aprill 28, i700 att Castle Mahon', a date later confirmed in the first remembrance (below, p. 199). The entry in the Bandon church register of St Peter is incomplete: '1700 May ... Frake Piersey, son of Mr Ralph' (SG, IR/Reg/28087 in IR/R31).

¹¹³ Judith was the older daughter of Judith and Robert Austen; Mrs Willis was Freke's maid. Henry Fish, the husband of Margaret, was buried in West Bilney on 23 May 1702.

¹¹⁴ Tisick or tissick, an obsolete and dialect form of phthisic: chronic cough, asthma, or tuberculosis.

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of June, above two hundred milles in fowre days.¹¹⁵ Wher tho I found him very ill, yett I humbly thank my good God hee was well enough to chid mee, tho nott seen me in neer three years before. This, tho itt was nott kind, I expected itt. EF

Jully 9 I left the Bath and with Mr Frek came to London the i2, twellf, of Jully; **25** and I came home by my self to Billney the 25 of Jully.

30 And Mr Frek, his man, and my maid Mrs Evans came home to Billney the 30 of Jully, where and in England Mr Frek staid till Agust i8, i702.

i70i, Jully i8 My son Frek had his second son borne, which was christned by the name of John, the grandfathers name of the mothers side.¹¹⁶ To whom God Allmighty give his grace and blesing too, and make him an honest, good man as my deer father was, and thatt they may both live to be as old and as healthy and fortunat is the dayly prayer of Eli. Frek. <Butt he now lies buryed in the vault of Billney, shott to death in London.>

i70i, September 30 On the 30 of September my deer and only child left Ireland with sickness and given over, as I was told, by six phisitions, and by my Gods greatt mercy to him and mee landed safe att Minhead, a seaportt in Devonshire, just before a most greviouss storme.

October 6 He came to the Bath about the sixth of October, wher he staid and drunk the Bathe watters and bathed for aboute five weeks, by which he found greatt good. For which mercy my God make me ever thankfull. Eli. Frek

[fol. 6ov]

i70i, November 8 November the 8 I thank God my son was soe well recovered as to come to London with my deer Lady Norton in the stage coach, where they both stayed nigh a fortnight.

22 And both my son and my deer sister Norton came to Billney the 22 of November and staid both with mee till the i9 of January following.

January ig God be praised my son was finly recovered when both my son and sister left Mr Freke sick in bed of an ague and goute. **2i** And my self was taken with a voylentt ague for aboutt a fortnight too.

¹¹⁵ Without the turnpike system developed in the eighteenth century, travelling this distance in four days would have been very difficult. By 1700 the fastest journey between London attd Bath, almost 110 miles, took fifty hours (Eric Pawson, *Transport and Economy* [London, 1977], 288).

¹¹⁶ In the parish register Freke adds that her grandson was born 'in the Parrish of Rathbarry neer Ross Carberry'. The Rathbarry church is now in ruins and its register lost; none of the Frekes of this period appears in the Rosscarbery register.

Thus when wee most wantted a friend, we had none butt my great and good God, which never yett left me. E Frek

29 Aboutt this time my son left London with my Lady Norton and wentt to Bristoll for a shipp for Ireland. Where att Sir George Nortons att Abotts Leigh my son lay wind-bound till the eight of March, most remarkable for the death of our good King William.

i70i/2, March 8 Hee dyed on Sunday aboutt ten a clock and on Innocentt Day, as his good Queen Mary did aboutt five years before him. Our good Protestant King William dyed to the loss of the whole nation. He was kild by falling from his horse, which brok his coller bone; which being ill handled by his surgions kild him.¹¹⁷

i3 Fryday my deer son landed att Balltimoor on his own land in Ireland and continued his health well recovered, and came the next day to Rath Barry; **i5** and Sunday wentt to Kingsaile to his wife, being the i5 of March.¹¹⁸ For this greatt mercy God make me thankfull.

March 25 Thom White run away from me with neer threescore pound; carried away all his goods and stock, and I never knew itt, tho he lived next doore to mee, and left his wife and three children to be kept by the parrish.¹¹⁹ E Frek

i702, June 9 Mr Frek and I wentt to London to my deer sister Austins, where my husband took up of my mony in Irish debenters outt of the East Indy Company a thousand and fowre pounds to buy more Irish land with.¹²⁰ Att my sister Austins I staid a full month very ill with my tissick, nott able to fetch my breath or stirr cross the room butt as I were led by two people, tho I were blouded twenty ounces for itt till I were laid for dead.

Jully 9 Then by advice I wentt into the country. I wentt to my deer sister Nortons to Abotts Leigh neer Bristoll to accompany Mr Frek to

¹¹⁷ On 21 February near Hampton Court William was thrown from his horse. The London Gazette (3788) reports he fell while hunting, as do both Evelyn (v. 491) and Luttrell (v. 145), though another tradition states his horse stumbled in a molehill while he was riding. Debilitated by earlier infirmities, he died on Sunday morning, 8 March 1701/2. Mary did, in fact, die on Innocents Day, 28 December 1694; in 1702 that day fell on a Monday, the day of ill omen throughout the year (above, p. 37 n. 1). Asterisks in the margins indicate Freke intended to shift the account of the king's accident and the 25 March entry from their original positions in the manuscript on fol. 61r.

¹¹⁸ The small village of Baltimore, twenty miles southwest of Rosscarbery, is located on a harbour sheltered by Sherkin Island. On 31 May 1703 Percy Freke paid £1,809 for the forfeited estate of Edmond Galway, including the town of Baltimore (266 acres), Cony Island and Harbour's Mouth (51 acres), and Rathmore (404 acres) (*Fifteenth Annual Report*, iii. 393).

¹¹⁹ Thomas and Anne White apparently lived in the White House, later occupied by Henry Cross. Their daughter Elizabeth was baptized in West Bilney on 16 March 1700/1.

¹²⁰ Government debentures issued by the Forfeitures Act on estates lost by James II's supporters; see P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England* (London, 1967), 393–6.

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his shipp, wher Mr Frek staid with mee till the eighteen of Agust.

Agust i8 On which day, being Tuesday, hee took shiping att the Pill to goe for Ireland and caried with him above a thousand pounds of mine given me by my deer father, Mr Ralph Freke. 20 By Gods mercy Mr Frek landed safe and well att Watterford in Ireland; wher affter resting himself he went to Cork, and soe to Rathbarry, wher I humbly thank God he found his young familly well. E Freke

[fol. 61r]

i702, September 9 September the Ninth, Wensday, I left Abotts Leigh and my deer sister Norton, wher I had bin kindly treated by her and Sir George for two months.

i2 I left my deer sister att the Bath and my cosin Betty Austin, whom I brought to Leigh to her; and I came to London from Bath the i2 of September.¹²¹

ig of September I came to West Billney home very ill affter I had bin abroad aboutt ig or i4 weeks, and where I have kept my chamber till this end of November. In all which time neither my husband or son have binn soe kind to lett me heer a word from either of them, which has much aded to my greatt misery and sickness. Only my cosin John Frek sentt me word thatt aboutt the 25 of September Mr Frek was goeing to Dublin and thatt I must immediatly retturne him more for his Irish purchas above fowre hundred pounds, which I desired my cosin to doe on my creditt to give my son. The which my cosin Frek writt me word he had done the i5 of Octtober last. All which has nott deserved a letter of thanks from either of them, tho now the end of November. Eliz Frek

Octtober 3i I arested Goode Fish, who was endeavouring to show mee such another trick.¹²² Which by doeing, tho I have gott noe mony, yett I have gott the trouble of three farms into my hand and her raged regimentt outt of my house November i6. Which by the help of God I will never partt with my house againe for any welth in this world; I have soe suffered for this two years parting with itt. Which being larg and my husband allwais liveing from mee and I all alone encouraged me to actt this folly, which I have deerly paid for. Eli. Freke, i702

November 2i I had a letter from Mr Frek datted then that he had finshed his purchas of my Lord Sidnyes land, which he said cost him

¹²¹ Elizabeth, the younger daughter of Judith and Robert Austen.

¹²² Margaret Fish, whose husband, Henry, had died earlier that year.

three thousand pounds.¹²³ Of which he took frome me of itt this sumer a thousand pound, viz., last Jully, and fowre hundred pounds the last Octtober, all in Irish debenters, two hundred of which I sentt my son Frek, and had thanks from nither of them. E Frek

[fol. 61v]

i702, Novembr 28 I made an end of new laying the court before the house, which was 5 weeks adoeing and took upp aboutt twenty fowre load of green flaggs.¹²⁴

December 2d I had a letter from Mr Frek outt of Ireland from Dublin, and the first I had in three month of him since the last of Agust. EF

22 I levied a ffine for to pass away all my right of thirds to my son outt of Rathbarry, &c., to the vallue of three hundred pounds a yeare and gave him fowr hundred pounds besids towards his purchas of Dirriloan, for which I never had his thanks.¹²⁵ I passed this fine before Sir John Turner and Allderman Turner.¹²⁶ E Freke

i703, May 8 May the eight my deerst sister the Lady Norton came downe to mee to West Billney outt of her greatt pitty and charraty; left Sir George and her fine house and came to doe pennance with mee, who had kept my bed and chamber for seven month before. The very sight of my deer sister revived me and restor'd me againe. EF

i703, June the first My deerst sister Nortton left Billney and wentt to London affter she had done pennance with me heer three weeks, when she took the trouble of carring me with her to the Bath. This kind visett God grantt I may never forgett in her whillst I beare the name of Eliz Frek; itt did soe revive ye soule.

May 7, i703 I had a letter from Mr Frek outt of Ireland to desire me to meett him att the Bath and thatt hee would then come home and live with me comfortably att Billney. Which, tho I had kept my

¹²³ Among the estates of Justin MacCarthy forfeited after James II's ill-fated Irish campaign were those 'granted to Henry Viscount Sydney, ... by deeds of lease and release dated and and 3rd November, 1698, for the sum of 1,031 l. 1 s. 6 d. conveyed to the said Freake. – Inrolled 10th March, 1702 [/3] ' (Fifteenth Annual Report, iii. 386).

¹²⁴ Flagstones.

¹²⁵ On 31 May 1703 Percy Freke paid £700 for the forfeited land of 'Colonel John Berry and his sons', including 'The towns and lands of Derrylone and Knock, 164 A. & 8 P[erch]' in the parish of Kilkerranmore, near Clonakilty (*Fifteenth Annual Report*, iii. 393; Books of Survey and Distribution, Lisle Parish, County Cork, fol. 66).

¹²⁶ John Turner (c. 1632–1712), the oldest son of Charles and Elizabeth Turner of North Elmham, was mayor of King's Lynn. Knighted in 1684, Turner also represented Lynn in many sessions of parliament. His youngest brother, Charles (c. 1648–1711), a merchant and lawyer, also served as mayor in 1694 and 1706 (*HC*, iii. 613; Carthew, iii. 129; Hamon Le Strange, *Norfolk Official Lists* [Norwich, 1890], 195). bed and chamber neer seven months, I made a hard shift to doe. Wher and att Abots Leigh I impatiently atended his promise, tho very ill; butt from thatt day to this, being the fourteenth of September, I never heard one word of him or from him whether live or dead. This is true. Which with many more such triks I beg God to forgive him. Eliz Frek

June the 3d I wentt to London to meett Mr Frek and make up all accounts with my cosin John Freke. Wher outt of five hundred pound bank in the stock of mine I paid him for Mr Frek debt due to him three hundred eighty six pounds, eleven shillings, and fowr pence (the rest I took for my own use, being ii3–9–0 and the use from last June i702,) and which was all I ever gott of my own fifteen hundred pounds given me by my deer father and my improvement of itt for i8 years. E Freke

Jully i I went to Bath of a fools errant to meet Mr Frek, wher I stayed ten days, viz., till the i3 of July.

[fol. 62r]

i703/4, March i4 I bought my son Freks youngest son call'd Mr Ralph Frek, my deer father and deer sons name, an estate in the parliamentt funds of the exchecker of above a hundred pounds a yeare for ninety nine years from this our Lady Day i704 commenceing, which cost me above fiffteen hundred pounds; which I doe give to my deer grandchild as a mite of the much I have received of my deer father, Mr Ralph Frek, who bears his name.¹²⁷

i6 I left my two sisters in London and came home for West Billney with Mr Freke. i8 Wher we came a Saterday, being the eighteenth of March, affter he had left me and this place for neer two years; and for neer a twellve month of the time I never heard of him or from him, he being in Ireland. E Frek

i704, March 25 I received a letter from my daughter outt of Ireland how ill my son was of a dropsey and that his leggs pitted very much.

27 I writt to them both to hasten over to me to seek for help in England, being his own native country, wher I beg of my God to restore him to me and his children. E Frek

Jully 25, i704, St James Day, Tuesday I wentt up into my uper closett of an errantt; when coming downe the second paire of staires, my head was taken, and I fell from the topp allmost to the bottom, neer twenty high stairs. Which as itt stund me soe, for a time I were

¹²⁷ On 24 February 1703/4 royal assent was given to a Loan Act administered by the exchequer; the bulk of the loan was to be raised through the sale of ninety-nine year annuities paying an interest of 6.6 per cent from 25 March 1704 (Dickson, *Financial Revolution*, 60). Freke indicates in the parish register that Ralph, her third grandson, was born 'in the parish of Rathbarry' on 20 July 1703.

as dead till Mr Freke (heering the noise of my fall and noe complaintt) came outt of his bed in his shirtt (aboutt nine a clock in the morning); and calling company to him, I were by fowre men taken up allmost dead - my head and face against the wall bruised to peices, my back to all judgmentt allmost brok, and the cupp of my leftt knee brok. The voylence of this my fall struck outt my check teeth -9, that strong as they were fell outt of my mouth, roots and all, into my hand - and brok outt my other teeth <in margin: eight teeth>. The second day affter I was lett bloud, when I were struck five or six times in severall places before I could bleed a dropp. Itt was above a fortnight before I had this dreadfull fall, butt I were forewarn'd of itt in my dreame and told Mr Frek and my maid of itt, [fol. 62v] viz., thatt I were in my uper closett on a high lader wher, turning aboutt to call my maid for something, the lader and I fell downe; and I were taken up dead; and tho I came to my selfe, I should live miserably till I dyed. Which I truly fear will likwise prove true to me, I being the a fortnight since my fall soe very ill in my head and back as thatt I am a sad prospectt to behold. And tho my good and mercyfull God has restored me againe to liffe, for which mercy I am most humbly thankfull, yett the effects of itt I expect to carry with me to my grave when ever my God shall make me soe happy to take me to himselfe and release me of my miseryes. Eliz. Freke

i704, May i8-i9 Mr Frek was taken violenttly ill of a sore throatt which turned him into a violentt feaver; when I watched with him eight nights together, expecting for above a month every day his death; the violence of which turn'd him into the goutt for another month affter itt broke in one of his feett. Wher for above three monthes he was confined to his bed and chaire, butt by Gods mercy to him and me hee is now restored, and this day, being the sixth of Agust, is able to goe to church to thank my God for his greatt mercy to him.

I fell downe the greatt stairs, as above mention'd, and am still very ill with this my fall Agust ye i8. EF

July 26 My son, Mr Ralph Freke, with his wife and his two sons Percy and John Frek took shiping att the Cove in Cork in the Shoram friggatt, a man of warr; the captains name was Pasenger.¹²⁸ They sett saile a Wensday in the evening and landed att Minhead.

Agust 3d From thence took a marchantt and came to the Pill neer

¹²⁸ William Passenger, commissioned a captain on 20 May 1695, is listed in 1704 as commander of HMS *Shoreham*, a rate 5 ship of 145 men and thirty-two guns stationed during this period on the 'Coast of Ireland' (*Commissioned Sea Officers*, 349; PRO, ADM 8/9). The log of the *Shoreham* indicates the ship was in Waterford about this time but not in Bristol. The entry for 21 July 1704 does mention, however, 'haveing under our Convoy' a sloope bound for Bristoll'; on August 2 the log notes eleven sails 'under our convoy' and bound for Bristol (PRO, ADM 52/287/5). Bristoll, wher by Gods mercy and goodness to me they safe landed the Thursday sennight affter. From whence my deerst sister the Lady Norton fetched them in her [fol. 63r] coach to her with her chilldren and servants, wher they all staied att Sir George Nortons att Abots Leigh and rested themselvs for aboute six weeks – my deer son, and his wife, and my two deer grandchilldren Percy Freke and John Frek, with their three servants.

8 The eight of Agust my deer sister Norton presented my daughter in law with a necklace of a hundred pounds to be kept affter her use for a Grace or Ralph, her godson and my deer sons third son, whom I beg God to bless with long life and make him as good and as old as my own deer father.

30 Mr Frek (Agust the thirtyeth, Wensday,) sitting in a chaire a little off from the greatt barne doore whilst they putt in a load of barley, the cart unloaded withoutt any provocation to the horses; they run the cartt in the twinkling of an eye to the very chaire Mr Frek sate in, who very hardly gott off from itt butt itt was broke all to little peices, and a new chaire. This was a greatt deliverance and mercy to him and me. God grantt I may be thankfull for itt my whole life. Eliz Frek

i704, Septembr 6 Wensday, September the sixth, aboutt twelve or one a clock one of my best houses in the parish, in which Jams Wallbutt lived and sold alle, by some accidentt of carlesness was in aboutt three howres time burnt downe to the ground. Tho aboundance of people endeavering to squench itt, yett the wind being soe high and the fire soe firce, ther was nott saved the vallue of twenty shillings by the man and his wife with eight small children, which I fear must all come to the parish; and my loss in the house easylye vallued att two hundred pounds. The last year I lost neer a hundred pounds by this same man and now must, I feare, loose a great deale more due to us.

i8 September the i8, Monday, my deer sister the Lady Norton with my son, and daughter, and my two deer grandchildren Mr Percy and Mr John Frek went to the Bath, where they staide till the twentieth sixth of October.

October 28 Saterday, Octobr 28, my deer son and all his familly came up to London, wher in the fattall lodgings of Mr Mosson they staid in till the sixteenth of November.

Novembr i8 Satterday, November the i8, my deer son, his wife, and my two deer grandchildren, and their three servants came to Billney affter they had bin neer fowre months in England, my deer son loaded with his dropsicall humor and grown soe big and fatt with itt I hardly knew him.

[fol. 63v]

i704/5, January i January the first I beged of Mr Frek to give my deerst son fifty pounds and a years intrest for a New Years guift, which he gave him; and I gave him ten pounds for a New Years guiftt. EF

2d The nextt day Mr Frek and I in my chamber speaking of itt by our selves, only my maide who had lived a greatt while with mee, my daughter in her own chamber stood harkning att the doore, flew into the chamber to us, and told Mr Freke, her father in law, hee might be asshamed to speake of such a triffell as thatt guift before my servantt; and she said she had a good mind to kick her downe staires and said she would be gone iff I did not turne her outt of doors. Soe affter I were forced to discharge her and take a stranger aboutt my selfe affter she had lived three tims with me, and the last time two years want one month. My daughter was neer two month and never said to her father or me good night or good morrow.

i705, May the 7 Munday, the 7 of May, my deer son, his wife, and my two deer grandchilldren left me allone att Billney and wentt away for London, Mr Frek carring them all up att his charge, as he did eight of [them] heer half a yeare; in which time I offten beged of my daughter the youngst child, her son John,¹²⁹ finding him noe favourite, and I loved him to my soule because he was the picture of my deerst son. Butt shee as cruelly deneyed him to me and caryed him away from me, which turned me to a violentt sickness for above six week I thought would have binn my last.

May io Nottwithstanding this and severall other cruelltys to me, I sent my daughter up to London (paid on sight by my cosin John Frek) a hundred pounds to ease ther expences in London. For which and ther half year being with me att Billney, eight of them, servants, and horses, and all maner [fol. 64r] of bills, pothocarys, letters, smiths, neer twenty pound in corde, &c., 5 asses, and a horse to drive them to Bristoll – all which never deserved thanks from them.

i705, May 27 While Munday, the 27 of May, I writt to this my said daughter for God sake to carry my two deer grandchildren outt of London, for elce there I should loose them, since she would nott be soe kind to trust me with either of them (soe longe as till she went for Ireland). Butt weer never thought fitt to be answered by letter or other ways, itt being neer two month since.

June io June the tenth, Sunday, aboutt two a clock my deerest grandchild I had soe offten beged for, being like my own deer son, neer fowre years old (and in my eyes the lovelyest child was ever seen by mee), by name Mr John Frek, he [was] with his brother Mr Percy

¹²⁹ John was two years older than Ralph.

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Frek and Mr Molson ther landlord two sons wher they lodged.¹³⁰ Wher Thom Molson found my sons pockett pistolls charged and primed and soe left by his man Perryman.¹³¹ Which pistoll the lad took and discharged by accident in the head of my deerst and best beloved grandchild Mr John Frek. The bullett wentt in att the eye; and tho all the means of London was used, yett noe help.

June i3 Soe thatt on Wensday, the thirteenth of June, aboutt 5 a clock in the morning my deer babe gave up his soule to my God, who would nott have taken root and branch from me had itt bin left by my cruell <deleted: daughter>. Butt God forgive them <orginally: her>. And I shall ever lamentt itt, for I had sett my whole hartt on itt, which itt has brok thatt and me for any comfortt in this life. E Frek

June i8 Munday, June the eighteenth, my deerst grandchild Mr John Frek was brought downe from London in a herse to me to be heer intered in Billney chancell, wher he lyes att the uper end, and where, God willing, I will lye by him as fast as I can gett to him.¹³² I lost my child to show their undutifullness and cruellty to me, which God forgive them <originally: her>. E Frek

[fol. 64v]

i705, June i8 My deerst grandchild Mr John Frek thatt day hee was inter'd in Billny chancell, being June the eighteenth, a Munday nightt, was three yeare and eleven months old. Hee had an apeerance of above two hundred of my neighbours att his funerall, all which attended from Sunday one a clock till ten att night. And soe from Munday ten a clock till eight att night I kept his passing bell goeing them two days till he was enter'd. Oh, my harde fatte; I am ruined and undone for my child, and I doubt shall never enjoy my self againe. E Freke

June 2i Thursday, June 2i, my deer son and his son Percy Frek and his <deleted: cruell> wife (affter the murder of my deer child) left London and wentt to the Bath to divert themselves. Shee staid with her chilldren six week in London against my consent or all I could

¹³⁰ The fatal lodgings were at Norfolk Street, which is not included in the rates of the Dutchy Liberty Royall Ward from 25 May 1705 to 24 May 1706; the name Molson does not appear among the residents listed in the area next to the church that would include the unnamed street located between Arundel and Surrey Streets.

¹³¹ The will Ralph Freke drew up in September 1715 gave his 'Trusty Old Servant' Richard Perryman £100 and a suit of mourning 'for his long and faithful service done me and his indefatigable care and diligence in his tendance of me in this long time of Sicknesse' (PRO, PROB 11/563/100).

¹³² 1705 Johanes filius Radolphi Freke Armig: sepultus erat Juny i8'. Elsewhere in the register Freke adds that he 'was most unfortunatly shott in the head' and 'kild Sunday the io of June and was heer att Billney buryed the i8 of June just 4 years of Age'.

writt or say. In all which time Mr Frek, her husbands father (who lay very ill of the goutt just by her), my daughter never soe much as sentt or came to see him, tho she had bin, I think, very kindly used in his house half a year just before and all her familly till the night before she left London. Nor did she permitt his surviving grandchild to see him or ask his blesing before she carryed him away to the Bath for Ireland. For which with all her other inhumanityes to me I begg God to forgive her, butt I will never see her more.

Jully 7 Satterday, Jully the 7, Mr Frek returned from London, wher he staied above two months. He came home much swell'd with his gout and dropsey and in an extream malloncally for the fattall loss of this our deer babe, which he had too much as well as I sett his whole hartt on itt.

(May 7) Memorandum. I forgott thatt May the seventh to enter heer Gods greatt mercy to me, which was my sons cook man Mr Peryman, thatt morning they weare all goeing for London, as on the other side. The said servant man took one of my sons pockett pistolls charged with a brace of bulletts which went off in his hand amongst a room full of people who came to take their leaves of his master and Mr Frek. He was standing att the kiching table whilst the rest of the servants and tenants were ther att breakfast. Itt gras'd on one of ther ears, the iron scowring rod like to kill his, my sons, groom. The room was full of smoak, and the bulletts rebound all aboutt and hurtt noe body. My God gave them this signall warning before they weere charged to shout my deerst grandchild Mr John Freke, whose hard fate I shall ever lamentt and his death, and, I hope, [be] thankfull to God for the first – above – deliverance. Eliz Freke

[fol. 65r]

i705, September ig My son Frek and his wife, son, and servants took shiping in a man of warr (Sunday morning), Sir Charls Rich master of itt, [and] came back againe to Pill on Monday.¹³³ From whence my Lady Norton fetch'd them to Leigh. They tooke shiping againe on Wensday in the same ship and by Gods blesing arived safe in Cork or Kingsaile on Fryday nightt, **24**. For which mercy the great God make me ever thankfull.

My son has nott bin soe dutyfull to writt to me one word since I buryed his child the i8 of June, and itt is now the fifth of December,

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¹³³ Sir Charles Rich, the son of Robert Rich, baronet of Rose Hall, Beccles, Suffolk, was commissioned a captain on 12 January 1702/3. In September 1705 he was the commander of 155 men on the thirty-six gun *Feversham*, which 'Attends on ye Coast of Ireland' (*Commissioned Sea Officers*, 377; John Charnock, *Biographia Navalis*, 6 vols. [London, 1794–8], iii. 280–1; PRO, ADM 8/9).

because I wrott him word of some mistaks he had commited. Tho I gave him a hundred pounds in May together, and he and his familly were wellcom to me halfe a yeare together att Billney; wher Mr Frek gave him fiffty pounds for a New Years guiftt, and I supplyed him with whatt ever mony he or his familly of eight persons had occation for whilst with mee; and Mr Frek discharged all his bills for doctters, apothycary, letters, horse meat and on my desire carryed them all up to London on his own charge and sett them all in their lodgings. For all which neither hee nor my self have had soe much as thanks from him or his wife. This is true. Eliz Frek

i705, Decembr 25 December the 25 Mr Frek goeing to church to the sacramentt with me complained of a shortness of his breath. **January i, i705/6** Which soe increased on him by New Years Day (when he had all his tenants att Billney Hall to dine with him) that he could butt just goe downe to them and up stairs againe with a violentt astma, every howre like to be choack'd.

Febuary 2i And thus he lay under Docter Shorts hand of Berry, Doctter Barkers hand of Lin, and Mr Goodwins,¹³⁴ with there apothycarys, till the one and twentyeth of Febuary, Thursday, sitting up in a chaire day and night for above two months, and never hardly wentt into a bed or gott the least of sleep butt two or three a night to watch with him, holding his head behind his chair in a fine hancher or napkin for feare of his being choaked. The Docter Thomas Shortt had then given him over as past all cure, when I sentt for them againe to as little purpose, he being with neer ten weeks setting up and noe sleep all the whille was soe swell'd up with his belly, stomack, and leggs thatt I every day expectted when he should break with this timpany, as did all the docters.¹³⁵

Thursday, 2i of Febuary In the evening Mr Frek wentt, contrary to my will, soe latte to Saffum in a sad condition with his astma

¹³⁴ Several generations of the Short family practised medicine in Bury St Edmunds. Thomas Short could be the son of the physician Peregrine Short, who died in 1679, or of his brother Thomas, a Bury St Edmunds physician who died in 1688; he may also have been a son of William Short, the MD who had matriculated at St John's College in 1650, or related to the physician Henry Short (S. H. A. Hervey, *Biographical List of Boys Educated at King Edward VI. Free Grammar School, Bury St. Edmunds. From 1550 to 1900*, Suffolk Green Books, 13 [Bury St Edmunds, 1908], 350, 351; Venn, iv. 68; Wallis, 541). Robert Barker, an MD educated at Cambridge and Leyden, is listed in the King's Lynn land tax of 1703 as a physician dwelling in the Sedgeford Lane Ward. He was made a freeman of Lynn in 1710–11 and died on 3 April 1717 at the age of fifty-three in Middleton (NRO, KL/C47/26-34, 45; *Freemen of Lynn*, 218; Blomefield, ix. 30). John Goodwyn, a surgeon with property in Chequer Ward, became in 1702–3 a freeman of Lynn 'In respect of several cures of poor people which he had affected'. Later a mayor and alderman, he remained a surgeon there in the 1720s (NRO, KL/C47/26-34, 45; *Freemen of Lynn*, 210, 226, 228; Le Strange, *Norfolk Official Lists*, 195–6).

¹³⁵ Tympany: swelling or tumour.

and dropsey and putt himself into Mr Shelldrick hand and Doctter Ducketts. $^{13^{\rm 6}}$

23 Febuary Where Satteday, Febuary the 23, I came to him, where I found him in a most sad condition by takeing a most violent purge the night before perscribed him by Doctter Barker.

Febuary 25 Sunday night or Munday morning his dropsey brok in his right legg with a continuall droping, when itt run for above a month cleer water, judged by the doctters and a apothycary to be aboutt nine gallons.

Saterday, Febuary 30 Febuary the thirtyeth¹³⁷ I sentt againe to Bery to Docter Thomas Shortt and to Doctter Duckett and to [fol. 65v] Doctter Cosins and Mr Shelldrick, all which judged itt (by sight of him and the violentt humour to his legg) imposible for Mr Frek to live a week in March, viz., to the equanoction.¹³⁸ In all which time he never wentt into a bed or sleptt butt sett up in his chaire. All which time I sett up with him till I brought my self in a very ill condition; and my left legg swell'd and broke likewise, butt nott as my deer cosins did.

Thursday, March i4 Thursday, March i4, I wentt to Mr Lifs with Mr Frek for ayre for him, wher he was soe rude: tho he had severall beds in his house, [he] lett us all sett up for fowr nights and never soe much as offered me a bed to rest my selfe upon.¹³⁹

March i8 Soe thatt on Monday, the eightenth of March, I came to Mr Ibotts to board with the minester of the parish att ten shillings per week our selves and five our 4 servants.¹⁴⁰ In all which time Mr Frek never wentt into a bed to sleep till the day I came to Mr Ebots, viz., the i8 of March. Wher with the mortification of his legg he never rose outt of itt butt with the help of 4 men to make his bed for neer five

¹³⁶ Tobias Sheldrake, licensed to practice medicine in Norfolk, signed the Articles of Subscription on 13 June 1692 (NRO, DN/Sub 1/1). The first account of expenditures related to Percy Freke's sickness and death states Ducket was 'a minister who practised in phisick' (W, fol. 36v); either Nathaniel or Peter Ducket, who were both educated at Cambridge, would have most likely provided care. As rector of nearby Tittleshall and Wellingham, Nathaniel was more accessible than his brother Peter, rector of the Suffolk parish of Huntingfield (Venn, ii. 71).

¹³⁷ An obvious instance of Freke's occasional misdating; both her previous entry and the calendar confirm that Saturday was 2 March.

¹³⁸ Henry Cozens was a surgeon in Swaffham, where the parish register indicates he lived with his wife Mary until his death in 1720; notices in 1712 promoting his practice appear in the *Norwich Gazette*.

¹³⁹ The only Lifes in the Swaffham parish register are Nathaniel and his wife, Mary; he was at the time twenty-one, having matriculated three years earlier at Pembroke, and would be high sheriff of Norfolk in 1721 (Venn, iii. 84; Mason, i. 536).

¹⁴⁰ Thomas Ibbot, educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, became vicar of Swaffham in 1696; earlier he had received the rectorship of Beechamwell (NRO, DN/Sub 4/1 and DN/Sub 4/4; Blomefield, vi. 225).

weeks together; and every howre I expected his last, as did all his docters, surgion, and apothycary.

Munday, March 25, i706 Mr Frek in all hast had his vault in the church under the chancell begun by Mr Towrs order with all hands and carts could be gott for himself to be inter'd in and att the same time order'd Mr Towrs to writ to his son to come over to him.¹⁴¹ Who immediately did on the third of Aprill i706 leave his own house att Rathbarry and by Gods greatt mercy to me came safe to Saffum on Sunday night late with my cosin Thomas Crosby; **Sunday, April i8** when, I thank God, he found his father alive tho very ill. In this vault I have inter'd my little, deer grandchild John Frek, who was the tenth of June last murder'd in London by a pistoll shott into his head.

Aprill the My daughter was brought to bed of another lusty boy in the room of thatt which God took from me, and he is named John Redman Freke. He was borne att Rathbary.¹⁴²

May the 9 I being in greatt tormentt with my legg brok in two places with six month attendance and watching with my deer husband, I with his leave wentt to Billney to rest and ease my legg and left Mr Frek att Mr Ebbott with my son; my cossin Crosby; Mr Freks two men, viz., Petter Good and James Minican; and my sons man; and a woman. All to attend my deer husband whilst I wentt the ninth of May, Thursday, with my maid home butt sentt or heard from him every day. Wher I staid, my deer cosin being tolarable well when I left him, till Satterday, the twentieth fifth of May. In which time of my unfortunatt absence I found att my returne (I fear by neglectt) his legg mortifyed and perished. For which God forgive the acttors of itt. And of which he dyed in a momentt Sunday, the second of June, and none by him butt mee, wretched E Freke.¹⁴³

i706, June the second The second of June i706 my deere husband departed this life, being Sunday aboutt three a clock in the affternoone, in a fitt of the astma. And tho I had my son and cosin Crosby and fowre servants in the house constantly attending him, yett att the fattall houre of my life and his death, I had nott one to help me in the house butt were frightned outt of my life, his soe suden leaveing of me and I nott able to hold him.

June 7 Fryday, June the seventh, I buried my deer husband in the vault under the chancell in Billney, which vault hee dereicted the

⁴⁴ Henry Towers of North Runcton, one of the three witnesses of Percy Freke's will and later Elizabeth Freke's bitter enemy; he had married Mary Spelman in Narborough on 23 August 1670.

¹⁴² In the West Bilney register Freke dates the birth 14 April.

¹⁴³ Asterisks in the margins and the marginal notes 'heer to bee inserted but forgott by me' and 'to bee inserted three leavs backward' (fol. 68r) indicate Freke intended the 9 May entry to be placed here.

makeing in his longe sickness;¹⁴⁴ and itt was begun the 25 of March, expectting the presentt use of itt. I being distracted for my loss, my <deleted: good> cosin Mr John Frek, one of my testators, with mee came from London to doe this kind and charitable office for mee. I gave him a gentlemans buriall, and I had all the [fol. 66r] gentry and neighbours in the country of my 25 years <originally: 20> acquaintance to atend it and severall hundreds I did nott know. Itt cost me with the makeing of his vault the lyes in neer eightt <originally: fowr> hundred pounds. And ther lyes inter'd in double lead, and wher, God willing, I will lay my unhapy and miserable carcass by him when God please to call mee to himselfe. Eliz Freke

June 24 Midsomer Day I wentt to London in my own coach with my son (and cosin Crosby), wher I seldom saw him, tho I gave him a hundred pounds to buy him mourning and three of my best horses I had; and I sentt my sons wife a gound and peticoatt cost me neer thirty pounds, as my sister who paid for itt can tell. And I bore all their charges both att Saffum and att Billny and till they came to London with my cosin Crosbys, to whom I gave likewise mourning to the vallue of fourteen pounds and ten guinies in mony. For all which I never had from my son soe much as thanks or to take his leave of me when he left London.

Jully 4th I wentt the 4th of Jully, being Thursday, with my cosin John Frek, Mr Freks executor, to prove my deer husbands last will in which he left me all his estate unsettled for my life in England, and in Ireland, and in the bank exchecker and gave me att my own disposall all his personall estate. And with itt twelve hundred pounds fell to me undisposed of in London, which I am putting more to itt to buy an anuity of a hundred pounds a year for the youngest of my grandchildren, as I have now done for my second grandchild named Ralph Frek.¹⁴⁵ Both which I beg of God to spare their lives and make them his servants.

Jully 22 I left London, being Munday, and with my deer sister Austen in my own coach came downe to Billney affter I had staid almost a month att her house in London. 24 Shee was soe good and kind to commisratt my condition and come downe with me to Billney

¹⁴⁴ Freke added later in the parish register, 'My deer Husband Percy Freke Esqr departed this life June the second i706 att Saffum and was Interr'd in the vaultt under the Chancell in Lead June the 7 and left wretched me his unhappy widdow Elizabeth Freke to survive him and ever to Lamentt him'.

¹⁴⁵ Annuities for ninety-nine years were offered in February 1705/6 for 25 March 1706; another offering was authorized for 25 March 1707 (Dickson, *Financial Revolution*, 60–1). The miscellaneous documents note that Freke bought an annuity in 1706 for £1,500 (below, p. 318); on 31 March 1707 she also paid her cousin £100 for transacting exchequer business (below, p. 94).

Wensday, the 24 of July, tho she had hardly bin to venter her self in a coach for 7 years beffore. This was an unexpected kindness received by EF.

***i704, July** Now to sume up my two years misfortunes since St Jams Day, Jully 25, i704, which day I fell down the greatt staires and were taken up allmost dead. With which fall I were forced to keep my bed and chamber severall monthes, and then with which fall I knock'd outt eight or nine of my best teeth, viz., all butt three in the upper sid of my mouth.

June io, i705 Then June the tenth my deer grandchild Mr John Frek was murdered in London by one of my sons pockett pistols which his cook Peryman left charged. He was sentt downe to Billney and lyes entered in the vault under the chancell. EF

[fol. 66v]

June 2d, i706 Then June 2d, my sons birth day, I lost my deer husband affter he had laine above six month under the hands of doctters and surgions in a dropsey brok in his legg and mortifyed, which with a violentt astma carryed him off and left miserable me allways to lamentt him affter I have lived his wife thirty three years. I buryed him in the vault under Billny chancell, caryed by eight gentellmen, as on the other back side of this leafe.

i706, Agust 6 I wentt up to my closett for a bottle of wyne and fell downe my closett stairs; wher iff my deer sister Austin had not bin by accidentt att the foot of the stairs to brek my fall, I had bin kild or ruined for ever. For which great mercy the greatt God make me ever thankfull to him for this and all his other mercys to mee, Eliza. Freke.

Octtber io Fryday, Octtober the tenth, Jams Wallbutt dyed of a bruse received by a cow at Winch. He was a bitter underhand enimy to me; and affter hee had the cheating of mee for neer fourteen years, in which time I lost by him above five hundred pounds, he himselfe dyed and left his eight children to be provided for and keptt by the parrish, and himself was by the parrish buryed in Billny church yard.¹⁴⁶ Eliz. Freke

i706, November i4 November the i4 (and my fattall weding day) I renewed my coppy hold att Pentney given by Mr Freks will to mee. The present maire of Linn came to my house at Billney (Mr Charls Turner), wher he kept court; for and when in payment I paid him

⁴⁶ He was buried on 13 October 1706; his wife Martha, on 20 July 1706. The West Bilney register includes the baptisms of nine children and the burials of two.

downe for itt neer fourteen pounds as by aquitance.¹⁴⁷ EF

November 23 I had a letter thatt my son Frek was in Dorsettshire affter I had bin for neer two month frightned allmost outt of my sences fearing he had bin lost att sea. Neither my sister Norton or any friend could give me any account of him till my good cosin John Frek heard the day before he writt to me he was safe in England. The great and good God forgive him and lay nott this sin to his charge.

November 25 He left London the ninthteen of Jully in all hast for Ireland to his familly ther; and from thatt time hee has spentt in runing about the country by the opertunity of three of my best horses I gave him, which with a ioo l., hundred pounds, I gave him to buy mourning for himselfe and sent his wife a new coulered suitt cost mee neer thirty pounds. I paid all his charges for himself and man and Thom Crosby, his wicked companyon, to whom I likewise [fol. 677] gave mourning and ten guinyes in his pockett; and carryed them all to London on my own charge; and paid my sons bills heer he and his companyon had taken up att Saffum, butt one of my Lord Iccarons.¹⁴⁸ For all this I never had soe much as thankes or heard from my son or his companyon in above fowr month whether alive or dead. God forgive him and lay nott this sin to his charge or make his child deale by him in the like sort. Eliz. Frek

i706, Decembr 23 December the 23, i706, a letter I wrott to my son Frek and sent my cosin Frek:

By a letter my sister Austen received from my cosin John Freke, I understand you are still in England and, to my greatt supprise, with Collonel Frek att Upway affter this tempestious season which for severall months has kept me in a continual fears for you, never heering from you since Jully last. For which God forgive you.

Your hast outt of London in July last, when you did nott afford your selfe time to ask my blesing before you went for Ireland, enclined me to beleive your stay in England had binn limmitted. Butt since I am convinced to the contrary, I must and doe tell you with griefe of harte I am troubled thatt your unkindness should add to the afflictions of my unfortunate condition. However, itt is my comfort thatt by Gods

¹⁴⁷ A copyhold estate was subject to the custom of the manor and the will of its lord. Copyholders held copies of the rolls recording the terms or customs of the manor established in the manorial customary court. Acquittance: a written release or discharge from a debt or obligation (*Oxford Law*, 289–90; Jowitt, i. 463–4, ii. 1,488). Freke explains the relationship of her copyhold to the lord of Pentney's Ashwood Manor in a letter to the chancellor of Norwich (below, p. 126).

¹⁴⁸ Pierce Butler, fourth Viscount Ikerrin (1679–1711), was the cousin of Ralph Freke's wife: Lord Ikerrin's mother, Eleanor, was the daughter of Daniel Redman and the sister of Elizabeth, the mother of Elizabeth Meade Freke. He died at Rathbarry Castle (Lodge, ii. 316–17; CB, iv. 233; CP, vii. 44–5).

blessing on your deer fathers and my industry you are left in soe ample a condition as nott to wantt or vallue the kindness of your poor distractted mother.

