THE DIARY OF
THOMAS TURNER
1754–1765

Edited by
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J. French, T. and J. Fuller, Ed. and Rd. Hope, J. Watford and son, T. Reeve, J. Durrant, W. Rice, W. Piper, J. Burges, J. Hutson, J. Cayley and Rob. Hook. The surveyors chosen for the year 1756 were John Cayley and Rob. Hook; the electioners, Jos. Durrant and James Hutson. I stayed there about 2 hours; came home about 5.30. About 6.30 Will. Piper, T. and J. Fuller and P. Adams came in here from the parish meeting. Peter Adams went away directly. Jos. Fuller went away about 7.30 very much in liquor. About 9.30 I went home with Wm. Piper and Tho. Fuller as far as Mr. Piper's.

Sat. 27 Dec. At home all day . . . Gave away to boys for their Christmas box 21*d.* as under:

To James Fuller	1*s.*	0*d.*
To Ben Mott		6*d.*
To John Barnard		3*d.*

. . . Paid Jos. Durrant 2*d.* for 1 peck turnips. My brother Will. went away after breakfast . . .

Sun. 28 Dec. . . . Just as we was drinking tea, Dr. Snelling came in, as did Halland two men. Dr. Snelling cut me a seton and stayed all night. My brother and Halland two men went away about 7.50.

Mon. 29 Dec. Dr. Snelling went away after breakfast. I paid him half a crown for cutting my seton and likewise am to pay John Jones for his horse's hay, oats etc. 18*d.* which together make 4*s.* Oh, could it have been imagined that he could have took anything of me, considering that I paid him £39 for curing my wife, great part of which I paid him before he had it due, and all of it within 5 months after he had performed the cure. I always do and ever did use him after the best manner I was capable of when he was at our house. He was that man that never gave my servants anything, no, not even the meanest trifle that could be. Notwithstanding they always waited on him like as if they were his own servants. Oh, thou blackest of fiends, ingratitude, what an odious colour and appearance dost thou make! Oh, may the most ever-to-be-adored Supreme Excellency that sees and views all our most private and secret actions and even knows our most secret thoughts before we bring them into action guide me with His grace that I may never be guilty of that hateful crime, nor even so much as to indulge an ungrateful thought . . .

Monday at which the churchwarden and the overseers of the poor (together with their deputies or 'electioners') were appointed, and the other in late December at which were chosen the surveyors of the highways and their 'electioners'. For the regulations regarding the appointment and duties of the surveyors see *Tate*, Ch. IX.

Wed. [illegible] nome all day . . . About 2.45 Sam. Slater came in from L[illegible]es. He and Tho. Durrant spent the evening with us . . . We did not go to bed until 12.25, but all very sober.

1756

Thurs. 1 Jan. . . . This day my wife and I had a great many words, but for what reason I cannot recount, though doubtless if we could be proper judges of our own actions we should find that we are both but too much to blame and possibly should find all our differences to arise from so trivial a cause that we both might have cause to blush. But oh! was marriage ever designed to make mankind unhappy? No! unless by their own choice. It's made so by both parties being not satisfied with each other's merit. But sure this cannot be my own affair, for I married, if I know my own mind, with nothing in view but entirely to make my wife and self happy, to live in a course of virtue and religion, and to be a mutual help and assistance to each other. I was neither instigated to marry by avarice, ambition, nor lust. No, nor was I prompted to it by anything; only the pure and desirable sake of friendship. Sure, many of my actions must be convincing proofs of love and friendship (to one who once I hoped to be ever dear to); though other of my actions may doubtless in the eye of the world render me not so, but if in my worst actions were the motives traced up to their first origin I doubt not but my sincere love and friendship would there appear in still more stronger lights. Oh, what am I a-going to say I have done? I have almost made as it were a resolution to make a separation, I mean by settling my affairs and parting in friendship, but is this that for what I married? Oh, how are my views frustrated from the prospect of a happy and quiet life to the enjoyment of one that is quite the opposite! Oh, were I but endued with the patience of Socrates; then might I be happy, but as I am not I will endeavour to pacify myself with the cheerful reflection that I am well assured I have done to my utmost to render our union happy, easy, good and comfortable to ourselves and progeny.

Fri. 2 Jan. Sam. Slater went home in the forenoon. I was at home all the morn. In the even all Mr. Porter's servants came to see us, and they and Tho. Davy stayed and played at cards with us; my wife and I lost 7½*d.* I went down to Mr. French's about 4.20 concerning a fat hog I am to have of him tomorrow . . .

Sat. 3 Jan. In the morn I went down to Mr. French's; brought home my hog, and Jos. Fuller Jr. killed him for me. Paid for 10 dozen quills 10*d.*...

Mon. 5 Jan. At home all day. In the morn Mr. French, Jo. and Tho. Fuller weighed and cut out my hog. He weighed 26 stone 7¼ lbs at 2*s.* per stone, but I did not pay for him . . . An entertainment at Mr. Porter's today.

Mon. 12 Jan.[1] . . . This day began teaching school again, being the first day since Christmas . . . Read *The Merry Wives of Windsor* wherein I think the genius of the author shows itself in a very conspicuous manner as to humour. But I cannot find in my heart to say I think there is one good moral character . . .

Tues. 13 Jan. . . . Mr. Peter Adams came to balance accounts with me but could not, he being in liquor, but appointed to come tomorrow night. Mrs. Virgoe sat about 2 hours with us. In the even I posted part of my day book. Tonight there was a dance, made, I conject, by the servants, there being all the young people of both sexes in the parish . . .

Weds. 14 Jan. . . . In the even my wife and I put up 120 papers of tobacco. After supper read part of Tournefort's *Voyage into the Levant* wherein I find the following remark: They breed (says he) the finest goats in the world in the Champaign of Angora. They are of a dazzling white, and their hair, which is fine as silk, naturally curled in locks of 8 or 9 inches long, is worked up into the finest stuffs, especially camlet. But they don't suffer these fleeces to be exported because the country people get their living thereby. Their young are degenerate if carried far.

Fri. 16 Jan. At home all the fore part of the day. Mr. Ed. Relfe and Mr. John Aliot of Lewes called on me, both in liquor. They stayed and drank 2 bottles of beer with us. In the even went down to Halland to balance accounts with Mr. Coates, but he was not at home, though he came home while I was there—in liquor—so I came away without balancing accounts. When I came home, I found Mr. John Collison at our house. We balanced accounts, and there remains due to Messrs. Margesson and Collison £17 16*s.* 0*d.* in full . . . Mr. Collison supped with us and stayed all night at our house.

Tues. 20 Jan. At home all day. Mr. T. Earle and Mr. S. Tupper called on me but did not get off their horses . . . Borrowed of Mrs.

[1] Between 12 and 16 January Turner confused the month and wrote 'December'.

Mary Virgoe in cash £2 17*s.* 0*d.*, to wit: 1 36-shilling piece[2] and 1 guinea . . .

Weds. 21 Jan. . . . Halland gardener cut my grape-vine and drank tea with us. Tho. Davy supped with us and he and I played at cribbage; I won 1*d.* I paid him 13*d.* for my share of *Martin's Magazine*; that is, 1*d.* per piece over half price, on account of their being to be mine . . .