However, deer son, itt is my dutty to convince you as farr as I am able in all your mistakes, which are to God and mee many, greatt, and grievouss and nott lesened to see you rather expose your selfe and mee to the kindness of distantt relations whilst in England rather then to comply and submitt to a mother wher you may have a wellcome and a home when ever you please to except itt. I confess myne is nott soe divertive butt, I think, might have binn as proper affter your loss of such a father and I such a husband, wher wee might have joyn'd together in the management of what God has bles'd me with by the justice and kindness of my deer husband. For a threefold cord [fol. 67v] is nott easily broken, butt single is subject to all maner of accidents. Nor is itt below the carractor of a Christian or reflection of a gentleman to help support the infirmityes of a diseased, malloncolly, aged mother (66 years of age). To which mercy I pray God open your eyes to see your errors and mollyfye your hartt and forgive you all your unduttyfullness to mee in all kinds thatt you may bee cappable of Gods blesing to your self and posterytye, for itt does more grive me the injury done to them then the slights and disrespectts show'd to mee.

Therefore, since you have stayed soe long from Ireland, I doe advise you iff itt suits your inclination to spend the rest of your time till spring with me att Billney, where your selfe and man shall be wellcome to mee. I designeing, God willing, to goe in March for Ireland my selfe, and then we may posible goe together, and hope by the kindness of my good cosin Freks company to see there whatt can be done for your better ease. Pray seriously concyder whatt I write and from whome itt is that your days may be longe (as I thanke God myne have bin) to enjoy those blesings God and your parrents have given you. For I never knew sorrow till the loss of your deer father the second of last June he dyed <deleted: and your birth day>. I shall nott further trouble you att presentt butt yett will on your reformation continue your affectionate mother,

Eliz. Freke

This letter I writt to my son Frek by my cosin John Frek affter hee had bin six months in England unknown to mee wher he was. Who when I parted with him, I gave him a hundred pound to buy him mourning and my three best horses I had and then last July sent my daughter a new suite of cloths costt me in London neer thirty pounds, bought by my sister Austen. Besids I cann say thatt in little more then three years I have given my son and his wife neer eight hundred pounds and yett never had soe much as thanks from either, as wittness Eliz Frek.

i706/7, Febuary 4 I had a letter from Leigh from my son, then att Sir George Nortons, who lay for to goe with the first wind and shipping for Ireland withoutt ever soe much as coming to see me. The great God bless and goe with him and give patience to his afflicted mother. Eliz Frek

[fol. 68r]

i706/7, Febuary i2* I had a letter from my deer sister Norton thatt thatt very evening my deer son sett saile for Ireland from Sir George Nortons att Abbots Leigh withoutt ever sending to mee or wrighting to me to ask my blesing. God of his mercy goe with him and lay none of my miseryes to his charge.¹⁴⁹ E Frek

January ii dyed Sir John Mead of an appoplexy sudenly; a greatt loss to me he is. Dyed the ii of January, and Mr Robert Mead gave me an account of itt the forth of Febuary.¹⁵⁰

Febuary 24 I wentt with my deer sister Austen and her maid in my own coach up to London – ther to settle my business in order for my jorney and voyage for Ireland, where I humbly beg of my God to goe with me and bless me, his unworthy servant, Eliz Freke. Affter she had done penance heer att Billney with me seven monthes. EF

i707, Aprill i5 I came outt of London, being Easter Tuesday, and nott any way able to goe for Ireland with my griveous tisick, [which] forced me affter I had there made my will and putt outt in the tax of England a thousand pounds for my grandchilld. I gott my <deleted: good> cosin John Frek to take this jorney and voyage for me to Ireland, ther to settle my concerns and prove my deer husbands will, &c. EF

i6 I had a griveous fall or two by the turne over of my coach att sixty six years of age which, though much bruised me, I thank God has nott broke any of my limbs.

ig I came home to Billney in a new coach I bought in second mourning for my deer husband, which cost me allmost fiffty pound, viz., forty fowre pounds to Mr Sheppherd, the coach maker, for his payment of work. Eliz Freke

¹⁴⁹ Asterisks in the margins of this and the 15 February entry imply Freke intended some rearrangement; the passages remain here in their original positions.

¹⁵⁰ Burke's Peerage & Baronetage, ed. Charles Mosley, 106th edn., 2 vols. (Crans, Switzerland, 1999), i. 580, states John Meade died on 12 January 1706/7, the day he was succeeded by his son Pierce. Robert Meade of Kinsale (b. 1645), John Meade's second youngest brother and the husband of Frances Courthope, was designated in his brother's will the beneficiary of considerable land in the absence of male heirs (Ffolliott, 143, 152).

[fol. 68v]

92

i706/7, Febuary i5* Febuary the i5 my son landed safe in Cork by Gods great blesing to me, for which I am most thankfull to God, Eliz Freke. Tho I have nott heard from him since July he left mee in a most distracted condition in London, nor since he wentt for Ireland, or butt once since my deer husband, his father, dyed, now just upon a twelve month. God forgive him. EF

i707, Aprill 2i My cosin John Frek wentt for Chester for me to goe with himself and man for Ireland, there to prove my deer husbands will and to settle my accounts there, I nott being able (tho I went to London on purpose the 24 of Febuary, wher I staid till the i5 of Aprill,) to undertake the jorney. My tisick was soe violentt I were faine to hasten home againe to my Billney. The seventh of March before, I gave my cosin Frek a hundred pound in payment and am to pay his charges home againe and then give him another, E Frek. I likewise paid him Mr Freks legasy of a hundred pound. EF

May ii I had a letter from my deer son Frek dated att Rathbary outt of Ireland, and the second letter I received since I buryed his son John kild in London, being the i8 of June i705. I bless and humbly thank God he safe landed the i5 of Aprill. My son says he found his wife ill, and his eldest son was given over by the doctters 4 or 5 days butt, I thank God, was then on the mending hand. For which I am ever most thankfull to my good God. E Frek

Saterday, May io My cosin John Frek landed saffe att Dublin affter he had bin fowre days att sea in the packett boatt from Chester. He wrott me word thatt Wensday and Thursday whilst he was crosing the sea were eleven ships taken by privatteers from Hollyhead and from which, I most humbly thank God, he escaped.¹⁵¹ E Frek

May ig I received this account from [him] and of his kind care of my business in Ireland. EF

Agust 2 My Cosin John Frek left Ireland and in the paquett boat from Dublin and landed safe, I thank God, att Chester and from thenc to London. ig And he came to London Tusday, the ig of Agust, from whence he gave me a most sad accountt of all my affairs in Ireland, and all by my sons unkindness to me. I am cheated of above fowre thousand pounds by Joseph Jerrvice, &c.¹⁵² E Frek

Sunday, Agust 3i Sunday about ten a clock, Agust the last day, I were goeing downe staires to goe to church when by my hard fate thatt

¹⁵¹ Holyhead, off the Isle of Anglesey, sixty miles from Dublin.

¹⁵² Percy Freke's cousin Elizabeth, the daughter of Captain John Freke, married Joseph Jervois in 1680; her sister Alice married Samuel Jervois in 1683 (*Marriage Licence Bonds*, 51). Percy bequeathed \pounds_{50} to Captain Joseph Jarvois.

allwayes attends me I fell downe allmost all the greate stayers and were by three or fowre taken up allmost dead and carryed to my chamber, when [fol. 69r] immediatly I sentt for two surgions to Saffum. Butt they nott being att home, being Sunday, I thank God he raised mee up thatt cast me downe without the help of any mortall man or friend neer mee. Which mercy God grant I may never forgett.

September 30 September 29, Sunday, I discharged Mr Addams from ever supplying my church of Billney more (and then I paid him downe ten pounds) for his quarrellsome drinking and debauched life he ledd, affter I had borne with him above thirty years for the sake of his wife and 4 children and my offten writing to him to perswad his amendmentt.¹⁵³

Octtober i3 All was to noe purpose, soe thatt Munday, Octtobr i3, I left my church of Billney in Mr Smith care, the minester of Winch, for burialls and for christmings till I came from London, where I were forced upp by my cosin John Frek to receive from him the fatte of his ill jorney from Ireland and my sons follyes.¹⁵⁴

i5 Wensday, the i5 of Octtober, I came into London late att nightt; wher with my ill jorney, the vexeation of my bussiness from Ireland, my sons unkind behaivour to mee, and the effects of my fall six weeks before, I were the nextt day, being Thursday, taken with such a violentt tissicke and shorttness of breath thatt I were confined to a greatt chaire for neer sixteen weeks together and nott able to goe to my bed butt as I was carried, when all my relations and friends in London thought itt imposyble for me to survive this longe fitt of tissick with a most violentt cough. And for fourteen weeks of this my miserable time I lay ill at my cosin Herlackendane in Devenshire Streett neer the fields; when I paid her for my lodging, &c., forty shillings per week, and for her kindness and care of me I gave her daughter fifty pounds above all charges.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ William Adams indicates in the parish register that he is a Balliol MA. He is probably the William Adams from Herefordshire who matriculated in 1663 and received his BA in 1667 and MA in 1670 (*Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. Foster, i. 7). Adams became the West Bilney vicar in 1675, signing the Articles of Subscription in March 1675/6 (NRO, DN/Sub 1/1). Bilney and Pentney register bills indicate he later served as the minister until his burial in Pentney on 15 January 1730/1.

¹⁵⁴ Edward Smith received a Cambridge MA in 1674 and became the East Winch vicar in October 1691; in June 1706 he was also 'licenced to practise phisick & chyrurgery' (NRO, DN/Sub 3/6 and DN/Sub 4/3). His wife, Catherine, was later interred at East Winch, where according to the parish register he was buried on 19 June 1716 – a date at odds with the inscription on a gravestone in the East Winch church of All Saints: 'Mr. Edward Smith, vicar 24 years, who died 16 June 1715 A°. aetat. 66' (Blomefield, ix. 152).

¹⁵⁵ Katherine Harlackenden was the daughter of Walter Harlackenden and Paulina Culpeper, the sister of Elizabeth Freke's mother. Freke bequeathed \pounds_{50} to her cousin Katherine Harlackenden and \pounds_{50} to her daughter Mary. Katherine was also a beneficiary of her aunt Frances Freke's will (PRO, PROB 11/339/67 and PROB 11/373/83). Devonshire Street was 'a spacious new str. on the N. side of *Red lion square*' (Hatton, i.

And three weeks more I lay in this sad condition in St Jams Streett, butt att last by my Gods greatt mercy and goodness to me I grew something better and made a hard shift to compas my own deer home.

Febuary i4 Febuary the fowrteenth, Satterday, I came to my beloved Billney all alone withoutt any friend with mee affter I had given away and spentt (in thatt eighteen weeks I were in London) above five, 500, hundred pounds besids my guiftt to my son, Ralph Frek, of five hundred pounds a yeare and three or fowre years arrears of my Irish estate to pay his debts thatt none myght be a looser by hime butt wretched Eliz Frek.

26 I paid Mr Smith for burring of 5 corps and christning two children in my eighteen weeks absence whilst in London. EF

28 And I gave the parish forty shillings more for Wallbuts child that Richard Cross keeps.¹⁵⁶ Eliz Freke

[fol. 69v]

In July i706 I paid my deer husbands lagasy of a hundred pounds to my Cosin John Freke.¹⁵⁷ Eliz Frek

i707, March 3i And in March 3i, i707, I gave my cosin John Frek a hundred pounds in gold for tranceactting in my exchecker business, and then he promised me to goe for Ireland to settle my affairs in thatt kingdome.

Aprill i6 He wentt the i6 of Aprill following; wher he staid three month to little or noe purposs more then to tell me Joseph Jervoyce, Mr Freks stuard, the imprudence of [my] son, and the tennants were run away with all my rents and arrears, and the estatts left in that kingdom in my hand.

Agust 2 My cosin John Freke left Dublin and came for England. **ig** And he arived safe att Chester and came to London Agust i9, i707.

November i8 November the i8, i707, my cosin John Freke informed me of my sons condition and of his greatt debts and thatt iff I did nott now help him outt my familly must undoubtedly sinke, for which I had bin soe long aworking for them. I made up my cosin John Freks accounts, and then I paid him all due to him, and then I gave him

 157 Elizabeth Freke and her cousin John Freke were the executors of her husband's will, which left John Freke £100 to be paid by Elizabeth six months after her husband's death (PRO, PROB 11/489/145).

²⁴⁾ with 'good Houses' on its west side 'but the East side lieth yet open' (Strype, i. bk. 3, 254).

¹⁵⁶ Richard and Elizabeth Cross, probably the Elizabeth Croxson and Richard Cross married in East Walton on 18 December 1694, had buried two sons in Bilney within the previous two years.

two hundred pounds in conciderration of his jorney for Ireland. Eliz. Freke

Febuary i2 And when I came away, I gave him about threescore pounds, the intrest of a thousand pounds of mine in the land tax which was <originally: will be> due to me next Midsomer i708.¹⁵⁸ EF 460 l.

And I lentt my cosin Giells, my cosin John Frekes neece, fiffty pound three year to trade with.¹⁵⁹ And when he said he took the kindness as to himselfe, I then affter three years profitt of itt gave her the fiffty pounds. $50^{-0}-0$

Then in December when I made up my last account with him (i7ii), I then gave him a years intrest of aboutt a thousand pound. 40-0-0

And when I sent for him downe to Billney to returne me some mony up to London for me, I gave him for his jorney thirty guinyes, viz., thirtty two pounds, as wittnes my hand Eliz Frek. 32^{-5-0}

Soe thatt my cosin John Freke has had of me this six yeare in guift above (590) five hundred and ninety odd pounds besids my barbar[ous] lease hee made to my sone and still deneys my exchecker orders, EF. Tho bought with my own money, Jully i7i2.¹⁶⁰

i708/7, January 3d I gave my deer sister Austen for a New Years guiftt a ioo l., hundred pounds.

Febuary i2 And when I came from London Febuary i2, I gave my deer sister a bond of fifty pounds. Eliz Freke.

I gave my neece Austen, her daughter in law, a silver bason and a sutte of laced head dress cost me both about thirtty six pounds. Eliz Frek

I gave my two neece Austens ten pound a peice to buy them whatt they had a mind to. E Freke

I gave to my cosin Lackendens familly six pound for a New Years guiftt her daughter, and son a scarlett coat. EF

Besids I gave my cosin Herlackenden when I came away fiffty pounds to be putt outt for her daughters portion as her first begining.¹⁶¹ Eliz Frek

In all is 262-0-0.

 158 In 1692 a land tax deducted from the tenants' rent was set at four shillings in the pound 'to be levied on all real estate, offices, and personal property'. Percy Freke was among the local commissioners charged to collect the tax (Stephen Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 3rd edn., 4 vols. [New York, 1965], iii. 81; Mason, i. 433–4).

4). ¹⁵⁹ Elizabeth, the daughter of John Freke's sister Elizabeth and her husband, Richard Gyles. In his will John Freke gave his niece Elizabeth and her sister Anne 'Lottery Orders' worth £350 and £500 respectively; he gave their brother Richard £100 (PRO, PROB 11/559/154).

¹⁶⁰ The different handwriting and colour of the ink suggest that the previous four entries were made at another time, presumably in 1712.

¹⁶¹ Katherine and Mary Harlackenden; see above, p. 93 and n. 155.

[fol. 70r]

i708, July 20 The quarter sesions was held att Saffum, wher were eight justices of peace; when Thom Garrett my tennantt came before them all and laid assalt, battry, and royatt to my charge and swore itt before the grand jury, who brought itt in ignaramus.¹⁶² And well they might when I had nott gone hardly cross my chamber by my selfe since the death of my deer husband or bin butt twice in my parlor. This he did because I threatned Thom Garrett for cutting downe sixteen greatt elmes while I were in London last winter and conveyed away all the wood of them, as hee did seven and twenty ashes the year Mr Freke dyed. E Freke

Jully 22 Mr Towres and Charles Turner of Linn putt into the hundred courte for five and thirty shillings, unknown to me, which cost me above six pounds to his carpenter Marshall and his baylyes.¹⁶³ And itt is the thyrd time he has thus roged mee by his tricks since my deer husband dyed above two hundred pound.

Jully 22 I wentt in my own coach to Norwich, ther to atend a tryall with Towrs for he and his carpender cutting me downe five and twenty growing oakes in Pryers Close while I were last winter in London, besids ashes and elmes.¹⁶⁴ All which wood and trees were conveyed away before I came home except the setting of a hundred of boards for pails and rails.

26 My wittness came affter me to Norwich, being John Bonion, Luke Wingfield, Richard Cross, John Dawson, William Kirke, and William Johnson; all which I keptt neer a week drinking – cost me above ten pounds them, ther horses, and supenas that part of the week.

27 Then came against me Mr Towers and his carpenter Marshall and young Danell Coats. Charls Turner was Towrs atturney; and Selfe was mine, who kept all my wittneses drunk att the Angell in Norwich whilst my cause was tryed, and I nott able to goe or stirr cross my chamber.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Neither Freke's nor Garrett's name appears in the records for the sessions held at Swaffham on the twentieth and twenty-second of July 1708 (NRO, C/S2/6). Thomas Garrett or Garrat, who married Jane Wood in East Winch on 29 November 1700, rented Paws Farm. Ignoramus (we are ignorant or do not know) written on bills of indictment indicated a lack of sufficient evidence to support the charges (Black, 672).

¹⁶³ Contemporary records for the Freebridge Lynn hundred, in which West Bilney is located, no longer exist.

¹⁶⁴ The quarter sessions were held at Norwich Castle on 13 July 1708; Lord Chief Justice Thomas Trevor and Justice Robert Dormer were scheduled to hold summer assizes on Tuesday, 27 July 1708, in Norwich (*London Gazette* [4446]).

¹⁶⁵ Daniel and Anne Coats rented the Common Farm, remaining its tenants in 1712; he was buried in Bilney on 7 May 1731; Thomas Selfe is identified in the 1690 Lynn poll tax as an attorney residing in New Conduit Ward; the 1703 land tax lists his property in **29** Thursday Towrs swore with his bayly before the Lord Cheife Justice Trevors thatt the trees were all cutt by my order and the wood delivered to me.¹⁶⁶ Hee likewise then swore in the courtt with Charls Turner and his bayly thatt I never sued any one butt I ruyened them and made there famillyes begers. And the I sent fowre times the morning my cause was tryed to know when itt should bee, yett Towrs and Turner and his bayly and carpenter jugelled soe as thatt I could have noe notice of itt, the eight wittnesses in the towne, till I were cast thatt Squire Barnish came to my chamber and told me of itt.¹⁶⁷ This tryall with my own charges a fortnight in Norwich costt me above sixty pounds, and itt is the fourth peice of rogery I have received from Towrs since my deer husband dyed, as wittness my hand E Freke.

30-3i, Jully 30 Towrs sentt me word as soon as he had cast me thatt he had putt into my house for a tennantt the greatest rogue in the county of Norfolk and thatt he would undoe him. Besids this, Towrs and Charls Turner made Grigry Rusell run away, which was above a hundred pound to my loss, E Freke, last yeare when I were in London, and his fifth peice of rogery to E Frek.¹⁶⁸

[fol. 70v]

i708, Agust io Agust the tenth, Tuesday, I came home weary and very ill to Billney, wher as soon allmost as I came I sentt to Mr Smith of Winch to lett me bloude and to cutt off all my haire, both for my head and tissick. Butt for little ease.

i4 The bayly of the hundred court (Spice by name) came and warned mee in to apeer against Thom Garrett in the actions hee laid in against me, E Frek. Thus am I tormented by rogues of all kind in

Paradise Ward (NRO, KL/C47/12-15 and KL/C47/2-34, 45). The Angel, a longestablished inn located in the Marketplace, remained popular into the nineteenth century when it became first the Royal Hotel, then in 1899 the site of the Norwich Opera House and Theatre of Varieties (*Norwich Gazette* [ii. 80]; Leonard P. Thompson, *Norwich Inns* [Ipswich, 1947], 55-8).

 166 Thomas Trevor (1658–1730), knighted in 1692, was appointed lord chief justice of the common pleas in 1701 and later first commissioner of the great seal and lord privy seal. He became in 1712 Baron Trevor of Bromham (*CP*, xii, pt. 2. 30–1; Edward Foss, *The Judges of England*, 9 vols. [London, 1848–64], viii. 71–6). The later remembrances, however, identify the judge as Sir John Trevor, who was master of the rolls, not lord chief justice (below, p. 258).

¹⁶⁷ The remembrances also identify Squire Barnish as Barnish of St Mary's, Squire Berners, and Barnes from St Mary's. None by this name has been located in the registers of the church by this name in nearby Narford; and Freke appears to have in mind the Berners family from Wiggenhall St Mary the Virgin, specifically Hatton Berners whose 21 November 1709 letter to her Freke copied and included in the miscellaneous documents (W, fol. 39r). See also below, p. 99 n. 173.

¹⁶⁸ Gregory and Mary Russell rented Wassell Farm.

this my unhappy condition, and the wantt of health to support besids, and noe comfort from any frind like the civillity I found from meer strangers in Norwich.

22 Besids these troubles and disapoyntments, I have this yeare lost five fine coach horses soe thatt now nesesitty will oblige me to stay att home since I cannott walke a foott, I haveing butt one left, which since I came home from Norwich is fallen blinde. This is my hard ffate of Eliz Frek.

7 As itt was to heer my tenantt Richard Cross the seventh of Agust this presentt month swere before a greatt company att Norwich, drunk as he was, thatt I had murdered his onlly child and thatt his wife was stark madd ever since; which I knew nothing of till told me by all the gentry in the house I lodged in, [who] asked me by whatt accidentt itt was done. On which I call'd Cross to me, who owned the same words before my face, tho I were in London last Octtober when his child was killd by his own cartt carring flaggs for Thom Davys wife.¹⁶⁹ And this was one of my wittneses; the rest I beleive nott better, tho cast by a foulle tryall of knaves of all sorts.

7 I paid att Norwich all the quitt rents due for 8 years past to last Michellmas i707: first the arch deacon for 7 years, and Mr Thimblethorp for 9 years past, and Lord Oswellston, and recttory, &c. All which came to with lapst time and acquitances neer twenty pound.¹⁷⁰ I likewise wentt to Doctter Jeffrys, aboutt eight miles from Norwich, the most excelentt doctter of this country.¹⁷¹ As soon as he saw mee, he told me twas too late: grife had brought me into the condition I were in; and thatt I were wasted all in my inward parts, both my kidnys and my back ullcerated with some fall I had lately had, which on the least stoppages of flew up to my unhapy head and caused my greatt shortness of breath, which would sudenly take me off. Therfore [he] advised me nott to be alone or expectt ever to be cured of my missery, which he said must bee very greatt by my watter. Which in Gods good time I

¹⁶⁹ Richard and Elizabeth Cross' son Francis was buried in West Bilney on 16 October 1707; Thomas Davy and Diana Thomson were married in Bilney on 29 January 1701/2.

¹⁷⁰ Quit rent: a small fee or rent freeholders and copyholders of manors paid annually, 'so called because thereby the tenant goes quit and free of all other services' (Jowitt, i. 32). Among the many Themelthorpes or Thymblethorps in Norfolk, Edmund Themilthorpe was, along with Percy Freke, a tax commissioner in 1696 (Mason, i. 434). Themilthorps had also long held property from the prior of Pentney (Blomefield, xi. 86). Lord Oswellston may be Charles Bennet, Baron Ossulston, who was created earl of Tankerville in 1714 (*CP*, xii, pt. 1, 633).

¹⁷¹ John Jefferie of Neatishead (ten miles northeast of Norwich) was 'a local quack doctor of great repute' who died in 1714 (Rye, i. 401); presumably he is the Dr Jefferies who in 1711 advertised in the *Norwich Gazette* (v. 237). In her husband's sickness Freke also sent for a Doctor Jefferys from Norwich, perhaps the John Jefferys, Norfolk doctor of physick, who was buried in Neatishead in May 1706. should bee eased of, butt nott by doctters, who could doe me noe good.

November 25 Charles Turner of Lin sentt two baylyes up to my chamber with an execution to seise me body and goods for eight pounds awarded him, &c., for his Agust perjury, when I knew nott thatt I owed him one farthing butt thought I had paid him and the rest all charges due to them; and att the same time I had above eight hundred pounds in mony in my house, as wittnes Eliz Freke.¹⁷²

i708/9, March io I had two very rough letters from my cosin John Frek from London, affter I have given him above 590 l. in little more then two years, by way of threats <deleted: iff I altered my presentt condition> (above 590 l.).

ii March I had a refference with Robin Good (before Squir Berners) for rentt due to me from John Fish, who dyed the 29 of January last, and hee being his executor has yett dealt by me as the rest of this country doe now I am confined to a chaire and helpless, May 22.¹⁷³

Aprill 25 I had a letter from Mr North of Ruffum to give me nottice thatt Thom Garrett had chose him a refferee in Garrets behalfe to compremise the suite then depending between us.¹⁷⁴ In which letter of Mr North hee inclosed to mee a letter he wrott to Mr Barnish to stand with him a refferree for mee, which letter I sentt to St Marrys the nextt day, being Easter Eve.

27 And on the 27 of Aprill, being Wensday, the said Mr North with Mr Barnish and me, Mrs Eliz Frek, wentt to Middletowne, a publick house, the apoynted place [fol. 71r] of our meeting.¹⁷⁵ Wher affter two

¹⁷² Writs of execution are court directives carried out by the sheriff or bailiff. A writ of *fieri facias* authorizes seizure of goods or chattels; a writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum* could bring about imprisonment (*Oxford Law*, 448).

¹⁷³ Other references in this remembrance and in miscellaneous documents emphasizing the obligation John Fish left his son Thomas to fulfil by 1710 identify the squire as Barnish (below, p. 104; W, fol. 407) as well as Berners (below, p. 261; B, fol. 417). Fish's death is not recorded in the remaining records of West Bilney, Pentney, and East Winch. Robert Good, his executor, was taxed in 1704 for the Pentney properties of Mill and Bush Fenn; the assessment appears in lists of the 1692 and 1704 Pentney land tax Freke copied at least in part from James Hoste and included among the miscellaneous documents in W, fols. $44v^{-4}5r$.

¹⁷⁴ Roger North (1651–1734), the youngest of Dudley Lord North's six sons, bought the estate of Yelverton Peyton in Rougham in 1690, where the successful London attorney was an integral part of Norfolk country life. Unlike the biographies he wrote of his brothers, his autobiography was never finished, and his life at Rougham remained untold (F. J. M. Korsten, *Roger North, 1651–1734, Virtuoso and Essayist* [Amsterdam, 1981]; Carthew, ii. 495).

¹⁷⁵ The B text names Hatton Berners, not Barnish, at the meeting (below, p. 261). Hatton Berners, the son of Hatton and Anne Berners of Wiggenhall St Mary, was a justice of the peace and a freeman of Lynn. He died on 23 November 1713 at the age of seventy-three and was buried three days later in Wiggenhall St Mary the Virgin (Clarke and Campling, eds., Visitation of Norfolk, 4 [1934], 22-3; Register of Gray's Inn, 292; Norfolk Lieutenancy, 115; Freemen of Lynn, 213; Blomefield, ix. 181). The Crown, listed by name in

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howrs stay Thom Garrett came, butt nothing was done more then that I paid twenty fowr shillings for my diner and witneses with atendance. Soe wee all parted, Garrett haveing affronted Mr North by delays and mee and att last cheated me of all rent, charges, covenants, repairs, &c., to above seventy pounds or eighty pounds loss to me.

And by his example, i709, John Dawson, another tennantt, did on Sunday night, the i5 of May, run away with all my stock, and three half years rentt, and one and fifty pounds in arrears, both to the vallue of a hundred twenty six pounds.¹⁷⁶ And both these tennants were taken by my deer husband, nott with my approbation. Eliz Frek

i709, Aprill 27, Wensday Aprill the 25, i709, my charge I laide against Thom Garrett when Mr North wrott to me for a refference for him and when Mr North wrott to Mr Barnish to stand with him, both unknown to mee. Mr North appoynted Middletowne at the Crowne, wher I and Mr Barnish attended on him att ten a clock to noe purpose, as wittness Eliza Freke.

Imprymus – Thatt there is due to me from Thom Garrett thirtty pounds for halfe a years rentt for his farme last Michellmas i708.

Item – Thatt there is likewise due from Thom Garrett to me for rentt of the parrish house which he received as overseer of the poore two pounds or forty shillings, which he received as mine last Michellmass was twelve month, i707.

Item – Thatt the said Thom Garrett or his order did cutt downe unknowne to mee in or aboutt the time of my deer husbands sickness or when I were away 27 fine young ashes, all timber trees in Cappon Wood belonging to his farme.¹⁷⁷ Which my son missing in my deer husband sickness desired me I would sue the said Thomas Garrett for them, butt the death of Mr Frek soe mortifyed me I knew nott whatt I did. He, Thomas Garrett, pleads my acquittance of discharge for this and other his rogerys.

Item – Thatt since, viz., last winter was twelve month, i707, when I were in London, the said Thom Garrett did by himselfe or his order cutt downe unknowne to me eighteen greatt elmes, all timber trees, as is now to be seen, i709, on the place. He carryed away the timber butt the stumps; out of which he made above twenty new cow bins, ten of which I took up by Mr Host warrantt Jully the 20, i708, on susspision till proofe was made of the wood (tho he threatned me iff I came in

the Alehouse Recognizances of 1789 (NRO, C/Sch 1/16), can still be found on Lynn Road in Middleton.

¹⁷⁶ John Dawson, a witness to Percy Freak's will, rented Manor Farm; he was buried in Pentney on 26 March 1713.

¹⁷⁷ Cappon Wood appears on neither Faden's 1797 map of Norfolk nor on the earliest of the Ordnance Survey maps.

his yard he would shoutt me).¹⁷⁸ Then he pretended Mr Noes gave him the wood; which I convinced him the contrary, under Mr Noes own hand, he never gave him a stick.¹⁷⁹ And fourteen of these bins were made by Thom Johnson, my carpenters brother.

Item – Thatt the hedges and fences and drains were soe left by Thomas Garrett contrary to the covenants of his lease thatt of three tennants I had lett itt to all refused the entry except I alowed them ten pounds towards the makeing up the fences and wood; which I were forcst to, as Mr Smith, minester of Winch, can testifye thatt Robertt Coe and Allin Mils said it was the least itt could cost, and so they left itt affter bringing twenty load of hay.¹⁸⁰

[fol. 71v]

Item – Thatt the said Thomas Garrett contrary to the covenants of his lease has carryed away from off my land all his hay, straw, stover, and muck from my said farme to aboutt twenty pound damage, as my now tennantt Knopwood demanded butt last week.¹⁸¹ For which I were forst to aloow him his conciderration in the leiw of itt.

Item – Thatt contrary to the covenants of his lease thatt there was noe sumertill left wheras ther ought to have bin ten akers with fowre earth plowing left me, &c.; of which none butt a few akers of turnups nott worth howing, the disapoyntmentt of which is greatly to my loss. For which I am faine likewise to alow my tennantt for in his rentt, or could nott lett my farme.

Item – Thatt of 25 gates belonging to the said Garretts farme weere all broke to peices and carryed away with hooks and henges and their verdalls, except fowre old ones without hook or henge and a few old spars nott worth carring away wher the old gats were, as on Johnson the carpenters veiw; butt all there hooks and henges of the whole 25 quite gone.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ The son of James and Elizabeth Hoste of Sandringham, James Hoste (d. 1729) had been a captain of a troop of Norfolk militia and a high sheriff of Norfolk. He was also a justice of the peace and a freeman of King's Lynn (Mason, i. 436, 536; Blomefield, ix. 69, 71; *Freemen of Lynn*, 208; *Norfolk Lieutenancy*, 100, 148).

¹⁷⁹ Charles Nowyes of Wood Ditton in Cambridgeshire, lord of Ashwood Manor in Pentney.

¹⁸⁰ Robert Coe is listed in the 1692 Pentney land tax; he and his wife Mary had a daughter baptized in West Bilney on 26 July 1695. Allin Mils' name appears in neither the local tax lists nor parish registers.

¹⁸¹ Stover: fodder; often made from clover, straw, and reeds. William Knopwood rented Paws Farm in 1708, remaining its tenant in 1712; he was buried on 21 October 1721 in West Bilney.

¹⁸² Verdall, among various dialect spellings, is the half of the hinge that pivots; also 'the bottom hinge of a gate' (*EDD*). Spars are wooden bars used to fasten gates.

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Item – Thatt all the bricks in the parlor and kiching, both well paved, are all by the said Garrett or his order taken up and conveyned away, as I my selfe saw, and only a rough flowre left useless for a tennantt till I have new laide itt for them.

Item – Thatt aboutt the 20 of Jully last, i708, I wentt downe in my coach with my servantt maid and one of my tenants wives, viz., Goody Cross, and the constable with Mr Host warrantt to enter upon one of the barns in the said Garretts occupation due to me the May Day before by a covennant in his lease.¹⁸³ In which barne I have locked up the bins made outt of my wood by Thom Johnson, partt of them, viz., ten, which I secured; on which Garrett abused me in the most scerulous language never before I think given to a Xtian, threatning to be even with mee.

Item – The next day or the day affter was Saffum sessions, wher the said Thomas Garrett went to the sesions and did there before nine or ten justices of peace indite me of a royatt, assault, and battry and there offered before the jury to swere I came downe on purpose to murder his wife and children. Whilst I knew nothing of these my crimes laid against me till the next day the grand jury were so civill to me as to send me word thatt they had brought itt in ignoramus and thatt they were glad they could serve me against such a rogue as Garrett was.

Item – Thatt aboutt the midle of Agust following the said Garrett sentt Spice the bayly (Mr Smith, minester of Winch, being then in my house) to warne me into the hundred courte of Goward in severall infamous actions, amongst which he putt in againe the aforesaid royatt, assault, and battry.¹⁸⁴ His 2d acttion was for stealing of ten akers of his grass, more or less; and his 3d action for eateing up ten load of his hay, more or less. His 4th acttion was for falce poundage when he owed me nothing, tho yett he owes me the rentt May 3d, i709, for Michellmas i707. With severall other actions of infamy on me.

Item – Thatt the said Thom Garrett brought his repleven outt of Goward courte and aboutt eleven a clock att night brok up my courte gates and sentt severall rude fellows up to my chamber att that time of the nightt, who with ther rude, threatning language soe affrighted mee I could hardly compose my self affter itt for severall days.¹⁸⁵

Item - Affter this said Garretts usage thus of me, I arrested him for

¹⁸⁵ Replevin: an owner's action to recover goods or chattels wrongfully held or detained (Black, 1,168).

¹⁸³ Elizabeth, the wife of Richard Cross, the tenant who left in October 1708.

¹⁸⁴ Goward: perhaps Gaywood, the village near King's Lynn where the Freebridge Lynn hundred court had been held (Blomefield, viii. 328). The few remaining records from the hundred court indicate it was still a meeting place in 1637 (NRO, BL VIb[1]); no final date has been established.

my halfe years rentt, viz., thirty pounds, and for breach of covenants, &c. And I did by Mr Carter remove my selfe outt of Goward courte all my said acttions, which with the tryall and removall from Goward fifteen pounds, as I have to show by their acquitances.¹⁸⁶

Item – Thatt the second of March last, being Wensday, I had my tryall att Norwich against Garrett, who loaded a cart load of wittness [fol. 72r] against my two wittnesses; and when he was come as far as Gyton, heering the pasing bell of Billny tole, Garrett came back (neer three miles) to know iff I were dead because of right placeing his charges. Butt by Gods providence I recovered; and by the favour and civillity of the gentry and jury added to the justness of my cause, I cast him in every one of his infamous acttions, tho a stranger.

Item – Affter this tryall on a months petition of Garrett and Mr North letter to mee and Mr Berners, I did Aprill the 27, i709, permitt of an arbitration att the Crowne att Midletowne, where I did waite on Mr North and Mr Berners. Wher affter two howrs attendance on Garrett, he vouchsaffed his company; butt nothing was done, only I paid ther i-4-6 for my diner and servants, &c.

Item – Being thus disapoynted I resolved, God willing, to renew my tryall againe, iff posible to try itt in London, and wrott to the gentlemen these ensueing words, viz., I humbly desire you will both be pleased to concider with the loss of my reputation in the abusses placed on me, which has bin and is an extreame affliction to me. And therfore I doe intreate thatt there may be a suiteable sattisfaction made me thatt itt may nott be a president to my other tennants soe to use me in this kind and thatt iff any thing be done the said Garrett and Woods may give you and me such a security in whatt you shall think fitt to award me both for my rents, breach of covenants, charges, &c. Thatt I may nott be putt to a further trouble againe and charge for itt is the desire of your most humble servantt. Eliz Freke

i709, May i3 May the i3, Fryday, I sentt to Dawson, being to goe the i5 of May to London, to pay me som rentt, I haveing three half years rentt in arrears due to me of fiffty pounds a yeare besids his note for fiffty one pounds, three shillings. John Dawson sentt me word he had nott yett sold his sheep, &c.; soe affter haveing received a hundred such mesages withoutt one peny of mony, on Fryday, the thirteenth day of May, Mr Buck, the minisster, being with me, I sentt my servantt to the constable to make a seisure for mee for entry.¹⁸⁷ Butt Dawson had information whilst he was coming and carried off all my distress

¹⁸⁶ Perhaps a lawyer or official, he has not been associated with the Carters of Pentney.

¹⁸⁷ Charles Buck matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1684, receiving an MA in 1691. He was ordained a priest in 1698 and signed the Articles of Subscription as vicar of Gayton in September 1705 (Venn, i. 245; NRO, DN/Sub 4/2).

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from my land except fowre or five horses which I destrained with a little lumber and a few shotts.¹⁸⁸

i4 Satteday, the fowrthteen of May, Luke Wingfield and severall of the tennants came beging and perswading mee with Knopwood, the constable, perswading of his honest paymentt.¹⁸⁹

i5 I did on Sunday, the i5 of May, release his stock, cartt horses, &c., forty cows, sheep, and other stock. i6 And the same night, being Sunday night, nottwithstanding his hand and promise to the contrary he conveyed away all my distreess stock, goods, &c., by three a clock Munday morning and sentt me word itt was to show me hee could carry away his stock and goods when I weere heer as well as iff I had bin absentt.

i7, i8 Hee then lodged his stock and goods att one Nettles of Winch,¹⁹⁰ wher the i7 and i8 of May by two days of sale the said John Dawson run away from me with three half years rentt and fiffty one pound, three shillings in mony, which with taxess and all allowed him coms to a hundred twenty six pounds. And this is my fiffth loss in a year and half by my inabillity of goeing outt of my chamber, viz., their severall nams are as followeth:

Xmas i707 First att Candlemas Gregory Rusell with sixty pounds in mony and half a years rentt, besids all the fences downe and gone, and till the nextt Michellmas the farme in my hand unstocked of fiffty seven pounds a yeare. E Freke

September i708 Then rogue Garrett run withe the above charge away from me, to my charge and loss above a hundred pounds and all the inhumanity, as wittness E Freke.

January 29 John Fish dyed; when Robin Good adminestered, who before Mr Barnish allowed my demands of io9 pounds.¹⁹¹ I gott butt forty and am faine to alow Luke Wingfield twenty pounds to make up my fence, viz., a years rentt. E Frek

Octtobr i708 Then Richard Cross wentt from me with aboutt sixty pounds, carried off all his stock to Mr Norths.

May i3, i709 This rogue John Dawson cheatted me, as above, of i26 pound, all the fences down, and the land on my hand, as wittness Eliz Frek.

¹⁸⁸ Distress: a landlord's common law right to distrain or take the goods or chattels of a tenant delinquent in his rent (Black, 426). Shotts: shoats.

¹⁸⁹ Luke Wingfield rented Parsonage Farm as well as land in Billney Closes and Pryers Close. He and his wife Judith baptized and buried several children in East Walton, where he was later a church warden. The constable was probably Freke's Paws Farm tenant.

¹⁹⁰ Humphrey and Ann Nettle, the widow of Francis Ouldman, who were married in East Winch in 1705.

¹⁹¹ In B it is Berners.

[fol. 72v]

May i709 Which iff right reckned by me, Eliz Frek,	
coms to aboutt	505-0-0
Besids the loss and falls of my rents the severall half years	i25-0-0
And the repairs of every farme in gates, fences, and	-
workmen, and for nails <in cost="" i2="" in="" l.="" margin:="" me="" nails,<="" td=""><td></td></in>	
&c.>	42-0-0
And the falls of my rentt for ever coms to about heer and	
att Pentny sixteen pounds a yeare.	i6oo
And this all by my inabillity of being able to goe outt of	
my chamber soe farr as the parlor this three years or since	
the death of my deer husband, as wittness Eliz Freke.	68800

i709, March 25 Being to goe for London to ease my cosin Frek of his troubles in being a truste for my grandchildren, affter I had lost all the above sums by my inabillity, I did putt Mr Buck, the minester of this parrish, to the care and looking affter my estate heer in Billney and Pentny. For which I promised him ten pounds a year and his charges and twenty pound a year I allow him for the serveing my church att Billney. E Frek

And besids this above loss by five tenants, I have spentt in law and charges belonging to itt with lawyer fees and councell and wittnesses and tryalls of causes and travailling about these five villians and in the hundred courte att the least seventy pounds. 70-0-0

And all in the compass of a year and halfe have done it to crase mee. 758-0-0

i708, March 26 I gave Mr Taffe warning by Mr Smith for my house, who told me itt was a day affter the faire [warning], soe he would hold itt on.¹⁹² E Frek.

Michellmas, September 29 I then gave Taff my selfe warning for my house persuantt to the covenants of my lease, who still insisted on a more faire warning from me. E Frek

i709, March 25 I then the third time gave Richard Taff warning thatt I would enter on itt as att nextt Michellmas i709, who still insisted on the errors of his lease and told me I had a much better house provided and redy furnished for me att St Marys and thatt he was promised to hold outt his lease heer by Mr Barnish. Which much moved my pattion, and I swore I would nott keep a pimp in my house any longer and bid him soe tell his benefactor. E Freke

Aprill 2i Aboutt the 20, 2i of Aprill Mr North of Ruffum sentt me word by Mr Buck, the minester of the parrish, thatt the whole country

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¹⁹² Richard Taff (Tafft, Tofts) rented 176 acres, including Hall Farm, Dyes Close, and the Ale House land; in 1712 he was the Manor Farm tenant.

had sold and given me up to Mr Barnish and did writt 2 or 3 very handsom letters to mee, &c. All which I answered him in. E Freke

i709, May i3 As I said before, John Dawson run away from me with his year and half rent and one and fiffty pounds in mony and bidd me make the best of my deer husbands lease, for he would performe none of itt, either rents or covenants, tho itt was three years affter his death. And with this villian ends all the leases made by my deer husband. Which iff I have right reckned coms to 758–0–0, as above, besids above threescore timber trees cutt downe and carryed away unknown to mee, the houses pull'd down and the flowrs up, and all the fence to be new made by me, [and] the first years rentt for allowances in the new letting the land rather then to fall the rents too much. And all this by my cosin John Freks nott letting me know I ought to have made new leases att my deer husbands death and my ignorance and inabillity of being able to stirr further then my chamber or chaire. E Freke

May ig Mr Buck, the minester, came to me from Mr Barnish of St Marys and told mee thatt iff I would persue my health in London and devirt my self with my frinds this sumer he would assist Mr Buck in the management of all my affaiers in my absence. The like has bin sent me from other of my neighbours to see my usuage and noe friend to my helpe of my own or relations. E Frek

i709, May the 24 The tennants names that have run from me by my deer husbands leases since his death, now three years wanting one fortnight, are as followth:

Gregory Russell, the Wassell Farme	i707, Candlemas	lett att 57-0-0
Sam Brett, my Pentny farme	i707, Michellmas	lett att 46-0-0
Thom Garrett, Paws Farme	i708, Michellmas	lett att 60-0-0
John Fish, Billney Closes	i708, January 29	lett att 32-0-0
Richard Cross, the White House	i708, Michellmas	lett att 43-0-0
John Dawson, the Maner Farme	i709, May i3	lett att 50-0-0
-		288-0-0

All these butt Brett run away with my arrears and rentt due to me. And by Brett I lost very considerably, and I were faine to make greatt abatments and alowances to Englebright, his successour. Besids I were forst to keep ther farmes in my hand the yeare withoutt stock and new make up all their drains and fences and gats. Eliz Freke

[fol. 73r]

i709, May the 24 And in all these my troubles and losses before mentioned my cosin John Frek, my pretended truste (who gave away from me to my son my deer husbands estate in Ireland hee gave me of 750 pounds a year), never did concerne himself more then iff I had

bin a stranger to him or in the least ever assisted me, tho I had given him in the compass of two years time fowre hundred and fowrescore pounds outt of my own pockett from my children and grandchildren. Nor did he ever informe me thatt I should have new leased my land affter my deer husbands death till I had lost above 758 l. (seven hundred fiffty and eight pounds). Persuantt to the same has binn my sisters and other relations call'd friends since I have bin a widdow, which is now neer fowr years. In which station I humbly begg Gods blesing on me and thatt I never may trust such frinds or relations more, I haveing found more kindness and favour in my unhappy state by three of my neighbours heer then all my own relations, as wittness my hand Eliz Frek.

About the end of Agust i708 Charles Turner of Linn, thatt arrested me with two baylies in my chaire on body and goods for eight pounds and with Mr Towrs both swore against me att the last asises att Norwich Jully 29 - thatt to compass there cause swore I never sued any one butt I cast them and affter brought them and their whole familyes to be parish charge - before the Lord Cheif Justice Trevours and a whole country, and tho my self and eight wittnesses were in town with three servants. Thess villians Turner and Towrs, whose constant oath was to me he knew nott any thing of the cutting of 2i oaks in Pryers Close (by the liveing God), yet affter att the asise bench saidd itt was by my order to him hee did itt, and soe with the above expretions cast me and arested me when I thought I had paid all maner of charges - seised me body and goods for 8 l., when I had in my closett att the same time 850 l. This is true. And my God has soe farr espoused my cause as a widow and helpless thatt in less then a month affter this oath one of Turners eyes dropt outt of his head; and aboutt three month affter his wiffe dyed raveing, the best part of him; and his son in law Captain Asdall (Turners son in law), thatt maryed his only daughter, run away to the West Indies with another wife.¹⁹³ And all this in the compass of little more then half a yeare, as I foretold him by my letter itt was revealed to me from above.

i709, May 25 And Towres, my other perjuered oath man, dyed sudenly and sencelessly on the 25 of May i709 and [was] privatly putt in the ground for fear of a worse accident to him by nine a clock in the morning, 26.¹⁹⁴ And these things looked to me like somthing of a judgmentt on him. Besids Mr Towrs eldest sone, a liuetenantt, poysoned

¹⁹³ Charles Turner's wife, Mary, the daughter of Edward Allen, died on 28 December 1708 at the age of forty-eight. In 1699 their daughter Jane married Thomas Archdale of Stanhoe, possibly the Archdale commissioned a captain in 1706 but no longer in regimental service by 1711, the year his will was proved (Carthew, iii. 129; *English Army Lists*, v. 198, vi. 73; PRO, PROB 11/522/159).

¹⁹⁴ Henry Towers was buried in North Runcton on 27 May 1709.

himself to avoid the justice of the law when he was arained and condemned by a courtt marshall for selling his souldiers to France with Captin Somes and Dashwood. All three poysoned themselves.¹⁹⁵ If this does nott look like a judgmentt, &c., I know nott whatt does; and I humbly thank God I am still alive and see justice from the hand of God to my enimies. And nottwithstanding all the abuses and loses placed this year on me, I am still able by Gods mercy to me to goe through all my troubles withoutt the kindness or countenance of any of my friends or humanity of either of my two sisters, tho both in London.

May 25 I bought me a paire of good coach horses cost me above three and thirty, 33, pounds of Captaine Berney of Weesnam (affter haveing lost 5 very good coach mares this yeare), aded to my other losses, to goe for London.¹⁹⁶ Eliz Freke

June 2i Tuesday, June 2i, I took my jorney for London with these two coach horses, which I humbly thank God brought mee safe to London in fowre dayes, viz., Midsomer Day, being Fryday and the 24th of June. E Frek

30 Thursday, June the thirtyeth, my greatt coach maire was stole from mee in London by one George Morlly, who was taken on his back att Barnard.¹⁹⁷ Wher nottwithstanding all my favours to my cosin John Freke and guifts to him since my widowhood of neer 400 pound in three yeare, I was faine to goe my selfe in person to Barnard, ten miles [fol. 73v] from London, in a hired hackny coach in quest of my coach maire stole from me (tho Mr Berners in pitty to mee offered me to ease me of this cruell jorney, as itt was to me).

Jully i Jully the first I took itt up by my coachman att Barnard and by him made my challenge to itt by Mr Robison, tho secured and challenged by the lord of the maner.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ In miscellaneous documents Freke identifies Towers' son as Arthur, who is not mentioned in his father's will (B, fol. 41v; NRO, 346 Famm). 'Arthur Towers, gent., eldest son of Henry T. of North Runcton, Norfolk, gent.', entered Gray's Inn on 3 June 1697, possibly after he had matriculated at Queens' College on 5 July 1693 (*Register of Gray's Inn*, 349; Venn, iv. 256). An Arthur Towers was commissioned in 1705 a lieutenant in Colonel Edmund Soame's regiment; George Dashwood was a lieutenant-colonel in the same unit. Soame and Dashwood died on board the fleet at Torbay in September 1706 (*English Army List*, v. 190, 176; iii. 69; Luttrell, vi. 84, 85). Their names do not appear in the courts martial preserved in PRO, WO 71/13 (1692–1710) and 71/1 (1706–11).

¹⁹⁶ John Berney, the son of Thomas and Sarah Berney, was married to Philippa Browne; their son Thomas became a recorder of Lynn. Probably one of the two captains listed by this name in the 1697 Norfolk militia, he is identified as a voter from Weasenham in the 18 February 1714/15 *Poll for the Knights of the Shire* (Norwich, 1715), 235 (Carthew, ii. 465; *Norfolk Lieutenancy*, 123; Mason, i. 435).

¹⁹⁷ High Barnet or Chipping Barnet, eleven miles from London on the North Road.

¹⁹⁸ Robison has not been linked with William Robison, whose name appears on the 1692 tax rate, or William Robinson from nearby Narford, listed on the 1715 *Poll for the*
2d I, Eliz Frek, wentt and hired a coach and wentt againe my selfe and made my second challenge to my coach maire beffore Justice Haddly, swore to itt to be mine, [and] paid all itts charges att Barrnard.¹⁹⁹ I were bound over to the said Justice Haddly in a bond of forty pound to the queen to prosecute the rogue att St Allbons sessions (and there to hange him or loose my maire, which cost me neer twenty guinyes but a month before).

Jully i3 Wensday, Jully i3, I wentt in my own coach againe to St Allbons and tooke my cosin Herlackendane with me to the quarter sesions (twenty miles from London) to the tryall and execution of this rogue George Marlow. i4 Where on the fowrtenth I satte on the justices bench by the justysies, maire, and recorder; where I had the greatest hardship ever forcest on a gentlewoman by their forceing me to hange this rogue, he being taken on her back.200 And when the justices and jury saw I would nott hange him, nothing would sattisfye them butt she then belonged to the lord of the manner. Which I told the bench possesion beeing nineteen parts of the law I would nott easily part with her, butt I would pay whatt ever fees and charges they pleased to impose on me besids my charge and trouble past. Soe affter aboutt two howrs dispute of the whole bench of justices, maire, recorder, lord of the maner, and the jury, itt was agreed I should then prosecute him att the Old Bayly sessions in London the Fryday senight affter. Which I positively reffused, as likewise the generall quarter sessions thatt month att St Allbons. Affter which I were by the justices and gentlemen handsomly dismist, affter itt had cost me neer ten pounds besids my troublesom jorneys for aboutt five severall days.

i5 The fiffteenth day, being St Swithings, I returned againe home to London to my sister Austens house in Ormand Streett very ill of my tissick.²⁰¹ A very fine day. Eliz. Freke

25 Jully the 25 I wentt from London, being Monday, to the Bath in

Knights of the Shire, 148. The lord of the Barnet manor was Thomas Cooke (The Victoria History of Hertfordshire, ed. William Page, 4 vols. [London, 1902–14], ii. 331).

¹⁹⁹ George Hadley, the justice of peace, matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford in 1666 (*Hertfordshire County Records*, ed. William Le Hardy, 10 vols. [Hertford, 1905-57], vii. 376; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, ii. 627). Prosecutions for the loss of personal property were still the responsibility of the victims, who also bore the expenses (J. M. Beattie, *Crime and Courts in England*, 1660-1800 [Princeton, 1986], 36).

²⁰⁰ The mayor of St Albans was Matthew Hubbard (A. E. Gibbs, *The Corporation Records of St. Albans* [St Albans, 1890], 105). No mention of Freke or the charge appears in the Hertfordshire County Records Calendar. The records of St Albans Liberty quarter sessions and St Albans Borough quarter sessions for this period do not exist at the Hertfordshire Record Office.

 $^{\rm aoi}$ Ormond Street, 'a str. of fine New Buildings' on the north side of Red Lion Square between Red Lion Street and Devonshire Street (Hatton, i. 61).

my own coach with my sister Austen and her maide.²⁰² **29** Where in fowre days I thank God I came safe and easy with my two horses, butt my selfe soe ill with my tissick and astma that I durst nott [fol. 74r] use the Bath, the doctters telling mee iff I wentt in I would never come outt alive againe. And the watters which I drunke 5 or six days soe swell'd me I were forcst to leave them. Doctter Baynard was my doctter there.²⁰³ Soe affter a fortnight stay att Bath, Sir Georg Norton and my deer sister Norton sentt there horses and servants to mee to Bath for to bring me to Leigh.

Agust ii or i2 Where affter i4 miles of very bad way, I came Thursday, Agustt the eleventh, to Sir George Nortons to Abbotts Leigh in order to goe for Ireland; wher I staide by theire perswasions with my Lord Chiefe Justice Pine to goe with me over and his further service there for me till the i2 of September.²⁰⁴

September i2 And noe man of warr being to be had in thatt my month stay with my deer sister and Sir George Norton, Monday, the twelfe of September, I were forcst by my own businiss to goe home. When the first day I had Sir Georg Nortons horses and servants, three of them, goe with mee, being very ill. **i9** Yett in five days misserable high watter, bad wayes, and weather, I humbly thank God I compased London, itt being Fryday, the i9 of September.

26 Att London I rested my selfe in lodgings very ill for one week till the Fryday affter, being 26 of September, when I attempted in my own coach to come home for Billny. Wher by Gods greatt mercy to me I compassed home in five days and time enough to seaise my house and take me a sett of new servants. And in the compass of i4, fourteen, weeks I have bin with these my two horses above five hundred miles and I think never once whiptt, butt by Gods mercy brought me safe and well home to my deerly beloved Billney, and brought with me a large sillver flagan for the communion table cost me aboutt i3 or fowrteen pounds, which I intend to present to the church.²⁰⁵ Eliz Freke

²⁰² By the beginning of the eighteenth century Bath had between two and three thousand permanent residents; another 8,000 came to drink the water and bathe in the hot springs. Two theatres, two coffee houses, and a pump room offered by 1710 a growing challenge to the amenities of the other major spa, Tunbridge Wells (Sylvia McIntyre, 'Bath: the Rise of a Resort Town, 1660–1800', in *Country Towns in Pre-industrial England*, ed. Peter Clark [Leicester, 1981], 198–249; Hembry, *The English Spa*, 85–93, 111–20).

²⁰³ Edward Baynard (c. 1640–1717) practised medicine in Bath as well as in London. A fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London, he was the author of *Health, a Poem*, which went through numerous eighteenth-century editions (William Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 2nd edn., 3 vols. [London, 1878], i. 451; Wallis, 39).

²⁰⁴ Pyne's second wife was Catherine Norton, the sister of Elizabeth Freke's brotherin-law George Norton to whom Sir Richard bequeathed \pounds_{20} in his will (Morris, 'The Pynes of Co. Cork', 708; PRO, PROB 11/513/24).

²⁰⁵ Freke notes in the parish register the 21 September 1709 purchase of the silver flagon in London for f_{12} . Thirteen inches in height, it is inscribed 'The gift of Mrs.

September 29 I discharged Mr Buck, the minester of Billny church, the bishop of Norwich haveing sentt me word by him he would force my takeing a lycence under him. Which as itt will lessen my intrest there, I haveing never yett bin threatned with the like in forty years neer in possesion of itt, I am resolved to try itts right. And in all which time I have never received two pence in tiths this forty years, tho I have kept a minester to itt outt of my own generossity att above twenty pounds a yeare. Yett I will nott be forcst to itt, butt I will try my right with the bishops of Norwich, to whome I writt the following letter and sentt att his vissettatyon, being Octtober the 20, i709.

[fol. 74v]

i709, Octtobr 20 A letter I wrott to the bishop of Norwich, Doctter Charles Trimnell, from Billney when hee suspended Mr Buck, then minester of the parrish (by my guift), because he officiated without his lycence,²⁰⁶ Eliz Freke:

My Lorde,

Att my returne from the west last week, Mr Buck came to me and informed me thatt your lordship had forbid his further attendance on my church att Billney without your licence, and in obedience to your command I have this day discharged him. I should have thoughtt itt a presumtion in me to have asked a licence where I knew there was noe tithes or indowments butt whatt my generosyty bestows or deserved from me. And I have bin oner of this place neer forty years and never had by these severall bishops, Doctter Moore, Doctter Floyde, and Doctter Sparrow, your predessours, ever any trouble from them or the least tittle of my rightt questioned in this kind.²⁰⁷ Nor did I ever receive to my knowledg a peny tithe from this place [in] my life. I disputte nott your lordships rightt, and farr be itt from me to intrench on your

Eliz. Freke to her Church of West Bilney, owner of the Parish and relict of Percy Freke, Esq. September 21st, 1709, there interred June 7th, 1706' (H. S. Radcliffe, 'Church Plate in Norfolk – Deanery of Lynn Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 18 [1914], 265).

²⁰⁶ Charles Trimnell (1663–1723), prebend of Norwich and archdeacon of Norfolk, succeeded John Moore as bishop of Norwich in February 1707/8. He remained its bishop until August 1721, when he assumed the see of Winchester (Blomefield, iii. 592–3; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 60, 47, 39).

²⁰⁷ A marginal note states 'From the yeare i672'. Anthony Sparrow (1612–1685), bishop of Exeter, was appointed to the see of Norwich in August 1676, where he remained bishop until his death on 19 May 1685. William Lloyd (1637–1710), who succeeded Sparrow as bishop of Norwich in July 1685, lost this position in February 1690/1 after he refused to swear his allegiance to William III. John Moore (1647–1714), consecrated bishop of Norwich in July 1691, held this position until 1707, when he became bishop of Ely (Blomefield, iii. 586–90; Mason, i. 422, 424–5; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 39).

prerogitives, butt I begg you will nott putt me to any trouble to defend my just right to this soe small a place consisting but of six little tennaments besids my own house. Yett I have hitherto by my greatt venerattion to the church and my own honour ecliptt my selfe to allow a small matter to a neighbour minster to officyatt in itt once every Sunday my whole time, a greatt part of which Mr Adams of Pentney did serve in itt till his notorious life was soe unsupportable to me thatt I rather chose to displace him then complaine on him. Affter which I fixtt my self on Mr Buck, which I conceived more perticulerly under your lordships favour and protecttion by your presenting him with Gyton a marke of itt. My lord, I doe nott feare your justice and favour to mee or conciderattion of my condition as a woman and an unhapy widow. Nor would I desire a better judg then your selfe in this case, or with your leave or refusal I will reffer my selfe and itt to the arch bishop of Canterbury by waiteing on him. For I cannott affter forty years except of new conditions [that] may prejudice my right and and be injurious to my children and familly. Butt if your lordship will be pleased to endow [fol. 75r] this little chappell of mine, I shall take itt for a greatt honour to have such a patron to itt; and then to presentt to itt will be a greatt charity to the poore widow and to this little village to be soe eased of my further trouble in itt. I doe most humbly beg your lordships pardon for this forced trouble and leave to tender you my most humble dutty and service. Begging your blessing, doe subscribe my selfe

Your most humble servant,

Eliza. Freke

Superscribed: For the Right Reverend Charles, lord bishop of Norwich, humbly presentt

The lord bishops answer to this my letter from London datted the 29 of November i709 came nott to me till the 7 of December:

Madam,

I was in soe much hurry the rest of the time thatt I stayed in Norfolk after the receitt of your letter thatt I had nott time to answer itt there; nor can I answer itt soe perticulerly from hence as I could doe from Norwich, from whence you might and may still receive an accountt thatt the curattes of your parish ought to have a licence from the bishops for the discharge of thatt office. Your nomination of him does nott exempt him from my jurisdicttion. And tho I have no exception to the person himselfe, haveing collated him to a liveing in my dispossall, yett I had soe much the more reason to expect that he would nott take upon him the service of another cure under my jurisdicttion withoutt my authority, which I doe insist on as nessesary. Tho rather then the service should be neglected, I consentt for the presentt that itt should be in your own way till I am able to convince you thatt you are both obliged to provide a curatte and allsoe to provide such a one as I shall approve. I desire, iff possible, to have noe difference with you or with any one elce, butt this is a poyntt upon which the good order thatt the dioceses dos soe much depend [fol. 75v] thatt I cannott departt from itt. And I hope thatt when you have more fully concidered itt you will nott dispute itt with, madam,

> Your very faithfull, humble servantt, Charles Norwich²⁰⁸

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This letter, tho dated the 29 of November in London, I did nott receive itt till the seventh of December i709. Eliz Freke

i709, September 29 I haveing discharged Mr Buck by the bishops order from his further attendance on my church heer att Billney withoutt his lycence, which I refused, haveing bin in the posesion of itt neer forty years and in all thatt time never yett had my right questioned either by Docter Sparrow, Doctter Floyde, and Doctter Moore, your predicessours, I could nott give up my right withoutt its tryall. Which has occationed my inspection into the old records.

Octtobr 20, i620 Where I find thatt the state of this place and church with the donative of Pentney are both parts and parcells of the late desolved monastary there of Pentney and that in i620, in an old maniscript of the church, thatt affter thatt desolution of the monastray of Pentney, when Thomas Windam, Esqr, was then lord of the maner, thatt West Billney and Pentney was then an impropiation and stipendery and thatt then in the yeare i620 was likewise stipendery with this difference only, thatt Pentny payes tributt or takes wages (and tithes).²⁰⁹

i675 And in the yeare i675 my deer father did permitt Mr Adams to the service of Pentney and Billney church, now six and thirty years agoe, being December 7, i709, dureing his pleasure and did allow him a salary for itt. In the same manascrip I find neither Billney or Pentney subject or liable to institution or induction butt both stipendary

²⁰⁸ The original letter is in BL, Add. MS. 45721 A, fols. 5r-v, 6v. Aside from some variations in spelling, Freke's transcription is accurate.

²⁰⁹ Francis Wyndham gained possession of the West Bilney and Pentney property from Sir Thomas Mildmay. His descendants Thomas and Henry Windham sold the holding to Sir Edward Bullock, who conveyed it to Sir Thomas Richardson (Blomefield, ix. 40, viii. 354). Donative: a benefice bestowed by the patron without the bishop's presentation or authorization. Impropriation: granting a lay person or corporation, known as an impropriator, a benefice or the right to its revenues. Stipendiary: a clergyman who receives a stipend or salary.

donatives – both which my father, Ralph Frek, Esqr, did then presentt to both churches (Mr Adams).²¹⁰

i620 And in the same maniscrip I find thatt to make an appropiation licence itt must be obtained of the kinge in chancery, and the consentt of the dyocesan pattron and incumbantt are nessesary iff the church be full. Butt iff the church be voyde, the diocesan and the patron upon the kings licence may conclude itt.

i620 In the same maniscrip I find an appropriation is thus described: itt is a terme [in] our law (or the church law) when any corparett body or pryvatte person hath the right and converts the proffitts of an ecclesiasticall liveing to his or theire own use, only mainetaineing a vicker or curatte to serve the cure.

i709, November 7 This I took outt of a maniscrip [fol. 767] of the church of Padors Winch by Mr Edward Smith, vicker of thatt place, who has held thatt church about twenty years neer.²¹¹ Taken outt of the maniscript November the 7, i709, by Eliza. Freke.

i4 Aboutt November the i4 I writt to my Lord William Richerson to know iff his lordship laid any claime or challenge to the donative of Pentney church, my deer father Ralph, Esqr, presentting last to itt and to West Billney in the yeare i675; and iff he challenged noe right to itt, hee would give me leave to try mine with the lord of the manor.²¹² In which I desired the Lord Richersons answer and to these ensueing querryes, who very honorably did the same day.²¹³

Query i Whether the donative of Pentney be depending upon the maner, or whether itt be a rightt singly and sepratly by itts selfe.

Query 2 Whether itt be paide outt of any perticuler estate or outt of the whole estate, and in whatt proportions.

Query 3 Who hath the right and tittle to nominatt to this donative, and by whatt intrest they have a nomination.

Query 4 Whether the presenttation or nomination to a single life may bee vallued, and att whatt purchase [if] more then a year and a halfe.

Query 5 Whether the perpettuall advowson to a liveing is offten vallued att three years purchas.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Institution: the bishop's granting of a parish to a cleric. Induction is the last and ceremonial step in the appointment of an incumbent, confirming his authority in the parish (*ODCC*, 839, 829).

²¹¹ Pedders Winch is an older variant of East Winch (Blomefield, ix. 152).

²¹² William Richardson (1654–1719), the third son of Thomas Richardson, became Lord Cramond on the death of his brother Henry in 1702. He and the wife of his second marriage, Elizabeth Daniel of Norwich, had a son, William, with whom the title ended on his death in 1735 (*Scots Peerage*, ii. 583–4; Rye, ii. 734).

²¹³ These queries and an often similar summary account of her church conflict also appear in miscellaneous documents, B, fols. 337-34r, and W, fols. 115r-113r.

²¹⁴ Presentative advowsons are held by individuals or patrons with the power to

Query 6 Whether there be an institution or induction to the church of Pentney or only a donattive. Eliza Freke

To which answer thatt by the maniscrip of i620 sayes thatt there is nither institution or induction requisite to Billney or Pentney church. Mr Edward Smith, vicker of Winch, has the book from whence I took out these informations to the justifyecation of Eliza Freke.

December i4 i4 of December i709 I took outt of the same manascrip att Padors Winch by Mr Smith, vicker of thatt place: a donative benyficio is thatt which is meerly given and collatted to a man by the pattron withoutt either presentation to or institution by the ordinary or induction by his commandementt – see the stattute ano. 8 of Richard the 2d, Second, chapter the 4th.²¹⁵ Eliza Freke

i709/i0, Febuary i3 On examination of [the] Winch manyscrip in Mr Edward Smiths hand, vicker of Paders Winch, I find Billney and Pentny churches are both of them peculers and impropiations, neither subject to institution, or induction, or lapsing to or licence of the bishop, butt both donatives in which my deer father did place Mr Adams, i675, dureing his pleasure and mine and my heirs, &c.; and thatt Billney has nott a foott of gleab butt is stipendry; Pentney pays tythes and recieves wages, and has soe continued since the desolution of thatt monastry, about a hundred and fiffty years since.²¹⁶ Eliza Freke

[fol. 76v]

i709, Decembr i4 Another letter I writt to the lord bishop of Norwich of thanks in answer to his of the 29 of November i709, and itt was written by me to him December the i4, i709, Eliz Freke:

I doe returne to your lordship all the gratfull thanks I am culpable of acknowledging for the honour of your letter and your goodness and justice in condesending to my just rightt in my little chapple, in which I shall observe my dutty and your commands in placing in itt one your lordshipp may approve of and as soon as possible I can provide my self. In the intrim I have with your leave taken care for a sacramentt att Xmas and for christnings and buryalls on my accountt, Mr Buck now nott being in this country, whose good carractor amongst his neighbours and your lordships patronise of him in Gyton was my error and nott

nominate a clergyman to a living or benefice; collative advowsons are controlled by the bishop, who appoints clergy to these positions (ODCC, 21).

²¹⁵ No relevant statute appears among those listed for the reign of Richard II in *The Statutes of the Realm*, 12 vols. (London, 1810–28).

²¹⁶ A peculiar parish is not under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop or ordinary. Glebe is the land set aside for the support of the incumbent, who has the right to lease it (*ODCC*, 681).

his. Butt since your lordship does nott approve of him, I am in treaty with another for itt, which is pritty hard to doe or gett where there is nott one peny settlementt on itt for encouragementt of a curratt to serve itt. For tho [in] my greatt veneration to the church as the house of God and my own property I give to itt whatt I please, yett I feare they thatt survive me will nott doe as I have done. For, my lord, on my examination of this register datted i560, I find 8 severall curatts (to the year i675 my deer father pressented Mr Adams with my consentt); I cannott find one shilling allowed for their subsistance to Billney butt the duttys of the church and charrityes of good people. Be pleased to concider who will serve itt on unsertaintys; for my life itt shall nott want bread, I love itt soe well - iff I may enjoy itt with ease and quiett. I need nott informe your lordship thatt the donative of this little chappell with Pentney are both stipendry impropryations and parcell of thatt dissolveed monastry, both these donatives in my property. Butt Pentney pays tithes and receives wages (and is licenced), as the church records mention. Butt Billney has nought to depend on. And both peculers. My lord, I never were a beger in my life; butt might I presume to be a pettitioner to your lordship, itt would bee to putt me in a way this church might pertake in a small pention of her majesties bounty settled on such vacancies to the encouragement of a curratt for itt when I am dead.²¹⁷ I doe most humbly intreatt your good lordship to concider of this charitty to a small church in your own dioces to which I have lately laid outt above a hundred pounds in the inside of itt and the outt partt, and itt was butt last Michellmas [fol. 77r] I gave to the comunion table a silver flagon cost me allmost fiffteen pounds. Besids itt is a greatt generosity to the poore widdow thatt owns itt. Butt iff this may nott suitt your conveniency, I humbly begg you will pardon this, my presumtion, giveing me leave to tender you my most humble dutty and service, and craveing your blesing doe ever subscribe my selfe your most obedientt, humble servantt,

Eliza. Freke

Superscrightt: For the Reverend Charls Trimnell, lord bishop of Norwich, humbly present

i709/i0, January first Sunday, New Years Day and my unhappy birth day, the church being vacantt by the bishop suspending Mr Buck for preaching att Billney withoutt his lycence, I gott Mr Smith, vicker of Winch, to preach for me there and to give the sacramentt in the

²¹⁷ Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1704 a corporation was established to augment the incomes of needy clergy by dispensing the revenues raised from first fruits and tenths, 'royal taxes on ecclesiastical dignities and benefices' (G. F. A. Best, *Temporal Pillars* [Cambridge, 1964], 21, 31).

church and to me, of whome I took itt, the church being thatt day vacantt a quarter of a yeare. I paid Mr Smith for his sermon and service that day twenty shillings and to his son 5 shillings and to the two clarks more five shillings.²¹⁸

3d And more, I gave poor Thom Betts chilldren, three of them, new cloths outt of this mony I saved of the church. Cost mee, both soms, above fifty shillings.²¹⁹

4 And to poore Mary Frek, come to me to crave my assistance and help to her, to whome I gave in charity five pounds and sentt to her sister Ann twenty shillings by her.²²⁰ Which I take to bee more charity then to be drunk outt by Mr Adams, &c. And both these sums come to aboutt 8-io-o. In payment of the next quarter ending nextt Lady Day will be thirty shillings more. E Frek

5 Mr Smith came and cristned Goode Croses child and did then church the woman for mee.²²¹ EF

i709/i0, Febuary i3 I wer Febuary the i3 citted to apeer att the bishops of Norwich courte ther to be held Febuary the one and twenty, i709, by the chancellour, Doctter Thomas Taner, with his cittation underwriten, Eliz Frek.²²² By him dereictted to Elizabeth Freke of West Bilney in the county of Norfolk and dioces of Norwich, widdow, propryetory of the parish church there.

February i3, i709

Madam,

By vertue of a process under seale to you heerwith shown, I cite you to appeer (iff you think itt your intrest soe to doe) att the lord bishop of Norwich his consistory courte, holden in the cathedrall church in Norwich upon Tuesday, the one and twentieth day of Febuary in the yeare of our Lord Christ i709 att the howre accustomed for heering

²¹⁸ Smith's son Thomas was baptized in East Winch on 18 May 1695.

²¹⁹ Thomas Betts' first wife, Alice, was buried on 8 August 1697; his second wife, Mary, whom he married on 13 February 1697/8, was buried on 15 November 1707. Five children were also baptized and one buried in West Bilney.

²²⁰ Mary and Ann Freke are not in the local parish registers, nor have these sisters been identified among the siblings of the same names in the Freke genealogy.

²²¹ Freke records in the parish register, 'Sarah Cross daughter of Henry Cross and Frances his wife was Baptized by Mr Smith Vicker of Winch Dec 7, 1709, Eliz Curatt'. The Crosses were married in Pentney on 20 August 1704; Frances was buried there on 10 April 1711. 'The Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth, Commonly Called the Churching of Women' (Book of Common Prayer), usually occurred a month after childbirth, marking the end of the period in which the mother traditionally kept to her house and did not participate in church services.

²²² Thomas Tanner (1674–1735) became the chaplain of the bishop of Norwich John Moore, who appointed him chancellor of the diocese in 1701. Later a canon at Ely and at Christ Church, Oxford, Tanner became archdeacon of Norfolk in 1721 and bishop of St Asaph in 1732 (Mason, i. 566; Blomefield, iii. 636–7). causes there.223 Then and there good and sufficientt cause, iff any such you be able in due forme of law, to shew why the tithes and proffitts belonging to the appropryatt parrish church of West Billney, afforesaid, or a ssufficyentt portion thereof should nott be sequestered and keptt under sequestration for and towards the sallary or stippentt of an able curratt to be licensed and appoynted dully to serve the cure of souls of the parishoners of West Billney, afforesaide, (which as the said court is credibly informed hath bin neglected and unserved for severall [fol. 77v] months past nor is att presentt provided for with any settled curratt) and further to doe and receive as to law and justice shall appertaine. And further, I doe heerby intimatt to you thatt iff you doe nott appeer att the said time and place or, appeering, iff you doe nott shew good cause and suffycient to the contrary, the judg of the saide consistory courte or his lawfull surrogate will sequester and keep or cause to bee keptt under sequestration the said tithes and profitts or a ssufficentt portion thereof for and towards the use above mentioned, your absence or rather contumacy affter service heerwith in any wise nottwithstanding.

Supperscribed: For Madam Freke this

My answer to this summons in a letter Febuary the 20, i709[/i0], dereicted to the chanceller:

Sir,

I were honoured by your parritor to appeer att your courte on my pyrrill the one and twentyeth instantt;²²⁴ where I wish I coulde come, butt I have nott bin cross my chamber since last November. Therfore I canott come; nor doe I know whatt business I have there except to answer for my extravagencys to the church in supporting a minester six and thirty years as I have done Mr Adams, and Mr Buck neer two years, and need nott have done itt, and paid them outt of my own pockett. Which could nott have bin forced on me or a penny from mee for itt butt in respectt to my deer father, who placed him heer and att Pentney, and some pitty to his family with a due respectt for my selfe.

Butt since I find my generositty and extravagency in this kind is endeavouread to make me a property, itt is high time for me to concider thatt my imprudence may nott exceed my justice to my children and

 $^{^{223}}$ Consistory courts conducted by chancellors heard ecclesiastical cases within the diocesses on nondoctrinal issues involving charges against ministers and financial affairs. The court of appeal from the diocesan consistory court was the archbishop's court; the London court of the archbishop of Canterbury was held at the court of the Arches (*Oxford Law*, 274–5).

²²⁴ Parritor, an obsolete form of paritor: a summary officer of an ecclesiastical court.

grandchildren and be injurious to them in placeing an unjust charge on them they are nott liable to.

In my deer husbands time I had enough to be generous with; now only my joynter to depend on for my life, which must force me to retrench my extravagencys to nesesarys. And I greatly lamentt thatt the bishop in his whole dioces cannot find a more worthy person to evidence his displeasure to then an unhappy widdow loaded with years and burdened with infirmityes. And I am grived to be a mark of his lordships displeasure, butt I must submitt to itt amongst my other misfortunes. And being a weak woman, helpless and noe friend in this country, I begg his lordships leave I may deffend my right under the queen in the arch bishops courte in London, wher I have severall friends and relations will appeer for me who better understand this business then I doe. For I humbly conceive thatt the bishop and your selfe may bee both under a mistake as to my church; which is a peculer, and mine, and an impryation neither subject to institution or induction or lapsing or licence from the bishop butt only in the queen and my disposall, as is under the same circumstances Pentney church, and in my nomination only, by my register I find, thatt pays tithes and receives wages. Both churches [are] stipendery and peculliers, and both my father placed Mr Adams inn dureing his and my pleasure.

Nor need I informe you, sir, who keep the register, thatt Mr Perce, who officioeted heer as curratt for neer forty years, viz., from i636 to i673, aboutt which yeare I did in pitty to him give him with my sister Austen a guiny.²²⁵ He then lived in a little thacht house of mine of forty shillings a yeare and drew alle for his subsistance, which had there bin either gleab or tithes he need nott have done. And iff his lordship can find any gleab heer or tithes, I shall nott detaine itt from the church.

Nor could I have displaced Mr Adams and putt Mr Buck in his room had nott my powre by my register warrented mee – a man thatt was coallated by the bishop to Gyton, therfore I presumed unobjecttable as to his person, as I have under the bishop hand to show in his letter to me; and hee offichyetter for me a year and a half, for which I paide him. Yett he was by you and the bishop in my absence last Agust [fol. 78r] forbid his further service heer on my pirrill withoutt his further licence, soe att Michellmas I paid him off. Sir, this I thinke very hard thatt my selfe and my familly and my little parrish should be forced to seek shellter in other churches and have one of my own. Butt loveing quiett, I must submitt to authority and shall as to my contience in the further ease of thatt charge for the time to come. And since this my church cannott be lapst to his lordship, itt being a peculer and mine, I

²²⁵ Arthur Peirse/Pierce, educated at Caius and ordained a priest in 1625, became curate of Pentney and West Bilney in 1636 (Venn, iii. 328).

will in humanity and charity allow for my life three sermons a yeare with sacraments, xings, and burialls att the usuall times att my own charge. As I had on last Xmass, soe I have taken care for one att Easter with the sacramentt. Sir, I have lived to above sixty years of age without the infamy of a bishops courte, which to me, I hope, will prove the court of honour by evidenceing of my generossitty to itt and my charrity to this church and the sopport of itt for soe many years thatt were nott obliged to itt, or can any thing be forced from me for itt or my children. Therfore I hope when my lord bishop has more seariously concidered itt and my generossitty soe longe he will be soe good, generous, and charitable as to settle a subsistance for a currate on itt. In which iff his lordship please butt to deposite one hundred and fiffty pounds, which is nothing to him, I will make a hard shift to putt as much more presently to itt to be laid outt for a curratt for ever for this church rather then one in his diocess shall wantt the service of God in itt. Butt iff what I offer cannott bee obtained, I must rest sattisfyed I have done my best endeavours and nott shewed my self mercinary to the church or injurious to my honour. This long scrole craves itts pardon and leave to subscribe,

Your unknown servantt,

Eliza. Freke

Superscribed: For Doctter Thomas Tanner, chancellour of Norwich

The chancellour of Norwich letter to me, Eliz Freke, aboutt my church datted Febuary 28, i709[/i0], in answer to the above:

Madam,

I had the favour of yours of the i6 instantt, butt nott till some time affter the datte; and I give you the trouble of this to sett you, iff posible, right in this affaire of Billney, which is nott nor ever was a peculiar butt subjectt in every thing to the lord bishop visitation and other jurysdiction as much as any other parish in the diocess. Tis true of late years thatt there has bin noe institution and induction, tho we have ten or eleven upon our booke. Yett iff itt was a meer impropiation, noe body will informe you thatt thatt makes itt exempt. Itt was an institutive recttory in the patronage of the pryer and convent of Pentney, who gott itt appropiated to them aboutte the yeare i350 and for severall years affter presented an institutive vicker. Butt some time beefore the desolution the vickerage seems to have binn desolved; and the cure was taken care by them to have gott and regullerly served by some stipendury curratt or one of ther own cannons, which they were obliged to doe upon the appropiation of the greatt tithes. Upon the desolution this impropiatt came into the crowne butt expressly by actt of parliamentt charged with the same burdens, payments, &c., as when in

the posession of the pryer and conventt. And you thatt have itt by purchas or otherwise from the crowne enjoy itt upon the same conditions: the reppaires of the chancell; and the providing a conformable curratte to be approved of by the bishop; the paying of procurations, sinodalls, and such other eccleasticall dues which are by the law of the land [fol. 78v] annexed to the possession of tythes, whether in clergy or lay hands.²²⁶ Soe thatt I crave leave to differ from you in my sentyments aboutt the allowance of twenty pound per anum by your self and father and predycessours to the curratt of Billney which you say has bin of pure charrity. I think you are of right obliged to itt by the laws of God and man. And I am aptt to think itt must concerne a lady of your sence and edication in contience to receive the whole tithes and gleab which were dedicated to the service of God, and take noe further care of itt then thatt itt be performed three times in a yeare. You are sencible thatt you are in the eyes of our law parson, tho you cannott officiatt your selfe; yett seeing you enjoy the revenues, you should outt of them find some clergyman to take care of the souls of the parishoners and thatt this may be reguler done. The excleasticall law of this realme provids thatt none shall bee admitted to officiatt as currate in any church without quallifyeing themselves by subscribbing the Articles, declarations of conformitty, takeing the oathes, &c., before the ordynary, who is thereupon to lycense him under seale. In this manner I can assure you the curatts of Billney have acknowledged the episcopal jurisdiction for above a hundred years past (Mr Howling, Mr Browne, Mr Dey, Mr Perce, and Mr Adams).²²⁷ The same thing was expected of Mr Buck, who, refuseing itt by your express command under the notion of being a peculiar and exempt, was inhibbitting from officiatting in thatt church whereunto he had noe legall addmission by institution of lycence from the ordinary. Iff you please to send him to my lord bishop or me to doe those things which the queens excleasticall law requirs of every clergyman before he presume to undertake a cure of soules, or any other to be curratt there before our Lady Day nextt, there will be an end of this controversy. Iff nott, you must nott blame my lord for takeing such meassuers as by law he may to provide for the due service of the church, which I dare be positive will fall upon

²²⁶ Procurations and synodals: fees paid to the archdeacon or bishop for his visitations; procurations, which were paid annually, were also subsidies supporting the poor.