Fri. 23 Jan. While we was at breakfast, my father Slater came in. He stayed and breakfasted with us and also dined with us, and after dinner he went to Laughton to bury Mrs. Shoesmith, who was brought from Hartfield to Laughton yesterday by men. I tied up 8 hatbands for him . . .

Sat. 24 Jan. My father Slater went away after dinner. Lent him a book of plays. In it was *The Revenge*, *Journey to London*, *Careless Husband*, *Way of the World*, *Love for Love*, and *The Busy Body*.[3] Paid for a bean net 2*d.*...

Sun. 25 Jan. . . . In the afternoon the proclamation for a general fast on the 6th of Feb. next was read on account of the dreadful earthquake which happened at Lisbon and many other places on the 1st day of Nov. last, and several times since.[4] Not out of doors all day except to church. This day John Jones's wife and Mr. Peter Adams's daughter died. Paid for milk ½*d.*

Mon. 26 Jan. This day paid Mrs. Virgoe the £2 17*s.* 0*d.* I borrowed of her the 20th instant. Paid for 6 bean nets 12*d.* The wife of Richd. Heath was buried today. Sent my maid over to Framfield for a shroud for Mr. Adams's daughter. Martha Mepham dined here. My wife went down to Mr. Porter's about 4 o'clock. I went down to her about 7 and found Wm. Piper, his wife and brother there, as also Tho. Fuller, Mr. and Mrs. Hutson and Dame Durrant. We supped there and stayed until 5 o'clock in the morning and I may I think justly say there was not one sober man in the company. I am sure I was not, for, finding myself in liquor I came home 1 hour or more before the rest. This is the first time I have been in liquor since Whitsun Tuesday, and I am sorry for this, though I know of no reason except, being in liquor, my wife and I lost at brag between us near or quite 5*s.* We also gave the servants 2*s.* 6*d.*...

Tues. 27 Jan. My brother Moses called on me in the morn and

[2] A double pistole, see below p. 150, note 26.

[3] Evidently a composite volume containing six plays: *The Revenge* by Edward Young; *A Journey to London* by Sir John Vanbrugh; *The Careless Husband* by Colley Cibber; *The Way of the World* and *Love for Love* by William Congreve; and *The Busie Body* by Mrs Susannah Centlivre.

[4] See below p. 25, note 5.

over-persuaded me to go to Lewes with him, which I did on a horse borrowed from Mr. French . . . Bought of Mr. Roase 18 cwt. of Cheshire and Warwickshire cheese . . . I came home again in liquor, but got home very well; though to do myself justice, I believe I was not extreme good humoured when I got home, and I do think I am prodigiously silly and apish when I am in liquor, having always, for a great while after, a sting of conscience for the same. I will, however, renew my former resolution and use my utmost endeavour to keep to it; that is, not to get DRUNK again if I can avoid it . . . Tho. Davy taught school for me.

Weds. 28 Jan. . . . After dinner my wife went up to Mr. John Vine's Sr. I went also up in the even to talk with him about the new schoolhouse but came to no agreement. We both came home about 7.25.

Thurs. 29 Jan. After dinnertime (for I need not say 'after dinner' on account I ate none) I went to the funeral of Mr. Adams's daughter. We came to church about 3.30. There was a sermon for her, the text *1 Corinthians* 15.19: 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.' After churchtime very busy. Master Piper came and invited us up to see him in the even. We accordingly went about 6.15 and found there John Vine Jr. and wife, Tho. Fuller, son and daughter. We supped there on a rib seep spitted twice, a piece of boiled (tainted) beef, a good piece of bacon, and a good butter pudding, but all in very bad order and odd decorum, which would all have been very excusable had it not been attended with such a mean and stingy spirit in the old man. For that few bottles of beer etc. we got came (as the old saying is) like drops of blood from his heart, and we may justly attribute them more to Tho. Fuller's boldness in asking for liquor than to the poor old man's good nature in offering it. We stayed till 1.25. My wife and I won 3*s.* 6*d.* and gave the maid 12*d.*, so this brings back some part of Monday night's expenses . . .

Fri. 30 Jan. At church in the morn, but no sermon. John Jones's wife buried in the afternoon. I was not at the funeral on account of my being very busy . . . At home all day. My brother Moses dined here. Borrowed of Mrs. Day near one bottle of brandy.

Sat. 31 Jan. At home all day, very busy. Master Divol brought me from Lewes 20 cwt. goods and paid the money I sent him by his son the 29th instant. Received from Mr. William Tooth, without a bill, as under:

½ cwt. thick bread	9*s.* 0*d.*
Thin *do.*	8*s.* 0*d.*
Sweethearts	5*s.* 0*d.*
	£1 2*s.* 0*d.*

Sent my mother by Divol:

45 Warwickshire cheeses	4. 2. 18 [weight]
11 Cheshire	2. 0. 26

In the even Charles Nebuchar came in, in his road from Burwash to Lewes; he stayed all night. Related to me his travels wherein he says he hath been in 26 countries and 15 cathedrals. Paid for bread 2*d.* Received of Mrs. Atkins 6*s.* 4½*d.* in full. Paid Fran. Smith in cash 8*s.* 0*d.* for 2 gallons of brandy, which he bought in London for me.

Tues. 3 Feb. At home all day . . . Had John Watford a-gardening all day for me, who I think is a mighty honest, good, sort of a man, only a little inclined to be covetous, a very necessary qualification; and then he is so harmless and innocent with his 'O's' and 'good lacks' etc. that really he is very entertaining, for he has no art to set it off. In the even my wife and I did up about 70 papers of tobacco.

Weds. 4 Feb. . . . Wrote out the form of prayer for the fast on Friday next . . .

Thurs. 5 Feb. At home all day . . . Wrote out another form of prayer for the fast . . .

Fri. 6 Feb. This being a day for public fast and humiliation for to implore the blessing of the Almighty on our fleets and armies and to beseech Him, of His infinite and unbounded goodness to spare our nation from the dreadful calamity of an earthquake which hath been lately in many places of the world whereby Lisbon[5] and many other places in Africa have been entirely ruined and brought as it were to desolation, and some slight shocks have also been felt in this our happy nation, and likewise in some of our northern colonies in America, my wife and I was both at church in the morn where we had an excellent sermon on the occasion (by the Rev. Mr. Tho. Porter, M.A.) from *Psalm* 18.3: 'And the overflowing of ungodliness made me afraid'[6]

[5] The great earthquake at Lisbon occurred on 1 November 1755. The earthquake and the subsequent deluging of the city by the waters of the Tagus was followed by fire. The city was devastated and an estimated 30,000 lives were lost.

[6] The text is actually from *Psalm* 18.4: 'And the floods of ungodly men made me afraid.'

wherein he endeavoured in a very earnest and pressing manner to show what reason we have to repent of our vicious courses and to turn to the Lord, or else, as he says, how can we expect the favour of the Almighty to be more extensive upon this our isle than upon the Portuguese nation and other places which have suffered under this dreadful calamity; and likewise endeavoured to prove that it is impossible for a king to govern a nation and keep his subjects in a steady course of virtue without the assistance of every individual. At church in the afternoon there was only prayers . . .