²²⁷ Bartholomew Howlinge was admitted to Caius in 1580 and ordained a priest in 1583; the next year he became curate of Pentney. John Browne, a curate in 1562, is not listed among those entering either Oxford or Cambridge. Oliver Day or Dey, educated at Caius and ordained a priest in 1609, was curate of West Bilney from 1620 to 1633 (Venn, ii. 420, 23). Separate lists of curates in the miscellaneous documents (B, fol. 34r; W, fols. 113r, 110r) also include Clemont Bacon (1612–), Robert Powis (1616–), William Pewlax/Pontax/Powtack (1620–) and Thomas Hudson (1631–); none appears among those educated at Oxford and Cambridge.

you att last. Butt, madam, doe nott take my word (tho iff itt was the case of my own mother, I must bee of the same oppinion), butt consult any doctter or proctter in the arch bishops courte (whether you must appeale iff any wrong be attempted to be done you heer), and tell them your own state of the case and whatt I tell you of the other side. And further, iff you please, thatt itt can be proved thatt this parish church of Billney has binn subject to the ordinary of the bishop of Norwich; thatt the church has bin constantly vissetted by the arch deacons of Norwich in thatt respectt; and on thatt accountt procurations and sinnadalls are paide, the church wardens annually sworne and admitted by the ordinary, the currats appeer att the visitation and have bin till this last licensed by the lord bishop or his vicker generall; and thatt the parishoners have had from time immemoriall service performed every Lords Day by such curratt, to whome has binn paid twenty pound perr anum by your selfe and ancestors. And I scarce think any person thatt understands the eccleastical laws of this realme will give itt as his oppinion thatt Billney is an exempt peculiar, and thatt the parisheners have nott a right to have devine service and sermons every Lords Day, and the bishop has nott a right to licence the curratte there nor powre to oblige you to find such. Itt is, I assure you, grievous to me to doe any thing uneasy to any body, espesially to a gentlewoman of your guallitty, soe thatt I hope you will concider better of this matter and send Mr Buck or other fitt person to be licensed withoutt more trouble to your selfe or me. For without your submision of your curratt to my lords authority, the proceedings begun canott be stoptt unless by breach of thatt trust my lord reposes in. Madam,

> Your most humble servantt, Thomas Tanner

Transcribed by me, Eliz Freke, March 5, i709[/i0].

[fol. 79r]

My answer I wrott to the chancellours letter datted the 28 of Febuary and answered by me, Eliza Frek, March the 7, i709[/i0]; to Doctter Thomas Taner, chancellour of Norwich, superscribed:

Sir,

I am obliged to you for the favour of your letter and the kind information in itt you are pleased to give me aboutt my church and your further permision in asking advice of my friends before I actt any thing in this matter, tho I dare as much depend on your justice as there frindship. Yett being a widdow and, I hope, mother of fowre chilldren and grandchildren and a party of executor to my deer deceased husband, I canott with justice actt in any thing withoutt my partner executor; which now I have your permission, I shall write up to London aboutt itt. And in the meantime I intreat you will heer my weak defence I shall offer to your more serious concideration.

First, as to Mr Adams haveing a licence, I never knew itt till last Agust, nor did my father, who placed him in Billney and Pentney. Whose notorious life was soe offencive to my age I were nott able longer to bear itt, and butt last week I sentt him word I would ejectt him outt of Pentney and putt in a currate to serve both these churches iff he were nott better then hee is. Sir, you need nott question my contience when I have in honour to my deer father for above six and thirty years supported with twenty pounds a yeare the most ungratefull and worst of his function, butt I concider his age.

Then for Mr Perce, hee served this place for many years to my knowledg withoutt a peny sallary, tho promised itt. And for the greatt tithes which your letter mentions I receive in this place, give mee leave to tell you thatt ther is nott one aker of land thatt my father has nott purchased att itts full vallue, and every aker specifyed in my deeds and inrolled by a decree in chancery which, iff I may nott be beleft, may there be seen for half a crown. Affter which my father in generosity permitted my Lady Richerson withoutt trouble to enjoy the thirds of this my estate for 28 years for her life, hee makeing up itts vallue to me outt of his own.

Then as to my owning of tithes by paying of procrations and sinadalls, how could I help itt when aboutt two yeares agoe one Clark, a proctter in your courte, came up to my bed chamber and threatned me [that] for aboutt fowre or five years he said was behind I should be made by him an example in the bishop courte, with such language as did nott become him to give a meaner person then my selfe.²²⁸ When att the same time, I saw by the book Pentney was three and twenty years in arrears. On which I wrott and complained to the arch deacon, who presently returned me his answer offering me to turne him outt. Which letter I keep in honour to him.

Butt, sir, iff you can find any gleabe or tithes on this estate, I shall bee most glad to have itt restored to the church with as much justice and honour as you can desire itt. Butt for me to make a settlementt on this church of twenty pounds a yeare and my youngest grandchild nott a groatt settled seems to me very unnaturall and which St Paule

²²⁸ Proctors, the equivalent of solicitors in the bishop's diocesan consistory court, were trained in Roman and canon law (*Oxford Law*, 1,004). No Clarks appear among the proctors listed in E. H. Carter, *The Norwich Subscription Books* (London, 1937), 70. Conceivably he could have been one of the several Clarks at Middle Temple called to the bar in the preceding decades (*Middle Temple Register*, i. 178, 230, 225, 226).

informes me is worse then an infidell.²²⁹ Besids, sir, give me leave to informe you as this estate is settled (itt is outt of my powre) by my father and my husband, my selfe and son being only tennants for life, affter which itt is fixtt on my grandson aboutt eight years of age. Therfore [it is] beyound my comprehention how you can affix a settlementt by me to this church except you can find any gleab or tithes. And itt is beyound my expression and trouble to me thatt I have laid my deer husband in the chancell wher I expect soon to goe to him my selfe and noe scertainty for a curratt to the church. And I doe, sir, with you in my contience think that this church oughtt to have an able curratt fitt to undertake the care of soules and twenty pounds a yeare settled for his maintenance. Butt itt is outt of my powre or possibility to doe itt, and whatt signifyes my few days continuance (thatt have nott gone the length of my chamber allmost this half yeare), exceptt you find outt a metthod for a scartainty to the church. Which iff such a one proper for Mr Freks executor to grantt and me nott to deny, I shall most gladly imbrace itt; and itt will be the joy of my soule to see a good one settled heer.

Sir, this time you perfix is much too shortt for me, a stranger in this country, [fol. 79v] to gett a curratt in. And iff I must lye under the sensure of your courte, tis hard affter haveing latly lost above ten thousand pounds for my religion I should receive a second excominycation from a Protestantt bishop and in England. And affter I have lived neer twenty years in Ireland under the shellter and favour of the arch bishop and all the Protestantt bishops there, to be made an example heer seems to me somewhatt cruell. Butt I must be att your mercy. Sir, this longe scrole must begg itts pardon and a continuance of your further favour to

Your humble servantt, Eliza. Freke

A letter I received from the chancellour of Norwich September the eight, i7io:

Madam,

Haveing had the misfortune for some time the papers of your queryes which was some time since left with me from you, I hope youl pardon my nott answering them sooner, this being the first returne of the wagon since they came to my hand.

Whatt ceremony or forme the church of Pentny is to be possession of or entred upon in Mrs Freks right.

²²⁹ 'But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel' (1 Timothy 5:8).

If the tithes and prophits belong to the church and rectory be demanded and received by Mrs Freke or her agents, iff they occupy the gleabe or receive rent for the same or hinder any person from being burryed in the chancell or the like, itt will be sufficientt. And further then thatt, you may appoynt some proctor to appeere judycially before my lord bishop or my selfe, and alleage and prove your right to the church, and nominate a fitt, conformable clergyman to bee your curatte there. Att his admision upon, your tittle will then be recorded in the actts of the lordd bishops consisttory courte, and you may have an exemplyfycation of itt under seale when ever you please.

Outt of regard to your worth and quallity, madam, I have stopt all proceedings with regard to West Billney above this halfe yeare in expecttation of Mr Smith, whom you promised should quallifye himselfe as by law required before my lord bishop or selfe. Butt this week Mr Buck [came] to offer himselfe as curratt. Butt because you had never mentioned him as such, I was nott willing any thing should be done in prejudice to your rightt and therfore stopt his licence for the presentt. For tho I don't beleive Mr Buck would applye withoutt your consentt, yett your right and title to the nomination and donation of thatt curracy would be better secured by two or three lines to thatt purpose under your hand. Which, when you please to favour me with, shall be dispatched; and soon Ile send Mr Buck his licence, and then there will be an end of thatt affaire. I am, madam,

> Your most humble servantt, Thom Tanner

September the i5, i7io. My answer to the above letter to the chancellour of Norwich, E Frek:

Sir,

I am obliged by the favour of yours of the 8 instantt, for which I returne you my thanks, and for your information as to Pentney church; and on the receitt of itt I did impart the heads of itt to Mr Adams and sent and demanded of him the key of thatt church by way of possesion.²³⁰ Butt this day he wrott me word the church warden had itt and would nott parte with itt (a pittyfull poor fellow in the parrish) [fol. 8or] nottwithstanding his severall letters of giveing me a quiett posesion when ever I please. Soe thatt I doubt I must ejectt him for itt, which I have bin tender in doeing because of his age and irreguler life and my deer fathers placeing of him there and in my Lord Thomas

²³⁰ Adams' resignation is included in BL, Add. MS. 45721 A: 'I doe hereby resigne my right and title to Pentney church into the hands of Madam Freke of Bilney. Witnesse my hand, Wm Adams June 5th 1710' (fol. 7r).

Richersons life time, i675, with this of Billney. Both which have continued together under the same circumstances and nomination since i562 in the donation of my Lord Richerson and under eight severall curratts, as I find by my register book. And since you have given your selfe this trouble, bee pleased to give me leave to state the thing to you of this my demand, fearing Mr Buck might mistake itt. Billney and Pentney being both impropiations and both under the same circumstancys in all their priviledges, only Pentney has some small tithes towards the support of itts curratt, and Billney has none. And both in the donation of the Lord Thomas Richerson, Baron Gramond, who sold the maner of Pentney to Thomas Windham, Esgr, of Ashwood, reserveing to himselfe some royalltyes as the church, &c., and then turned his estate in Pentney into coppy holds renewable every life, amongst which I have there forty five pounds a yeare, all which pay tithes [and] quitt rents to thatt courte of Ashwood. Butt the lord of thatt maner being lately dead, his executors pretend to dispute my right and tittle to the nomination of a minester to Pentney church as likewise its seats therto belonging. Butt I challanging my right from my Lord Richerson as well by the presentt presentation of Mr Adams as neer forty years injoymentt of itt and never seprated from Billney till about three years agoe I parted itt, they seem now to oppose my tittle in itt. Which tho I gett nott a peny by itt, I will nott loose the priviledg of, and have writt to Mrs Noes my resolution of ejectting Mr Adams and desired them to oppose my right and defend ther own tittle or elce I will engrose itt with Billney in your courte.²³¹ Butt I can heer nothing from them or ther agents.

I am now, sir, to appoligyse as to Mr Smith, who promised me severall times and did endeavour itt to oblige me in serveing the cure of my parish. Butt his weakness was such as I were convincst he could nott undertak itt either to the preaching partt or the diffycullty of rideing. And knowing noe greatt faultt in Mr Buck, I were perswaded to except of him; he being coalated by the bishop, I beleft [he] might be exceptable to both. Butt my nott giveing you an account was a mistake in me, which I beleft would be easyer pardoned then the troublesome impertinance of womens letters. And I doe likewise acknowledg my perticuler thanks for your carefull caution as to Mr Buck and my intrest and right heere as to my nomination and donation of this curacy, and am willing to have itt secured to my self and my heires. Mr Buck will nott, I suppose, deney your licence when ever demanded, butt I except of him noe longer then his good behaivour to the church

²³¹ Charles Nowyes, the lord of Ashwood Manor, had died earlier that year and was buried in Wood Ditton, Cambridgeshire on 17 April 1710 (SG, CA/R73, transcribed by T. P. R. Layng).

and dureing my pleasure (for I will not be plagued with noe more drunken, debauched currats). And for his salary I will be att noe certainty butt whatt I please, and this I told him att his entrance. And soe I am offered others will supply itt, tho justice inclined me to give him the first offer of itt.

And now, sir, since I have condesended to the bishop and your desire in placeing a minester heer to six or 7 houses, my request to you both is thatt you will bee pleased afix a subsistance for his maintenance, towards which I am most desyrouss to submitt to the strictest serch and enquiry you can make as to tithes and gleabe on this estate soe thatt this church may have somthing to support itt affter my death (for, sir, presidents are noe payments). And iff my Lord Richerson who had neer three thousand pound a yeare outt of his generosity and charity did give the minester twenty, butt for me thatt have little more then two hundred pound a year cleer, I cannott doe itt; and I should think itt as imprudent as prodygall in me. Pray therfore be pleased to concider of itt and interceed to the bishop for his bounty and charyty to itt, which favour will oblig your humble servantt.

Eliz Frek

[fol. 80v]

i709, September 29 I discharged Mr Buck from attending my curacy of West Billney for his dareing to take a licence from the bishope of Norwich for my church withoutt my leave (Docter Trimnell), who had suspended him in my absence last Agust i709 from officiating in my church till licensed. Soe I kept the church in my hand and the key in my closett till the thirttyth of Aprill i7io, imploying Mr Smith, vicker of Winch, for sacraments, barryalls, and christning for thatt halfe year. In which time I wrott to the bishop the foregoeing letters and to the chancellour.

Octtobr 20 I wrott to the bishop my positive resolution of nott excepting his licence to my church.

November 29 The 29 of November I had a very civill letter from him thatt rather then the church should be vacantt I should dispose of it. E Freke

December ig I wrott the bishop my foregoeing letter of thanks, and I promised him to fill up the vacancy, allowing me my wright of nott bringing my church under his jurisdiction by his licence.

i709/i0, January first The first of January and my unhapy birth day, being Sunday I ordered a sermon and sacramentt att Billny church; which was given by Mr Smith of Winch, tho Mr Edgworth forbid him

thatt day - for which I gave him five and twenty shillings.²³²

Febuary ii The chancellour of Norwich sent me his process to the courte for my lapsing the church and detaining itts tithes, a coppy of which I have before this inserted with my answer to itt. EF

20 My answer to the chancellours letter of process and my positive denyall of putting one in the church under the bishops licence; butt bid him take his tithes wher ever he found them butt thatt I would nott be tyed to a peny charge for the church, as may be seen by my letter foregoeing, fur[ther] then for three sacraments a year, christnings, and buryalls which I would doe in charyty. EF

Febuary 28 The chancellour, Doctter Thomas Tanner, wrott to me another very civill letter to beg and perswade me to settle and keep as I have for this six and thirty yeare a minester to the church and to alow him twenty pounds a yeare, which letter I sentt up to London to my cosin John Frek to be examined in the arch bishops court. My church of Billney being a peculer and an impropriation, I looked upon under the queen and nott the bishop.

i709/i0, Febuary 2 My honoured good cosin Hammillton dyed of an appoplexy. Shee was taken speechless the Sunday and dyed a Tuesday night – lyes buryed by her father, the Lord John Cullpeper, att Hollingburne in Kentt – in the seventy second yeare of her age and aboutt the 38 year of her widowhood. She had butt two sons: James Hamillton, now Lord Abercorne, and William Hambleton, who maryed Sir Thomas Cullpepers second daughter.²³³ She dyed vastly rich and handsomly provided for twelve of her grandchildren and her two sons. Eliz Frek

March i I sentt my coach and two horses with my two men and my maid to New Markett [to] fetch my deer sister Austin to me, being very ill.

2d Thursday, the second of March, my sister Austin came to Billney

²³² Robert Edgworth, from Longwood, County Meath, Ireland, was the third husband of Isabella Barnes of East Winch Hall. The date of a lease signed by them indicates they were married by 8 March 1708/9 (NRO, 12395 30C6).

²³³ Elizabeth Hamilton (1638–1710) was the daughter of Judith Culpeper, the sister of Elizabeth Freke's mother. The monument in the Hollingbourne church states she 'departed this life Feb ye 1st 1709 aged 72' (BL, Add. MS. 11259, fol. 6v); the parish register notes she was buried on 6 February 1709/10. Her husband, James Hamilton, who served Charles II as a groom of the bedchamber and a regimental colonel, died in 1673 from wounds suffered in a campaign against the Dutch. Their son James (1660?-1734) also commanded a regiment, coming to the aid of those besized by the Jacobite forces at Londonderry; he gained in 1701 a Scottish peerage as the sixth earl of Abercorn and received the Irish titles baron of Mountcastle and viscount of Strabane. His brother, William Hamilton of Chilston Park, married Margaret, the second daughter of Cicely Freke's brother Thomas and his wife, Alicia Culpeper. Before his death in 1737 he was in Kent a justice of peace and a regimental leader in the militia (*Scots Peerage*, i. 56–8; *CP*, i. 6; Lodge, v. 120–3).

[fol. 817] safe and well, I humbly thank my God, butt a cold in her eyes of rhume which fircly followed her eyes for above i4 weeks. She found mee very ill, haveing hardly gone cross my chamber since last November butt with the help of two for to lead and help me and in continuall misery, laboureing under the hand of a mercyfull God ever since my widowhood, now allmost fowre years, and have hardly known one days ease or quiett.

i4 March the i4 I had another very civill letter from the chancellour to perswad me to settle a minester there in my church att Billney and to except the bishops licence, which tho to him I still refused, affter haveing tryed all ways with me by faire means and some threats of the bishops being bound to fill the vacancy iff I did nott in half a yeare place in a minester. I being very ill sent him word itt was thatt I waited for, that he would place in one and pay him; however, fearing I should dye before the church was provided and haveing keptt itt vacantt for neer seven month butt as I supplyed itt some times by Mr Smith, vicker of Winch, whom for xings and buryalls and sacramentt att Easter I paid him for itt, and I gave the ballance of my halfe year to cloth Betts chilldren, and poor Mary F[reke] five pounds, and her sister twenty shillings.

i7io, Aprill i6 Mr Smith gave the sacrament att Billney, when I consecratted my sillver flagon I bought last Michellmas for to give to the chancell wher my deer husband lyes intered.

25 And affter Mr Smith had preached two sermons heer as my curratt, he fell soe ill that he came to me the Tuesday after and said he was nott able to supply my place and church. For which two sermons I gave him twenty shillings and his daughter thatt came with him five shillings.²³⁴ Eliz Frek

30 Aprill the 30 by the perswasion of my deer sister Austen I was by her prevailed with to except of Mr Buck againe, which I did to oblige the bishop dureing my pleasure and his good behaivour; and I did enter him in Sunday, the thirtyeth of Aprill. Eliz Freke

30 And then I paid Mr Smith of Winch cleer off for his officiating in my church, and then I entered Mr Buck as curratte againe and gave him the register.

May io My son wrott to my cosin John Frek, my executor and trustte, the following letter, over leafe, which my cosin sentt downe to me to Billney.

i4 Sunday Mr Berrners made me a vissitt heer againe att Billney. E Frek

i7 I destrained Thomas Pallmer Wensday, and I took a bill of sale

²³⁴ Joyce was baptized in East Winch on 23 December 1698; her sisters Katherine and Mary had died in July 1709.

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of him on his stock and corne for his year and halfs rentt which will be due nextt Michellmas to mee, and I marked his stock by the constable William Knopwood.²³⁵

22 Monday, the two and twentyeth, I marked his stock, &c., according to law.

23 Tuesday, 23, I received the letter, over leafe, of my sons from my cosin John Frek enclosed in a letter to mee dated May the 20 on the other side.

24 I answered this letter of my sons to my cosin John Frek, as over leafe. E Frek.

28 Whitson Tuesay sitting in my chamber with my sister Austen, I weer taken about noon allmost blind with mulltitude of blaks before my eyes, which I never had one in my life before, I being neer 68 years of age. And iff this be vapours in my head, from them deliver me, good Lord. E Freke

[fol. 81v]

i7io, May 23 A coppy of a letter I received from my son dated May io, i7io, wrott to my cosin John Frek, Mr Freks executor with me, and one of mine, transcribed by me, Elizabeth Frek, and by me answered May 24, i7io:

Deer Cosin,

I owne my greatt faultt in nott wrighting to you lately, butt I hope you will excuse and pardon itt when I tell you itt was my reall conscearne and trouble for nott being abble to remitt my mothers mony to you has hindred me. And I have now enclosed, sentt you, a bill on Mr Thomas Clark for a hundred and seventy pounds and payable att sight <in margin: never received by EF, i7i3>. And I will use all my endeavours to remitt you more as soone as posible I can. And I must likewise own to you thatt I would have returned over more to you of my mothers rentt before this butt thatt I had two bonds and judgmentts of mine of above six hundred pounds, for which I paid eight pounds in the hundred percent intrest ever since, has call'd in my mony thatt I was obliged to pay them of. And besids this I have paide the commisioners of the Sowrde Blads two hundred thirty two pounds in partt of severall peices of land I boughtt of them aboutt Agust last, and most of the arrears thatt was left are remaineing still

 $^{\rm 235}$ Freke had let Wassell Farm to Palmer and his wife Mary, reserving three rooms for herself.

due.²³⁶ Therfore I begg, deer cosin, thatt you will excuse my nott wrighting to you all this while, for there is noe body has a greatter reliance on your favour and frindship then my selfe. Nor has nothing hindred the two little boys goeing over to you butt the wantt of an oppertunity to send and land them carefully, which I hope will offer by a man of warr before the sumer is past. Butt iff you think itt nott fitt they should stay soe long, lett mee know itt, and they shall goe the very first man of warr thatt leaves Corke or Kingsale affter I receive your letter. For my wife and I both wish them very hartilly with you and are uneasy till they are under your kind care, knowing they can be noe where better.

My wife gives you her very hartty service, and I still begg of you to beleive I am, deer cosin,

Your most obliged kinsman and humble servantt,

Ralph Freke

Mine and my wives duty to my mother. I am plagued with thatt rogue Kelly, and I begg your assistance and advice against him, for whom I have had two comissions against; and now my sixt clark, Mr Ludloe, says they are good for nothing for want of my mothers answer to him, &c.

Transcribed by me May 23, i7io, Eliza Frek, and answered by me May 24, i7io.

i7io, May 20 A letter my cosin John Freke wrott to me May 20, i7io, when hee sentt mee the above letter from my son, Ralph Freke:

Madam,

I should nott have bin soe long sillentt had nott your sons conductt made me asshamed to appeer in your presence tho butt in a letter. Butt now thatt I have received one from him late this evening, I cannott forbeare testifyeing my joy thatt he begins to be sencible of his faults towards you, which I look on as an earnest of his amendment. I have sentt you his letter and begg your dereiction whatt I shall doe aboutt his two sons, intending nott to answer his letter till you returne itt me; by which time I hope his bill will be paid, which I shall charge my

²³⁶ The Sword Blade Company was incorporated on 15 September 1691 for the purpose of making hollow-ground sword blades; in the eighteenth century it entered the realm of finance, challenging the Bank of England. When the forfeited Irish lands were sold in 1702 and 1703, this company became a major landholder, purchasing estates with army debentures it had received in exchange for stock (W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720*, 3 vols. [Cambridge, 1910–12], iii. 435–40).

selfe debter to you for in my accounts and give him notice of itt. And iff in any thing I cann be serviceable to you, pray freely command.

Your humble servant, John Frek

[fol. 82r]

i7io, May 24 My answer to this letter of my sons sentt me by my cosin John Frek from London May 23 and by me answered May the 24, i7io, Eliz. Frek:

Deer Cosin,

I am obliged to you for the favour of yours I yesterday received, as I were for one from you of a former date, for both which pray be pleased to except my thanks. Inclosed in yours yesterday came one from my unduttyfull and ungratefull son to the best of fathers and mothers. However, I am glad to heer of his and his childrens good health and thatt he has a rightt and true sence of your kindness and favours to him. And as to my selfe, I pray God to forgive him and lay nott these his sins to his charge, which has broke my hartt and brought mee to the condition I am in and laubour under.

And as to my deer grandchildren, sir, my son has most sencible convincst mee of my errors by his long sillence, which has given me a more serrious time of concideration of the trouble and the severall accidents thatt may happen to the eddication of them in England. Which being better concidered by there neerer and more indullgentt parrentts, I doe freely accquitt my selfe (and you) from all further trouble of soe valluable a charge as they are to mee. For since my son has thoght fitt to place on me soe many slights and disrespectts as he has done and to forfitt his lease by nonpayment to me, I will with itt take thatt advantage of thatt covenantt in itt of the care, trouble, and charge of other peoples chilldren in my old age. My prayers are for them, and lett him disspose of them as he thinks fitt.

Butt, deer sir, give me leave to tell you thatt tho I am nott unsenceble of your kindness and friendshipp to my familly, yett I cannott boast of itt to my selfe to engage me in a very foollish lease which you know and can nott butt remember how offten you engaged your word and honour to me to be my paymaster your selfe of my rentt and of my sons good usuage and grattitude to me before I would signe this lease and nott be brought in a fools trapp to seale away eight hundred and fiffty pounds a yeare for three hundred and fiffty, and thatt never paid me. Butt I doe nott question butt your sencesibillity of my usuage will oblige you in justice to my deer father and deer husband, both which thought I merritted whatt they gave me, will convince you, as being a parttner with me in Mr Freks will, to receive thatt justice and honour from you as for their saks to place me in my right againe and to see me justly paid all my arrears of fowr years due from Mr Freks death and for three years rentt due to me before of neer 2000 l. All which I have by my will secured on thatt estate and this to my grandson for an additionall portion to him affter my death by my executors persuantt to the seddulle you last brought over with you, viz., 664 l. a yeare besids Garren James lease.²³⁷ This letter, pray sir, be pleased to send my son with my blessing and service.

Deer cosin, being dayly summoned by the infirmityes I labour under, I doe think itt butt prudentt in me thatt all my small abbillityes now loose should be more properly and sattissfacttory now settled by you in my owne name and to my own disposall – as well whatt is in your hands as my years funds with this returne of my sons, paying your self whatt is laid outt for mee, and thatt as soon as you can. Nott being att all sattisfyed (finding your partiallitye soe great against me) and you being my husbands and my executor, you may find or make a law affter my death to disspose of itt contrary to my intention is the true reason I ask this justice and favour of you, which kindness added to all your others will oblige, deer sir, your obliged kinswoman and humble servant. Eliz. Freke

[fol. 82v]

i7i0, June 22 Some emblems for my own reading.²³⁸ Text is Psallm 6, verse 2d:

Have mercy upon me, Lord, for I am weak;

O Lord, heale me, for my bones are sore vexed. Eliz Frek

A Diologue betwen the Soule and Jesus

Soule – Ah, son of David help. Jesus – Whatt sinfull cry Implowrs the son of David? Soule – Itt is I. Jesus – Who artt thou?

Soule – Oh, a deeply wounded breast

Thats heavy laden and would faine have rest.

²³⁷ Garrane James, lying between Mogeely and Killeagh in County Cork, was leased from Charles Boyle, second earl of Burlington, for 21 years; Ralph Freke bequeathed to his son John Redmond 'all my right Title and Interest that I have unto the Lands of Garrane James scituate in the Barony of Imokilly' (PRO, PROB 11/563/100).

²³⁸ With the exception of the third piece, which is originally in verse, the manuscript preserves no poetic form; the edited poems reflect their pentameter lines.

REMEMBRANCES OF ELIZABETH FREKE 1671-1714 134 Jesus - I have noe scraps, and dogs must not be fed Like houshold chilldren with the chilldrens bread. Soule – True, Lord, yett to larate²³⁹ a hungry whelp To lick their crums, oh, son of David helpe. Jesus - Poore soule, what aylest thoue? Soule -O, I burne, I fry, I cannott rest; I know nott where to fly. To find some ease I turne my blubbred face From man to man; I role from place to place To avoid my torturs, to obtain releife, Butt still am dogged and hanted with my grifes. My midnight torments call the slugish lightt; And when the morning comes, they woo the nightt. Jesus – Surcease thy tears and speak thy free desires. Soule – Then squench my flames and swage these scorching fires. Jesus – Canst thou beleive my hand can cure thy griefe? Soule – I beleive, Lord; help my unbeleife. Jesus – Hold forth thy arme and lett my fingers try Thy pulce. Where cheifly does thy tormentt lye? Soule – From head to foott itt raigns in every partt Butt plays the self-lawed tyrantt in my hartt. Jesus – Canst thou dygest, canst relish wholsome food? How stands thy tastt? Soule -To nothing that is good. All sinfull trash and earths unsavory stuff I can dygest and rellish well enough. Jesus – Is nott thy bloud as cold as hott by turns? Soule – Cold to what is good; to whatt is bad itt burnes. Jesus – How old is thy griefe. Soule -I took it at the fall With eateing fruite. Iesus – 'Tis epydemicall: Thy bloud is infected, and the infection sprung From a bad liver; tis a feavor strong And full of death unless with present speed A veine be oppened. Thou must dye or bleed. Soule - Oh, I am faintt and spentt. Thatt lance thatt shall Lett forth my bloud letts forth my life withall. My soule wants cordialls and has greater need Of bloud (then being spentt soe farr) to bleed. I faintt allredy; if I bleed, I dye. Jessus – Tis either thou must bleed, sick soule, or I.

²³⁹ Undefined; Freke seems to mean 'to allow' and not 'allatrate': to bark.

My bloude is a cordiall: hee thatt sucks my veins Shall clense his own and conquer paines Then these. Cheer up. This pretious bloud of mine Shall cure thy griefs; my hart shall bleed for thine. Believe and veiw me with a faithfull eye; Thy soule shall nither languish, bleed, or dye. Canst thou be sick and such a doctter by? Thou canst nott live unless thy doctter dye! Strang kind of griefe that finds no medicyne good To swage her pains butt the phisitions bloude. Eliza. Freke

Psalm the i43, verse the 2d: Enter nott into judgmentt with me, thy servantt, for in thy sight shall noe man liveing be justifyed. Eliz Frek

A Diologue between Jesus, a Sinner, and Justice

Jesus – Bring forth the prisoner sinner. Iustice -Thy commands Are done, just judge; see, heer the prisoner stands. Jesus - Whatt has the prisoner done? Say whatt is the cause Of his committment. Justice -Hee has broke thy laws Of his too gratious God, conspired the death Of thatt greatt majesty that gave him breath, And heapes transgretion, Lord, upon transgretion. Jesus – How know'st thou this? Justice -Even by his own confession. His sins are crying, and they cry aloud: They cryed to heaven; they cryed to heaven for blood. Jesus – Whatt sayst thou, sinner; hast thou ought to plead Thatt sentence should not pass? Hold up thy head And show thy brazen, thy rebellious face. Sinner – Ah mee, I dare nott; I am too vile and base To tread upon the earth, much more to lift Myne eyes to heaven. I need noe other shifftt Then mine own contience. Lord, I must confess I am noe more then dust and noe whitt less Then my indittement stiles me. Ah, iff thou Search too severe with too severe a brow, Whatt flesh can stand? I have transgrest thy laws. My merrits pleads thy vengance, nott my cause. Justice - Lord shall I strike the blow?

REMEMBRANCES OF ELIZABETH FREKE 1671-1714 136 Iesus -Hold, Justice, stay. Sinner, speak on; what has thou more to say? Sinner - Vile as I am and of my self abhor'd, I am thy handy work, thy creture, Lord, Stampt with thy gloryous image, [fol. 83r] and att first Most like to thee though now am poore, accurst, Convicted cative and degeneratt creture Heer trembling att thy barr. Justice -Thy fault is the greatter. Lord, shall I strike the blow? Jesus – Hold, Justice, stay. Speak, sinner; hast thou nothing more to say (For thy self)? Sinner – Nothing butt mercy, mercy, Lord. My state Is miserable, poor, and despratte. I quite renounce my self, the world, and flee From Lord to Jesus, from thy selfe to thee. Justice - Cease thy vaine hopes; my angry God has vowed Abused mercy must have bloud for blood. Shall I yett strike the blow? Stay, Justice, hold. Iessus – My bowels yearn, my fainting blood grows cold To veiw the trembling wretch; me thinks I spye My fathers image in the prisoners eye. Justice – I cannot hold. Iesus – Then turne thy thirsty blade Into my side; lett there the wound be made. Cheer up, deer soule; redeem thy life with mine. My soule shall smartt, my hartt shall bleed for thine. Sinner - O groundless deeps! Oh love beyound degree! The offended dyes to sett the offender free. Is Eliza. Frek. Mercyes of mercyes. Hee thatt was my drudge Is now my advocate, is now my judg. He suffers, pleads, and sentences alone. Three I adore and yett adore but one. Eliz Frek

Ecclesiasticus the 2d, verse i7: All is vanity and vexation of spiritt.

l

How is the soule of man befooled with his desire Thatt thinks a hectick feaver may be cool'd in flams of fire Or hoop's to rake full heaps of burnish'd gold from nasty mire.

REMEMBRANCES, 1671-1714

A whining lover may as well request a scornfull breast To melt in tears as woo the world for restt.

Lett witt and all her studied plotts effectt the best they can. Lett smiling fortune prosper and perfectt what witt began. Lett earth advise with both and soe project a happy man. Lett witt or fawning fortune vye their best. He may bee blest With all that earth can give, Butt earth can give noe rest.

Whose gold is double, with a carefull hand, his cares are double. The pleasure, honour, wealth of sea

And land bring butt a trouble.

The world itt selfe and all the worlds comand is butt a buble.

The strong desirs of mans insatiate breast may stand possest

Off all thatt earth can give,

Butt earth can give noe rest.

The worlds a seeming parrydice butt her own

And mans tormenter,

Appeering fixtt butt yett a roleing stone without a tentter. Itt is a vast circumfrance wher none can find a centure. Of more then earth, can earth make none possestt. And hee that least regards this restless world Shall in this world find restt.

5

True rest consists nott in the oft revying of worldly drosse. Earth mirry purchas is not worth the buying: her gaine is loss; Her rest butt giddy toyle iff nott relyeing Uppon her cross. How wordlings broyle for trouble! Thatt fond breast thatt is possest of earth withoutt A crosse has earth withoutt a restt.

6

Worldlings, whose whimpering folly holds the losses Of honour, pleasure, health, and wealth such crosses, Look heer and tell me what your arms engrosse When the best end of whatt ye hugg's a crosse. Eliza. Freke

[fol. 83v]

i7io, June 23 A Diologue between the Serpentt and Eve. The textt is Jams i, &c: Every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lusts and enticed.

Serpentt – Nott eate, nott tast, nott touch, nor cast an eye Upon the fruite of this faire tree? And why? Why eatest thou nott what heaven ordained for foode? Or canst thou think thatt bad which heaven calls good? Why was itt made iff nott to bee enjoyed? Neglectt of favours maks a favour voyde. Blessings unused pervert into a wast As well as surfeitts. Woman, doe butt tast. See how the laden boughs make sillentt suite To bee enjoyed; looke how there bending fruite Meetts thee half way; observe butt how they crouch To kis thy hand. Coy woman, do but touch. Mark whatt a pure virmillion blush has dyed There swelling cheeks and how for shame they hide Thier palsy heads to see themselves stand by Neglectted. Woman, do butt cast an eye. Whatt bounteous heaven ordained for use reffuse nott. Come pull and eatte! You abuse the things yee use nott. Eve – Wisest of beast, our great creator did Reserve this tree and this allone forbid: The rest are freely ours, which doubtless are As pleasing to the tast and to the eye as faire. Butt touching this, his strictt commands are such Tis death to tast and noe less then death to touch. Serpentt - Pish, death's a fable. Did nott heaven inspire Your equall ellements with liveing fire Blown from the spring of life? Is nott thatt breath Immortall? Come, ye are as free from death As he thatt made you. Can the flams expire Which hee has kindled? Can ye quench his fire? Did nott the greatt creators voyce proclaime Whatt ere he made (from the blue spangl'd frame To the poore leafe thatt trembles) very good? Blest he nott both the feeder and the food? Tell, Tell me, then, whatt danger can accrue From such blest food to such halfe gods as you? Curbe needless fears and lett noe fond conceitt Abuse your freedom, woman; take and eate.

Eve - Tis true we are imortall; death is yett Unborne; and till rebellion make itt, debtt Undue. I know the fruite is good untill Presumtious disobedience make itt ill. The lips thatt open to this fruit's a porttall To lett in death and make immortall mortall. Serpentt - You cannot dye; come, woman, tast and feare nott. Eve - Shall Eve transgress? I dare nott. Oh, oh, I dare nott. Serpent - Afraid? Why drawest thou back thy timmorous arme? Harme only falls on such as feare a harme. Heaven knows and fears the virtue of this tree Twill make you perfect gods as well as hee. Strech forth thy hand and lett thy fondness never Feare death; do pull and eatte and live for ever. Eve – Tis butt an apple, and itt is as good To doe as to desire fruites made for food. I'll pull and taste and tempt my Adam too To know the [] of this dainty. Serpentt -Doe, doe. Eliza Freke

Some remembrances convenyent for me to think on in which I were a deep sufferer with my deer husband, Percy Frek, Esqr, to the loss of all we had by King Jams and excominycated by him and outtlawed for an absentee in i689

i689, March i2 King James took shipping att Brest in Franc for Ireland with aboutt i500 French, Scotch, and Irish officers and saffly landed att Kingsaile the next day, being March i2, with his numarous attendance; **24** and was by the earle of Tirconell March the 24 receiv'd into Dublin tryumpantly; and next morning call'd a cowncell and published five proclamations.²⁴⁰ **i689, May 7** And King James created the earle of Tirconnell a duke and lord liuetenantt of Ireland insteed

²⁴⁰ Freke's account of the Irish war draws upon George Story, A True and Impartial History of the Most Material Occurrences in the Kingdom of Ireland during the Last Two Years (London, 1691), at times following the text closely. Story states James' force numbered 1,800. Dublin welcomed James on 24 March with a celebration; the next day he issued five proclamations: besides summoning a parliament for 7 May, the king established a new currency based on brass coinage, encouraged the return of subjects who had left Ireland, provided for supplying the army, and urged the suppression of theft and violence on the local level (Thomas Davis, *The Patriot Parliament of 1689*, 3rd edn. [London, 1893], 11).

of the duke of Ormond he displac'd.241 And the 29 of Aprill the king wentt to meet his Irish parliamt att Dublin, wher were all maner of crully actts made against the poor English Protestants, all now utterly ruined; 7020 of which shelltered themselves in London Derry onder the govermentt of Mr Walker and Major Baker, which garryson and regymentt of 7020 Protestants were under eightt collenolls and 333 inferiour officers - a bold undertakeing thus naked withoutt arms or mony or any sort of ammonition.²⁴² i689, Aprill io This was done Aprill io, i689, only with ten days provission. The 20 of Aprill King Jams invested this place and begun to batter itt, of which the govenours sent an account of itt to England by Mr Bennett and thatt they would [defend] themselves to the last man.²⁴³ Wher att London Derry severall attacks were made by the beseigers, wher the beseiged had allways the advantage had nott famine and sickness within discouraged them. 20 The king returned to his Dublin parliament and left the beseigers before London Derry, [fol. 84r] who were againe repullced with greatt slaughter, tho all this while the beseiged lay sorely weakned by the rage of famin. i689, June i5 And aboutt this time Mr Baker was taken very ill when Conrad de Rose, the French generall, swore he would levell the place to the ground and bury those thatt deffended itt in its rulens and putt all to the sword of whatt sex or age whatt ever, butt the poor beseiged of London Dery absolutly defend themselves and their religion against all the mallice of King Jams and his assistance.²⁴⁴

²⁴ Richard Talbot, duke of Tyrconnell (1630–1691), had been commissioned lord general in June 1686 and became lord deputy in February 1686/7, displacing Lord Lieutenant Henry Hyde, second earl of Clarendon (1638–1709). Talbot had earlier influenced the decision to remove James Butler, first duke of Ormonde (1610–1688), from his position as lord lieutenant (Simms, 17–18). The appointment of the new lord deputy, John Reresby notes in his memoirs, 'made a great many people that were Protestants leave or sell their estates and come over for England' (*Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. Andrew Browning [Glasgow, 1936], 445; see also Luttrell, i. 386). On 30 March 1689 Talbot became duke of Tyrconnell and in 1691 lord lieutenant (*CP*, xii, pt. 2. 119).

²⁴² Freke's recollection of the siege of Londonderry is indebted to George Walker, A True Account of the Siege of London-Derry, 3rd edn. (London, 1689); his figures, however, list 341 officers (20). George Walker (1646?-1690), rector of Donoughmore in County Tyrone, and Major Henry Baker (c. 1647-1689), the son of an established English family in Dumaghan, County Louth, became the governors of Londonderry in April 1689. Baker died of illness during the siege on 30 June; after the city successfully withstood the Irish, Walker received considerable acclaim, including the prospect of becoming bishop of Derry. Three editions of True Account were published before he died in the battle of the Boyne, 1 July 1690 (Patrick Macrory, The Siege of Derry [1980, reprinted Oxford, 1988]).

²⁴³ Joseph Bennett escaped to Scotland and from there went to London, where he appeared before a parliamentary committee 'appointed to inquire who has been the Occasion of the Delays in sending Relief over into *Ireland*, and particularly into *Londonderry'* (CJ, x. 162), and published A True and Impartial Account Of the most Material Passages in Ireland Since December 1688 (London, 1689).

²⁴⁴ Lieutenant-General Conrad de Rosen (1628-1715), a soldier of fortune born in

20 Dyed Governor Baker to the greatt loss and affliction of the beseig'd; and tho they were reduced to the nesesity of horses, doggs, catts, ratts, and mice, salted hids - all lothsome things for there subsistance rather then surrender itt. Jully 30 Sunday, affter sermon when they could hold outt noe longer, Doctter Walker, the governour, espyed three ships with Major Generall Kirk with provision from England when they had butt 2 days provision left. 3i Soe thatt on the last of July the seige was raised.²⁴⁵ By this example the Innyskillin held outt against King James, headed by Liuetenentt Collonell Loyde with 200 men in the castle, wher the Inniskillenors signilysed their vallour and allwayes come off with advantage.246 Butt none of those acttions was soe remarkable as thatt which happened by a perticuler appoyntment of providence on the same day London Derry was releived wherein 2000 Inniskelloners fought and routted 6000 Irish att Newton Buttler and took there Commander Maccarty with the loss only of 20 men kill'd and 50 wounded.247

i68g, May 7 King James mett his Irish parliamentt att Dublin, **i2** where he made his proclamation which ended the i2 of May. Hee repealed the Actt of Settlementt, the forfitted estates of the Roman Catholicks in i64i;²⁴⁸ and to give itt a more fattall blow, ther was then an actt of attainder past in parlyamentt thatt all Protestants thatt appeer'd nott to there names in person when this bill was presented were attainted and the rest upon common fame. In this black actt there were noe fewer attainted then 2 arch bishops, i duke, i7 earles, 7 countesses, 28 vicounts, 2 vicountes, 7 bishops, i8 barrons, 33 barronetts,

Alsace and with long service in the French army, was senior commander of the French forces in Ireland (Edward B. Powley, *The Naval Side of King William's War* [London, 1972], 50 n. 19; *La Grande Encyclopédie*, 31 vols. [Paris, 1886–1902], xxviii. 944). Walker says that Rosen threatened the inhabitants on 24 June 'or thereabouts', but the copy of the ultimatum Walker included in an appendix concludes, 'Given under my hand this *30th* of *June'* (50).

²⁴⁵ Major-General Percy Kirke (1646?–1691) brought the relief that ended the siege of 105 days. The *Mountjoy* from Derry attempted on 28 July to break through the boom erected across the River Foyle; accounts disagree whether it, the *Phoenix*, or the *Dartmouth* first completed the breach (Walker, 40-2).

²⁴⁶ Enniskillen, the other Ulster place of Protestant defiance, held out under the leadership of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Lloyd of Roscommon, known among the Jacobites as 'little Cromwell' (Simms, 114).

²⁴⁷ On 31 July at the battle of Newtownbutler, some fifteen miles from Enniskillen, the forces of Colonel William Wolseley (1640?–1697) defeated those of Lieutenant-Colonel Justin MacCarthy, Viscount Mountcashel (c. 1643–1694), who was wounded and captured. MacCarthy escaped to the continent, where he commanded the Irish Brigade in the service of Louis XIV; Wolseley became in 1696 a lord chief justice of Ireland (John A. Murphy, *Justin MacCarthy, Lord Mountcashel* [Cork, 1959]; English Army Lists, ii. 32, i. 259).

 $^{24^8}$ A court of claims was to hear suits for the restoration of property forfeited by landholders involved in the 1641 uprising. Outlawries from this period were also voided, and the property of those who resisted James was to be seized (Simms, 81-4).

5i knights, 83 clargymen, 2i82 esqres and gentlemen - of which my deer husband was one and lost all ever wee had of estate, mony, and goods affter an excomunycation for an absentee.²⁴⁹ Our house and castle att Rathbarry was burntt downe to the ground by the Irish and my deer husband Mr Percy Freks estatt in Ireland given by King James to Maccartty, a poor rogue worth nothing, and with itt he made him his collenell. And all of the above persons of 243i were unheard, declared traitors, and ajudged to suffer the pains of death and forfitture of all there estats. In which I lost above a thousand pounds a year and with much adoe saved my deer husbands life. The famous proscriptions of Room, the last tryumpant, came nott up to the horrour of this, ther being more then double the number condemned in this little kingdome. And to make this of Ireland yett the more terrible and unavoidable, the actt itt self was concealed and noe Protestantt allowed a coppy of itt till fowre monthes past, wheras in thatt of Room the names of the persons proscribed was decreed and therby oppertunity was given to many to preserve themselvs by flightt.²⁵⁰ Jully 20 Soe affter this the 20 of Jully this parlament was prorogued to the i2 of January ensueing. In which time King Jams and Tirconell, his deputy liuetenantt, turn'd outt all the fellows and scollers of the colledg of Dublin; seiesed on ther furniture, library, and plate; and every thing belonging to the colledg or scollers were taken away; and turned the chappell to a magasine and the chambers into prisons for Protestants; and all the Protestantt churches shutt up throwoutt the whole kingdome.²⁵¹

King William May 7, i689, declares war with France by the Lord Sumers,²⁵² before which, hee fought the French att Bantry Bay May

²⁴⁹ Freke relies on William King, *The State of the Protestants of Ireland Under the Late King James's Government* (London, 1691) for the numbers and names of those affected by the act of attainder. Her figures, however, do not always agree with King's. The name '*Piercy Freak* of *Rathbarry*' appears along with '*Pierce Crosby*, Son and Heir apparent of *Patrick Crosby*' (250–1), among those required to appear before judicial authorities by 10 August 1689. Freke's name also appears in *A List Of such of the Names of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty ... attainted of High Treason* (London, 1690), 15.

²⁵⁰ Freke follows closely King's contention that the act was perhaps 'never equall'd in any Nation since the time of the Proscription in *Rome*' (182). He asserts that those attainted were 'not suffer'd to know one word of it, till the time allow'd them to come in was past at least three Months' (159).

²⁵¹ Freke's account reproduces almost verbatim that of King (194). On 6 September soldiers following James' orders turned the college into a garrison; on 11 September it became a prison, and on 16 September the fellows and scholars were forced to leave. The chapel plate along with the mace was seized on 28 September; Catholic mass was celebrated in the chapel on 21 October, and later powder was stored there (The College Register, in John William Stubbs, *The History of the University of Dublin* [Dublin, 1889], 127–31).

²⁵² The London Gazette (2452) prints 'Their Majesties Declaration Against the French King'. John Somers, Lord Somers (1651–1716), was solicitor-general when he penned the

the first under Admirall Herbertt, now made earle of Torrington June the first, i689.²⁵³ Affter this the king, William, goes to Portsmouth to reward those souldeirs and officers who had distingushed themselves in this late engagementt. To all the officers hee gave honour and to each souldier and seaman ten shillings a peice, which came to above 26000 pounds besids the provision for the widows of those thatt lost their lives.²⁵⁴ And affter the kings returne from Portsmouth, he and the queen purchased the Earle of Nottinghams house att Kensington for twenty thousand pounds.²⁵⁵

[fol. 84v]

Aprill the 22, i689, attainders were reversed by actt of parliamentt as the Lord Russells, Allicia Lisle, Allgernoon Sidney, earle of Devonshiere, Tittas Oats, Mr Johnsons [were] all annull'd with severall others, and Oats allowed 5 l. a week.²⁵⁶

declaration; he subsequently became lord chancellor (William L. Sachse, Lord Somers: A Political Portrait [Manchester, 1975]).

²⁵³ Arthur Herbert (c. 1648–1716), first lord of the admiralty and commander of the fleet off Ireland, encountered the French admiral François Louis de Rousselet, marquis of Chateaurenault, on the west coast of Cork. The smaller English fleet lost ninety-six men; the French forty. Though John Evelyn wrote in his diary, 'we came off with greate slaughter, & little honor' (iv. 639), Herbert became first earl of Torrington on 29 May. His career in the navy ended, however, when he was court-martialled, though acquitted, for his alleged failure to confront the French fleet in the major naval loss in the Channel off Beachy Head in June 1690 (*HC*, ii. 526–8; *London Gazette* [2451]; Powley, *The Naval Side of King William's War*, 134–43, 166–8).

²⁵⁴ The London Gazette (2454) reports that on 16 May in Portsmouth aboard the *Elizabeth* King William knighted two captains and gave 'a Donative of Ten Shillings a Man, which was distributed accordingly, amounting to about 2600 l.', not the £26,000 Freke notes.

²⁵⁵ The sentence concludes, 'and paid for itt for the reliefe of maimed seamen and souldiers to which they gave itt, both King William and Queen Mary'. The conclusion, omitted in this edition, must refer to the ship-board grant and not to Kensington. In an 18 June 1689 entry Luttrell notes, 'The king hath bought the earl of Nottinghams house at Kensington for 18,000 guineas, and designs it for his seat in winter, being near Whitehall' (i. 549). The court began residing at Kensington on 24 December 1689; during the next years the first stages of an extensive renovation of the house and gardens began. Both the king and queen were often at the London residence, where Mary died in 1694 (Arthur T. Bolton and H. Duncan Hendry, eds., *The Royal Palaces of Winchester, Whitehall*[,] *Kensington, and St. James's*, Wren Society, 7 [Oxford, 1930]).

²⁵⁶ William Russell, Lord Russell (1639–1683), accused of complicity in the Rye House Plot, stood trial for treason at the Old Bailey in July 1683, was condemned to death, and was executed on 21 July. A petition by his wife, Lady Rachel Russell, and his father, the fifth earl of Bedford, led to the parliamentary reversal of attainder in March 1688/9 (*HC*, iii. 365–8; Lois G. Schwoerer, *Lady Rachel Russell: 'One of the Best of Women'* [Baltimore, 1988], 103–36, 187–8; *CJ*, x. 45–6, 50). A bill from the House of Lords was first read in the House of Commons on 9 May 1689 to reverse the attainder of Alice Lisle, who had been executed on 2 September 1685 for her alleged complicity in sheltering John Hickes after he had supported Monmouth's unsuccessful military efforts at Sedgemoor. The

i689, July 24 The duke of Gloster was born by the princes of Denmark, sister to the queen of England, and baptised by the name of William, his majesty and the king of Danmark being his godfathers; whom presently the king crated duke of Gloster.²⁵⁷

i6go, Febuary 6 Aprill the 2d his majesty thought fitt to putt an end to this sesions of parliamt, which was prorog'd to the 2d of Aprill, and by proclamation was desolved the 6 of Febuary and att the same time another call'd the 20 of March. Which they mett accordingly and chose Sir John Trevor speaker of the House of Comons;²⁵⁸ when his majesty acquainted them he thought itt convenientt to leav the govermen of the kingdome and the affairs of itt in the queens hand, which was confirm'd by an actt of parliamentt to her, whilst the king went to the redduceing and settling the goverment in Ireland.

i6go, May 20 The king gave the royall assent to an actt of parliament of putting the adminstration of the goverment into the queens hand when ever his occations call'd him outt of England or outt of any part of the kingdom.²⁵⁹ Affter which the 7 of July the

reversal received royal assent on 24 May 1689 (C7, x. 126, 151). Algernon Sidney (1622-1683) had been found guilty of treason for his involvement in the Rye House Plot and executed on 7 December 1683. A bill sent to the House of Commons on 26 April 1689 'annulling, and making void, the Attainder' received royal assent on 11 May (C7, x. 105, 130). William Cavendish, first duke of Devonshire (1641-1707), had been fined £30,000 and imprisoned for physically assaulting Thomas Culpeper in July 1685. The House of Lords considered in May 1689 whether the judgment violated the peer's privilege of parliament and reversed the judgment (Journals of the House of Lords, xiv. 201-3, 211; HC, ii. 35-9). Titus Oates (1649-1705) was tried for perjury in 1685, whipped, and imprisoned until 1688 for alleging in 1678 the existence of the Popish Plot to assassinate Charles II and establish the duke of York on the throne. A resolution to reverse the judgment as 'cruel and illegal' was introduced in the House of Commons on 31 May 1689 and debated without final resolution; a warrant pardoning him of perjury was issued on 23 July and on 19 September the king ordered 'that 10*l*. a week be paid to Dr. Oats' (C_{1} , x. 177; CSPD, 1689-90, 197; William A. Shaw, ed., Calendar of Treasury Books, 1689-1692 [London, 1931], ix, pt. 1. 53). Samuel Johnson was 'whipt by the common Hangman from Newgate to Tyburn' in November 1686 for publishing a tract allegedly encouraging revolution. A parliamentary resolution initiated on 11 June 1689 overturned the second conviction as 'illegal and cruel' (C7, x. 177, 193-4).

²⁵⁷ The son of Princess Anne was born at Hampton Court on Wednesday, 24 July, at 4.00 a.m. The bishop of London, Henry Compton, christened him William Henry on Saturday evening, 27 July, 'the King and the Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Houshold, being Godfathers, and the Lady Marchioness of *Hallifax* Godmother' (*London Gazette* [2473, 2475]). Anne's only surviving child died of smallpox on 30 July 1700, ending the hopes of the Stuart succession.

²⁵⁸ The proclamation to prorogue parliament appears in the *London Gazette* (2530). John Trevor (c. 1637–1717), a speaker of the House of Commons in the reigns of James and William, was expelled for corruption on 16 March 1694/5. As a master of the rolls, Trevor continued to occupy a prominent judicial position (*HC*, iii. 604–7; Foss, *Judges of England*, viii. 64–71).

 259 The London Gazette (2559) records the royal assent on 20 May to 'An Act for the Exercise of the Government by her Majesty, during his Majesty's Absence' (CJ, x. 422).
parliamt was adjorned to thatt day when the king begun his jorney for Ireland.²⁶⁰ **June i4** Then King William lands att Carrickfergus with Prince George of Danmark and many other persons of distintion and thatt evening in the duke of Schomberg's coach wentt to Bellfast.²⁶¹ **26** Hee veiwes the army the 26 of June, which he found to consist of 36000 of English, Dutch, French, Danes, and Germons all well appoynted in every respectt. **27** From thence he march'd to Dundalke the 27 of June and was soe pleased with the prospect of the country as he rid along thatt King William said thatt itt was highly worth fighting for to those about him.

30 As soon as King William heard that the enymye had repased the Boyne, hee ordered his whole army to move by break of day [to] thatt river, hee marching in the frontt of them with the prince of Denmark, duke of Schomberg, duke of Ormond, &c. June 30 Wher on takeing a veiw of the enimy, King William was shott by them on his right shoulder, which took away a peice of his coat and wounded him. Which affter he had dressed, he mounted his horse againe and show'd himself to the enimy and his whole army, where he rod aboutt till is a clock att night with torches quitt throw itt in person and gave the word (Westminster) and the signall, sprigs of green in their hatts.²⁶² Jully i Jully i both kings mett, viz., King William and King Jams, when about six a clock in the morn they drue up for battle, when the Dutch foott first enter'd the watter, [and] when the duke of Schamburg, the kings generall, was shott through the neck and kild immediattly. Nott long affter Docter Walker, soe famouss for the defence of London Derry, was shott in the belly and presently dyed.²⁶³ Dureing all these acttions King William might be said to be every wher by his corrage and conductt and must have his honour of the day; for tho wounded,

 264 Story, 75, 78. The *London Gazette* (2572) also relates in detail the wounding of the king and his evening ride.

 $\frac{2}{3}$ Story states only that Walker was fatally shot and his body stripped (82); modern accounts document a mortal stomach wound.

²⁶⁰ The London Gazette (2573) reports that on 7 July parliament was 'Prorogued to the 28th of this Month' (CJ, x. 424). William left Whitehall the morning of 4 June; the gazette (2563–6) chronicles his journey to Chester, where he arrived on 7 June. He embarked from nearby Hoylake on 11 June with a fleet of some 300 ships.

²⁶¹ Prince George of Denmark (1653–1708), the husband of the future queen Anne and the brother of Christian V, had defected to William's side in November 1688. Made the duke of Cumberland in March 1689, he fought at the Boyne and became in Anne's reign generalissimo and lord high admiral (Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* [London, 1980]). The Heidelberg-born Frederick Herman (1615–1690) distinguished himself in a number of continental armies before he supported William militarily in the November 1688 landing in England. The new king gave him the title of duke of Schomberg and the position as commander-in-chief of the English army in Ireland (*CP*, xi. 522–6). Story reports that the duke and king stayed in Belfast the evening of 14 June at Sir William Franklin's house (66).

his sword hee drew and rod att the head of his army with itt naked and drawn to the enymy, who were coming towards him. Butt with the loss of aboutt i500 men, King Jams hastned off and went away for Dublin; and King Williams loss was aboutt 500, an inconcidrable loss for such a battle iff the renown'd duke of Schamberg had nott bin one, who was eighty two years of age when he was killed.²⁶⁴

King James, haveing staid att Dublin one night, the nextt morning attended by the duke of Berwick, Tirconell, [and] Lord Powis posted away for Watterford. He broke down all the bridges for fear of being persued.²⁶⁵ There he went abourd a vessell redy to receive him. And King William upon this defeat of the Irish att the Boyne rested the next day. **3** And on the 3d of Jully went to secure the citty of Dublin. **6** When att Finglass he heard the late king was imbarked, the sixth of Jully, being Sunday, King William rod in tryumphantt maner into Dublin and wentt dereictly to St Patricks church, the cathedrall of thatt metropillis, to pay God Allmighty his pious acknowledgments for his late victtory.²⁶⁶ **7** The 7 of July the king publishes his declaration of protection to all the English and Irish with their pardon iff by their submision and resignation of ther arms they relyed on him, and **27** supprest all the coper mony made currant by the late King James the Second.²⁶⁷

[fol. 85r]

The 27 of Jully i690 King William left the campp att Carrick and wentt to Dublin in order to embark for England; before which hee ordained a weekly fast and published his severall declaritions of grace

 264 According to Story the Irish suffered between 1,000 and 1,500 casualties; 'on our side were killed nigh four hundred' (85). Other contemporary accounts disagree about the number killed (Simms, 151 n. 66). Schomberg was seventy-four at his death – not eighty-two, as Story reports.

²⁶⁵ James stayed the night of I July at the castle in Dublin with Lady Tyrconnell; from Waterford he sailed on 3 July to Kinsale, where he left on 4 July for France, never to return. James Fitzjames, first duke of Berwick (1670–1734), the illegitimate son of James II and Arabella Churchill, rose among James' military leaders to the position of commander-in-chief in Ireland before he left for France following the loss of Limerick. His death on the battlefield ended a long military career with the French. William Herbert, duke of Powis (c. 1626–1696), served James in Ireland as a privy counsellor and lord chamberlain of the household; he died an exile in France (*CP*, ii. 162–4, x. 646–8).

²⁶⁶ 'This day being Sunday, His Majesty rode in great Splendor to the Cathedral at *Dublin*, where all the Services of the Church were Solemnly performed' (*London Gazette* [2574]).

 267 Both Story (93-4) and the *London Gazette* (2574) reprint the declaration, which promised to pardon the common people – soldiers and civilians – who surrendered their arms and returned to their homes by 1 August. They also note the royal proclamation prohibiting the circulation of brass money (106-7, 2576).

and favour Agust the first.²⁶⁸ **i690, August 4** Butt heering the French had only burnt a village in the west of England and were returned off againe, King William returned againe to his army the 4 of Agust, which he found encamped att Golden Bridge. The army being posted, the king sentt his trumpentt into Limbrick to summon the towne, which was opposed by the duke of Berwick and Sarsfield for King James.²⁶⁹ **30** Att last affter greatt opposition the seige of Limbrick was raised Agust 30. **3i** And King William entered itt the next day and sent away all bag and bagage, leaveing itt in the care of Liuetenant Generall Ginckle.²⁷⁰ **September 7** And then his majesty embarked att Duncanon Fort with Prince George of Danmark and some others of quallity; and arrived safe the nextt day in King Road neer Bristoll; and on the 9 of September came to Windsor, wher he was received by the queen.²⁷¹

Affter this Cork was beseiged by the duke of Wittingberg and the duke of Marlbrow and duke of Graffton for King William and opposed by Collonell Makillicute for King James. **September 28** And the garrison consisting of 4000 men all made prisoners of war and surrendered 28 of September.²⁷² The same day the king took Cork, he

²⁶⁸ The second declaration published on 1 August extended the promise of leniency to officers who surrendered; foreign troops who submitted would receive passes to leave. A general fast was also proclaimed for each Friday 'imploring a Blessing upon Their Majesties Forces' (Story, 111; *London Gazette* [2583]).

²⁶⁹ Story, 111-15. Patrick Sarsfield, first earl of Lucan (1665?-1693), returned to Ireland in March 1689 with James. As a major-general he played a central role in withstanding the first siege of Limerick. Sarsfield later led Irish forces for the French until mortally wounded two years later on the battlefield of Landen (Piers Wauchope, *Patrick Sarsfield and the Williamite War* [Dublin, 1992]).

²⁷⁰ William did not enter Limerick; bad weather and unbroken resistance forced the English besiegers to withdraw, and on the last day of August 'all the Army drew off' (Story, 133). Godert or Godard van Reede, baron de Ginkel (1644–1703), a career officer from Utrecht, came to England with the prince of Orange in November 1688. After the Irish campaigns of 1690, he commanded the English forces throughout the rest of the war. In 1692 he became the first earl of Athlone (*CP*, i. 300).

²⁷¹ William sailed from Duncannon Fort, near Waterford, on 5 September, landed near Bristol the next day at seven in the evening, and arrived at Windsor the evening of 9 September (*London Gazette* [2590, 2591]; Luttrell, ii. 102–3).

⁵⁷² Ferdinand Wilhelm, duke of Wurtemberg-Neustadt (1659–1701), a lieutenant-general in Austria and Hungary, was commander-in-chief of the Danish force in Ireland. Later he supported William in the military campaigns of the Low Countries, becoming the governor of Dutch Flanders (*The Danish Force in Ireland, 1690–1691*, ed. K. Danaher and J. G. Simms [Dublin, 1962], 141–2). John Churchill, first duke of Marlborough (1650– 1722), entered the Irish war at the head of forces sent into southern Ireland following the siege of Limerick. After his success at Cork and Kinsale he was not involved in the later Irish battles; he would distinguish himself in the War of the Spanish Succession. Colonel Roger MacElligott (c. 1650–1702), earlier with the earl of Pembroke's regiment in Holland, was captured at the fall of Cork and imprisoned in the Tower until 1697, when he went to France as a colonel in the Clancarty regiment (*English Army Lists*, ii. 150, 155). Henry Fitzroy, first duke of Grafton (1663–1690), the illegitimate son of Charles II and Barbara Villiers, countess of Castlemaine, was a naval officer in the 30 June 1690 sentt his summons to the towne and fortt of Kingsaile by the earle of Marlbrow, Octtober the first, and the prince of Wirtemberge; **Octtobr i6** to whome itt was dellivered up the i6. And the garrison conssisting of aboutt iioo men marched the next day, bagg and baggage; the loss of English before this place was little less then 300 kild and wounded.²⁷³ And affter haveing settled Ireland returns for England to the k[ingdom] and parliament.

i6gi, January i6 The king, haveing settled his affairs att home and in Ireland, imbarked for Hollond att Graves End with a numorous rettinue January i6; iq and affter severall fatigus hee arrives att The Hague January io to the unexpressable joy of the Hollonder;²⁷⁴ and wher hee received all the complements of all persons of distintion and the conferrats by there personall attendance on him: as the electtors of Brandenburge and Bavaria; the dukes of Luxenburge; the landgrave of Hess; the dukes of Zell; the duke of Wolffenbattle; the prince of Cremercy; the prince of Wyrtemburge; Prince Walldeck; the marquis of Gastanaga, govener of Flanders; the countt de Windittsgratz, the emperrors plenypotentiary; the counte de Prela Dorya from the duke of Savoy; the minesters of the ellector Pallatine, of the electtors of Sexony, Mentzs, Tryers, and Collogne and of severall other princes.²⁷⁵ All came to The Hague to King William to conscert measurs to preserve the libertys of Europe; wher the king made them a speech which soe took with these princes thatt itt was imediatly resolved thatt two hundred twenty two thousand pounds should be by him imploy'd against France by them given and subscribed to.276 Affter which the

battle at Beachy Head, then joined the forces Marlborough led into Ireland. Grafton died on 9 October of wounds suffered in the engagement at Cork (CP, vi. 43-5; London Gazette [2598]).

²⁷³ Story estimates that the garrison at Kinsale had 1,200 men and that the English lost 200 killed and wounded (145). The *London Gazette* (2604) reports the Irish surrender on 15 October.

²⁷⁴ The king sailed from Gravesend at around four on the afternoon of 16 January 'with divers of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality' (*London Gazette* [2628]); he arrived in The Hague on 20 January, after having landed the day before on the fog- and ice-bound coast.

²⁷⁵ The London Gazette describes the joy and celebration as well as lists some of the many dignitaries (2631-3, 2636-8); some are also listed in *The History of the Royal Congress at The Hague* (London, 1691). Frederick III was the elector of Brandenburg; Maximilian II Emanuel, the elector of Bavaria. Others in Freke's list include François Henri de Montmorency-Bouteville, duke of Luxembourg; Charles, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; Georg Wilhelm, duke of Celle; Anton Ulrich, duke of Wolfenbütel; Charles, prince of Württemberg; Georg Friedrich, prince of Waldeck; Don Francisco Antonio Agurto, marquess of Gastañaga; Gottleb Amadeus von Windischgrätz, representing Emperor Lcopold I; Count de Prela Doria, envoy from the duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II; Count d'Autel, from the Palatine elector John William Joseph; Sieur d'Haxhuysen, from the elector of Saxony, John George III.

276 A 27 February (NS) report from The Hague in the London Gazette (2638) says the

King returned for England the 2i of March. **May 3** And resolveing to head the Confederate army himselfe, goes for Hollond May the 3d.²⁷⁷ Wher haveing settled the state of the warr for the year ensueing, returned to England, wher he mett thatt agreeable news, the surrender of Limbrick to Generall Ginckle (wher Tirrcollnell dyed of a broken hartt). And with the conquest of this place ended the Irish warrs Octtober 3d, i6qi.²⁷⁸

Occtober ig King William arrives att Kensington, when the parliamts meets Octtober 22.

i692, June 7 And on the 7 of June i692 following was a most tirrible earthquake which shook the island of Jamaica as allmost entirely ruined the towne of Portt Royall, thatt besids damages was noe less then fiffteen hundred persons perished in itt.²⁷⁹ And aboutt two months affter, viz., September the 8, perticulerly in London was there another earthquak. The king was then att diner in his camp, which shook soe much thatt all people apprehended the fall of the house before he could gett outt of itt.²⁸⁰

Aboutt the begining of this year dyed Robertt Boyle, Esqr, a man exemplary for his pyety, goodness, and experymentall philosopher these latter ages ever produced. His life was a continued example of goodness and pyety.²⁸¹

i692 This year the duke of Hannover, a Protestantt prince, was through King William intrest advanst to be an electtor of the empire; and therby a ninth electturatte was constituted, which never before exceeded eightt.²⁸²

Confederation agreed to commit 220,000 men, not pounds; England pledged a force of 20,000.

²⁷⁷ William arrived in London on 13 April; he sailed from Harwich on the morning of 2 May for Holland (*London Gazette* [2653, 2658]; Luttrell, ii. 208, 219).

²⁷⁸ The king landed at Margate on 19 October and arrived that evening at Kensington. Tyrconnell died of a stroke on 14 August, though it was rumoured that he had been poisoned. Articles for the surrender of Limerick were signed on 3 October (*London Gazette* [2707, 2705]; Luttrell, ii. 296).

²⁷⁹ News of the 7 June Jamaican earthquake reached London in August and appeared in the London Gazette (2791); Evelyn (v. 115–16) and Luttrell (ii. 533–4) also record the event. The Truest and Largest Account of the Late Earthquake in Jamaica, June the 7th. 1692 (London, 1693) says the number of dead 'is commonly reckoned at fifteen hundred persons, besides Blacks' (4–5).

²⁸⁰ An earthquake that occurred on Thursday, 8 September, lasted, the *London Gazette* notes, about a minute 'and was felt very sensibly', though no damage occurred (2800; Evelyn, v. 115). A report in the next issue of the gazette 'From His Majesty's Camp at Grammen' (2801) describes the threat to the house in which the king was dining.

^{a8t} Robert Boyle (1627–1691) died on 30 December. The son of the first earl of Cork, Boyle was among the founders of the Royal Society and an important natural philosopher who made significant contributions to physics and chemistry.

²⁸² The London Gazette (2811) carries a report from Ratisbon that Ernst August, duke of Hanover, was to become 'one of the Princes Electors of the Empire'. The Electoral College

Scottland being now in perfect quiett and the government of Ireland settled, [fol. 85v] the king imbarks for England to meett his parliament the i8 of Octtober i692 affter having settled his affaiers in Hollond and saffly landed att Yarmouth the 29 of Octtober. The queen mett him att New Hall and went to Kensington through the city, wher the lord maire, alldermen, and recorder, [and] shrieffs attended their majestyes to honour their citty with his presence att a dinner with all the acclamation of joy could be made for his hapy returne from those hassards hee had encountred.²⁸³

i692, November 4 The parliamentt mett, when the king made them a most ellegantt speech and proclaimed a day of thanksgiveing. **i4** The Commons address to the king with their thanks for his judicyous speech November i4, wher they satt till the i4 of March and the king had passed 2i actts; the parliamt was prorogued till the 2d of May.²⁸⁴

i694, Febuary i8 Towards the end of Febuary a fleett of marchants ships under the convey of men of warr commanded by Sir Francis Wheeler, haveing sailed on the i7 of thatt month [for] Gybralltar, towards the straits mett the next day with soe violent a storme which continued all that day and the night following thatt on the i9 day about five a clock in the morning Sir Francis Wheelers own ship, the Sussex, was foundred; and himself with all his men (being aboutt 800), in which was my sister Austins son Captain John Austen, were all drowned and lost except two Moores; as was the Cambrige, and Lumly Castle, the Serpentt Bomb ketch, and the Mary ketch together with the Ittalian Marchantt, the Alleppo Facttor, the Great George, and the Barkshiere bound for Turky, the William for Venice, and the Golden Marchant for Legorne – all English ships driven ashore on the east sid of Gibralter and most of there men lost. The same fate attended ships richly laden: all lost.²⁸⁵

had expanded from seven to eight electors in 1648; a March 1693 ceremony in Hanover celebrated the election of the ninth electorate, whose candidacy King William actively supported (Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: Elector and King* [Cambridge, Mass., 1978], 15, 46).

 $^{2\theta_3}$ William landed at Yarmouth on 18 October and came to Kensington the evening of 20 October. The London Gazette (2811–12) notes the arrival and celebration.

²⁸⁴ The London Gazette includes the king's 'most gracious speech' (2816), lists the twentyone public acts, and reproduces the speech William gave to the members of parliament assembled together in the House of Lords (2853). Parliament was then prorogued until May but did not meet until November (C7, x. 850–1).

 285 Men of war under the command of Admiral Francis Wheeler (1656?-1694) had been sent to Cadiz at the end of 1693 to thwart Turkish attacks on Spanish shipping in the Mediterranean. The fleet encountered a severe storm on 18 February in the strait between Spain and Africa, losing by the end of the next day over 800 lives (Ehrman, *The Naxy in the War of William III*, 509-10). The London Gazette (2961) lists the ships lost; Luttrell describes further the specific losses (iii. 287); Evelyn notes the 'dismal newes' of 'so vast a losse as had hardly ever been known' (v. 169). John Austen was one of three lieutenants on the *Sussex*, an eighty-gun ship of 490 men (PRO, ADM 8/3); he was baptized in Tenterden on 21 July 1676. **i694, June 8** The Bank of England was formed by the corporation June 8 and signed by her majesty Queen Mary (the king being in Hollond) and the charter, which was to pas under the great seale of England affter the first day of Agust iff the sum of i200000 l. should be subscribed by thatt time; which the comissioners haveing taken subscriptions, which was fill'd the whole sume by the 5th of thatt month.²⁸⁶

November 8 The King embark'd for England and landed the 9; and on the i2 the parliamt mett, wher affter the kings speech he confirmed the actt for a treniall parliamentt, &c.²⁸⁷

22 The bishop of Canterbury dyed, Dr John Tillottson, in the 65 yeare of his age; a man of greatt piety, learning, and moderration – his death much lamented by all lovers of unity and peace – whose sermons will be a standing patern to posteritye.²⁸⁸

Decembr 2i On Fryday, the 2i of December, the good Queen Mary was taken ill att Kenssington, which proved to be the small pox. **28** Which grew in few days soe violentt thatt her majesty expired in the armes of a loveing husband the 28 and amidst a court drowned in teares.²⁸⁹ And December 3i the lords in parliamentt send an adress of condoleance to the kinge; to which the king thanked them for their kindnes butt much more for there sence they shewed of there great loss, which was above whatt he could express.

3i Att the same time the House of Commons presented there adress to the kinge to condole the irrepairrable loss of thatt most exclent princess and thatt they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes to support thim [against] all his enimies both att home and abroad. To which the king answered that hee took very kindly their care of him and the publick espeshally att this time when he was able to think of

²⁸⁶ Parliament authorized the establishment of the Bank of England, and it passed on 8 June 'under the Great Seal' and 'is to pass in like manner immediately after the first day of August next, if [half] the Sum of Twelve Hundred Thousand Pounds' is subscribed (*London Gazette* [2982]). Subscriptions began on 21 June, and the entire sum was subscribed by 2 July (John Clapham, *The Bank of England, A History*, 2 vols. [Cambridge, 1944], i. 18– 19).

^{19).} ²⁸⁷ The London Gazette describes the celebration at the king's return and prints his address to parliament (3026, 3027); 'the Bill for the frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments' received royal assent on 22 December (CJ, xi. 182, 193).

²⁸⁸ The announcement of the archbishop's death and the characterization of his life follow closely the *London Gazette* (3030). John Tillotson (1630–1694), who suffered a stroke several days before his death on 22 November, had been consecrated the archbishop of Canterbury on 31 May 1691.

²⁸⁹ The London Gazette (3039, 3040) as well as Luttrell (iii. 416-19) records the course of Queen Mary's illness. Burnet, who was called to the king during this crisis, is especially noteworthy in his recollection of William's sorrow (iv. 246-7, 249-50), though neither his nor the other accounts of the final hours mention that the queen died in her husband's arms.

nothing butt his great loss.²⁹⁰ Affter which the citty of London and all other parts addresed there condoleance of her to the king. She was a perfectt example of humility and piety, wise and prudent and charitable beyound whatt can be spok of her. Both publick and privatte shee was a perfictt example of conjucall love, chastity, and obedience. And itt is remarkable thatt when Docter Tennison, arch bishop of Canterbery, went to comfort the king his majesty answered he could nott butt griefe since he had lost a wife who in seventeen years had never bin guilty of an indiscretion. She maintain'd sincirity intirely and had an avertion to any slanderour or any evill speaker and was as free from scensures as deserveing them. And when she received the intimation of aproaching death, itt was with an entire resignation to Gods will. To sum up all, she was a tender, respectfull wife, a kind friend, a gentle mistress, a good Christian, a dobonair queen, and the best of women, and the glory and delight of this happy island.²⁹⁴ E Frek

[fol. 86r]

i7io, **Aprill 30** I paid Mr Smith, vicker of Winch, for officiating in my parish church att Billny; and by my sister Austen and his perswation were prevailed with to except Mr Buck againe, whom I putt by for taking a licence from the bishop of Norwich. Heer being noe tithes on this place, I stood outt all his and the chancellors threats before I fill'd this vacancy of Billney; and had nott then done itt butt the apprehention of my death, being very ill, and I were nott willing iff I dyed to leave my church wher I hope to lye withoutt a minester.

May i Soe thatt May the first I entered Mr Buck my currate to my church of Billney.

28 May the twenty eight, Whitson Tuesday, sitting in the chamber with my deer sister Austen (who came to see me the 2d of March last past), I were taken aboutt noone allmost blind with a multitude of black flyes before my eyes, of which I never had one in my life before, I being neer sixty eight years of age. And iff this be vapours in my head, from them, good Lord, deliver mee, Eliz Frek, thatt have and doe labour under them above three months allredy.

May the first I entered Mr Buck my curratt att Billney for feare I

²⁹⁰ Parliament resolved on 29 December to express its sorrow to the king through the speaker; their condolences and the king's response, which was read to the members on 1 January (C7, xi. 194), appear in the *London Gazette* (3040).

²⁹¹ Some of the unparalleled 'universal sorrow' seen in both court and town (Burnet, iv. 247) is apparent in the issues of the *London Gazette* relating the kingdom's tributes (3041, 3043–6, among others). Thomas Tenison (1636–1715), who was at the queen's deathbed, praises her wisdom, prudence, piety, charity, and humility in *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral Of Her Late Majesty Queen Mary* ... March 5, 1695 (London, 1695).

should dye and noe minester in the parish affter I had three quarters of a yeare contended with the bishop and chancellour of Norwich. To both which I wrott word when I permitted him to take their licence, which was September i5, i7io, thatt I excepted him butt dureing his good behaivoure to the church and to mee dureing my pleasure. Both as to his time and his sallary I would nott be tyed to butt whatt I thought fitt or he deserved, and soe I told him att his entrance; and thatt I would never more be plagued with a drunken, debauched priest as I have binn with Mr Adams for aboutt thirty eight yeare; and iff he did nott like itt, I was offered another would soe take itt on these tearms. I wrott the chancellour word I placed him in Billney September i5, Docter Thomas Tanner, as witness Eliz Freke.

28 of May, Whittson Tuesday, sitting in my chamber with my deer sister Austen aboutt noon, I were taken with a mullitude of black flyes in my eyes, which I never had before in my life, did almost quite take away my sight; which has now continued sole to me neer 4 month to my greatt grief and torture, and for my comfort I am told itt is vappours. From which, good Lord, deliver Eliz Frek.

Agust 9 Mr Edgworth of Winch was arested for a hundred pounds by nine baylyes who brok up as many locks to take him, who was att last found run up two mens length in his chamber chimney with a pistoll charged. This ioo l. was given his servant towards the purchas of his wife, which afferwards (shee the maid) was amongst them poysoned to save thatt mony, which was first 200 l. And itt was butt just before Edgworth had the impadence to writt me word Mrs Barns, his wife, was worth him twelve thousand pounds.²⁹² In answer to which I writt him word when hers and his debts were paid they would have little enough.

io Mr Edgworth and his man stole away for feare of further trouble in thatt, and I had writt to him before he went 6 or 7 letters for aboutt fowre pound rentt they owed me for my 5 akers of land, which affter theire plowing up my moire they have thrown my land up in common.²⁹³ This is there kindness returned to me for lending them a hundred and fifty pounds fowre yeare gratis when none in the country would trust her for five shillings. E Frek

²⁹² Thomas Barnes, the son of William and Anne Barnes of East Winch, married Isabella, the daughter of Sir John Griffith and the widow of William Langley (Blomefield, ix. 150). Their son, Henry Humphrey Barnes, was buried in East Winch on 21 February 1694/5, four years after the 1691 death of his father. Thomas Barnes' will stipulated that if his son died without a lawful male heir, William Langley, a stepson, 'shall have all my Mannors'; Barnes' wife was to live at East Winch Hall, enjoying during her natural life the 'rents issues and profits of all my Mannors Lands Tenements and hereditaments' (PRO, PROB 11/405/128).

²⁹³ Moire or moyre, a possible variation of mere and meare: marsh, bog, or swampy ground; also a boundary.

20 Satterday, the 20, I received a fattall letter of the death of my deerst sister the Lady Norton from my cosin Mills in London.²⁹⁴ **24** Butt I humbly thank my God, affter my being allmost a week destracted for her, by the same hand I heard shee was recovered and sentt a most kind letter to me to come to her, which iff alive and able I purpose by Gods permision to doe in the spring. Eliz Freke

22 The bishop of London (Dr Compton) for himself and the clergy of London and Westminster to the number of a hundred and fiffty, i50, presented this adress to the queen, who subscribed itt himself and his brethren and then caryed itt to the courte to Kensington to her against the Pretender:²⁹⁵

May itt please your majesty,

Our harts haveing all along accompanied the Church of England in our dutifull applycation to your majesty with the indignation shown [fol. 86v] att the presentt unpresented attemptt lately made to undermine nott only our constitution in the church and state butt our religion and govermentt allsoe, we were the less eager to lay hold on this occattion of approaching your throne because wee had offten and freely declared our selves on these heads from the pullpitt under the eye of your majesty and in the face of the whole world.

Butt the time is now come when we can noe longer be innocently sillentt since the acknowledgmentt of your majestyes tittle and heriditory authority is oppenly and boldly represented as in a plaine declaration in favour of the Pretender.

Wee looke upon the clergy as deeply involved in this mallicious callamy and therfore think our selves obliged to express our uttmost abhorance of any such disguised and tratiours intention; which our harts intirely devotted to your majesty are nott cullpable of harbering, nor none butt the avowed or secred frinds of the Pretender would in order to facillitate there wicked and darke designes have endeavoured to fasten on us.

We have sworne and are steadfastly purposed to pay all dutty and alleagence to your majesty as to our rightfull and lawfull soveraigne, whose tittle and crown by desentt has bin affirmed and recognised by all our leige people in full parliament.

 294 Elizabeth, the daughter of Cheney Culpeper (the older brother of Freke's mother) born in 1640, had married Christopher Milles, who was buried on 22 January 1700/1 in Herne.

²⁹⁵ The London Gazette (4734) and the Norwich Gazette (iv. 204) reprint the address presented on 23 August at Kensington and the queen's answer. Neither mentions the 150 clergy. Before Henry Compton (1632–1713) opposed the succession of James II, he had been bishop of London. William restored him to the ecclesiastical position, and Compton became in Anne's reign an increasingly zealous supporter of the established church.

And we know of noe other person who has any claime to our obedience, nor will we ever doe any thing either in or affter your majestyes reigne which may seem in the least favour of such pretentions.

On your majesty alone our eyes are fixed. All our vows and wishes are imployed for the length of peace and prosperity of your reigne and, when itt shall please God for our sins to withdraw soe invalluable a blesing, which all acknowledg the most illusturous house of Hannavour as the next heaire in the Protestantt line to have the only right of assending the throne and indisputable tittle to our allegiance and security from popery.

We thank God from the bottom of our hartts for the legall provision in this regard made to secure us from popery and arbitary power, which wee once through the devine assistance vigorously and successfully withstood when they were breaking in uppon our constetution. Nor shall wee faile to manyfest an equall zeale against them when ever and by whatt means soeever they shall mediate a retturne.

This we are firmly perswaded is the unanimous sense and resollution of the clergy nott only of these cittyes butt of the whole kingdome, as wee doubtt nott will appear to your majesty when soever they shall have an oppertunitye of expressing itt in the next convocattion.

In the mean time wee shall nott cease to bow our knees to God and most ardenttly pray for a continuance to bless your armes and councell till they have subdued our restless enemies of our peace both att home and abroad, defeated the menaces of the proud and the devices of the craffty, and scatter'd all the people thatt delightt in warr.

23 This above address was presented by the lord arch bishop of London (Docter Compton) in person and subscribed by a (i50) hundred and fiffty of his immediatt clargy under his authority in London and Westminster the 23 day of Agust i7i0.