Sun. 8 Feb. My wife and I both at church in the morn; the text in *Romans* 4.3: 'Abraham believed God, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness.' As I by experience find how much more conducive it is to my health, as well as pleasantness and serenity to my mind, to live in a low, moderate rate of diet, and as I know I shall never be able to comply therewith in so strict a manner as I should choose (by the unstable and over easiness of my temper), I think it therefore [right] (as it's a matter of so great importance to my health etc.) to draw up rules of proper regimen, which I do in manner and form following, and which, at all times when I am in health, I hope I shall always have the strictest regard to follow, as I think they are not inconsistent with either religion or morality: First, be it either in the summer or winter, to rise as early as I possibly can; that is, always to allow myself between 7 and 8 hours' sleep, or full 8, unless prevented on any particular or emergent occasion. 2ndly, to go to breakfast between the hours of 7 and 8 from Lady Day to St. Michael, and from St. Michael to Lady Day between the hours of 8 and 9. 3rdly, my breakfast to be always tea or coffee and never to exceed 4 dishes. If neither of those, half a pint of water or water gruel; and for eatables bread and cheese, bread and butter, light biscuit, buttered toast, or dry bread, and one morn in every week, dry bread only. 4thly, nothing more before dinner, and always to dine between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock if at home. 5thly, my dinner to be meat, pudding, or any other thing of the like nature, but always to have regard, if there is nothing but salt provision, to eat sparingly; and to eat plenty of any sort of garden stuff there is at table, together with plenty of bread and acids, if any, at table; and always to have the greatest regard to give white or fresh meats and pudding the preference before any sort of highly seasoned, salt, or very strong meat; and always one day in every respective week to eat no meat. 6thly, my drink at dinner to be always boiled water with a toast in it, or small beer, but water if I can have it, and never to drink anything stronger until after dinner. 7thly, if I drink tea at home or abroad, to be

small, green tea and not more than 4 dishes; and if I eat anything, not more than two ounces. 8thly, my supper never to be meat but weak broth, water gruel, milk pottage, bread and cheese, bread and butter, apple-pie or some other sort of fruit pie, or some such light diet; my drink, water or small beer, and one night at the least in every week to go to bed without any supper. 9thly, never to drink any sort of drams or spirituous liquors of what name or kind soever. 10thly, if I am at home, in company, or abroad, if there is nothing but strong beer, never to drink more than 4 glasses, one to toast the king's health, the 2nd to the royal family, the 3rd to all friends and the 4th to the pleasure of the company; if there is either wine or punch etc., never, upon any terms or persuasions whatever, to drink more than 8 glasses, nor each glass to hold or contain more than half a quarter of a pint, nor even so much if possibly to be avoided. 11thly, if I am constrained by extreme drought to drink between meals, that to be toast and water, small beer, or very small wine and water; to wit, ¼ pint of red or white wine to one pint of water. 12thly, never to drink any small or strong beer, winter or summer, without being warmed if possible. And lastly always to go to bed at or before ten o'clock when it can be done. My wife and I both at church in the afternoon; the text in *Job* 7.20: 'I have sinned and what shall I do to thee, O thou preserver of men?' We had, both forenoon and afternoon, excellent discourses wherein that necessary and excellent duty of repentance was strongly and pathetically recommended and enjoined to be done if we hope for salvation . . .

Tues. 10 Feb. In the morn I wrote to Mr. Russell of Godstone (for Mr. James Hutson) to acquaint him that he has about 100 carps that will meet at 14 inches, and 100 that will meet at 16 inches . . . My wife went down to Mrs. Atkins's about 5 o'clock. Oh, what have I here to say—the old story again repeated—more words again between me and my wife. Sure it is a most terrible and unhappy circumstance we cannot live agreeable together. Where the fault is I cannot be a competent judge, for as I am a party concerned, prejudice in my own favour may make me partial. But this I know, that my whole desire and aim is to make my wife, self and progeny happy; and I am farther assured that I ever had, and now have, a boundless respect for her; therefore what can be the occasion of so many words I am at lost to say. I can only say this, she is a woman, but why, if she be, must we be forever unhappy? Oh! could I think of an expedient to prevent it and make us happy! For it is impossible for pen or painter to express or draw so unhappy a representation as it is for to live in a continual scene of disquietude with one that is so infinitely dear to me. But oh! let me

drop a subject that is too tender for me to touch any longer. But, why? Let me recall the resolution of a man and proceed. A man, did I say? Oh! how the sound of that word makes me start. I know not scarce what I am. All that I know is I am happy in having that person, who of all the sex I ever had the greatest respect for, for my wife. But again how unhappy to have that only one in whom all my earthly facility was centred to be of such an unhappy temper as not only to make me, but herself also, miserable. How delightful and serene was it once to look forward and think, 'Such a day will all my earthly trouble be at an end and be crowned with a following scene of happiness and pleasure by being made one with the charmer of my soul.' But from that day may I date the era of my trouble.

'For her I've lost, alas, what have I not,
For her my duty to my friends forgot.'[7]

But why do I accuse her? Maybe it is I am all in fault. It cannot be she; can the wife of my bosom be this person? No! She must be, she is, all charms, and I am the ungrateful man . . . My wife came home about 1 o'clock. She gave the maid 12*d.* and won at cards 2*d.*

Fri. 13 Feb. After I came from school in the forenoon, I went over to Mrs. Virgoe's . . . I stayed there about 2 hours talking over Mrs. Virgoe's affairs concerning the sale of her house tomorrow etc. About 4 o'clock I went for Lewes on foot. Just as I was a-going, I met with Mrs. Taylor of Lewes's two apprentices who were then a-going to Lewes. We accordingly went together, and upon their account, for the sake of company, I went around by Laughton . . . I got to Lewes about 7 o'clock and called on Mr. Geo. Verral. He and I went up to Mr. John Plumer's to talk with him and found him abed with the gout . . .

Sat. 14 Feb. . . . After dinner Mrs. Virgoe's house was put up to sale, though I believe the candle was not lighted up until near 4 o'clock.

Conditions of the sale

White Horse in Lewes, Feb. 14, 1756

Conditions of sale by the candle of a convenient dwelling-house, a good butcher's shop, slaughterhouse and stable, situate in the Parish of St. Michael near the market-house in Lewes, and now in the occupation of Mr. John Fuller, butcher; and also 2 other tenements thereto belonging and adjoining, *viz.*

[7] The source of this couplet has not been identified.

1st: The whole premises to be put up to the best bidder in one lot at £400 and not less than £5 to be advanced upon each bidding.
2ndly: The last bidder at the expiration of the flame of the candle is the buyer.
3rdly: If any dispute arise by 2 or more persons bidding together, such dispute to be ended by the lot being to be put up again at the price last bidden.
4thly: The buyer to deposit £30 into the hands of Mr. John Burges of Rotherfield at the time of buying as a part of the purchase, and the remainder of the purchase to be paid to the said Mr. John Burges at the time of the surrender of the premises, *viz.*, the 25th day of March next, or the deposited £30 to be forfeited.
5thly: The seller to pay all charges of the surrender and the buyer all the charges of the fine and admittance.

The candle burnt till near, or quite, 8 o'clock. There was out and in at times during the burning of the candle the following persons: Jos. and John Fuller, Mr. Manning, Ed. Verral, Hen. Verral, W. Lee, Sam. Piggot, Mr. Feron, Mr. Saxby, Mr. Roper, Mr. Jos. Burges, Mr. John Burges, Mr. Geo. Verral (he being auctioneer), Mr. John Buckall, Mr. Charles Rand and myself and Mr. Whapham. There was no one bid anything in reality; so it was not sold. Therefore to prevent its being sold for a trifle at the expiration of the candle, I bid £420 for it. After it was all over and the people gone, Mr. Tucker, Mr. Burges and I stayed and spent the remaining part of the even together at *The White Horse.* Mr. Burges and I lay at *The White Horse.*

Mon. 16 Feb. . . . In the even Tho. Davy here; we played at cribbage; I lost 2½*d.* I gave him ¾ yard of shalloon for keeping school for me the 27 January last and for going to Dr. Stone's for me the 10 December last.

Tues. 17 Feb. . . . A dance in the even at Dallaway's.

Weds. 18 Feb. This morn about 6.25 it began snowing very hard and continued snowing all day, and that very hard, but as it was open weather it did not lie on the ground above 6 inches deep; but, I believe, had there been a frost, it would not have been less than 2 foot deep . . .

Thurs. 19 Feb. At home all day. A very great frost last night; a great deal of snow on the ground. Continued freezing all day . . . In the even Thos. Davy brought me a new boot to try on, being 1 of a pair I have bespoke near 12 months of Robt. Hook . . . John

Streeter, who went post from Mayfield today, says that Arundel post was lost in the snow, and, when found, almost dead.

Fri. 20 Feb. At home all day. A very sharp frost last night and a great deal of snow remains on the ground. This day Mr. Sam. Gibbs's daughter was christened. In the even John Chesham and Tho. Reeve were both at my house concerning their late brother[8] Thomas Tomsett's affairs, and Reeve sold to Chesham at my house, in the presence of myself, wife, Rob. Hook and my servant-maid, all his moiety and claim of that money due from Mr. William Rabson of Ticehurst to their late brother Tho. Tomsett at the time of his decease, which they said was in all £5, for the sum of 30*s.* Chesham gave to Reeve a note of hand payable to him . . . for the said 30*s.* and witnessed by myself and Robt. Hook. Reeve at the same time gave to Chesham a receipt for the said note, wherein he acknowledges that the said note when paid is in full for his share of the above debt. The receipt was witnessed both by myself and Robt. Hook. Reeve also gave his brother Chesham an order to Mr. Rabson for him to receive the same of Mr. Rabson, and to acquaint him that Chesham's receipt shall be his sufficient discharge, dated today and from this place; and lastly Reeve gave his brother Chesham a note to pay him, or his order, on demand, the full value of the ½ part of the watch of the late Mr. Tomsett, which Reeve has in possession, and has had ever since the 9th May last. This note Master Hook and I also attested. At home all day. In the even read 2 books of Homer's *Odyssey*, translated by Pope.

Sat. 21 Feb. . . . In the even Robt. Hook brought me home 1 pair boots, value 18*s.*, and my wife 1 pair pumps, value 3*s.* 9*d.*, both to be entered to account . . .

Sun. 22 Feb. At church in the morn . . . Halland gardener came home with me and dined with us. I gave John Cayley a susi handkerchief, value 2*s.* as a present for his sister for a twelve-month's use of Mrs. Browne's seat in the church for my wife and I, they refusing to receive the rent (as I may call it) that I agreed with them for. After dinner the gardener and I set out for to see Buxted Place and gardens.[9] We called at my mother's as we went and stayed there about

[8] i.e. brother-in-law.

[9] Buxted Park, later to be the seat of the Earls of Liverpool, was at this time under construction. It was apparently begun by Thomas Medley soon after 1713. He died in 1732 and was succeeded by his four sons Thomas (died 1735), Samuel (died 1741), Edward (died 1751) and George. It was George Medley, whose fortune had been made in the Portuguese wine trade, who was finishing the house and laying out the grounds when Turner wrote. He died in 1796. A sketch of the house in 1798 is reproduced in Christopher Hussey, 'Buxted Park, Sussex', pts. 1 and 2, *Country Life*, April 21 and 28

25 minutes. I found there Miss Fanny Smith (which, I think, seems to be the lady my brother Moses' affections are settled, or settling, upon). Whether just or imaginary I cannot, no, I will not, say, but I think I was received very coldly, not only by my mother but all the family, Miss Smith only excepted. After a stay of about 25 minutes as before mentioned, we set out for Buxted. My brother and Ed. Rowles went with us. We see the gardens and the outside of the place, neither of which is any ways near completed, but I think when they are both finished they will both be very curious in their kind. Gave Ed. Rowles 6*d.* for going with us and showing us the gardens. We came back to Framfield about 4 o'clock. Found Miss Smith there. She and we drank tea there. After tea Mr. Ed. Rowles sent for us over to his house, and the gardener and I went; we stayed and drank 1 mug of beer and smoked 1 pipe, then went again to my mother's; Miss Smith and my brother not there. My mother and I had a great many words, or at least my mother had with me. What my friends would have with me I know not; I have always done to the utmost of my power to serve them. I can with justice to myself and all mankind say I have their interest entirely at heart and never think myself more happy than in serving them; and were I assured I was to blame, I should even despise myself, and even think myself not worthy to be ranked among the rest of mankind was I to be cruel and undutiful to a mother, and one who is a widow, though doubtless I am not exempt from faults. No, I am mortal, but still how happy could I be, would my friends let but a free and sincere communication of friendship once more be opened between us, and which has of late been shut up, but upon what account I cannot tell. I am, I think, quite despairing, uneasy, drove almost to distress for want of money, and my mother has at this time £40 of mine on book debts which I never did ask for, no, nor hope I ever shall. Only do I sincerely wish I could spare them £500 was it to serve them, but still why should they estrange themselves from me? But oh, let me stop my pen and say, 'May they all be ever happy, and may the Supreme Being crown them all with His blessings in this transitory state and forever make them happy in the divine regions of eternal bliss.' We came home about 8 o'clock.

Mon. 23 Feb. . . . After dinner a man called at the door, who says his name is Matthews, with a horse loaded with horse-hair hats, corks and

1934. The house was partially destroyed by fire in 1940. For a pedigree of the Medley family, see Lord Hawkesbury, 'Catalogues of portraits at Compton Place, and at Buxted Park, in Sussex', *S.A.C.* XLVII, pp. 82–108. K. H. MacDermott, *Buxted the beautiful* (1929) provides a hodge-podge of information about the parish.

glovetops. I sold him 20½ lbs. short horse-hair at 4½*d.* per lb. and 1½ lbs. long *ditto* at 10*d.*, and 17 skins for 4*s.* 4*d.*, all which he paid me for in ready money except 9 pair of glovetops which I took of him at 5*d.* per pair. What he bought of me I am to pay the carriage of to London . . .

Weds. 25 Feb. . . . This day I bought of Dame Mott the younger of Laughton 1 gold ring, for which I gave her 8*s.*, and 1 silver bosom buckle, for which I gave her 6*d.* Paid for ½ a gallon flour 3½*d.* In the even I posted my day book whilst my wife read that moving scene of the funeral of Miss Clarissa Harlowe to me. Oh, may the Supreme Being give me grace to lead my life in such a manner as my exit may in some respect be like that divine creature's. Oh, how happy must that life be which is spent in virtue . . .