To which her majesty gave this answer: I take very kindly the assurance of your dutty you give me in this address and the regard you express for the Protestant relegion. Eliz Freke

September 2d I transcribed this from the London Post Man September 2d, i7io: They write from Dublin thatt thatt citty haveing caused the effegye of King William which was latly most villanously defaced to be repaired and haveing putt a new trunchon into his hand in greatt solemnity, the 24 companies of the citty attending the same, the House of Commons came the i7 of September to the following resolution: nomyne contradycente, thatt the thanks of the House be given to the lord maire, shrifes, commons, and cittyzens of the citty of Dublin (who did errectt a statue in honour of King William the 3d of glorious memory) for their greatt zeale and care in repaireing of thatt noble monumentt of their gratitude to our late deliverer from popery,

and slavery, and the French powre and supporting the honour and memory of thatt greatt prince in soe sollemne and publick a maner.²⁹⁶ E Frek

[fol. 87r]

i7io Munday morning, September the eleventh, my sister Austen left me very ill att Bilney and wentt to London her selfe and i maide. Shee hired a whole coach to her self att Lin unknown to mee, EF.²⁹⁷

September 25 Monday, 25 of September, I were arrested in my chamber by two rogues taken outt of Norwich jayle for the purpose by Mr Carter, who cheated me of butt last year above ten pounds – by name Beets and Hollond, who both seised me while I weer sitting by my self in my chamber wrighting.²⁹⁸ They both ransack my chamber, and seized and carryed away whatt of my papers they thought fitt, and broke my cane, and kept me frighted above three howrs whilst they garded my door to serch my house and by itt to provok my passon, which was my loss by Dawson of above a hundred pounds to Eliz Frek.

November 3d Fryday nightt, November 3d, I were sitting in my chamber all alone reading, when on a suden my head caught on fire and in three minits time burntt all my head close close to my haire. And I being all alone could nott gett them off or any body to me thatt itt was Gods greatt mercy I was nott burntt to death, and I doe humbly thank him for itt.

December 2d Saterday night was the dreadfulest hurrycane of wynd and weather for all thatt night allmost equall to the greatt wynd November the 26, i703, as was likewise the fowrth day of this presentt December.²⁹⁹ These two winds have blown down my barns and unthachtt allmost all my howses in this parish of Billney.

i7io The greatest providence in the world I were nott burntt to

²⁹⁶ The entry for 2 September is also repeated on this date a year later (fol. 88v). An asterisk and the notation 'see three leaves further to this marke' indicate that Freke intended the more complete entry, which in this edition replaces the original. The transcription is from the *Post-Man* (1909), which carried on 2 September 1710 the report from Dublin of the 17 August 1710 resolution (*CJI*, iii. 792); Freke's transcription, other than spelling variants, is accurate except for her error 'of September'. The vandalism to the statue of King William in College Green occurred on 25 June 1710. The statue erected in 1701 was the site each November of ceremonies commemorating the king's birthday and his 1688 landing in England (J. T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, 3 vols. [Dublin, 1861], iii. 40-5).

²⁹⁷ This and the next three entries have been shifted in this edition from fol. 94v, where they originally followed the household inventory.

²⁹⁸ See above, p 103 n. 186.

²⁹⁹ The storm is not mentioned in the *Norwich Gazette*; Blomefield, however, notes the 'great tempest' of lightning, thunder, and hail that hit Norwich on 5 December 1710 (xi. 432).

death, nott able to help my self or move outt of my chaire. For which mercy the greatt God make me ever thankfull. Eliza Freke

Decembr 2, 4, 5 December 2d, being Satterday nightt, was a most grievous storme of wind and raine as was the 4 and 5th of December little inferryor to the greatt storme in November the 27, i703. Thatt storme blow'd down allmost all my houses in the parish, and this has allmost perfitted itts ruiens.

i7io/ii Jannuary the first, my unhappy birth day, I haveing all my tennants to dine with me to begin the New Yeare, I were like againe to bee burnt to death and to be knock'd att head by the fall of my chamber chimney then affire over the kitching. Butt by Gods providence and the help of my tennants and company, I were carryed away in my chaier, to which I have bin confined now a prisoner neer eighteen monthes with a rhumatisme and my tissick.

Febuary 22 I being very ill sentt for my cosin John Frek downe to me to settle my affaires and my will, as I did to my deerst sister the Lady Norton, and to remove five hundred pounds of mine which lay in the house by me of which I expected every day being robed by my servants and other rogues iff I should dye – which I dayly expected, I were soe ill.

24 Saterday my cosin John Frek went to Lin to gett me bills for itt.

27 He wentt to Elmen to Mr Warner to gett me bills, butt there he failed likewise as hee did about my law suite with Dawson.³⁰⁰

28 My deer sister Norton left Leigh and came to Bath for London to come downe to wretched mee two hundred miles, for which I hope God will reward her and for all her kindness to me and mine.

March 2 Fryday, March 2d, my cosin John Frek went to Norwich for me in my coach and carryed with him five hundred pound of mine to returne for London. Which hee did in two bills which was there paid him the 22 of March. Which compleated my three thousand pounds in his hand of myne now since my deer husbands death, being neer five years, June 2, i706, the fattalles day of my unhappy life, tho my sons, Ralph Freks, birth day: to loose the best of husbands and blest with the undutifullest of sons to mee, I haveing nott heard from him in three years. Beesids hee has deprived for this five yeare of neer eight hundred pound a year my deer husband left me for my life and above twelve hundred pound in assetts as by accounts of Joseph Jervoise, accounts with my cosin John Freke whom I sent for Ireland to adminester for me, i707. This is true, Eliz Frek. For which I humbly beg the greatt God to forgive him.

³⁰⁰ Richard Warner, the son of James and Mary Warner of North Elmham, was a prominent attorney as well as a Norfolk justice of the peace. He died in 1757 at the age of eighty-nine (Carthew, iii. 125).

3 I paid my cosin John Frek for his jorney downe thirty guinyes.

5 The 5, fifth, hee returned from Norwich and wentt from Billney to London the seventh of March, being Wensday.

Tuesday, sixth of March, I sentt my maid Sarah to London to waitt on my deer sister downe to my Billney, wher for three weekes she was dissapoynted of the stage coach and deneyd mine coming up to her. And I a diseased criple with a rhumatisme and tisick confined to a chaire for this eighteen months past. Eliz Freke

[fol. 87v]

Satterday, March the 24, i7io, my deer sister the Lady Norton came downe to me from London to Billney; I fetched her in my coach from Seche.³⁰¹

i7ii, March 25 Being the 25, shee was overturned in my coach goeing into the church yard affter shee had on my earnest request come this long and kind jorney to mee.

Aprill ii From Venia Aprill ii they writt the emperor found himselfe indisposed, which proved to be the small pox; **i7** of which they being nott soe kindly as hoped for, he dyed of them the i7 instand aboutt ii and i2 att night in convultions to the greatt disorder of that and the disapoyntment of our English allyes.³⁰² The dauphin was taken ill att Mendan in the nightt between 9 and io a clock instantt, and the next day the distemper proved the small pox. **i2** The i2 they begun the forty howrs prayers for his recovery. **i4** And the i4 att six att night he lost his speech and dyed in convultions att eleven a clock att nightt aged 49 years and 5 monthes and i4 days, born i66i the first of November; and hee was marryed in the yeare i680 to Mary Ann of Bavaria, sister to the ellector of thatt name, by whom he had three sons: the duke of Burgundy (now dauphin); 2d, the duke of Anjow; 3d, the duke of Berry.³⁰³

i7ii, Aprill 24 They write from Dublin the i7 instantt that the Sunday before a greatt fire broke outt att the councell chamber which consumed the same as allooe the treasury and most of the roles in the

³⁰¹ Setchey or Setch, by the River Nar about four miles south of King's Lynn.

³⁰² The Daily Courant (1969) reports that convulsions from smallpox seized the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph I (1678–1711) at four in the morning of 17 April (NS) and that he died at noon, not at night. With the emperor's death the Habsburg hope of controlling Spain diminished (Charles W. Ingrao, *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburg Monarchy* [West Layfayette, Ind., 1979], 218).

³⁰³ The Daily Courant (1961) reprints the 22 April (NS) news from The Hague describing the course of the dauphin's fatal illness; a similar version of the last days in the Nonuich Gazette (v. 237) adds many of the biographical details Freke includes as well as a eulogy. The son of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa, the infanta of Spain, Louis de France (1661– 1711) was the father of Philip V, a central figure in the conflict over the Spanish succession. muster master generalls office and books, &c., in the survivour generalls office. All which with papers and books of severall other office were all burntt and consumed.³⁰⁴

May i Resolved thatt itt appeers in this presentt parliamet, i7ii, thatt of the mony granted for the publick service in the last parliamentt ther are still in arrears to Xmas i7io thirty five millions, three hundred and two thousand pounds, one hundred and seven pounds, eighteen shillings, and nine pence (35302i07–i8–9), of which noe account has binn given to the auditors.³⁰⁵

7 Monday morne my deer sister the Lady Norton came to my chamber and informed me thatt my servantt John Preston was a rogue burntt in the hand and thatt he had gott into my service under a falce cirtificate contrived with by my own maid Sarah Flowrs, who had lived with me above three years [and] was privy to itt and all this his theiffreys and rogeryes whilst with mee.

ii They both [took] all they could from me the eleventh of May and att midnight god into my house againe; and on Fryday I paid them both all off and turned them outt of doors, I nott knowing the many severall things they had stole from me, haveing hardly gon cross my chamber for allmost two years and then with a hard shifft to see my house allmost gutted by this rogue and whore, whose designe was on my life when my sister should leave me, they being provided with two case of pistols of my own and a long gun taken outt of my clossett for thatt purpose, as I were informed. Butt my God by my deer sister prevented itt.

i5 Tuesday, the i5, I gott warrants for apprehending of them, butt they crosed the watter, and I must be contented with my [fol. 88r] severall loses of all sorts and am most thankfull to God for my life. Eli. Frek

i7ii, May 23 Wensday, May the 23, being ill in my chamber and my deer sister Lady Norton by me, Spice the bayly came up to my chamber and arrested me att the suite of the rogue John Dawson, whome I putt into Norwich jaile a twelve month before for a debt of neer a hundred pounds he owed me of which I never had a peny affter my spending above a hundred pounds in law affter itt. He brok jaile (Mr Warner being my atturny) and impudently dar'd to come to my chamber and twice to arrest mee, E Frek. And the 24 of June the bayly sent me back my appeerrance againe – I paying his fees, which I did by Richard Taff.

 304 The report of the fire that destroyed the council chamber, including the surveyor general's office, located on Essex Street appears in both the *Post Boy* (2488) and the *Norwich Gazette* (v. 238).

 305 On 5 May the House of Commons considered specific arrears in the taxes of this amount reported on 24 April (CJ, xvi. 613, 629–36).

26 Aboutt the twenty six of May I had a letter outt of Ireland from my son datted the i2 of March i7io and, I think, the first I have received from him this three years, which letter I transcribed and sent itt to London to my cosin John Frek to answer itt.

28 or some little time affter I had another letter from my cosin Arthur Barnard, which I likewise transcribed and sent itt to London for my cosin John Frek to peruse; and the next week I answered that as I thought fitt.³⁰⁶ E Frek

28 or 29 I sentt Mr Warner, my atturny, a note under John Dawsons own hand datted June 22, i706, wherin he acknowledges to owe me att the death of my deer husband fifty pounds payable to me on demand. This note I sent Mr Warner by Mr Buck, minester of Billney. E Frek

June i4 I paid Mr Berners ten pounds for five thousand of reed, the worst was ever used by mortall, as I did likewise pay him 9 ginyes last year for three thousand allmost as bad; which is now the last ever St Maryes shall ever cheat me of.³⁹⁷

24 Midsomer Day, Sunday, the 24 of June, I humbly thank my good God I wentt in my own coach to my own church att Bilney, wher I received the blesed sacrament with twelve more pertakers with mee, amongst which my deer sister the Lady Norton. Wher I did in thankfullness to my God consecrate my new silver cupp and new bread plate and my new Common Prayer Book by Mr Buck, minester of the place, as I did last yeare a large sillver flagon I bought for this church consecrated by Mr Smith, vicker of Winch.³⁰⁸ E Freke

27 The 27 of June, being Wensday, I did in my own coach endeavour to goe up to London to carry up my deer sister Norton, who had bin soe kind to me to doe penance heer with me att Billney for a quarter of a year, viz., from the 25 of March last past; which I shall never forgett.

29 Fryday, 29, I humbly thank God I gott safe to London with my

³⁰⁶ Arthur Bernard (1666–1732), Francis' younger brother and the husband of Anne Power, had been an officer in the Bandon militia and the high sheriff of County Cork; later he would be elected to parliament and hold the position of Bandon's provost (Ffolliott, 35; Smith, ii. 214; Bennett, 484–6, 562–4).

³⁰⁷ The 'remarkable species of reeds' found in the Freebridge marshlands was valued as 'a very durable and neat thatch for houses, and are said to last from thirty to forty years. Thatching is executed in this country in a style altogether superior to many other places' (John Chambers, *A General History of the County of Norfolk*, 2 vols. [Norwich, 1829], i. 371).

³⁰⁸ The cup and cover along with the flagon remain in the safekeeping of the diocese, 'The cup, 7 1/4 ins. in height and 4 1/8 ins. in diameter, having only one mark, that of Jno. Jackson'. Both the cup and cover are inscribed 'Given by Eliz. Freke to the use of her Parish Church of West Bilney in Norfolk, where the corps of her deceased husband, Percy Freke, Esq., is deposited in a vault built by her under or near the Chancell, A.D. 1711' (Radcliffe, 'Church Plate in Norfolk', 265).

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deer sister, with my fowre servants, and with my two coach horses and one horseman to rid by. For which great mercy God ever make me thankfull. Eliz Frek

[fol. 88v]

i7ii, Jully i5 In London I staid a fortnight and two dayes and rested my selfe and horses; and Sunday, the i5 of July, St Swithens Day, I left my deer sister Norton att her house and came affter diner from London in order to come downe to my own Billney with my fowre servants in my own coach. **i8** Wher with my two horses and one to rid by the coach, I doe most humbly thank my God I gott safe home in two days and a halfe to my own deerly beloved Billney the i8 of Jully.

Agust 7 I made an end of new reeding my little barne and the back house att the Maner Farme, for which I paide Gibs the reader for his work in itt ten pounds, fourteen shillings, and six pence; and I paid Mr Parker of Lin for rush rope for them, 3 grose and a halff, aboutt thirtty shillings; and for splints, eightt shillings; and for five thousand of reed for them, ten pound; and for carting the reed with twenty carts att six shillings a day cost me six pound; and the bridg mony and drink ther cost me fifteen shillings; and a load of rye straw to rooff them cost me ten shillings.³⁰⁹ Soe thatt the reeding of this barne cost mee with the maner back house thirtty pounds in a month time of redy mony, as wittnes Eliz. Freke. And nott a hundred of reed left mee <in the margin: 29-i7-6>.

[fol. 89r]

i7ii, September i2 Our greatt fleet new made by this queen for the South Sea Company (to fetch gould, of which this new lord of Oxford is made govenour) under the comand of Sir Hovenden Wallker, Major Generall Hill, and Benett, &c., came into the Spanish River Bay Septembr the i2, i7ii, in order to attack Quebeck.³¹⁰ **2i** Wher on

³⁰⁹ Probably Nicholas Gibbs, the husband of Frances Thrower and the father of a son buried in West Bilney in 1707, though possibly either Luke or Thomas Gibbs, whose marriages are also recorded in the Swaffham parish register. A Thomas Parker of Chequer Ward is listed in the 1703 and 1704 land taxes of King's Lynn, but not identified by trade.

³¹⁰ Robert Harley (1661–1724), chancellor of the exchequer, was appointed lord treasurer and created earl of Oxford in May 1711, the month the House of Commons passed the bill to fund the national debt by offering creditors shares in the trading corporation known as the South Sea Company. Rear-admiral Hovenden Walker (d. 1728) was the naval commander of the expedition; after its failure he sailed to Jamaica to become its commander-in-chief, but he was later criticized for his leadership of the earlier Canadian expedition and struck from the list of admirals in 1715. He defended his conduct in A *Journal, or Full Account of the late Expedition to Canada*, published in 1720. John Hill (d. 1735)

the 2i day they gott up part of the river of Canada, which is i30 leagus long to Quebeck. **23** Which proveing very foggy all day and nightt, aboute forty leagus of Quebeck nine of our transportt ships struck up on the rocks and were all lost with att least 800 men in them beesids ther store ship of provision; and with greatt diffillculty escaped our whole fleett of men of warr and convoyes, who were much damaged by the rocks, &c. This is a sad begining of getting gold by the conquest of new countryes, and for this sad accidentt the Queen Ann has given order to hinder the saileing of the fleett under Commodore Bennett by reason of the ill success of the expydition against Quebeck.³¹¹

Octtober 9 This day, being Octtober 9, came out ther majestyes proclamation for the sitting of the parliament the i3 of November next for the dispatch of mighty and importunatte affaiers.³¹²

September 3d September the 3d, i7ii, I were warned in as the head of Billney to appeere before 9 or io comisioners for the drains of Sandringham Hey, which I utterly refused the doeing of for feare of a presidentt on the fens of Sechy River.³¹³ And I wrott to the bench this ensueing letter:

Sir,

I received your warrants datted the 27 of Agust last wherein you are

was appointed brigadier-general in command of the land forces. The name Bennett does not appear among the lists of officers included in *The Walker Expedition to Quebec, 1711*, ed. Gerald S. Graham, *The Publications of the Champlain Society*, 32 (1953).

³¹¹ The account of the unsuccessful Quebec expedition follows closely that in the *Norwich Gazette*, v. 262, 11 October; Freke, however, confuses the date of the report from Canada (12 September) with the month the fleet entered the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and met disaster on the river (August). A John Bennett or Bennitt, commissioned as captain on 1 May 1695, was at this time in command of the seventy-gun *Lennox*, which in October was 'Designed on foreign service'. In November he was ordered to The Downs, where other ships were assembling 'to Cruize against the Dunkirke ships', but was then ordered to Portsmouth and later sailed to Saint Helena and the Cape (*Commissioned Sea Officers*, 30; PRO, ADM 8/11 and ADM 8/12).

³¹² The Norwich Gazette (v. 262) notes and the London Gazette (4911) reprints the 9 October proclamation: 'the said Parliament shall on the said Thirteenth Day of November be Held and Sit for the Dispatch of divers Weighty and Important Affairs'. The commission from the queen for proroguing the legislative body was also read in parliament on 9 October (C_7 , xvi. 693).

³¹³ The River Nar was known, among other names, as Sandringham Eau or Ea and Sechey. Proposals dealing with the flooding of lands and silting of rivers caused by drainage systems such as the Denver Sluice were pressing concerns especially in the Lynn area (Thomas Badeslade, *The History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's-Lyn, and of Cambridge* [London, 1766]; H. C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens*, 2nd edn. [Cambridge, 1956]). Concerned about the obstruction and flooding in the area from Sechey Bridge to Long Bridge, the general session of sewers proposed that the river 'might be Well and Sufficiently ditched Scowered & Cleansed by the Landowners on either Side' under penalty of five shillings a rod; commissioners and concerned owners were to meet before 20 September to resolve the issue (NRO, DB 9/10/fol. gr). pleased to dereictt me as the cheife inhabitantt of Billney to appeer att the K[ing]s Head att Sechy iff I think fitt the 3d instantt.³¹⁴ Which tho I am nott concerned in the effect of this warrantt, yett, gentlemen, I think itt fitt to obey authoritye; and therfore I have sentt two of my tenants to waite on you and receive your commands. Butt for this river neer fowre miles from me, I humbly conceive I have noe concerne in itt, itt haveing never bin done by mee this thirty seven years butt once, trictt by Mr Person of Midleton injenuity aboutt seven years past unknown to mee.³¹⁵ Nor had I ever ordered my attendance on itt before either in Mr Freks time or my 27 years residence past. Therefore I hope and intreatt the comisioners to concider me as I am, a woman ignorantt and helpless and an unhappy widow poore and nessesitious; thatt I may nott have any thing placed on me, I must be forced to oppose you in my sons rightt. I am, gentlemen, with all due respectt, your humble servantt,

Eliz. Freke

[fol. 89v]

i7ii, September 4 I had a long letter from my deer son outt of Ireland, which I answered him in September the 5, fiffth, being the next post following. His was datted the tenth of Agust past.

6 Mr Barnes of St Marryes came to see me from the comisioners to perswad me to nott oppose the comisioners,³¹⁶ butt I told him my fixt resolution was to defend my sons right to my little ability and nott be catched by them in a fools trap, and thatt I had now neer a hundred akers of land lye under water and durst nott turne itt for feare of a presidentt of being brought into Sechy River or Sandringham Hea, and thatt I would sooner spend a hundred pound to oppose them then comply twenty shillings with them tho threatned 5000 l. against mee att the sesions deep. Which when the time came I sent in my appeerance, and itt was laid aside.

30 Henry Cross did penance for adulltry with Diana Davy in Billney church, as did Diana Davy in June before, Midsomer.³¹⁷

Octtobr i Monday, Octtober the first, Mr Buck wentt to Norwich

³¹⁴ Not listed in the Alehouse Recognizances of 1789.

³¹⁵ William Pearson or Peirson appears as a voter from Middleton in the 1715 *Poll for the Knights of the Shire*, 143, and with his wife – Elizabeth Thurlow, whom he married in East Walton on 8 June 1687 – in the Middleton parish records. He also served as a commissioner of sewers.

³⁶ In the B text Mr Berners, not Barnes of St Marys, tries to sway her (below, p. 275). Hatton Berners, was one of the commissioners of sewers at the meeting concerning the dispute over drainage.

³¹⁷ Diana Davy gave birth that year to an illegitimate son, Francis, baptized in West Bilney on 30 May 1711.

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(my minester) to receive institution and induction of a liveing given him by Madam Brainswith. $^{_{3^{18}}}$

i I writt my third letter to Sir George Norton about lending of him twelve hundred pounds on his bond and judgmentt. Eliz Freke

ig I finished my worke for a chamber, &c., being above six years aboutt itt, as is heer mentioned hard by. E Frek, i7ii

ii I entered Whittpitt Brack of my five akers, takeing the forfitter of her lease, she owing mee seven or 8 years rentt or more; and I can gett noe mony or account from Mrs Barns, now Mrs Edgworg, or her son Mr Langly for the severall years past.³¹⁹ And they haveing ploughed up my moyre with a designe to wrong me of itt, I, Elizabeth, did affter wrighting to Mr Langly the seventh instantt of Octtobr to stop my plough iff he thought fitt, I did the eleventh of Octtober i7ii putt in my own plough; and John Anderson, my then plough man, did then plough itt as farr as Tooly, one of Mr Langlyes tenantts.³²⁰ And Luke Wingfield, one of my tennants thatt formerly rented itt, said was my due. **i6** And I left my plough there till the sixteenth of this month I ended itt, leaveing aboutt of whatt was allotteded my due for a moyre. Eliza Freke

[fol. 90r]

i7ii, Octtobr i5 By Gods permision I, being to goe in my own coach up for London nextt week to make up accounts with my cosin John Frek and place outt aboutt 3000 l. of mine in his hand – I have nothing to show for itt – and beleiveing I shall never returne againe home alive, doe think fitt and proper to make an inventory of some of the best things I leave in my house att Billney. Elizabeth Freke

And first in my uper closett over the hall:

i greatt haire trunk in which is

³¹⁶ Julian Branthwait was the widow of William Branthwait of Hethel; the Branthwaits controlled the Bacton living as lord and patron of Bromholm Priory. An inscription on the monument of her husband remembers her as the daughter of Thomas Berney of Swardeston; she died in 1727 at the age of eighty-eight (Blomefield, xi. 21, v. 112).

³¹⁹ In 1688 Madam Barnes received from Henry Richardson an eighty-three-year lease of the five acres known as Whitpit Brack at twelve shillings a year. A brack is a piece or tract of land, usually unenclosed and often uncultivated (*EDD*). Thomas Langley (1676–1762?), the second son of Isabella Barnes' marriage to William Langley, married Ann Edgworth, the daughter of his mother's third husband, Robert Edgworth, on 12 March 1709/10 in East Winch. At the death of his brother Roger Langley in 1716, Thomas succeeded to the baronetcy (Blomefield, ix. 150; John Bernard Burke and John Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland*, 2nd edn. (London, 1844), 298–9.

³²⁰ John Tooley and Mary Bodley were married in Middleton on 26 June 1687; their son and daughter were baptized in East Winch; John Anderson's name appears in none of the local parish registers. i little haire trunk with plats i gold watch with its case and chaine 6 sillver servers, two of them new i large silver chocolett pott and mill i new sillver tea kettle and i new frame and lamp to itt i sillver snuff pan and snuffers³²¹ 2 large sillver candlesticks 2 sillver pintt cans i2 large silver spoons 8 little double guilt spoons 6 litle sillver spoons, i outt i large sillver poringer i new sillver chamber pott i new wrought tea box i new milke pott and its cover i little picture of my saivours sett with dimonds for my watch i enameled hart sett with amathest 6 gold rings; i bag of gold fring i gold seale, double coated 8 gold lockets on a ribond of frinds 5 gold lockets; two chains³²² 5 silver salts, three of them new i little tortershell box with i little pictur of my deer father, copy i origanall of my deer unkle William Frek i three pound peice in gold, given me by my deer father, Ralph Frek i twenty shilling peice in sillver, given me by my mother in i648 i weesell skin purs with silver medalion Given me by my deer sister Norton: 6 round stools, all of her worke 6 couchens to them, her work 2 long stools to them i great easy chair, in her house I left in London Eliz Frek

More in this greatt haire trunk is of my close, first, Eliz Freke

2 sticht whitt hollond petticoats, new

i under silk peticoatt, new

³²¹ Scissors-shaped implements for extinguishing candles and trimming their wicks kept on snuff pans or trays.

³²² In manuscript: 'to change'.

i spoted bracade mantua lined with black, in London³²³ i spoted peticoatt to itt trimed with black, London i new black cloth mantue, i7io, and i black cloth peticoat to itt, i7io i black vellvett mantua lin'd with cloth of gold i black vellvett peticoate to itt bound with gold i new bracade silke mantua lined (with changable), i7i0³²⁴ i new petticoate to itt, i7io 6 yards of new bracade silk to this mantua 8 yards of new changable silk to line a mantua, i7io io yards of new grasett for a coate, i7io325 i black and white satten mantua, i7io i new peticoatt to itt trimed with black lace i new callicoe mantua lined with purple silk 2 peticoats to itt; i whitt, i purple, i7io i silk perdysway manta, new, London i7i0326 i new perdysway peticoat to itt, London i7io 2 large peices of hangings of my own work for a drawing roome, i7ii 2 greatt easy chairs to itt, i7ii i long couch or squab of the same, i7ii 4 other chaires of the same backs, i7ii 4 seats to them of the same w[ork], i7ii 4 stools of the same to itt, i7ii 2 peices for stools sticht in silke, i7ii 8 couchens stichtt in silk, i7ii i sticht counterpoyne with silk, i7ii327 All these of my own work in six years. i spotted wastcoatt of Mr Freks i wrought wastcoat of his I worked, EF328 2 bags of slips to imbroder my work³²⁹ i paire of new black silk stays³³⁰ with my deer fathers picture framed Eliza, Freke

³²³ A loose gown usually of silk or brocade fitted at the waist with a belt or sash, the mantua became increasingly acceptable formal attire (C. Willett and Phillis Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*, and edn. [London, 1966], 176).

³²⁴ Shot silk: a fabric woven or dyed to create a variegated effect.

³²⁵ Grasett or grazet(t): a woollen material.

³²⁶ Paduasoy: a smooth-textured, heavy-weight silk fabric.

³²⁷ Counterpane: a coverlet for the bed, a quilt or bedspread.

³⁴⁸ Worn by men under another garment such as a doublet, the waistcoat became by the end of the seventeenth century an outer garment, like a coat, buttoned at the waist and reaching to the knees.

³²⁹ Hank or quantity of silk or yarn.

³³⁰ Two pieces of stiff underbodice laced together.

[fol. 90v]

i7ii, Octtober i5. An account of whatt linnen I putt into my portmantle trunk in my clossett over the hall,³³¹ Eliz. Freke

2 paire of hollon sheets for my bed³³²
i paire of fine hollon sheets for strangrs
i2 hollon pillebers, used³³³
3 new diaper table clothes, never used³³⁴
i6 new diaper napkins to them
i long fine damask table cloth
i shorte sideboard cloth to itt
ii fine damask napkins to them
i long courser damask table cloth
i shorter sidboard cloth to itt
i4 damask napkins to itt
2 long damask towells to them
4 little laced table clothes
i new tike squab to my worke³³⁵

My own clothes are

i new black furboloe scarfe, i7i0³³⁶ i paire of new fine hollon sheets, never used butt washed upp, i7ii 7 new shiffts, one of them nott made, i7ii³³⁷ i2 new cambrick hanchers, i7ii³³⁸ 8 yards of new cambrick in 2 p[ieces], i7ii 4 new stripp cambrick arpons, i7i0³³⁹ 3 new night rails to them, i7i0³⁴⁰ i new single strip muslin arpon and i new night raile to itt, i7i0

³³¹ Portmantle: northern dialect variant of portmanteau, a travelling-bag or case.

³³² Holland: white linen fabric, originally from Holland.

333 Variant of pillow-bere: pillowcase.

³³⁴ Table linen woven with a pattern.

³³⁵ A cushion (squab) for a chair or sofa encased in a linen or cotton fabric (tike, an obsolete form of tick).

³³⁶ A furbelow scarf was pleated, gathered, or otherwise trimmed with a flounce.

³³⁷ An undergarment or smock known as a chemise in the eighteenth century.

³³⁸ Napkin or small cloth of fine white linen fabric; also a kerchief worn on the head or shoulders.

³³⁹ Striped apron. White or plain aprons were worn as outer garments about the house; without bibs and richly decorated with lace and embroidery, aprons also complemented dresses.

³⁴⁰ Gown or loose wrap worn as nightdress.

5 paire of new gloves, i7io 3 new stript muslin arpons, i7io 3 new stript night rails to them, i7io 4 plaine muslin arpons, one unmade 4 plain muslin night rails to them, i7io i new cambrick cravett, once used, i7io341 3 paire of hollon sleevs, new, i7io 2 paire of laced sleeves for me, i7io i wrought cambrick head, laced, i7i0342 2 new muslin heads, laced and dresed, never worn, i7io i new plaine muslin head dres, i7io 2 paire of laced ruffells to them, never worne, i7io 2 laced sutes of head clothes and 2 quoifs, new, of my worke³⁴³ 2 black and whitt silk hanchers, i7io i new lute string hood, never worn, i7io344 i gause hood, new, never worne, i7io345 2 tippitts, one of them new velvett³⁴⁶ i new black silk arpon, never used, i7io i new black crape hood, not used, i7io i long crape scarfe to itt, worne

More in the portmantle trunk is putt in by me, Eliz Freke, Octtober i5, i7ii:

4 stomechers for stays

- 3 black silk scutions, of my sons³⁴⁷
- 3 new fans; 6 caps
- 4 new sticht caps; a sable for a cap
- 3 new men sticht caps; i5 sable tails
- 4 laced piners of my own work to be contrived³⁴⁸
- i bag with severall collered and black new ribons; 3 parcell of whit thred

³⁴¹ Cravat: neck scarf or neckwear tied in bows and knots of various fashions.

³⁴² Head-cloth.

³⁴³ Obsolete form of coif, a close-fitting cap covering the back as well as sides of the head, often tied under the chin and commonly made of linen and decorated with embroidery.

- 344 Lustring or lutestring: glossy or lustrous silk fabric.
- ³⁴⁵ Gauze: open weave as well as thin, transparent silk, linen, or cotton fabric.
- ³⁴⁶ Tippet: cape or short coat covering the neck and shoulders.
- ³⁴⁷ Scutcheon, eschutcheon or escutcheon: armorial bearing or coat of arms.

³⁴⁸ Pinner: white cap with long flaps on each side, which were sometimes pinned at the breast; also a bib pinned on an apron.

io paire of specttles, never used, in a collered bagg and reading glass, i7ii

- i bagg of Jamacoe spice, &c., i7ii
- i little purse of spice
- i little bagg of severall things, i7ii
- 3 parcells of lace of my own work
- i canvase bagg with my 5 tallys for 3000 l. in the funds, E Frek³⁴⁹
- i new sheett covers all
- 2 laced hanchers of muslin
- i little pilleber with cruells left of my work³⁵⁰ with one tin box of tea Eliz Frek

i7ii, Octtober the i6. A note of whatt I putt in the great black trunk by the fire side, Eliz. Freke

i new plod quilt, never worne³⁵¹

- 2 yards of new blue cloth for a livery
- i linen damask cownterpoyn, new
- i new head cloth to itt, never worn³⁵²
- 4 curtains to itt;353 i chocolett mill
- 2 paire of vallence to itt³⁵⁴
- i new Indian silk quiltt to my green damask bed, nott used
- 4 green damask curtains to it
- 2 paire of vallence to itt
- 3 plod window curtains to itt, green and whitt, for the best chamber
- 2 paire of vallence to them
- 3 plod scarlett window curtains to the dineing roome and
- 2 paire of valence to itt
- i new tea table, given me by my sister Lady Norton; 7 q[uires] of paper
- i new otter skin muff
- 4 setts of maps; 4 new tassels
- i pilleber with cruels left of my work

E Frek

³⁴⁹ Exchequer receipts recorded on wooden rods notched to indicate the amounts, then split lengthwise and one half held by each party to the loan.

- ³⁵⁰ Cruel, a variant of crewel, a form of embroidery done with worsted yarn.
 - ³⁵⁴ Dialect form of plaid.
 - ³³² Cloth placed at the head of a bed.
 - ³⁵³ Curtains that hung from the canopy, enclosing the bed.

³⁵⁴ Valence or valance, the drapery hung around either the edge of the bed canopy or the bedstead itself.

[fol. 917]

i7ii, Octtober the i6. An account of whatt I putt in the greatt chest under the coffin in my closett, Eliz. Freke

5 whole peices of printed paper for hangings, yard wide

- i cloke of my deer husbands, worne
- i new grey coat and wascoatt for a livery
- i grey cloth wastcoat to itt, both new
- i black cloth coat and shamy briches to itt I made for a livery, little worn³⁵⁵
- i blue cloth coat and wascoatt made for a livery, very little worne
- i yellow cloth counterpoyne
- i blue tartrain counterpoyne³⁵⁶
- 2 new large blanketts for the best chamber
- 2 other new blanketts, whipt³⁵⁷
- 2 large blanketts worne to the hall chest In the coffin over this chest is
- 2 boys to my damask bed;358
- 6 cushins, new; and 2 under blanketts.

Eliz Freke

Octtober the i6. In the lesser haire trunk in my closett is, E Frek,

2 paire of new course sheets i4 new diaper napkins, never used 3 hollon wascoats, sticht, of mine 3 diaper table clothes, very little worn i6 diaper napkins to them i new larg course diaper cloth, unwhited ii new napkins to itt of the same i new umbrella, never used i finer large diaper table cloth, much used 4 little courser diaper table clothes 2 towells; 4 hollon pillebers

i7ii, Octtober the i6. In the deep broad deale box is in my closett

i callicoe quiltt to the best chamber

³⁵⁵ Variant of chamois, a soft, pliant leather; also an imitation cloth material.

³⁵⁶ Tartan: patterned woollen cloth.

³⁵⁷ Bound or edged with an overcast stitch or trimmed with embroidery or gathers.

³⁵⁸ Ornamental figures of boys placed on the top of bed canopies (Tessa Murdoch, Victoria and Albert Museum).

i callicoe counterpoyne bound with scarlett

2 new grey hamer clothes laced with black to my coach³⁵⁹

2 other new hamer clothes bound with scarlett worsted, never used

- i new patch work couchen, given mee
- i little pilleber with some cloth coller cruells

Eliza Freke

i7ii. An accountt of whatt china and delph, &c., I putt into the deep box behind my closett doore, Octtobr i6

- i greatt large jarr, given me by sister Austin
- 2 high deep open jarrs, by the same
- 2 greatt high bottles jars, by the same
- i larg cover to the greatt jarr; all this given me by my deer sister Austen
- 4 small china jars for my cabenett
- i fine wrought china suger dish with
- i fine china cover to itt I bought
- 3 broad fine china dishes, given me by my deer sister Lady Norton, as was
- i china japan tea table by the same³⁶⁰
- 5 fine china tea cups by the same
- 5 fine china plates to them
- 5 fine china chocolett cups by ye same
- 5 fine china plates to them and
- i suger blat of the same; all this given me by my deer sister Lady Norton
- 6 little rattifye china cups³⁶¹
- 2 china egge bolles, guilded
- 4 fine china tea cups
- 2 glass ink bottles; 2 glass salts
- i china tea jarr for my cabinett
- i china tea pott to itt
- 2 painted china cups
- i2 white china cups for chocolett
- 6 white china cups for tea or coffy
- 3 fine china painted cups
- 6 china tea cups, dark brown
- 6 spotted china cups with handles to them

³⁵⁹ Hammer cloth: the covering for the driver's seat.

 $^{36\mathrm{o}}$ A japanned or lacquered tea table with a raised edge or gallery around the table top.

³⁶¹ Ratafia: liqueur or cordial.

- 2 china tea potts with its covers
- i red Portingall tea pott and itts cover362
- 5 red Portungall cups to itt
- 4 little delph basons
- 3 little delph basons more
- 4 deep delph chocalett cups

Eliz Frek.

[fol. 91v]

i7ii. A further account of whatt I putt in the deep box behind the door in my closett, Octtobr i6

- 6 guiltt sconces, new, for candles, given me by my deer sister Lady Norton³⁶³
- i guild sconce to hold my tea cups³⁶⁴
- i lignum vite morter³⁶⁵ and
- i lignum vity pestle to itt, cosin John Frek
- 2 paire of lignum vite stands
- 3 lignum vitte casters for suger, mustard, and peper³⁶⁶
- 2 lignum vite cups with covers
- 2 deep lignum vitte cups
- i lignum vyte cann
- 2 lignum vitte little boxes, Eliz. Frek

Of Tunbridge ware³⁶⁷ is

- i paire of stands; i suger siffter
- 2 powder boxes; 2 little basons
- 2 little high cups; 3 little boxes
- i large punch cup; 2 little cups
- i little cup with a foott; i little ladle
- i milk strainer and i skiming dish
- i suger box and itt cover to itt
- i paire of new bellows in the drawer of my great haire trunke

³⁶² Portingall, an obsolete form of Portugal; unglazed ""red china" teapots in imitation of Chinese Yixing ware' were earlier made (Robin Emmerson, *British Teapots & Tea Drinking, 1700-1850* [London, 1992], 57). R. J. C. Hildyard, assistant curator in the Victoria and Albert Museum Department of Ceramics & Glass, suggested a further association between 'red china' or *boccaro* and the Portuguese stoneware noted by William Bowyer Honey, *European Ceramic Art* (London, 1952), 79.

- ³⁶³ Candlesticks as well as wall-mounted candleholders.
- ³⁶⁴ Wall bracket or specifically, Tessa Murdoch has suggested, a giltwood shelf.

³⁶⁵ Lignum vitae, a hard, dense wood from the West Indies and South America also used extensively as a cure for venereal disease.

- ³⁶⁶ Castor: small container with a perforated top for sprinkling.
- ³⁶⁷ Inlaid ware from Tunbridge of beech, sycamore, and lignum vitae.

4 pictture sconces with glass, Lady Getings³⁶⁸ 7 little picters with glases over them, with severall other printed pictuers and some blak cutt cloth, &c. Eliz Freke

Over this china box is a flatt deale box, Octtobr i6, i7ii, is putt in

i Indian writting box, inlaid, given me by my deer Lady Norton 2 pictture sconces of my deer Lady Gettings with glass over them i pictture of my deer sister Choutt drawn by my deer Lady Gettings, with severall other printed papers

i7ii, Octtober the i6. An account of whatt books I putt into the deep deale box by the fire side in my own closett, Eliz Freke

- i large old Bible, my mothers, folia
- i large book of Andrews sermons, folia³⁶⁹
- i large book of Bishop A Halls, folia³⁷⁰
- i book of Bishop Usher, folia371
- i book of Fellthams Resolves, folia³⁷²
- i book of Cassandria, a romance, folia³⁷³
- i book of A Cowlye, in folia³⁷⁴
- i book of Smith sermons, quarto³⁷⁵
- i other thick book of divynity, folia
- i book of Heaven Opened by Cooper, quarto³⁷⁶
- 7 new books of my deer sister the Lady Nortons makeing and her deer daughter the Lady Gettings makeing, which I prise and vallue for ther authers³⁷⁷
- i book of mine of the New Testamentt
- i Psalme Book to itt with cutts
- i book of the life and death of the holly Jesus by Jerymy Tayler, in quarto³⁷⁸

- ³⁶⁹ Lancelot Andrewes, XCVI Sermons (1629), five editions by 1661.
- ³⁷⁰ Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, a prolific author.
- ³⁷¹ James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, many works.
- ³⁷² Owen Feltham, *Resolves* (1623), eleven editions by 1696.
- 373 Gaultier de Coste La Calprenède, Cassandra (1652), many editions.
- ³⁷⁴ Various folio editions of Abraham Cowley's poems.
- 375 The Sermons of Henry Smith (1657), four quarto editions by 1676.
- ³⁷⁶ William Cowper, Heaven Opened (1609), six editions by 1632.
- ³⁷⁷ Frances Norton, The Applause of Virtue. In Four Parts and Memento Mori (1705); Grace Gethin, Misery is Virtues Whet-stone. Reliquiae Gethinianae (1703).

³⁷⁸ Jeremy Taylor, Antiquitates Christianae; Or, the History of the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus (1649), nine editions by 1703.

³⁶⁸ Pictures located behind the candles and protected from the flame by glass.