Sat. 28 Feb. . . . In the even my wife finished reading of *Clarissa Harlowe*, which I look upon as a very well-wrote thing though it must be allowed it is too prolix. I think the author keeps up the character of every person in all places; and as to the manner of its ending, I like it better than if it had terminated in more happy consequences.

Sun. 29 Feb. . . . My wife and I both at church in the afternoon; the text in *Ecclesiastes* 9.11: 'I returned, and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all.' From which words we had an excellent sermon to persuade us all to repent that we may avert the wrath of heaven at this time when there are now abroad in the world fires, earthquakes, and at a time when our happy isle is in hourly expectation of an invasion from a powerful enemy who wants nothing more than to reduce us to state of slavery and, what will be still worse, deprive us of our holy religion and in its stead institute popery. Then [should] we reflect on this our happy constitution and consider how unhappy we should be by such a resolution, and if we have not then the greatest reason to abandon (in the best manner our frail nature can be brought to let us) all our wickednesses and irreligion and turn to the Lord our God, who is full of goodness, long-suffering and of great kindness . . . When I drew up my rules for regimen, I mentioned to breakfast one day in every week on only dry bread for eatables, and likewise to eat no meat one day in every week, as also to go to bed at the least one night in every week without a supper. I am come to a resolution to fix the following days for a due observance of the said rules, *viz.*, to eat only dry bread on Sunday morn, to eat no meat on Friday, and to go to bed without a supper every Wednesday night.

Tues. 2 Mar. This day was Shrove Tuesday. At home all day. Carried up to Mrs. Day's 1 cwt. raisins; drank tea there. Received of Mr. Sam. Gibbs 8*s.* 9*d.* in full except for the boy's schooling and 1 lb. gunpowder. In the even Tho. Davy at our house. We played at cribbage; I won 3*d.* We dined today on the remains of Sunday's dinner with the addition of 3 sausages. Paid for sweeping my chimney 6*d.* Heard this day that the Duke of Cumberland is a-coming into Sussex to view the seacoast.[10]

Ash Wednesday, 3 Mar. This day I appointed to go to Lewes to meet Mr. Step. Fletcher, but did not go on account that I wanted but a small parcel, and the roads very bad; so that my trouble and expense would have been more than the profits arising from what I should have bought. At home all day. Dine on a piece of pickle pork, light pudding and greens. In the even I was sent for down to Halland. Accordingly about 7 o'clock I called on Tho. Davy, and we went down. When I came, I found that it was Ann Smith had sent for me to ask my advice in the following affair, as she tells it, to wit: About 8 years ago she kept the house of Tho. Baker in the parish of Waldron, who, being an elderly man, and at the same time in all probability might have a feeble insurrection of an unruly member which might prompt him to make his addresses to her, as she says he did; and as he found his affection slighted, and understanding she was indebted to Mr. Venner of the same parish the sum of £2 7*s.* 0*d.*, and as a means, as he simply imagined, to ingratiate himself in her favour, he (as she solemnly avers) went and paid the same without her knowledge or orders; and, when he had so done, never offered to make any drawback in her wages when she left him, though she says he often told her he had paid it; and when she went away, she went and asked Mr. Venner whether she owed him anything, who answered, 'No!' So it is plain Baker had paid the money. But as Baker is now in low circumstances (though still a single person), he has lately made a demand of the same, notwithstanding it has been near 8 years since, and (as she says) never pretended to have any demand on her before, and she always looked upon it as a free gift. Now my advice was as this, to wit: if what she repeated to me was true and that he actually paid it without her knowledge and designed it as a free gift to her without any proviso to the contrary, I thought she was not obliged to pay it, only as change in circumstances and gratitude should always oblige everyone to return favours where

[10] William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, made an extensive tour of the South Coast viewing the fortifications at this time. On 4 March he made a review of all the troops in Sussex at Lewes. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVI (1756), p. 141.

they have received any. But if it was any ways by her orders he paid it, or she was to outset it in her wages or to make him any other gratuity and did not, I thought in justice she ought to pay him. Came home about 8.10. Read part of Homer's *Odyssey*. At church in the morn.

Tues. 9 Mar. At home all day. In the afternoon I was sent for over to Mrs. Virgoe's to talk with Mr. Dungate concerning her giving Mrs. Edwards security for the money due from Mrs. Virgoe to Mrs. Edwards, and we appointed to meet Mr. Dungate at Mrs. Edwards on Thursday next at 3 o'clock. John Watford a-gardening for me. For dinner we had pork, light pudding and greens. Mrs. Virgoe drank tea with us. In the even read the writings of a farm called Chillys in Mayfield, which was entailed to Mrs. Virgoe's father and his heirs for ever, but he cut the said entailment off and entailed it again to Mrs. Virgoe and her heirs for ever after the death of her mother . . .

Thurs. 11 Mar. After dinner I carried Mrs. Virgoe to Mrs. Edwards's (on a horse of Tho. Fuller's) where she gave Mrs. Edwards a bond for £153 as a collateral security for the same sum due from Mr. Isaac Virgoe deceased, with the addition of about £6 for interest, the original debt being no more than £147 6*s*. 3*d*. The bond was filled up by Mr. Dungate and witnessed by himself and Mr. Richd. Coomber of Wadhurst . . .

Sun. 14 Mar. . . . About 2 o'clock my brother Moses and sister Sally came to see us . . . My sister Sally stayed all night . . . In the even I drew up the form of a will to send to Tho. Mepham on board His Majesty's Ship *Torbay* in order for him to write over again (I wrote it at the desire of Robt. Hook, who desired to get it wrote by Tho. Mepham), wherein he gives all the moneys that may be due to him at the time of his death, either as prize money or pay, to be equally divided between his brother Joseph and sisters Eliz., Martha and Lucy, share and share alike, and also makes them all joint executor and executrices . . .

Mon. 15 Mar. . . . After tea I went with Sally to Framfield, as did Robert Hook, who went forward to Uckfield. I went to talk with my mother concerning her leaving off trading. Robt. Hook called me at Framfield about 9.15 and came home about 10.45. As we came by Whyly, we met with Tho. Fuller the chandler who was then in his road home but, considering the coldness of the weather, thought it better to come back home by the Street on proviso I would give him a dram of gin. Oh! that baneful liquor; that mankind should be so infatuated as to give way to anything for an opportunity to drench themselves with such a slow and lingering poison! . . .

Tues. 16 Mar. . . . In the even posted my day book to this day. Trade I find to be very dull. Not that I want to get an estate; no, if it will please the Supreme Being to bless me with only enough to pay everyone their own and to maintain my family in an indifferent manner, I am satisfied. A very sharp wind these 3 or 4 days past which has dried the roads prodigiously even to make the dust steam . . .

Weds. 17 Mar. . . . In the afternoon Mr. Terry, tobacconist, called on me and drank tea with us . . . I went down to Jones's with Mr. Terry and stayed until 2 o'clock; I spent 12*d*. Mr. Terry I think to be a very pushing man in his trade; he is by birth a Yorkshireman, has been abroad in the merchant's service in Virginia 1¼ years, and rode in the tobacco trade for Mr. Albiston before he entered into trade for himself. I was a little in liquor.

Thurs. 18 Mar. . . . My brother Moses and I went down to Mr. Peckham's to advise with him about my mother's leaving off trade, but he having company, could not get to consult him in the manner I wanted to do. But he has promised me to consider of it and that I shall hear from him again . . . I came to John Jones's about 7.50, and there being a public vestry for the making a poor book,[11] I went in and found there Jer. French, Jo. Fuller, Jo. Burges, Jo. Durrant, Will. Piper, John Cayley, Robt. Hook and John Watford Jr. But some or most of them being a little in liquor, they could not agree in some of their arguments. We all broke up about 8.40.

Fri. 19 Mar. This day I found, by looking over my accounts, that when Mr. French and I balanced accounts on the 8th day of January, he charged me with only 6 load of wood in the year 1753, though I think I must inevitably have in that year 8 load, for I well remember I had both wood and faggots of Mr. French in that year, and of Mr. John Vine I am assured I bought 2 cord. Now Mr. Jam. Hutson fetched all my wood that year (for I bought it all in the place) and he charges me for the carriage of 10 load. When Mr. Vine and I balanced, he had omitted the 2 cord of wood, but that I have since told him of. As Mr. French charged me with but 6 load, I must consequently owe him for 2 load more . . .

Sat. 20 Mar. . . . After supper read the 13th book of Homer's *Odyssey*, wherein I think the soliloquy which Ulysses makes when he finds the Phaeacians have, in his sleep, left him on shore with all his treasure, and on his native shore of Ithaca (though not known to him), contains a very good lesson of morality . . .

[11] i.e. fixing the poor rate for the coming year.

Sun. 21 Mar. I was at home all day, but not at church. Oh fie! no just reason for not being there . . .

Tues. 23 Mar. . . . Molly French dined with us on the fillet of that leg of veal bought a-Saturday last, roasted in the oven, with a pudding under it. This day I entertained my scholars with the sight of a show which was at Jones's; the man performed in my schoolroom. I think it a very good performance of the kind. He performed several very curious balances, ate fire and red hot tobacco-pipes, brimstone etc. I gave him 12*d.* . . . After schooltime I went down to Mr. Jer. French's to ask Mr. Sam. Virgoe whether it made any difference or whether he insisted on my going out of his house at New Lady Day. He has given me leave to stay as long as I like, providing I will pay him 12*d.* per week for rent . . .

Sun. 28 Mar. Mr. Ormeroid breakfasted with us and dined, as did Charles Diggens, on a roast goose, a piece of bacon, plum batter pudding and broccoli. We smoked a pipe or two and then went down to Jones's, where we drank one bowl of punch and two mugs of bumboo; Mr. Ormeroid went away after the punch. I spent 12*d.* and came home again in liquor. Oh! with what horrors does it fill my breast to think I should be guilty of doing so—and on a Sunday, too. Let me once more endeavour never, no, never, to be guilty of the same again. I am certain it proceeds, not from the love of liquor, but from a too easy temper and want of resolution. Not at church all day. In the morn there was no churching, Mr. Porter not being well, and in the afternoon Laughton curate preached here. I this day made an offer to Charles Diggens to take him in partners with me in the Framfield shop, and which he agreed to on my proposals, to wit: to bring in half the value of the stock and, if he had not money enough, to be bound with him too anybody so far as £100, he paying the interest, and if that was not enough, for him to pay me interest at £4 per cent for enough to make up half the stock.

Thurs. 1 Apr. In the forenoon Mr. Ed. Relfe, saddler in Lewes, brought up a new pillion and dined with us on the sparerib given us by Mr. French. It was baked in the oven with a pudding under it. I paid him for the pillion etc., £1 4*s.* 6*d.*,[12] to wit:

1 quilted pillion with 2 straps of the off side 13*s.* 0*d.*, lace for the cloth 3*s.* 6*d.*, lining 1*s.* 2*d.*, stiffening 2*s.* 0*d.*, making 5*s.* 0*d.*

After dinner I set out with Mr. Relfe on horseback to go to Lewes and went with him as far as the London Gates, but not liking my horse nor

[12] In fact the individual sums add up to £1 4*s.* 8*d.*

the roads, I returned back again, and came home and pulled off my boots and set out on foot for Lewes about 3 o'clock, and came home again exactly at 8 o'clock. I spent nothing all the time I was gone, nor drank anything but [a] glass of orange shrub. I found it prodigious bad walking.

Fri. 2 Apr. At home all the forenoon. We dined on the remains of yesterday's dinner. About 3 o'clock I walked over to Framfield carrying with me the clothes I bought yesterday at Mr. Madgwick's. Drank tea with my mother. My brother Moses and Charles Diggens was just come home from Uckfield where they went yesterday to help the Taylers at Uckfield make their mourning for Mrs. Moon, the wife of Mr. Will. Moon of Little Horsted, who was buried this day. They were a little in liquor, so that I had no farther conversation with Charles; but I think the old man looks very odd on me, and Charles very shy so that I do imagine I shall have my offer rejected. My brother came with me as far as the middle of Eason's Green. I called in at Master Hook's as I came home and stayed there near an hour. Came home about 9.10.

Sat. 3 Apr. . . . Heard there were press warrants[13] come to Hastings and Battle.

Sat. 10 Apr. . . . My brother stayed with us about 3 hours. I also carried down to Mr. Porter's some shag for a pair of breeches for Mr. Porter; stayed there about 1 hour . . . Received of the postmaster 18*d.*, being in full for 2 magazines and 14 buttons which was lost by his late servant. Tho. Davy came in after supper and stayed with us about 2½ hours. He and I looked over Gordon's *Geographical Grammar*, and in particular the religions of all nations.

Mon. 12 Apr. At home all day . . . I borrowed of Tho. Davy 1 bottle of brandy and paid Mrs. Day the brandy I borrowed of her the 30th January last. I carried it myself and stayed at Mrs. Day's near an hour. In the even Mrs. Virgoe came over to consult me about her making of a will. Gave her the liberty to put me in as one of the trustees, and at the same time I assured her if there was ever an occasion, I would act . . .

Mon. 19 Apr. . . . Received of Joseph Fuller £3 11*s.* 1½*d.* in full on account of the parish, he being overseer. Very busy, there being a public vestry at Jones's to choose new offices. I dined there on a buttock of beef and ham, and plum pudding and greens (my family dining at home on the remains of yesterday's dinner). The company

[13] Royal warrants to impress men for military, or, more usually, naval service. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXVI (1756), p. 145 reported that 'the hottest press [was] begun for seamen that ever was known, all protection being disregarded'.

that dined at Jones's was Mr. Coates, Mr. Piper, Mr. Jer. French, Jos. Fuller, Tho. Fuller, Robt. Hook, John Browne and myself, though after dinner there came in several more of the parishioners. We paid 12*d.* a piece for dinner. After dinner I was sent for home, but after I had done my business I went down again and stayed till near 8 o'clock. The officers chosen for the year 1756 was: Jos. Fuller, churchwarden; John Vine Sr., electioner; myself, overseer; Ed. Hope, electioner.

Weds. 21 Apr. . . . Very busy all day. About 6 o'clock I went to the audit where I received of Mr. Vine £2 12*s.* 8*d.* in full for my audit bill and also 2*s.* 5½*d.* for a bill for nails. Gave the maid 12*d.* according to custom and came home drunk, but I think never to exceed the bounds of moderation more . . .