- i abstractt of P Helins geogriphy, quarto³⁷⁹
- i new book of the wars of England and Ireland by the Lord Clarendon in short, quarto³⁸⁰
- i history of King Charls the First from his birth to his death, old one^{38t}
- 3 new books of the life and reigne of King William the Third of blesed memory³⁸²
- i new book of St Austins meditations³⁸³
- i new book of Danyell Featly devotions³⁸⁴
- i new book of the Xtian Patern of Christ³⁸⁵
- i new book of Gerrads Meditations³⁸⁶
- i new book of Quarles pomes, new printed³⁸⁷
- i new book of the feast and fast of the church³⁸⁸
- i new book of Reformed Devotions³⁸⁹
- i new book of herralldy, i7i0390
- i Practice of Pyeaty (2 Parbls of the Pillgrams)³⁹¹
- i Whole Duty of Man³⁹²
- 4 new books of state pomes³⁹³

³⁷⁹ Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus* (1621), enlarged as *Cosmographie* by 1652; seven editions by 1703.

^{'380} Edward Hyde, first earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* ... *Faithfully Abridged* (1703).

³⁸¹ Possibly Peter Heylyn, A Short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles (1658); more recent are editions of Richard Perrinchief, The Royal Martyr; Or, a History of the Life and Death of King Charles I (1676).

³⁸² Works include J. S., A Complete History of ... Prince William III (1702); The Glorious Life and Heroick Actions of the Most Potent Prince William III (1702); Abel Boyer, The History of King William the Third (1702); David Jones(?), The Life of William III (1702), three editions by 1705.

³⁸³ Many editions of meditations attributed to Augustine.

³⁸⁴ Daniel Featley, Ancilla Pietatis (1626), nine editions by 1675.

³⁸⁵ Thomas à Kempis, *The Christians Pattern*, numerous editions and reprintings, including six between 1701-11.

³⁸⁶ Recent publications of Johann Gerhard's 1627 meditations include *Gerards Meditations* (1695) and *Meditationes Sacrae* (1709).

³⁸⁷ New editions of Francis Quarles' *Emblems* were published in 1701 and 1709; *Dwine Poems*, in 1706.

³⁸⁸ Festa Anglo-Romana; Or, the Feasts of the English and Roman Church (1678).

³⁸⁹ Theophilus Dorrington, *Reform'd Devotions* (1686), seven editions by 1708.

³⁹⁰ 1710 publications are Arthur Collins, The Peerage of England and George Crawfurd, A Genealogical History of the Royal and Illustrious Family of the Stewarts.

³⁹¹ Numerous editions of Lewis Bayly, *The Practise of Pietie* (1612) and many of Simon Patrick, *The Parable of the Pilgrim* (1665).

³⁹² The most reprinted work by this title is Richard Allestree, *The Whole Duty of Man* (1658).

³⁹³ The series *Poems on Affairs of State* began appearing in 1689; a four-volume fifth edition was published in 1703 to 1707.

- i book of cirgiary by Colebach³⁹⁴
- 3 New Attlanteses, writt by Mrs Manly³⁹⁵
- i book of Bishop Andrews, unbound
- i new book of Meditations of the Devout Soule, is my sister Austens, lent mee³⁹⁶
- i Compleatt Herball by Peachy³⁹⁷
- i new book of the life of the holy Jesus
- 2 books of Cullpepers phisick³⁹⁸
- i Mirror of the Orracles of God³⁹⁹
- i abstractt of Gerralds herball of my wrightine now in the great black trunke⁴⁰⁰
- i thick history of the wars of England, Scotland, and Ireland⁴⁰¹
- i book of the popish plott and i book of the Westron Mirtroligye⁴⁰² i6 small history books
- 2 new books of gardning; 2 old ones
- i new book of the presentt actts of the parliament, i7ii403
- i paper book of the same stile, i7ii⁴⁰⁴
- i new book of the secrets of King Charls 2d405
- i book of pryvatt devotions
- i book of the Family Phisition⁴⁰⁶
- i book of the Husband Mans Instructer407

³⁹⁴ John Colbatch, A Collection of Tracts Chirurgical (1699) or Novum Lumen Chirurgicum; Or, A New Light of Chirurgery (1695).

³⁹⁵ Mary de la Rivière Manley, whose New Atlantis works include Secret Memoirs and Manners ... from the New Atlantis (1709), Memoirs of Europe (1710), and Court Intrigues (1711).

³⁹⁶ Possibly Thomas Arundell, *The Holy Breathings of a Devout Soul* (1695); Charles Povey, *Meditations of a Divine Soule* (1703).

³⁹⁷ John Pechey, The Compleat Herbal (1694).

³⁹⁸ Among the many works, possibly editions of *The English Physician* (1652), A Physicall Directory (1649), or Culpeper's School of Physick (1659).

³⁹⁹ Probably Nicholas Byfield, *The Marrow of the Oracles of God* (1619), thirteen editions by 1660.

⁴⁰⁰ An abstract of John Gerard's *The Herball; Or, Generall Historie of Plantes* (1597), three editions by 1636, is in the vellum manuscript.

⁴⁰¹ James Heath's 984-page A Brief Chronicle of the Late Intestine War (1663) is the longest of the likely histories.

⁴⁰² John Tutchin, *The Western Martyrology, Or, Bloody Assizes*, five editions by 1705; the Popish Plot prompted numerous works.

⁴⁰³ Possibly Samuel Blackerby, The Justice of Peace His Companion; Or, A Summary of All the Acts of Parliament to June 12, 1711 (1711), William Pittis, History of the Present Parliament and Convocation (1711), or his The History of the Proceedings of the Second Session of this Present Parliament (1712).

⁴⁰⁴ A Succinct and Methodical History ... of this Present Parliament (1712).

⁴⁰⁵ John Phillips, The Secret History of the Reigns of K. Charles II and K. James II (1690).

⁴⁰⁶ Gideon Harvey, The Family Physician, and the House Apothecary (1676) or George Hartman, The Family Physitian (1696).

⁴⁰⁷ The Husbandman's Instructor, or, Countryman's Guide (1690).

i book of tenant and landlord,408 with severall other small books Eliza. Freke

[fol. 92r]

i7ii, Octtober the i6. An accountt of whatt I putt in the thin flatt deale box in my closett, EF

i large sillver flagon i large silver cupp and i silver bread plate or cover to itt i new Common Prayer Book i large embrodered table cloth i large pullpett cloth and i fine damask table cloth and i embrodered pullpitt coushen

All which I, Eliz Frek, have seen consecrated and which I give att my death to the chancell of Billney, where my deer husband lyes and wher I hope to lye att rest; to be keptt allwaise att the Hall and never to come under the authority of the bishop of Norwich or the chancellor or the arch deacon, this church being my peculier, a donative, and impropiation nither subject to licence, institution, or induction, or authoryty from the bishopse but the queen, me, and my heirs. And when in the year i7io the bishop in my absence turn'd outt Mr Buck for officiating ther in my church without his licens, I kept him outt seven months and refused the bishops authority of placeing one heer, I keeping the key of the church sentt to him. Iff they claimed any right in Billney, his best way was to make a forcable entry by a new lock and key, for nither the bishop or arch deacon or chancellour or their visittors should ever come in ther butt by my authority.

Elizabeth Freke

i7ii, Octtober the i7. An account of whatt books is in the great chest in my uper closett, Eliz Frek

i great book of the history of China i of Homers Illiads, both Oglybys 2 historys of Affryca, in follia

 408 Possibly George Mcriton, Land-lords Law, five editions by 1697; R. T., The Tenants Law, four editions by 1684.

- i history of Ammeryca; these five books are all by Ogellby.409
- 3 history books of the reigne of King Charls the First writen by John Rushworth⁴¹⁰
- 2 old history books of kings, &c., and greatt ones of England, Scottland, Ireland
- i law book writen by Sir W Pellam411
- i book of my Lord Wynttworth412
- i law book by Sir Edward Cooke413
- i book of Captaine John Smith first voyage to Virgina and conquest, folia414
- i book of law by Sir Littleton for Ireland⁴¹⁵
- i history of the kings of England by Peetter Hellin, folia416
- i history of Henry the 7th, folia417
- i history of Richard the 3d, folia418
- i history of her majesty of Denmark419
- 2 actts of parliamt420

Octtober i8, i7ii. Memorandum. I leave in my own closett when I goe to London:

ii4 quarts of strong cordiall waters and

36 pints of cordial watters and

56 quarts of severall sorts of sirrups.

In all, iff right reconed by me, is i7 dosen. E Freke

Besids aboutt fowre dosen of cold stilld watters.421 EF

⁴⁰⁹ John Ogilby, Atlas Chinensis (1671); Homer His Iliads (1660); Africa (1670); America (1671).

⁴¹⁰ John Rushworth, eight volumes of *Historical Collections* (1659–1701).

⁴¹¹ William Pelham (d. 1587), lord justice of Ireland; no law book has been identified.

⁴¹² The 1641 trial and execution of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, occasioned several works by him; *An Impartial Account* ... (1679) also presents the impeachment proceedings.

⁴¹³ Works by Sir Edward Coke include the many parts of *Reports* as well as *Institutes*.

⁴⁴ Several folio editions of *The Generall History of Virginia* were published between 1624 and 1632.

⁴¹⁵ Numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of Sir Thomas Littleton's *Tenures* appeared, all relevant to or 'for Ireland', though none is specifically about Irish law; nor are the few pieces written by Sir Edward Littleton.

⁴¹⁶ Peter Heylyn, The First Table; Or, a Catalogue of the Kings (1674).

⁴¹⁷ Francis Bacon, The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh (1622), several folio editions.

⁴¹⁸ Two folio editions of George Buck, The History of the Life and Reigne of Richard the Third (1646).

⁴¹⁹ A Life and Reign of the Late K. of Denmark, Christian V, was published in 1700; none on 'her majesty' has been located.

⁴²⁰ A number were published.

⁴²¹ Cold stills – pictured in John French, *The Art of Distillation* (London, 1667), 17 – heated liquids only to the point that they turned into drops.

i7ii. Memorandum. In the other little closett is within the cheese chamber aboutt 4 dosen of quartt bottles full and three hampers full of empty quarts and pints; besids is one deep tub full of empty bottles and a shallow tub full of more emty bottles. Eliza. Freke

[fol. 92v]

i7ii, Octtober the i8. An account of whatt I leave in the severall rooms of my house att West Billney now I goe for London, being designed for itt with Gods leave Octtober the 23, Eliz Freke

First in my own closett:

i greatt haire trunk, filld i large portmantle trunk, fild i great black trunk, filld i broad deall box with the church plate, &c., I give to itt with the imbroder table cloth, &c. i broad deep box, fill'd i deep box by the fire sid, with book i old chest filld with books i long chest with bottles i long chest under the cofin, fil'd i haire trunk with houshold linen i deep box behind my closett door with china and delph, &c. i box over itt fild, and in itt is i inlaid wrighting box, &c. i deale deep box with chocolett, &c. i little scratore;422 i coffin fill'd 6 other little boxs with severalls 5 cubbard with bottles, loctt severall bottles of cordiall water ii4 quarts; of pintts of cordy water 36. And of the severall sorts of sirrups is 56 quarts and pints. In all, if right reconed, are aboutt i7 dosen and aboutt 4 dosen of cold still'd watters.

 $^{\rm 422}$ Scrutoire, escritoire: writing-table or desk, often portable; also, more generally, a bureaux.

i large fore glass to my coach i fether bed

Eliz Frek

I leave in the parlor lockt:

4 pieces of green forrest tapstrey, very good, and the room hung round i large fire gratt barrs

i picture of my deer fathers, given me by my deer sister Norton

i long cane squab, given me by my deer sister Austen

i2 cane chairs

i greatt ovall table

2 window curtain rods

Eliza Freke

i7ii, Octtober i8. I leave in the hall when I goe for London:

2 longe tables; i large fire gratt i copper limbeck, holds a firkin⁴²³ i fire grate, under itt iron bars i long bench fixtt the sid and head i lock and key to the hall doore

I leave outt in the kiching under the care of Mary Ram:

2 tables, one long one and one little one

i long bench to the long table, fixt

i long dresser for pewter, fixt

5 rush chairs; i stooll; i crickett424

2 bacon racks; 2 haks for potts425

2 iron andiarns; i iron oven lid

i greatt fire shovle and i b[rass] candlest[ick]

i paire of tongus to itt

3 greatt brass kettles

i little brass kettle; i brass slice⁴²⁶

i brass stue kettle

i brass skillett; i new coper sauce pan

i brass chaffing dish; i iron gridiorn

⁴²³ Alembic; firkin: a quarter of a barrel, usually eight or nine gallons.

⁴²⁴ Cricket: wooden footstool or low stool.

⁴²⁵ Hakes: pothooks.

426 Spatula or other flat cooking utensil, sometimes perforated.

i brass ladle; i brass druging box⁴²⁷ i round brass dish for a pye or pud⁴²⁸ i new brass frying pan, i7ii i new brass warming pan, i7ii i new iron ratt trap, i7ii 4 pewter dishes, all good, and i deep pewter dish, new, bought i7ii i broad pye platte, pewter i2 new pewter plats, bought i7ii 2 old pewter plates, good i pewter salt sellor i new tin pasty pan, bought i7ii 6 dishes and 6 new trenchers, i7ii

In the back house and milk house:

i coper furness of a battell sett⁴²⁹
i greatt chees press
i greatt mash tubb with its utinsells⁴³⁰
i squar stand to this mash tub
i large barrell tubb with 2 ears
i broad couling keeler with 2 ears⁴³¹
3 cheese vates and there fallows⁴³²
i broad milk tray, devided; the other Luke Wingfield borrowed
4 pailes, 2 of them must be mended
2 broad milk bowls; i brown one Elizabeth Frek

[fol. 93r]

i7ii, Octtober i8. A further note of whatt I leave Mary in the back house and dary, Eliz Frek

i sifting tub or trough for flowre 2 sives to itt; 3 hog trough 3 great milk pans; 3 shelves i churne and itts dash; i iron peele

427 Container for spices and for substances used in dyeing and in medicines.

428 Pudding.

⁴²⁹ Possibly a boiler or cauldron; the other apparatus and function are unidentified.

⁴³⁰ Used to crush and mix malt for brewing, but also to prepare cattle and horse feed.

⁴³⁴ A two-handled cooling vat for brewing; also a shallow household tub.

⁴³² Cheese moulds.
4 halfe barrells, brod hoopt, oke 3 new firkins, broad hoop, oke⁴³³ i fixt table in the pastry⁴³⁴ and 2 shelves and i horse or ale stoole i stand in the small beer seller and i shelf and i stand ore ale stoole in my own seller 2 shelves next the cole roome Eliz Frek

i7ii, Octtober i8. In the parler chamber:

4 peices of tapstry hanging immagry and 2 green under peices 2 tables, one ovall, i lerger one, i7ii i tortershell cabinett, given me by my deer sister Norton i chest of drawers to my scrutor435 2 varnished stands to my table i greatt guilt looking glass i large picture over the chimny i large picture by the bed side i great easy chaire io other chairs, 5 of them ellbows i cole grat, new, with its fender⁴³⁶ i pair of andiarns to itt and i fire shovell tongs and poker to itt i Indian silk bed head and tester to my green damask bed⁴³⁷ 4 plod curtains on itt and 2 paire of plod vallence i new feather bed and boulster⁴³⁸ i new boulster to itt; 2 pillows i counterpoyne; in the drawers by 3 window curtains in the drawrs 2 paire of vallence to them i tester sheett and i head sheett, both belong to me

i fether bed and bolster in my closett I forgott with itts coverlidd and

- ⁴³⁴ Area where pastry is made; also a larder.
- 435 Scrutoire, escritoire.
- ⁴³⁶ Fender: low metal barrier in front of raised, open fire to contain falling coals.
- ⁴³⁷ Tester: bed canopy.
- ⁴³⁸ Bolster: long pillow or cushion placed at the head of the bed.

⁴³³ Small wooden cask or vessel used, for example, to hold butter or lard.

i greatt fore glass of my coach i paire of bellows

Eliz. Frek

i7ii, Octtober the i8. In the hall chamber is

2 large peices of linen Indian immajary hangings
i sack cloth bedsteed with its toping⁴³⁹
i new feather bed to itt; 2 pillows
i new boulster to itt
i head and tester belonging to my plodd bed
4 haire water camlett curtains to itt⁴⁴⁰
i paire of vallience to itt
i large counterpoyne to itt in one of the drawrs in the parlor chambr
i large wallnutt scruture⁴⁴¹
i picture of my deer Lady Nortons
i longe table and i blankett covers all
i little ovall table, new, i7ii
4 Irish sticht chaires⁴⁴²
i fre grate fixt with bars
i red window curtaine

In the little chamber within the hall chamber is

i bed tester, corded i new fether bed to itt and i new boulster to itt 4 new curtains to itt, i7ii i paire of vallence to itt Eliz. Freke

i7ii, Octtober i8. In the dineing roome is

2 larg long peices of tapstry hangings the length of the room

i lesser peice of hangings, linen

i great wallnutt looking glass

2 tables, one ovall and one square one

⁴³⁹ Bed frame or stand upon which the bed rests.

44' Scrutoire, escritoire: bureaux.

⁴² 'Irish stitch – white embroidery on a white background' (Rosemary Milward, A Glossary of Household, Farming and Trade Terms from Probate Inventories, Derbyshire Record Society Occasional Paper No. 1, 1982, 27).

⁴⁰ Watered or water camlet: a fabric of various materials, originally silk and camel's hair, with wavy lines.

6 cane chaiers

- i long pictture of my deer sister Norton
- i long pictture of my deer neece Gettings, her only daughter, and
- i monementt picture of hers 443

these three given me by my deerst sister Norton, E Frek

i long picture of my wretched selfe

i blue window curtaine

i coffin for me and itts stand redy fixtt and leaded for me with the key of ye vault

Elizabeth Freke

[fol. 93v]

i7ii. I leav in the closett by the parler chamber Octtober the i8, E Frek:

i sett of paper hangins round itt i greatt Brazile chest444 in which is i great long Turky work carpett i new large baking pan and i new falce bottom to itt, for fish 3 paire of new bras candlestiks 4 brass socketts to them and 4 brass save alls to them⁴⁴⁵ i paire of hurdles sodered with silver⁴⁴⁶ i bell and plate to itt for usquabath 2 long brass pipes to itt, all of them sodered with silver, for [] i new greatt brass dish and i new bakeing cover to itt and the pan 2 new little brass kettles 4 brass head and other parts of two paire of andiarns i bell mettle skillett, the handle of itt brok outt by Amey⁴⁴⁷ i bell mettle morter and i brazile pestle to itt i little new brass morter and i pestle to itt; i coper skimer i tin dish cover; 2 pewter poringers i tin cullender; 2 pewter stands 8 greatt pewter dishes

⁴⁴³ Moniment or monument: the Westminster or Hollingbourne memorial.

444 Brazil-wood: hard, reddish-brown wood valued in the seventeenth century for inlay.

⁴⁴⁶ A hurdle is a strainer or sieve.

⁴⁵ A save-all held the remains of the candle either in the candlestick or on the pronged pricket of a candle pan, allowing the candle-end to burn.

⁴⁴⁷ Bell metal: a bronze alloy of copper and tin.

2 mazariens to them448 24 new French pewter plats i large new butter plate 2 new choping knives; i hamer i little copper limbeck top i little coper bottom and tram to itt⁴⁴⁹ i pewter limbeck to the pott in the kiching chamber i pewter cold still head i blind marrabath head to the still in the hall of coper⁴⁵⁰ i old warming pan i new bason; i new chambr pott 2 close stoole pans i parcell of the paper of the hangings of the roome leftt i table caire451 and 2 iron frams for kettles, &c. Eliza, Frek

i7ii, Octtobr i8. In the other chest in the same closett is

i purple counterpoyn to the camlett bed in the hall chamber
i plod counterpoyn to the parler chamber
4 curtains and blue tartrin and
i paire of vallence to itt
4 stuff curtains to my own bed⁴⁵²
2 pair of vallience to itt
i blue tartrine quilt to my bed
3 blankets to my own bed

Octtober i8, i7ii. I leave in the east garrett chamber:

20 new deale bourds, i5 foot long

2 new horses to dry linen on

i new bottle rack; 3 firkins

i marble table in its case, black

i tin watter pott; i little firkin

i hamper with 2 new fore coach harnes, never used

i tray with white peas; 2 stools

9 sacks; i chest; 9 bushels of pease

448 Mazarine: a deep metal dish or plate, often set on a larger dish.

⁴⁴⁹ Tram: bench or frame supported by four legs or blocks.

⁴⁵⁰ The head or capital condensed the vaporized distillate heated in the cucurbit.

⁴⁵ Care or cary: fabric used here apparently as a tablecloth.

⁴⁵² Stuff: a worsted fabric or a textile of any kind.

i longe table; i glass churne 2 horse harnes hallters; i lanthr⁴⁵³

i7ii. In the west garratt I leave behind me Octtobr i8:

i new greatt powdering tub and covers⁴⁵⁴
2 little powdering tubs with covers
3 cheese racks; 2 doors, off
2 tables; 2 deal bed cases with corne⁴⁵⁵
i trundle bedstead; i alle stoole
i paire of mustard quarnes⁴⁵⁶
2 bushshells; 2 old chest
2 corne shovells; i new deale
i deale glass case; i old half bar[rel]
i2 little deep cheeses of last year
i good settle; 37 cheeses, this year

[fol. 94r]

i7ii. A note of whatt I leave in my uper garrett Octobr i9

i new greatt kiching grate, with it

2 iron cheek; i iron purr457 and

i iron fender and i greatt horse to warme beer belonging to itt⁴⁵⁸

2 irron andierns or racks to itt

2 other cob irons for a spitt⁴⁵⁹

i greatt jack in the chest, with its

i iron chaine, 2 wheels and lines belonging to itt.⁴⁶⁰ The weights are in my own closed, being of lead, 4 stone fixt to an iron.

8 curtaine rods; i iron to smoth

i iron driping pan; 4 iron hoops

2 great bell mettle potts

i greatt old kettle; 2 iron hoop

i iron corne screene

i little brass pott

⁴⁵³ Lanthorn(?) or lantern.

⁴⁵⁴ Tub for salting or pickling meats.

455 Bed case: bedstead.

⁴⁵⁶ Obsolete form of quern, a hand-mill for grinding spices.

⁴⁵⁷ Iron cheek: iron plate positioned on grate to decrease its size; purr: poker (EDD).

⁴⁵⁸ Horse: 'beer tram' or iron stool placed in front of a fire (EDD).

⁴⁵⁹ Spit racks or andirons with a series of notches or holders.

⁴⁶⁰ Clock jack or mechanical device for turning a spit, driven by weights similar to those described in the next entry.

i new coper limbeck, never used i new leaden bottom fitted to my cold still in the hall chimney i sett of mallitia horse armor containing i gantlett i iron head peice and i iron back peice and i iron breast; the buff coatt Sarah and her rogue stole; the sword and pistols is in my own closett with the 2 belts and box. i greatt iron swath rake 4 iron hows, 2 withoutt handles i greatt iron brandlett to my stil⁴⁶¹ 2 iron saws; 9 sickles 2 iron cutting knives, i new, i7ii 2 mowing sives, one new, i7ii⁴⁶² 3 chimny hakes; i plough share i greatt iron pin to my trass poles⁴⁶³ i sett of trace poles with ropes and wheeles to them 5 good traces; i whin knife⁴⁶⁴ 3 good ridles and 2 old ridles⁴⁶⁵ i white horse signe i new spining Dutch wheele and reels 2 sadles, one of the malita i greatt chamber skreen, painted, with 5 leaves i cowes hide, entire, and i parcell of new tand leather Eliza Freke

i7ii. A further account of whatt I leave in the upper garrett Octtober the i9, Eliz Freke

- i new sack cloth beadsteede with all pertaining to itt; the screwes are in my own closett.
- 2 embrodering frames lyes with itt.
- i new fan; i new sowing baskett
- i new hamper with its cover
- i round hamper with its cover
- 2 setts of coach harnes, viz., 4 paire
- 4 whole mun barells, narrow hoopt⁴⁶⁶
- 2 whole oken barells, braad hoopt
- ⁴⁶¹ Variant of brandreth: three- or occasionally four-legged grate for the hearth.
- ⁴⁶² Obsolete for sieve, but here Freke means scythe.
- ⁴⁶³ Trace pole.
- ⁴⁶⁴ For cutting furze, heather, or shrubs.
- ⁴⁶⁵ Riddle: a sieve with wide mesh.
- ⁴⁶⁶ Mum: malt liquor or beer brewed originally in Brunswick.

i great cheast; 2 black trunks, the things in them stole
i fine flax hichell; i old frying pan to rost cofy⁴⁶⁷
2 new entire setts of wood work for
4 fore coach horses, painted, and pins
2 iron anckors for a house
4 bridles and topings to my coach harness
i woden cradle
i old brass frying pan with its handle to roast coffy
Eliza. Freke

In the closett by the pasage is

i table and six shelves

In the kiching chambr is

i hung with printed paper

2 feather beds, new ones

2 old fether beds in the maids chamber

- 3 blankets; i bedstead there
- i sack cloth bedstead in the chambr over the kiching, stand up intire

i long table; i cabinett of drawrs

[fol. 94v]

May 27, i7i2. A note of whatt cordiall waters I putt into the severall cubards in my closett for my own use May 27, i7i2, Eliza. Frek

In the greatt cupbord is of quart bottles

i three quartt bottle of hott surfett watter, i705468

5 quarts of pallsey watter, i708, i702

4 quarts of cordiall watter, double still'd, i708469

- 2 quart of scurvigrass, double still'd, i684470
- 6 quarts of duable still cordiall with cinaman, i705

⁴⁶⁷ Hitchel: obsolete and dialect form of hatchel, an implement used to comb flax; cofy: coffee.

⁴⁶⁸ Surfeit water: cordial of various herbs, roots, and spices 'against cholicks, gripings in the stomach and bowels, flatulenties and vapours' (George Smith, *A Compleat Body of Distilling* [London, 1725], 35–6, 126).

⁴⁶⁹ 'All distill'd goods which are made proof, are call'd double goods' - one part of 'liquor' added to two parts of distillate (Smith, *A Compleat Body of Distilling*, 94-5).

⁴⁷⁰ Spoonwort, herb used to cure ulcers in the mouth and prevent scurvy (John Gerard, *The Herball* [London, 1636], 401).

3 quarts of Angellicoe watter, first, i704471

9 quarts of lemon water and brandy, i705

5 quarts of rosemary water with licor

2 quart of tinture of lavender, i708

5 quarts of ague watter, first, i705

4 quarts of rosemary watter, i705

i quartt of hungary watter,472 Lady Norton, i709

i quart of sirrup of saffron, Lady Norton, i7io

In all is 52 quarts. Eliza Freke

In the little cuppord over the greatt is of pint bottles – first cuppord has of pints:

2 pints of hungary watter for my wreched head, i709

io pints of aquamirabolus, i7io473

i pintt of tinture of nuttmegs, i709

i pintt of snakweed tinture, i7ii

i quart of hungry water, Lady Norton, i7ii

i quart of spiritt of wine [and] rosemary, i709 In all is i6 pint. Eliz Frek

i little viall of saffron watr

In the 2d little cupbord is even with this []

[fol. 95r]

i7ii, Octtober 22 Tuesday, Octtober the 22, I sett outt in my own coach for London to place outt aboutt three thousand pounds I had then in my cosin John Freks hand and nothing to show for itt butt justice, of which I have sufficiently bilt on.

27 Fryday in my own coach I came to London and lodged in New North Streett in Red Lion Square for neer a month.⁴⁷⁴

November i7 Wher I were soe ill with my tissick thatt I were forced to goe to my deer sister the Lady Nortons house aboutte the end of November for more ayre, in Ormond Streett nextt doore to the

⁴⁷¹ Angelico or angelica water: cordial made from the herb angelica; its root was valued in treatments of lung afflictions and asthma (John Pechey, *The Compleat Herbal* [London, 1694], 5; Gerard, *The Herball*, 1,001).

⁴⁷² Distillate of rosemary flowers and wine.

⁴⁷³ Aqua mirabolis: mixture of spices steeped in wine.

⁴⁷⁴ 'North street, on the N. side of Red lion square, near High holburn, extending toward Ormond str' (Hatton, i. 60).

church,⁴⁷⁵ where I staied till the 7 of December i7ii all the whilst endeavouring to place outt my mony – Sir George Norton haveing for two month before wrott to me to come up to London and lend him thirteen hundred pounds. Butt affter he had given earnest for his coach, [he] was taken speechless with a parralitick, which forced my stay two months in London.

i8 I gave my cosin Mary Lackendane a lottry tickett cost me i2 l.-7 s.-0 d. to try her [luck]; by which she gott nothing butt lost my mony.⁴⁷⁶

2i Transcribed outt of the gessett from Dublin att the prorogation of the presentt parliamt November io, i7ii: Resolved thatt whomsoever shall by speaking, wrighting, or printing arraine or condemne the princeples of the late happy revolution in i688 is an enimy to our most gratious queen, and to our constitution in church and state, and to the Hannavor succession and a frind to the Pretender (or Prince de St George as caled in France).⁴⁷⁷

i7ii, December 7 Fryday, December the 7, affter neer two months stay in London all the while allmost dead with my tisick, I did att last signe Sir George Nortons release of errors and lentt him in mony on his bond and judgmentt thirteen hundred pounds to be paid me againe the 2i of Aprill i7i2 with itts intrest for halfe a yeare, being i339 l.; which bond and judgmtt is in a trunk in my closett, as is the mortgage of Mr Steevens Westons mortgage deeds for twelve hundred pounds he borrowed of me to bee paid me in a yeare.⁴⁷⁸ And I then passed accounts with my cosin John Frek, who owed me on itts ballance nine hundred and seventy pounds, for which I have his note. Eliz Frek

9 Sunday, the 9 of December, allmost dead, I undertook my jorney home againe to Billney; which tho by Gods mercy to mee I compased in five days with my neece Betty Austen, yett did itt allmost kill me.

i4 Fryday, the i4, in the night I gott home safe to my beloved Billney.

⁴⁷⁵ St George the Martyr Church, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, built as a chapel by Alexander Tooley with private subscriptions in 1706 and consecrated in 1723 (Henry B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 3 vols. [London, 1891], ii. 101).

⁴⁷⁶ The government held two lotteries in 1711, a form of loan initiated in 1694 to meet the growing expenses of war. The first offered 150,000 tickets at £10 each and the other 20,000 £100 tickets. The drawing for The Adventure of £1,500,000 began on 6 October 1711; fortunate ticket holders won amounts of principal or debt obligations ranging from £20 to £12,000, depending on the tickets they held and the point in the drawing. All tickets paid six per cent interest for thirty-two years (C. L'Estrange Ewen, *Lotteries and Sweepstakes* [London, 1932], 134–8).

477 Post-Man (2070), Thursday 15 November to Saturday 17 November.

⁴⁷⁸ Release: renunciation of a claim or right of action (Jowitt, ii. 1,531, 1,532). Steven Weston mortgaged a property near Beaconsfield in Buckinghamshire worth £300 a year to obtain a loan of £1,200 at six per cent. The miscellaneous documents variously date the mortgage 1 or 7 December.

For which mercy the Lord make mee ever thankfull, tho tis now eleven months I have hardly gone crose my chamber. Eliz Frek

[fol. 95v]

January the first and my unhappy birth day I had all my tennants dined with me, and my neece Betty Austen entertained them.

i7ii/i2, January the 2d Goody Englebright brought me some mony latte att nightt, when my head being very bad I gave her an acquittance for itt in my own wronge a years rentt, viz., forty six pounds, and placed ten pound on her bond, nott knowing whatt I did till two or three days affter I found itt in my book thatt I had given her an accquitance in full for the year i7ii which should have bin for i7io.⁴⁷⁹ And besids I allowed her in my own wrong two years taxes. All which I proved before Mr Buck, the minester, and Mr Smith and Mr William Fisk, and yett I lost my whole rentt and mony.⁴⁸⁰

January the i and i7ii/i2 New Years Day and my unhappy birth day I have by Gods permission, providence, and goodness to mee fully accomplished the seventieth yeare of my age. For which I doe most humbly thank him and begg whatt longer time he gives me of life may by me, Elizabeth Frek, [be] spentt in thankfullness and to my Gods glory and in his service, affter [I] have laine above five yeares in the tortter of a tissick and the severall distempers which dayly atend itt, nott able the least to help my selfe butt as lifted by two of my servants and noe frind neer me butt all cheats. And now I have begun this new year, I doe most humbly beg of my God frome the bended knees of my hartt a more moderate health then I have had this six yeare past my deer husband left me, being June the 2d, i706 (my sons birth day, i675).

i2 I lett my Hall Farme to John Whiting for 48 l. a yeare.⁴⁸¹

i3 I read in the gassett that all three of the lyons in the Towre were dead in one day; they bled to death.⁴⁸² This is most strange to EF.

i8 of January the prince of Hanavor was by actt of parliamentt declared and made first peer of the kingdom of England call'd Greatt

⁴⁷⁹ James Englebright rented Freke's Pentney farm; the Pentney register for this period is missing, and neither his nor his wife's name appears in the incomplete archdeacon's transcripts or West Bilney register.

 480 William Fisk appears on the 1704 Pentney land tax as an assessor as well as a resident of the Abbey.

⁴⁸¹ John and Catherine Whiting, whose two sons were buried in East Winch.

⁴⁸² Reports about the deaths of the Tower of London lions appeared in various gazettes, including the *Nonvich Gazette*; none says the three lions bled to death, nor does Luttrell in his account (vi. 276).

Britton, hee being before duke of Cambrig. The actt was passed three times in one day, nott known before.⁴⁸³

26 My cosin Betty Austen gave earnest att Lin for her coach to London.

ig The queen and parliamt [ordered] the bill to repeal the Generall Natturallixan Actt to bee engrossed.⁴⁸⁴

Febuary ii Monday morn and the ii of Febuary my cosin Betty Austen leftt mee and Billney and wentt to London, whither I bore her charges; and I there gave her by my cosin John Frek fiffty pounds to lay outt in plate to remember me by. My deer sister Austen sentt for her three times before I sentt her, tho she had another daughter with her and I alone.

i4 of Febuary, Thursday, I were taken with a violentt plurisy in my left side for which in the night I were by Mr Smith blouded, who made the orrifice soe wide thatt I bleed above threescors ounces before itt could be stoped. Which tho itt gave me some ease, yett for many months I lay very weake ever since with a most violentt cough, now eight monthes, expectting my last sumons and noe frind neer mee. E Frek

[fol. 96r]

i7ii/i2, Febuary 29 I received of Mr Thomas Langly fowre pound for 7 years of Whittpitt Brack and entered on itt by way of posesion and forfitted his lease of 83 years, which I this yeare lett to John Whitting with the Hall Farm.

March 2d The publick news tells mee that we have had buried within this yeare three dauphins and one daphiness in France (of the small pox) and thatt Sir William Windams house in Allbermall Street

 48_3 The Nonvich Gazette (vi. 277) mentions 'the Bill for giving Precedency to the Elector of Hanover' was read three times within the hour and passed. On 18 January 1711/2 the House of Commons accepted without amendments the bill giving precedence to Princess Sophia, her son, and grandson in the succession to the English throne (C7, xvii. 32; Luttrell, vi. 716). On 5 October 1706 at Newmarket Queen Anne signed a warrant creating Georg August, the future George II, a peer of the kingdom as duke of Cambridge, among other titles (Post-Man [1683], Daily Courant [1399]).

⁴⁸⁴ The manuscript reads 'repealed' rather than 'engrossed'. The *Norwich Gazette* (vi. 277) carries the 22 January report from London, 'This Day the House of Commons read a Third time and past a Bill for Repealing the General Naturalization Act'. The 1709 act had granted naturalization to all Protestant immigrants. After failing early in 1711, the Tories succeeded in repealing the General Naturalization Act with a bill initiated in the House of Commons on 22 December 1711 and accepted by the queen on 9 February 1712 (*Cf*, xvii. 24, 34, 75).

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was burnt downe to the ground by carlesnes of his servants, his loss computed att 30000 $l.^{4^{85}}$

i4 I had a second letter from my daughter thatt she designed me a vissitt with her two eldest sons and to give a name [to] the child she went with, which iff a son I named Arthur, my husbands fathers name. E Frek

i7i2, March 25 Mr Buck, my minester, left the church of Gyton and Billney, hee being prefered by his wifes lady to a living att Bacton Madam Branswith gave him.⁴⁸⁶

i7 Thomas Pallmer, my tennantt, dyed of the small pox a hundred pound in my debt and fiffty more then he was worth.⁴⁸⁷

26 I paid Mrs Ferrer in full for her years news twenty shillings.⁴⁸⁸ EF

Aprill i All Fools Day or the first of Aprill, being Tuesday, Mr Thomas Langly sentt to me to send two men to his and he would devide Whittpitt Brack with mee. My tennantt Whitting brought me this message, soe I did immediattly sentt John Whitting, my tennantt, and Roger Chapman, my servantt, and Henry Cross, my then tennantt, to devide itt with Mr Langly; butt hee never came butt sentt on Mr Wacy and another man who had known the land above thirty years before the moire was ploughed upp by Mr Langlys servants. In this devision I left outt of my partt land for a new moire. Eliz Freke, i7i2

3 Aprill The baylyes came and arrested my coachman, being Thursday, and carryed him to Norwich jayle withoutt soe much as permitting him to speak to me or give me an account of any of my things under his care, which was neer twenty pound loss to EF.

9 Thomas Pallmer, the son of the above Thomas Pallmer, dyed of

 485 The Norwich Gazette (vi. 281, 284) reports the deaths of the duchess of Burgundy on 12 February 1712 (NS) and her husband, the dauphin, on 18 February (NS) as well as the death of the third dauphin, the duke of Brittany, on 8 March (NS), all reportedly of the 'Pestilential' distemper, or measles. The duke of Brittany's brother Charles de France, duc de Berry, and Charles' son Charles, duc d'Alençon, also died not long after. The fourth dauphin, Louis, duc d'Anjou, lived to become Louis XV (François Bluche, Louis XIV, trans. Mark Greengrass [New York, 1990], 584–8). Sir William Wyndham had paid \pounds_7 ,000 for the house on Albemarle Street, a street near the northwest area of St James Street with 'excellent new Building, inhabited by Persons of Quality'. The occupants fled the March 1712 fire without clothing (Hatton, i. 1; Wheatley, London Past and Present, i. 14).

^{14).} ⁴⁸⁶ Charles Buck was instituted vicar of Bacton on 5 October 1711 (NRO, DN/Sub 4/3), remaining its vicar until his death in March 1746. His wife, Mary, was buried there the previous year.

⁴⁸⁷ The West Bilney register records no deaths for the years 1710 to 1716; the archdeacon's transcripts, however, indicates Thomas Palmer was buried on 17 March 1711/2. At his death he was the Wassell Farm tenant.

⁴⁸⁸ Unidentified. The weekly *Norfolk Gazette* does not list its price; copies of London gazettes published three times a week still sold for as little as a penny.

the small pox; are both buryed in Billney church yarde.

Aboutt the sixth or seventh of Aprill I were sent to signe my son a commission; which I refused signeing my cosin John Freeks foolish bargains, assureing him by my letter I would never trust him with my grandchild thatt had wronged me soe basly in his trust to mee by my letter of atturney to him and giveing him since my widowhood above six hundred pounds in six years time. Tis true, Eliza. Freke. And I concluded my letter, from such friends, good Lord, deliver Eliz Freke.

20 I received a letter from my son outt of Ireland dated ye 30 of March as followes:

Deerst Madam,

Tho I am butt just outt of a severe fitt of the goutte and hardly able to hold my pen, yett haveing received a letter yesterday from my deer Lady Norton giveing me the ill account of your being out of order in your health, I cannot butt express the very greatt concerne itt is to me, tho I trust in God you have before this recovered itt, which is the ferventt and dayly praiers of mee [fol. 96v] and my familly. I have this day wrott to my deer Lady Norton my thanks for Sir George and her kind invitation of mee and my family to Leigh; and I begg, deer madam, you will be pleased as soon as possible to lett me heer how you doe, for till then I shall be most uneasy and impattientt. My wife is now neer her time of lieing inn and presents her humble dutty to you, and I praise God my children are well and in the sumer shall pay you theire duty in England. And I am very sencible how much I am vour debter in rentt besids every way elce in your goodness to me on all occations. I shall trouble you this post with noe more butt thatt I am, deerst madam, your most obedientt son, Ralph Freke.

i7i2, Aprill 20 Sunday, the twentieth of Aprill and Easter Day, my daughter Freke was brought to bed of a daughter, which my deer Lady Norton and I named Grace, her only daughters name and my most deer and beloved neice. For which I have in my will given her five hundred pounds.⁴⁹ E Frek

2i Monday Mr Langly wrott to me to christne his daughter, which I refused them.

27 The Sunday affter they came to me both to desire itt of mee; butt I excused itt, my wantt of health and age nott permitt mee.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ Freke entered the birth at Rathbarry in the parish register, noting that Frances Norton and 'my unhapy selfe the Grandmother' were godparents.

⁴⁹⁰ Thomas and Ann Langley's daughter Susannah was baptized in East Winch on 28 April 1712.

March 30, 1712

The 22 from Parris is thatt the Chevilier de St George sister dyed att St Germons the i8 of Aprill of the small pox aged i9 years and eleven monthes. Borne in France the 28 of May i692, [she] is buryed the 30 in the monastry of the English Benedictans neer thatt of her father, the late King James the Second; and her harte was carryed to the nunnery of Chaillott.⁴⁹¹

28 The old countes of Thannett dyed the 2i instantt of the small pox pox att above eighty years of age.⁴⁹²

i7i2, May ii Sunday morneing by the carllesness of my two maids Mary Ram and Mary Chapman, I lost all my clothes stole from me on Sunday morne by leaveing them outt all night, att least six weeks washing, for which I offered twenty pound to Mary Ram to recruit them.⁴⁹³

i5 I had Diana Davy and Goode Kneeve whipt att the carts taile for cutting my wood and stealeing my hedges by a warrantt from the justices sitting, which I saw done outt of my window.⁴⁹⁴ EF

24 of May Mary Chapman, Satterday night affter the loss of all my linnen, fell ill of the small pox. I removed her to the parish house.