Thurs. 22 Apr. In the morn got up and went down to Mr. Porter's where I borrowed a bushel and ½ sea coal. I went forward to Framfield, but called on Mr. Peckham as I went along to consult him about going to live at Framfield, who advises me so to do . . .

Fri. 23 Apr. . . . This day I had a fire-grate set up . . . In the even my wife (I being busy) went up to Mr. John Vine's to tell him that I thought of leaving this place, so that I would have him let the school-house. After my wife came back, I went down to Mr. Porter's to tell him the same. I stayed and supped there and came home about 10 o'clock . . .

Sun. 25 Apr. . . . My wife, maid and self at church in the afternoon, and as soon as prayers was ended, Mr. Jer. French and I went out and searched the public houses:[14] to wit, John Jones's, where we found no one person but John Jones, from whence we went to Fran. Turner's where we found a man and his wife who came in overnight. They seemed to be very sober sort of people and not a-drinking so that we did not meddle with them. We came back just as the people came out of church. Mr. French went to Jones's and had a dram, and I a pint of beer. At home all the remainder of the day . . .

Weds. 28 Apr. We dined on the remains of Monday's dinner with the addition of a piece of pork, light pudding and greens. At home all day, and gardening in the afternoon. In the even read several numbers of the *Freeholder* which I think is a proper book for anyone to look into at this critical juncture of affairs.

[14] The duty of ensuring that no tippling took place on the premises of innkeepers, victuallers, alehouse-keepers or tavern-keepers outside the times laid down by statute, was placed upon constables and churchwardens. Both tipplers and publicans could be fined and the money used for the benefit of the poor. The parish officers frequently checked for tipplers during the time of divine service. See *Burn, sub* alehouses.

Sun. 2 May. . . . We had this day two very fine discourses. That in the morn was to dissuade mankind from fraud and swearing, and in the afternoon to make it our greatest concern to prepare ourselves for a future state. Tho. Davy sat with us about 3 hours in the evening. Gave notice of a public vestry to be held on Wednesday next to put out children.[15]

Weds. 5 May. At home all day. We dined on the remains of Sunday's dinner. In the even went down to Jones, there being a public vestry. Spent 2*s.* 6*d.* on the parish account, but did not pay for it. There were only Mr. French, Jos. Fuller, Peter Adams, Mr. Joseph Burges, Edmd. Elphick and myself. We agreed to take an account of Thomas Tester's goods very soon. We also put out Lucy Brazer to Edmd. Elphick at 18*d.* per week so long as the parish shall think proper; also put Ann Brazer out to Dame Trill to keep at 18*d.* per week, and to take either of them away at any time whensoever the parish shall think proper. Came home about 9.30. Found Master Hook and Tho. Davy at our house. I sold them the remains of Mr. T. Tomsett's library for 12*s.*, which they carried away with them, and paid me the 12*s.* They stayed till near 12 o'clock. I paid Tho. Davy 20*d.* for the bottle of French brandy borrowed of him the 12th of April. I shall get all the books I saved for myself, together with Tillotson's works, out of the books bought of the heirs of the late Mr. T. Tomsett. I posted some London accounts.

Mon. 10 May. I was sent for down to Mr. Porter's in the morn to inform Fran. Elless, the person who is intended to take the school, when I choose to resign it, and I agreed to the 17th instant . . .

Tues. 11 May. In the morn I got up and went to Lewes; my brother having lately strained his ankle, which is become worse with stirring upon it a little yesterday, so that he could not go with me. I got to Lewes about 8.30. I breakfasted at *The White Horse* in company with Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Geo. Beard and Mr. Relfe of Ripe. After breakfast I gave Mr. Fletcher 1 bill . . . which I drew on Messrs. Margesson and Collison, value £14 19*s.* 0*d.* and in full on account of Mr. Samuel Ridings. I bought a parcel of goods of him, which I left at *The White Horse.* Paid Mr. John Madgwick 5*s.* 1½*d.* for goods bought today as under:

⅝ yd. cloth [at] 7*s.*	4*s.* 4½*d.*
½ yd. green napped	9*d.*

[15] To board out pauper children at the expense of the parish.

I dined at Mr. Isaac Hook's on a leg of mutton and caper sauce (my family at home dining on the remains of yesterday's dinner). After dinner I went to *The White Horse* where I smoked one pipe with Mr. Fletcher and drank part of one pint of wine, which was all I drank the whole day. I looked out some earthenware at Mr. Will. Roase's. Spent 7*d.* Got home about 4.30. After I came home, I agreed with Robt. Hook to take all his brother Jenner's butter which he makes this year at 6*d.* per pound, delivered here or at Lewes. I am to find crocks.

Weds. 12 May. . . . About 6 o'clock Jos. Fuller and I went and took an account of Tho. Tester's goods, which we valued at about £6 13*s.* 0*d.* though I believe it is justly worth £8, and then not over-valued . . .

Thurs. 13 May. At home all day . . . In reading Homer's *Odyssey*, I think the character which Menelaus gives Telemachus of Ulysses, when he is a-speaking of his war-like virtues in the 4th book, is very good . . .

Fri. 14 May. At home all day. My brother William came to see us. He dined with us on the remains of Wednesday's dinner with a few ratios of pork. I appointed to go to Uckfield Fair, but my brother's coming prevented my going. In the afternoon Tho. Cornwell, Tho. Durrant, and myself sued my pond in the orchard and caught two small perch only. My brother went away about 10.15. In the afternoon I was sent for over to Mrs. Virgoe's to talk with Mr. Tho. Tourle Jr. who has a mortgage on Mrs. Virgoe's house of £100 at £3½ per cent per annum. There is now about 2½ years' interest due, and he seems to be very impatient for his interest, so that is to have the whole 3 years' interest paid when it becomes due, or otherwise (he was so kind as to tell Mrs. Virgoe) he should enter upon the house.

Sat. 15 May. At home all day. This day I resigned up my school to Francis Elless . . .

Mon. 17 May. At home all the morn and busy . . . In the afternoon went down in the park to a cricket match, to wit, the Street against the Nursery quarter.[16] I played and we beat them, having 6 wickets to go up the last hand. Came home about 10 o'clock. Spent no more than my shilling for the game[17] . . .

Thurs. 20 May. . . . Geo. Richardson called and breakfasted with us, who informed me that war was declared against France a-Monday last.[18]

[16] Nursery quarter was otherwise known as the hamlet of Halland.
[17] See above, p. 9, note 9.
[18] War was formally declared against France on 15 May following the news of the French attack on Minorca. This was the start of the Seven Years' War.

Fri. 21 May. In the morn my sister Sally and Molly Dine came over. Molly Dine altered 2 gowns for my wife and took another home to make. About 12 o'clock Charles Nebuchar came in, who also dined with us, as did my sister and Molly Dine, on the remains of yesterday's dinner. Miss Day and Molly Fuller, with the above that dined with us, drank tea with us, and after tea my wife, Miss Day, Mrs. Fuller, Molly and Elizabeth Fuller and Fran. Cole went for Whitesmith Fair. But as soon as they were gone, I received a letter from my brother Moses to acquaint me that my cousin Char. Hill was at their house and that I would come over immediately. I then sent for my wife, who came back directly, they not being got more than ¼ of a mile, and proposed to ride over to Framfield. But I was no sooner astride on my horse than dismounted, he throwing me off in the court, on which I made a resolution never to get on his back again. So my sister and I walked over to Framfield, and Molly Dine walked with us as far as Eason's Green. Charles Nebuchar set out for Lewes when we did for Framfield. I got to my mother's about 7 o'clock where I found Dr. Hill who was to set out tomorrow for Portsmouth in his way directly for Plymouth where he is to go on board of His Majesty's Ship *The Monarch*, a third-rate, 74 guns, in the capacity of Surgeon's First Mate.[19] He stayed about 40 minutes after I came in, and my brother and I went to bring him on his way to Little Horsted so far a half across Tealing's Common. We came back to my mother's who lent me her horse to ride home upon, I hurting my hip a little in my fall. Came home about 11 o'clock. This day received of Mrs. Atkins 1 hind quarter pork, weight 17¾ lbs.