June 3d Tuesday, the third of June, they apeered next to Thom Betts.

26 Wher I had two nurses to atend her and took as much care of her as of a neere relation, and I were bound for her and her husban Roger Chapman to Mr Younge thirty two shillings and her charge of the small pox and mony lentt her, above five pounds.⁴⁹⁵ And affter neer all my care and charge, aboutt the 26 of June she run away affter spoyling me my bed, 4 blankets, 2 boulsters, 2 pillows, and coverlid, and sheets, and the i2 of July sent to me to come againe.

⁴⁹¹ The account of the death of Louisa Maria Stuart (1692–1712), the daughter of James II and his second wife, Mary Beatrice of Modena, and the sister of James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, follows closely that from Paris on 23 April (NS) found in the *Evening Post* (421); the *Norwich Gazette* (vi. 290) also reports the death.

⁴⁹² Catherine, the wife of Thomas Tutton, sixth earl of Thanet, died on 20 April at the age of forty-seven; the London gazettes date her death either 20 or 21 April; the *Nonwich Gazette* (vi. 290), 19 April. Her husband's brother Nicholas, third earl of Thanet, had been married to the second earl of Cork's daughter Elizabeth, whom Freke apparently confused with the sister-in-law. The third earl of Thanet's wife died in 1725 at the age of eighty-eight (*CP*, xii, pt. 1. 694–6).

⁴⁹³ Mary and Robert Ramm's daughter Mary, baptized on 29 December 1692 at West Bilney, might have been the cook maid; the other maid was the wife of Roger Chapman, Freke's servant.

⁴⁹⁴ Goody Kneeve may have been Dorothy, the wife of Richard Kneeve, two of whose children's burials are entered in the West Bilney register.

⁴⁹⁵ A Robert Young was licensed in 1700 as a Norfolk surgeon from Wacton (Wallis, 676); no other Youngs appear in the neighbouring areas.

[fol. 97r]

i7i2, Jully 4 Thom Betts, the poor clark of this parrish, dyed of the small pox which hee took of Mary Chapmans nurse, whom he designed to marry as soon as recovered and said none could preventt itt butt God, tho he was above sixty years of age and took releife of the parish, to which hee left three children att his death to be provided for and keptt. EF

7 of Jully was Dunkirk surrendered by the king of France to the queen of Greatt Brittaine as a hostage or barryer for the expectted peace, and Major Generall Hill (Mrs Marshams brother) was by the queen made govonour of itt, and a casacion of armes proclaimed by England and France by sea and land till the two and twentieth of December i7i2 whilst our allies with the Dutch and the emperrour fight itt outt with all their viggor.⁴⁹⁶

Agust ig And the Post Man says wee have lost more conciderable places in France this two monthes then we have gott in three years campaine besids the many thousand soules and millions of mony to the nation.⁴⁹⁷

24 of Agust The 24 of Agust a cessation of arms was agreed on to expire the 22 of December and proclaimed.⁴⁹⁸

I had a letter from my daughter datted outt of Ireland the 24 of Agust thatt her husband, her selfe, and childrin were coming over to mee. And in a most tempestious season they sett forth for this dreadful season of the yeare.

September 29 My deer son and daughter with their three children Percy, Ralfe, and Redman left Cork and took shipping for England in a man of warr, Captaine Paule, belonging to Bristow.⁴⁹⁹

Octtober 2d They were stormed all thatt day and night in a most

⁴⁹⁶ The London Gazette (5029) reports the 7 July 1712 surrender of Dunkirk; the Evening Post (454) and the Norwich Gazette (vi. 301) carry the further news of Hill's appointment. Major-General John Hill, an officer in the ill-fated Quebec expedition, took possession of Dunkirk on 8 July as part of an agreement with the French preliminary to the Peace of Utrecht (G. M. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, 3 vols. [London, 1930–4], iii. 217– 22). Hill owed his military career in part to his older sister, Abigail Hill, Lady Masham (1670?–1734), the first cousin of Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough, and a lady of the queen's bedchamber (Gregg, Queen Anne).

⁴⁹⁷ No report has been located among the few issues for July and August that still exist. ⁴⁹⁸ The *London Gazette* (5043) reports the queen's 18 August proclamation from Windsor suspending armed hostilities 'until the Eleventh of *December* next'.

⁴⁹⁹ A rate 5 ship of 145 men and thirty-two guns named *Poole* was commanded by William Gray in the Lundy area, but Freke may mean a ship commanded by Captain Paul. Commissioned a captain in 1706, John Paul commanded the *Hastings* in September 1712, a rate 5 ship of 190 men and forty-two guns 'cruizing in the mouth of Bristoll Channell, & Convoys the Trade into the Sea bound to the Plantations' (*Commissioned Sea Officers*, 350; PRO, ADM 8/12).

dreadfull hurrycane of weather which continued till the 2d of October, Thursday nightt, when by my Gods greatt mercy to them and me (affter my being allmost frightned outt of my witts), they all landed safe att Bristoll. And Fryday morning, the **3d** of Octtober, Sir George Norton and my deer sister Norton sentt her coach for to fetch them to Leigh, where they rested themselves till the eleventh of Octtobr, Satterday.

ii And then they wentt all of them to the Bath, where they staid all aboutte five weeks; and then with my deerst sister Norton all wentt to her house to London in Ormond Street, where they rested themselves affter a most dreadfull jorney upp for aboutt three weeks more.

December 20 And came downe to Billney to wretched me and to my house Satterday, the twentyeth of December, my deer son and his lady and my three grandchildren, viz., Percy, Ralph, and Redman, with their master and three other man servants. Where I humbly thanke my greatt and good God they all came well and safe to mee and, I hope, to be a comfortt to miserable mee thatt have hardly gone outt of my chair and bed for above fowrteen months.

28 Saterday, the 28 of December, my youngest grandson fell sick after he had bin a weeke heer, which proved [fol. 97v] to be the small pox.

December 29 And they apeered on him Monday, the 29 of December, and hee had them in a most violentt maner by reason of the humour to his head thatt till the Twelfe Days was past, **January** 7, we dispaired of life for him, tho hee was the patients of children butt all over martered with the small pox to extremity. **29** Which confined him to his bed and to docters and nurses for a full month before hee rose, viz., 29.

Febuary 7 Affter which both my maids fell sick of the small pox, viz., aboutt the begining of Febuary fell downe Eliz Knopwood, who dyed of itt, and Martha Cope, who recovered itt.⁵⁰⁰

i4 And abouthe the i4 of Febuary fell downe of itt my servantt man who looked affter all my business and still lyes very ill of itt and lame March the 8, i7i2.

22 Mr Smith, vicker of Winch, came heer and preached att Billney church, when I engaged him to give the sacramentt heer a Midlentt Sunday, being the eightt of March, and to serve the church till next Michellmas i7i3. E Freke

23 I wrott a complaining letter to the chancellour of Norwich thatt since he chalenged my church in his courte by the bishops order to know why itt had bin kept aboute ten monthes vacantt withoutt the

 $^{\rm 500}$ The burial is not recorded in the incomplete West Bilney and Pentney archdeacon's transcripts.

service of God in itt, of which I would complaine to [the] arch bishop of Canterbury.

25 The 25 of Febuary dyed the king of Prusia, much lamented, of a longe, lingering sickness, 56 year of his age.⁵⁰¹

28 Satterday, the 28 of Febuary, Mr Henry Pine, son to the Lord Chiefe Justice Pine and heire to him, had some words with Esquire Theophilus Bidulph (son and heir of Sir Michell Bidulph) about Docter Sacheverall. Wheron was a challeng wherin and neer the corner of St James Parke Mr Pine was stabed in his right breast six inches deep and dyed on the spott; and Mr Bidollph was wounded about fowre inches in the belly, of which he lay still weak (iff nott dead) March 4th.⁵⁰² Mr Lord Chiefe Justice Pine of Ireland was this Mr Henry Pines father (and Mr Freks neer relation) and left him an estate of above two thousand pound a yeare in England and Ireland when he dyed, which was in Aprill 2i, Aprill the one and twentieth, i7io, and lyes buryed in Sary att his fine house there, i7io, leaving only this son Mr Henry Pyne, who has three daughters.⁵⁰³

i7i2/[i3] of March i5 Being Midlentt Sunday, Mr Smith of Winch preached att Billney and affterwards gave the sacramentt there; where I doe most humbly thank God I weare a most miserable unworthy pertaker of itt with my few neighbours, my son goeing outt of the church, tho I had nott seen him in allmost seven years before. And twas with the greatest of diffyculty and the help of fowre servants I compassed [fol. 98r] to my church and misery I sate ther (and nott lessened to see my son sett frowning on me ther for an howr for I

 501 Frederick I (1657–1713), elector of Brandenburg and first king of Prussia, was allied with England against France. News of his death on 25 February (NS) appears in a number of London gazettes; the *Flying-Post* (3343) has a biography of the deceased king.

⁵⁰² None of the gazettes that report the duel fought on 28 February near Chelsea mentions the nature of the quarrel. The *Post Boy* (2779) states that Pyne was mortally wounded 'on the Right Side of his Body, and died on the Spot, and the other dangerously wounded in the Belly 5 Inches'. The *Evening Post* (558) further reports that a coroner's inquest 'brought in Theophilus Bidolph Esq; and the two Seconds, guilty of wilful Murder'; on 6 March Biddulph was 'committed to Newgate'. The *British-Mercury* (407), 22 April, notes Biddulph was 'only found guilty of Man-slaughter'. The son of Michael Biddulph's first marriage to Henrietta Maria Witley, Theophilus (1685?-1743) assumed the family baronetcy upon the death of his father in 1718; he died without a male heir in 1743 (*CB*, iii. 300). Henry Pyne, the son of Richard Pyne and Catherine Wandesford, was born at Waterpark in 1688, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and represented Dungarvan in parliament from 1709 until his death. He left his wife, Margaret, the daughter of Sir Richard Edgcombe and Anne Montague, and three daughters, Anne, Catherine, and Elizabeth (Morris, 'The Pynes of Co. Cork', 708-10; PRO, PROB 11/542/179).

⁵⁰³ Richard Pyne died at Ashley Park, one-half mile south of Walton-upon-Thames in Surrey. The parish records indicate the burial of 'Sir Richard Poyne, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland', on 22 December 1709. The link with Freke, other than via the marriage to the Norton family, is unknown.

know nott whatt) (except itt were his feare of my coming alive home againe). This his cruell usuage of me gave me a greatt trouble, tho I were att the sacramentt, where I had nott bin nor in any church in two years before by my miserable tissicke. And affter diner when before Mr Smith, I asked him iff hee had nott latly received mercyes enough from God: first from his deliverance by the severall tempest by sea last Michellmas Day when soe many ships were lost and himselfe, his wife, and three sons were all preserved by Gods providence; and since thatt, his youngest son, John Redman, lay sick heer with me (and att my charge) allmost a month given over of the small pox; besids severall other mercyes received. His answer to me was I talked to him as iff he were butt eighteen years of age, when att this very time hee owes mee above three thousand pounds in redy mony I can lay him up for.

ig And since Sunday, which is now fowre days, my son hass gone by my chamber doore and never called on me to see how I did butt twice (and I soe very ill). My greatt and good God forgive hime and supportt unhappy mee, his wretched mother, Elizabeth Freke. The like was his eldest son Percy Freke dereicted to doe, who for above a week pased my chamber neer twenty times a day [and] never once call'd in to see mee, his grandmother. Tis butt as my deer husband before me has bin treated by them both and there eldest son in the yeare i705 in London. E Freke

23 Monday, 23 of March, Docter Sacheveralls three yeare were expired of silenced for preaching; **29** and the Sunday after, being Palme Sunday, he preached the first time affter the expiration of his three years sentence before a numorous auditory att St Saivours Southwork. His text was Luke 23, verse 34 (Father forgive them for they know nott whatt they doe). And another sermon he preached outt of the 26 of Jeremiah, the i4, i5, i6 verses – Sachever, I am in your hand; doe with me as itt seemeth you good. But know, &c.⁵⁰⁴

29 Palme Sunday her Majesty putt on the order of the St George on one side of her and the order of the St Andrew of Scotland on the other side of her, she being the first soveraigne that has ever done both nations the honour of wearing these two orders together.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁴ News of the sermon by Henry Sacheverell (1674–1724) on Palm Sunday, 29 March, and the celebration at the expiration of the parliamentary prohibition against his preaching appears in the *Evening Post* (565, 568) and the *Post Boy* (2788, 2791). His Gunpowder Plot sermon of 5 November 1709, thought to be critical of the government and the hereditary right of succession, had led to his impeachment, conviction, and three-year prohibition from preaching. 30,000 copies of his Palm Sunday sermon on Luke 23 were said to have been printed as *The Christian Triumph*; the sermon on Jeremiah is not mentioned in the gazettes and was not published (Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* [London, 1973]).

⁵⁰⁵ The queen's Palm Sunday appearance was not a newsworthy event in the London gazettes; no copies of the *Nonwich Gazette* have survived after the 26 July–2 August 1712 issue (vi. 304).

i7i3, Aprill 5 Sunday and Easter Day, the 5 of Aprill, I wrott to my cosen John Freke to buy for me a pattentt of a barronett for me, Elizabeth Freke, to present my son and daughter with, hee being by my Gods blesing on my industrious endeavours now entitled to affter my death full two thousand pounds a yeare in England and Ireland, and his two eldest sons provided for by me, Eliz Frek, who when I marved Mr Freke in the yeare i67i had but two hundred pound a year. I am by my Gods, by my husband, [fol. 98v] and my weak endeavours blest to see my selfe and my son, Ralph Frek, the head of my grandfathers familly and of my deer fathers, Ralph Frek of Hanington, Esqr, the I had nott nor my husband, Percy Freke, Esqr, one foott of his or theire estates butt whatt I bought since I were marryed, my deer fathers being settled (for wantt of heirs) on his youngest brothers son of above fiffteen hundred pound a yeare long before I were marryed, who now enjoys itt. Yett were I [blest] by my deere fathers bounty and goodness to mee: I had allways his helpe whilst he lived of above twenty thousand pounds att severall times for a help to me. And this was Gods mercy to Eliz Frek. All which two thousand pound a year I have seen settled on my eldest grandson, Percy Frek, hee being the 28 of Aprill thirteen yeares of age, i7i3. And besids this I doe by my Gods blessing settle on my second grandson, Ralph Freke, of my own industry, now aboutt ten years of age, two hundred and three pounds a yeare in the exchecker for 99, ninety nine, years and two thowsand pound on a mortgage on Sir George Nortons estate (my brothers) and the intrest to run on att six percentt till my grandson comes to one and twenty years of age. Thus am I blest with my Gods dayly mercyes to me nott only in the blesings of chilldren butt thatt I am able to see a subsistance settled on them before I dye. For which the great God make me for ever thankfull to him whose gift itt is and bless my son (and forgive him all his undutifullness to mee) thatt none of his, my sons, children may be to him as hee has to mee, his unhappy mother, Eliza Freke. i7i3

Aprill 26 Sunday, the 26 of Aprill, I left my house att West Billney and went for London with my son and his wife and his three sons and his fowre men and my coachman and maid, wentt up for London affter they had bin all with me above fowr monthes heer with ther disorderly servantts. **29** And I came to my deerst sister Lady Nortons house Wensday, the 29 of Aprill. And the day I left my house my daughter came rudely into my chamber and told me I owed her husband fifty pounds and twenty pounds, when hee now owes me above five, 5000, thousand pound, and they had of me heer above three hundred pound of Mr Rolfe and my selfe, and by the tenants discharges. In which time ther youngest son lay two month dyeing of the small pox, who infectted fowre of my servants, of which one of

them dyed. I will nott say more then from such another time, good Lord, deliver mee and make thankfull to God. Eliz. Frek

[fol. 99r]

i7i3, May i4 My son and daughter being both desirous of more quality, I did about the midle of May purchas by my cosin John Frek the pattentt of a barronett from the queen, for which I paid and for the ingroseing of itt and the quiettest est above five hundred pounds and gave my cosin John Frek for his trouble forty guinyes.⁵⁰⁶ And this my deer sister Norton giveing my son and daughters rude family the freedome of her house, I staid in London nine weeks and on my own charge kept there disorder familly. And I paid for coach hire five pounds, i6 shillings, tho I had a coach of my own in London, and for meatt and drink for him and his family to ther own apoyntmentt, and gave my daughter fiffty pounds for her own spending. And I paid Mr Cross eight ginyes for drawing his picture and severall other things. And yett all deserved noe thanks, tho for nine weeks I kept open house for all comers and goeres to them both and all their acquaintance.

June 24 Wensday and Midsomer Day, the 24 of June, being very ill by a voylentt fitt of the colick, I atempted my goeing outt of [London] in hopes of a little quiett (haveing had none in six months before) and being quitt tired outt. And my son apprehending my death neer came in the coach downe with mee, tho I begg'd the contrary of him.

28 And by Gods great mercy to mee I came home in my own coach in five days, being Sunday late att nightt, the 28 of June, very ill. Heer my deer son (now Sir Ralph Freke) staid with me till the six of Septembr, being Sunday morning.

Jully i6 In which time his groome and his honestest servant of the fowre stole a maire he vauled att twenty guinyes, and aboutt twenty pound in gold and sillver he run away with, and left him severall bills to pay in Linn. Hee had trusted the mony with him to cary and pay itt.

Jully 7 My son, Sir Ralph Frek, proclaimed the peace and had itt with prayers in the church and with cakes, wyne, and a barrell of ale,

⁵⁶⁶ Ralph Freke was created a baronet on 4 June 1713 (*CB*, v. 15). James I instituted the rank of baronet in 1611 to honour men of 'qualitie, state of living, and good reputation' who were 'at the least descended of a grandfather by the fathers side that bare Armes, And have also a certaine yeerely revenue in Lands'. After the restoration of Charles II the patent fee of £1,200 and the £1,095 for maintaining thirty foot soldiers for three years could be lessened through a royal warrant to the exchequer, which then issued a discharge of debt or *quietus* (Francis W. Pixley, *A History of the Baronetage* [London, 1900], 97–8; 101, 140).

and a greatt burne fire in the common of aboutt two or 3 load of wood besids, & $c.^{507}$

Septembr 6 Sunday, the sixth of Septembr, my son (and his bosome frind Gin) left me and begun his jorney for London by way of Northamton, wher Gin had perswaded him he might buy a sett of good coach horses as he did a little before att Norwich, both which jorneys were lost. However, the morning hee left me [fol. 99v] my son brought me another bill of above a hundred pounds and ten pound in his debtt, which ioo l. I paid my son as by accountt outt of whatt I left to bury mee. E Frek

September ii Fryday nightt I humbly thank my God my son with his boy and my coachman and his six or 7 pampered horses gott safe and well to London in order to goe for Ireland, wher I doe most humbly beg of God to send him and all his children safe affter hee and his familly have a twelve month come Michellmas Day nextt, which now wants butt one day, left thatt kingdome and his children lost there time of schooling. Three or 4 days before my son left me I asked him to leave me his seccond son and I would putt him to schoole and provide for him; butt he flattly deneyd me, as did my daughter for her youngest son thatt lay sick of the small pox butt seven years of age. Tis the last trouble I shall beg of my children. My good son left me the whole estatt in my hand for a twelve month past and butt two farms on itt lett, nor any stock on itt, and the warrener run away with neer two hundred pounds from mee. God forgive him all his barbarityes to me and grantt his children may nott pay my score to him as hee has dealt by his father and mother. Eliz Freke

i4 I was arrested by Thomas Garrett for nine pound for my apeerance. He told me hee would carry me to jayle to my warrener Last (which has lain vacantt now a twelve month, as has done the Maner Farme and Croses). This John Last cheated mee of a hundred and fiffty and a years rentt in my waren of a hundred pound a yeare; and affter I had by two writs putt him in the Castle of Norwich, he dared me three or fowre times in my chamber, and this by the favour of Mr Rolfe, my atturney.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁷ The queen received the Peace of Utrecht ratification ending the War of the Spanish Succession and on 4 May, the eleventh anniversary of the war's beginning, signed an authorization proclaiming the peace; 7 July was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving for the 'Blessing of Peace' (*London Gazette* [5118, 5136]).

⁵⁰⁸ The tenant was perhaps the John Last who married Elizabeth Hall in Swaffham on 12 January 1701/2. Freke's attorney was probably Edmund Rolfe (1649–1726), who followed his father Francis Rolfe as town clerk of King's Lynn and was twice mayor besides fulfilling various judicial assignments. His son Jonas (1677–1725), however, was also an attorney and could conceivably have been employed. A Rolfe had also managed the Bilney estate for Freke's brother-in-law before she bought it (R. T. and A. Gunther, *Rolfe Family Records* [London, 1914], 50).

Agust i5 Aboutt the midle of Agust I had another sumons from the chancellour of Norwich to apeere att the bishops courte and answer why I did nott place a minester in my church heer att Billney, which now by my selfe and the bishop of Norwich has bin kept vacantt for a yeare and a halfe this Michellmas, with greatt threats to mee. Which I decline to doe for feare of being tricked by him and brought into his courts and soe loose my peculer by his lycence. E Freke

ig However, about the ig of Septembr I wrott this following letter to Doctter Thomas Tanner, chancellour of Norwich.

[fol. 1007]

A letter I wrott to Doctter Thomas Taner, chancellour of Norwich, affter his thundering arest of mee, EF:

ig of September i7i3

Reverend Sir,

My son, Sir Ralph Freke, being amongst some gentlemen last week was informed thatt you designed troubling me aboutt my church being vacantt, nottwithstanding in severall of your former letters to mee you asured mee affter six monthes vacancy itt was lapps to the bishop and thatt his lordship would fill my vacansy himselfe, which my pryde of such a patron to this place and church made me very easy in. Now a full year in his lordships charge, who has taken noe care for itt or for xings, sacraments, or buryalls this sickly time or soe much as the proclamattion for the peace, which my deer son saw as grandly performed both within the church and att nightt as iff you had bin there presentt on my charge. Together with xings and buryls and a sacrament last Midlelent Sunday, viz., the i5 of March, have I trespased on his lordships priviledg, tho I have butt two familyes in the parish above this twelve month.

Sir, I must needs say noe tongue can express the trouble itt has bin to me to [have] 9 or ten of my sons familly added to mine and have no place to serve God in or church in the parrish to resort to. You, sir, displaced Mr Buck thatt I placed inn, tho coalatted by the lord bishop of Norwich vicker of Gyton, and for noe reason mentioned butt wantt of maners. This, sir, is in my own justifycation. And now, sir, I am further inform'd, which I cannott beleive, thatt you threaten me with an excomunycation; you need noe such trouble, for iff his lordship or your selfe hang butt a cobweb cross the church doore, I promise you thatt on the faith of a Christian I will never offer a voyalence to itt my life.

Sir, I am nott now ashamed to have itt seen inside or outside; butt iff any injury be offered to my reputation, I shall immediatly withdraw my extravagencys outt of itt and leave itt as naked as I found itt and never laying outt more on itt.

Sir, I were a few days since warned, tho I have nott seen itt, to fill the church with a minester; which I am endeavouring to doe, tho my acquaintance in this country is very little. Therfore I am promised att Wishbich and Lin one to enter itt att Michellmas and serve itt once a fortnight with his care for all parish dutyes. And then, I hope, his good lordship and your selfe will be pleased since he is accepted by our good and gratious queene, my patroness, and confirmed by actt of parliamentt. I confess I little thought of coming to this affter all my troubles, [fol. 100v] butt I will rest my self sattisfyed thatt church is best thatt has most of quiett in itt. And had I bin able to have crosed my chamber, which I have hardly done this three years past, to have waited on his lordship and your selfe, I should nott have doubted to have convinced him and you of my integerity in the hardshipp I have received in your courts by proctters, &c. This longe scrole, sir, begs your pardon and leave to subscrib my selfe

Your humble servantt,

Eliza Freke

Subscribed: To Doctter Thomas Tanner, chancellour of Norwich, &c.

i7i3, Octtober 5 Before I had placed in my curatt in this church, the arch deacon of Norwich, Doctter John Jeffryes, sentt his thunderbolts by his proctters of excomminication to mee iff I did nott immediatly pay him his fowre years affter he had cheated me of twenty five years by my ignorance and his proctturs threats of me.⁵⁰⁹ And att the same time I saw Pentny twenty seven years in arrears to him he durst nott demand.

Octtobr i2 Tho I am thus tormented by thatt dam'd court to make me loose my peculer in this church, perhaps the finest in England, I wrott this insueing letter to the arch deacon Jeffryes:

Reverend Sir,

Brockett, your procttor,⁵¹⁰ broughtt me last Monday your threattning bull, as grand as iff from the pope and as mercyfull as iff from the Turke, demanding fowre years arrears of tith due to you of seven

⁵⁰⁹ John Jeffery (1647–1720) received a Cambridge doctorate in divinity two years after his 1694 installation as archdeacon of Norwich, a position he held until his death (Venn, ii. 465; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 45).

⁵¹⁰ Brockett does not appear among the proctors listed in Carter, *The Norwich Subscription Books*, 70. Among the Brockets at the inns of court, a John Brockett of the Middle Temple was called to the bar on 3 June 1698 (*Middle Temple Register*, i. 223). See also miscellaneous documents, below, p. 323 n. 58.

shillings a yeare, which ought to have bin for twenty seven years as is now due this Michellmas att Pentny butt thatt I have by your self and rogues of procttors by my ignorance and there threats forcst from me and for quiettness sake to suffer a depryvation of my right to be wrested from mee by you. Butt now, sir, since I have soe lately paid you all your demands, I ought to be sattisfyed how they come to be due to you; for the law allowes itt mee (and in another man itt would be sacralidg, tho nott in you). Nor need I informe you, sir, thatt the rubrick in the church now allowed by our good queen and confirmed by actt of parliamentt is thatt all things relatteing to the church are to stand fixtt as settled in the second yeare of King Edward the Sixth time by him settled (which allows you no tithes), [fol. 1017] from which and by whome I am entittled to my right and claime of my peculer in this place and shall when occation offers prove itt under ten crowned heads. And the revertions made since King Edward the Sixth (i547) gave this place to as Fullguston has noe mention made of the church.⁵¹¹ Nor is there either in morgage or sale any mention made of the church (as recorded or enroled) - and I am the twelfe person has bin posest of itt since thatt time - in either my mortgage and purchas deeds when all the little messages, riviletts, and drains are specified in them. I confess my deer father offten told me amongst all his good works (which were numorus) thatt affter he had bought this estatt hee had laid outt above 200 l. to cover the church and chancell, just falling, for a conveniency for whatt child he should give itt to. And I have bin as carefull to support itt.

And now you and your courte is endevouring to molest me in my just rightt; which rather then submitt to, I am resolv'd to pull itt downe and build upp my houses with itts stones since I can keep noe minister to itt for your courte. And iff I doe pull itt downe as I sett itt up, you can doe me noe hurte for itt nor your selfe neither. And, sir, is itt nott a shame to your carractor to send your proctters aboutt with such threatts for seven shillings a year, when your own contience and my selfe can tell you thatt you have wrongfully forced from me by threats, &c., five and twenty years pay, as apeers on record, by my fears and ignorance. Which iff you please to serch as I have done and an abstractt of itt by me from King Edward the Sixth guift, I am sure, sir, you will abominatt the sacralidg of itt and I hope be soe sinceble of the injury done me by your selfe and Mr Chancellour as to returne itt me againe. And now I have given you my sentiments, I oughtt to be sattisfyed by

⁵¹¹ Richard de Fulmodeston or Fulmerston, a 'great buyer of Church lands and property' (Rye, i. 236), obtained the West Bilney holding at the dissolution of the priories in the reign of Edward VI; from him the manor was conveyed to Thomas Mildmay (Blomefield, viii. 354).

my lord bishop and your selfe for the injury done me by you. Nor shall I refuse waiteing on you both in the queens court and the arch bishops you paying of my charges.

Sir, I am ashamed to trouble you under such a stile as this does presentt itt selfe to you, butt force has noe law. I shall only begg your pardon and leave to subscrib my selfe

> Your humble servantt, E Frek

Sir, I have with my own hand paid you 28 years in my own wrong of ignorance.

Subscribed: For the Reverend Doctter John Jeffryes, arch deacon of Norwich, att his house there. Post paid 3d.

[fol. 101v]

i7i3, Octtober 9 Octtober the ninth, being Sunday, my son, Sir Ralph Frek, and his wife and his three sons (Percy, Ralph, and Redman) left London in order to goe for Ireland after a twelve month stay heer in England; when in May I presented him and his wife with the pattentt of a barronett, which I have well paid for since. However, itt fixes this estatte of West Billney from being sold by them and I hope may bee of advantage to the marry of my severall grandchildren, which my God has blest him (and me) with. And for this and all my kindness to them I have nott had a letter from my son above this halfe yeare.

i7i3, Novembr the 3d I thank God my son and his familly landed saffe in Dublin from Chester. Att the parliament there where they weare all in greatt heats against the Lord Chancelour Phips favouring the Pretendor, &c., affter aboutt 6 weeks sitting they were by the queen prorogued to the tenth of nextt Agust and the citty left to 3 lord justices care.⁵¹²

i7i3, November the 4 The 3d or 4 of November dyed Narscyssas Marsh, lord prymmate of Ireland, in the seventy second yeare of his age. He was bred up under my deer father att Oxford and by him prefered to the being lord prymate of all Ireland. His carractor in the publick news is he was nott only a father to the fatherless and a husband to the widdow butt a receivour for the poore, for all his greatt incoms were laid outt in charytable and pious uses for them. Wittness

 512 The Daily Courant (3798) has an 18 December report from Dublin about a parliamentary attempt to remove Constantine Phipps (1656–1723) from his position as lord chancellor of Ireland (CJI, iii. 993). Phipps was accused of supporting the Pretender; but parliament was prorogued until 10 August 1714, then dissolved until 12 November 1715. In the interim and a new monarch Phipps was removed from his position and returned to England (J. Roderick O' Flanagan, *The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of Ireland*, 2 vols. [London, 1870], i. 536–54).

one thing of many where att Drogheda he has buyltt a noble fabrick and endowed itt for ever for twenty clergymens widdows, each to have an apartmentt and twenty pound a yeare perr anum. **2i** Taken outt of the gassett the 2i of November by me.⁵¹³ Eliza Freke

i7i3, November i5 or i6 Monday, the i6 of November, my kiching doore being oppen, came up into my chamber two ruffins, viz., Thom Garett and Goodbody of Saffum, and brought me a peice of paper to insertt my name;⁵¹⁴ in which I absolutly refused to doe, offering iff I owed any thing to any one I had mony to pay itt. And therfore I would nott subscribe my name, which these two rogues swore twenty times they would make me doe alive or dead. My two maids being in my chamber they turned downe stairs as fast as they came round up to me, [so that] I might have noe wittness of there words and actions to me, shutting the doore affter them to frighten me. Thus these two rogues stood pulling and pinching of me for above two howrs the clock in my chamber, and spitting on me, and threw the table I have rested my self on for three year past with all there force [fol. 102r] against me, and towre me by my arms and shoulders. And when I said they would kill me, they said they cared nott; and Goodbody said they came for thatt intentt, all the while calling me the worst names thatt there mouthes could utter. Att last they concluded to throw me down the staires and by thatt way to stopp my breath; when both these rogues, Thom Garrett and Goodbody, tore me by my arms by all their strength outt of my chaire and pull'd me to the stair head to throw me downe. Which they had scartainly done had nott Goode Whiting and Sconce with my two maids stood just before me to break my fall, crying they were goeing to murder me, and beged me to subscribe itt.515 Which (lifes preservation and above three howrs contest) I sett my hand to there paper. From whence last week these rogues sent me word iff I had noe bill to show thatt they had made me one should att the nextt

⁵¹³ Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713), archbishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland, died on 2 November. Born in Hannington, he entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford in 1655, won a fellowship at Exeter College, and later received both his masters and doctorate in divinity. His diary does not acknowledge any role Ralph Freke might have had in either his education or later career. He was appointed lord primate of Ireland on 18 February 1702/3, long after Ralph Freke's death ('Archbishop Marsh's Diary', *The British Magazine*, 28 [1845], 17–26, 115–32). Among the gazettes that announce the news of his death, Freke's characterization of Marsh follows very closely one found in the *Post Boy* (2888).

⁵⁴ Robert Goodbody, the husband of Elizabeth Turner and father of several children baptized and buried in Swaffham, was himself buried in the church of St Peter and St Paul on 7 January 1715/6.

⁵¹⁵ John Whiting had married Ann Fowler on 12 July 1713 in Swaffham, a year after his wife Catherine had been buried in East Winch on 23 April 1712. Goody Sconce was probably Elizabeth, the wife of John Sconce, who is listed in the land tax records of 1704 as well as in the Pentney archdeacon's transcripts; she could also be the Sconces' daughter-in-law Margaret, the wife of Strett Sconce. assises reach me body and goods; which being now butt a fortnight to itt, I were faine, haveing noe frind in a hundred mile of me, to submitt to there unreasonable demands of neer twenty pound paid besids charges and to my atturney. Besids aboute fowr month have I now laine on the wrack of misery they have putt me to in my shoulder and arme, nott able to sitt or lye downe. This is the misserable condition I live in. God give me patience. E Freke

i7i3, Decembr i3 From Dublin they wright thatt on Thursday last Mr Jacob Twisleton was taken into custody by a serjantt att armes.⁵¹⁶ Hee was our state trumpeter butt about six years agoe went for France, where hee turned Roman Catholick. Hee came into England with the duke de Amon, the French ambasador, and brought over severall medalls of the Pretender.⁵¹⁷ Hee is charged with deserting the queens service and goeing into an enimyes country and returning withoutt pardon or pass.

i4 Letters from Dublin advise thatt they are prepareing bills to attaint the Pretender with a conciderable reward for any thatt shall apprehend him. On Monday before was ordered thatt leave bee given for heads of a bill thatt the subjects may have the benifitt of councell in case of ffellony or treason and a list of the names of all Irish papist thatt are licenest to carry armes and by whome. Taken outt of the London gassett.⁵¹⁸

December 3i And thatt ther are i8 pettitions by the Wigs against pretended undue elections; 8 or 9 tryed, and they turne outt all church members.⁵¹⁹

Aboutt the 27 or the Sunday affter Xmas Day I had a sermon and a sacramentt in Billney church preached and given by Mr Smith, the vicker of Winch, and another last Aprill, for both which I paid him forty shillings and sentt him my stray mare and gave his son ten shillings and his daughter an arpon cost me in London neer twenty shillings more.

 56 Jacob Twisleton was apprehended and on 12 December ordered delivered to the lord chief justice of queen's bench. Twisleton had been in France serving the Pretender and had returned without authorization (*CJI*, iii. 966–7, 977). Freke's entry follows closely the account of Twisleton's life in the *Post Boy* (2904).

⁵¹⁷ Louis, duc d'Aumont (1666–1723), was the French ambassador extraordinaire to England from 1712 to 1713 (*Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* [Paris, 1934–], iv. 635–6).

⁵¹⁰ The news from Dublin in the *Daily Courant* (3798) and the *British-Mercury* (443) includes the 10 December parliamentary resolve to appoint a committee 'to bring in heads of a bill to attaint the *Pretender'* and all who have supported his treason (*CJI*, iii. 967). The *Daily Courant* (3794) and the *Post Boy* (2905) carry reports from Dublin that the Irish parliament ordered a committee on 7 December 1713 'to bring in heads of a bill, that the subject may have the benefit of coursel in cases of felony and treason'; they also mention the 8 December vote to bring before the House of Commons 'a list of the names of all *Irish* Papists, that are licensed to carry arms' (*CJI*, iii. 962, 964).

⁵¹⁹ Follows verbatim the 12 December news from Dublin in the Post Boy (2905).

i7i3/i4, January first Fryday, New Years Day and my unhappy birth day thatt I entred my seventy third yeare, I had as usuall all my tennants and neighbours dined with mee. Where tho I have nott bin hardly cross my chamber this three years, yett I made them all wellcome; and twill be my last time I shall see them all together. And I doe most humbly beg of God iff hee spare my life longer itt may bee to serve hime. Eliza. Freke

[fol. 102v]

i7i3/i4, January the i6 The sixteenth of January I had a letter from my Lady Freke from Dublin outt of Ireland which informs mee of hers and the chilldrens good health and thatt Sir Ralfe, my son, lyes there very ill of the goute in Dublin. Itt was very wellcom to mee to heere any way hee was alive, itt being confidently reported in this country hee was one of the six gentlemen cast away att Rings End in the herbor of Dublin.⁵²⁰ Soe thatt I can truly say thatt from the 9 of Octtober lastt to the eightt of Febuary I have never gone to bed or rise outt of itt with dry eyes and thatt I have paid those tears due to his death in his liffe to him. For which I humbly begg of God to forgive me, Eliza Freke.

i7i3/i4, Febuary ii Thursday, Febuary the eleventh, Mr Harvy was heer from Gyton to informe me thatt the nextt Sunday hee was ordered by Thomas Taner, chancellour of Norwich, to excominycatte mee for nott releasing the rightt of my church into there scandelous courte,⁵²¹ where itt has never bin yett, itt being my owne peculer in which I have on my own charge keptt a minester above this forty years withoutt ever haveing him questioned in all the foregoeing bishops times; [yet Mr Buck] was turned outt by this chancelour for wantt of good maners, tho coalated by this bishop to Gyton.

i4 Vallintines Day, the fowrteenth of Febuary, being Sunday, this Mr Harvy excominycated me outt of my church, for none of my neighbours elce would doe itt. Before which I took outt my plate and whatt elce I had given itt and left the church tite and whole and nott soe much as a quary in the windows broke or the least breach in the church yard, and soe with an inventory of whatt I left in the church delivered itt to the care of the chancelour of Norwich, Thomas Tanner. And now I hope I am rid of all the spirittual black coats. Butt the key

⁵²⁰ Ringsend, a 'small town', now within the city of Dublin, located on the east side of the River Dodder (Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, ii. 516).

⁵²¹ Benjamin Harvey was instituted vicar of Gayton on 8 October 1711, replacing Charles Buck. Harvey, who would later become rector of Stody, received his BA from Corpus Christi in 1707 (NRO, DN/Sub 4/3; Venn, ii. 322).

of the church I keep to my selfe and ordered the chancelour to make another to the south doore.

i7i3/i4, Febuary i4 Sunday, the i4 of Febuary, dyed King Phillips queen of Spaine, daughter of the prince of Wolfenbattle, sister to the empress, and grandchild to the king of France. Shee had a long sicknes and expired the above day. All our courts are in mourning for her, even the zar of Muscovy. Outt of the gassett.⁵²²

[fol. 103r]

i7i3/i4, Febuary the i5 Monday, the fifteenth of Febuary, aboute two a clock in the affternoone was heer the dreadfull'st storme and hurrycane of wind for severall howers was ever heard, which did an infinitt deale of damage to many people in this country and mee in perticuler, itt haveing hardly left a house or barne standing in the parish.⁵²³ And three blown downe to the ground att Knopwoods, and his dary and dwelling house lyes guitt naked, as does the head house of the Wassell House Farme. And all the back house stable and outt housing lyes quitt naked. And the Hall, my own house, is quitt unkeptt, and Holtens house and barne I had just mended up made as bad as ever. And the Maner Farme the barne allmost all downe and the stable and house ruinated, and Greens stable barn,⁵²⁴ &c., quit to the ground and all the roof of his house blown off. And most trajocall to behold is this parish now, and soe is my lodg of the warren; butt which is most my concerne is the church, which now being outt of my care will, I feare, soon fall to decay, itt being much harrased with this wind.

i3 When the chancellour sentt me word he would excominicate me, I putt up those things I gave the church for my own disposall wher I lye.

As first one large sillver flagon, cost me above fiffteen pound; one large sillver cupp to itt and itts bread plate or cover; and one new Common Prayer Book in Turky leather imbost and gilded; and one new vellum book for xings and buriall; a register; and one imbrodered table cloth, pullpitt cloth, and couchen of my own worke; with one fine damask table cloth, &c. Eliz Freke

The things I left in the church are as followeth: one south door into the chancell from my house; one old communion table railed in by me; two long seats; one chest in which is putt in by me one greatt

⁵²² The London Gazette (5207), Daily Courant (3844), and British-Mercury (451) report the death of Philip V's wife, Marie Louise (1688–1714), on 14 February 1714 (NS). None of these gives her genealogy or says that the courts are in mourning.

⁵⁸³ Blomefield notes the brief but 'violent wind' that on this date 'did great damage by sea and land' (iii. 435), as does Paul Richards, *King's Lynn* (Chichester, 1990), 36.

⁵²⁴ Probably that of Charles Greene, who rented land on the common.

Bible; one Common Prayer Book, allmost new; one old book (of, I think, Erasmus); one little sillver cupp and little bread plate; one pewter flagon; one old table cloth; one hollon table cloth; 3 silk couchens to my seatt in the church; 2, two, folding doors outt of my chancell into the church – wherin is the pullpitt, and under itt the clarks seate; and over the chancell doors is the armes of England in a large scution with the Lords Prayer, Beliefe, and Ten Commandements. And more is my seatt and eighteen more; three bells, new roped; and one funtt for xings; and a carraige for dead people with itts black cover; and one long lader; with two dores, one north, the other south. The north one I have the key of, and I wrott the chancellour word he might make one to the south doore. This inventory I sentt him to answer itt againe to Sir Ralph Freke and Elizabeth Frek.