Sun. 23 May. . . . In the afternoon we called a vestry about Tester's affair, but came to no resolution.

Mon. 24 May. In the morn I went up to Mr. John Vine's Sr., on an invitation from himself, where I saw two ponds emptied and the fish taken out. Mr. Vine, according to his promise on his invitation, made me a present of a brace of fine carp and 9 eels. Came home about 10.45. In my absence Mr. and Mrs. French was at our house and took up a coat etc. for John. My wife also delivered my horse to Mr. Clinch, who paid her 50*s.* for him as agreed for a-Saturday. Mr. French and I talked of Tester's affair, and he desired I would come to the cricketing in the afternoon, where, if any more of the parish were there, he would come to a resolution concerning the affair and agree to something for

[19] For Dr Charles Hill see Appendix B. *The Monarch* or *Monarque* was to achieve notoriety as the ship on which Admiral Byng was executed on 14 March 1757. See below, pp. 84–5, 92–3.

the support of Tester. We dined on a loin of pork roasted in the oven. Just as we had dined, the post came along who ate a piece with us. About 3.25 I went down into the park where our boys played with Framfield and were beat near 100 runs.[20] There being none of the parishioners there except Mr. French, Tho. Fuller and myself, so that nothing more was done in Tester's affair . . .

Tues. 25 May. At home all day. Will. Burrage and his boy at work for me today about ¾ of a day a-mowing of my orchard and gardening. We dined on 1 carp boiled, a piece of bacon and greens, with the remains of yesterday's dinner . . . In the afternoon my brother was at our house. This day put the water to the raisins in order to make raisin wine.

Weds. 26 May. This morn relieved two women with a pass with 12*d.* They were passed from Dorchester to Canterbury, having one child each, and one big with child[21] . . .

Holy Thursday, 27 May. In the morn got up and went over to Framfield in order to get my brother Moses to come over to stand the shop whilst my wife and I went to Dicker Fair. I rode to Framfield on a horse borrowed of Mr. French and brought Philip home in my lap. My brother coming out with us but, forgetting something, he went back again so that he did not come till about 30 minutes after I came home. We dined on the remains of Monday's and Tuesday's dinner with the addition of a green salad. About 12.30 my wife and I set out for Dicker Fair on Mr. French's horse and went to Mr. Crowhurst the potter's at Bayley's Lane in order to buy some earthenware, but he had no quantity of ware burnt, only what was in the kiln so that I did not look out any. We came back to Dicker Fair about 3.30 where, meeting with Miss Day and several more, I had them into a booth to treat them. As we sat drinking, Mr. John Kenward of Westham came in, as did Mr. French and Richd. Hope. Spent on the whole at the fair 3*s.* Came home about 8.30 in company with Mr. French, John and Molly French, Molly and Elizabeth Fuller, James and Ann Fuller, Miss Day and Richd. Hope. After I came home, my brother went home and left Philip at our house. I also went up to Mrs. Day's to carry up 5 yds.

[20] See above, p. 9, note 9.

[21] Turner here acted in his capacity of overseer of the poor for the parish. The two women were evidently vagrants who had been apprehended in Dorchester; the justices there, having examined them and discovered that their legal place of settlement was Canterbury, equipped them with a pass. The pass required constables and overseers on their direct route back to Canterbury to relieve them and to convey them to the next parish. Such a pass is illustrated in *Tate*, fig. XIV.

ferret which I got at Lewes for her. I stayed at Mrs. Day's about half an hour.

Mon. 31 May. . . . Saw in the Lewes newspaper of this day that on Saturday last there was several explosions heard in the bowels of the earth like an earthquake in the parishes of Waldron and Hellingly, as also by one person in this parish . . .

Thurs. 3 June. . . . In the even Fran. Elless the schoolmaster at our house a-learning the contracted division of decimals.

Sat. 5 June. At home all the forenoon. Dined on the remains of Tuesday's dinner. After dinner I was sent for over to Mrs. Virgoe's, who desired I would go to Lewes that afternoon in order to get her will made, which I did accordingly on Mr. Burges's mare. But when I came there, I went to Mr. Geo. Verral's to consult him in the affair, who recommended me to Mr. Wheeler the attorney and sent for him up to his house. But on Mr. Wheeler's seeing the will of Mrs. Virgoe's husband, he said it was his opinion that Mrs. Virgoe could have no right to make a will; so declined making it. We both stayed and smoked two pipes with Mr. Verral. I came home about 12 o'clock. It was about 5 when I went for Lewes. Spent 10*d.* which I can think but just for Mrs. Virgoe to pay me again. This day wrote a letter to my brother Will. after I had asked Mr. Porter's advice whether he might receive the communion here tomorrow whose answer was in the affirmative if he had been confirmed. Left Mr. Virgoe's will to have counsel on.

Mon. 7 June. This day my brother having affixed to go to Brighthelmstone[22] in order to bathe in the sea and from which I dissuaded him from doing, thinking he would get into bad company and get in liquor, but upon these conditions: that I would accompany him to some other part of the sea coast; so accordingly about 8 o'clock he and I set out from Hoathly on foot for Seaford where we arrived about 11.30. My brother and I went down to the sea, wherein he bathed and came back and dined at *The Tree* at Seaford on veal steaks (not deserving the name of cutlets); and for which dinner we paid 9*d.* apiece, though I think as badly dressed as I ever saw a dinner, and nothing set at table but salt . . . Seaford is a small town with many good buildings in and near it, but it doth not stand compact, for the houses are very much separated. It lies about ½ mile from the sea, and upon the cliff near the sea is built a sort of fort, but no guns in it, nor in reality is it of any service, for it lies so much higher than the sea that I think they could not point the guns to do any great execution; and the

[22] Brighton.

walls, being built of flint, and so very thin, that if a cannon of any large weight were fired against it, I think the flints must of consequence destroy all the men in the fort. Between the town and fort there are 4 18-pounders laid, which, I think, if rightly ordered, might be of signal service in war-time to protect their fishery from the insults of privateers . . .

Tues. 8 June. This day at the request of Mrs. Virgoe I went with her brother to Lewes on foot to know the result of counsellor Humphrey's opinion on her late husband's will, which was that by that will's being badly made she had no power to make one; and he also said Mr. Tourle's mortgage, or, as he expresses it, 'He (Tourle) was damned bad security.' My brother and I dined at Mr. T. Scrase's on a cold quarter of lamb and green salad. Paid Mr. George Verral 8*s.* 8*d.* in full for 2 doz. soap. Now what I am a-going to mention makes me shudder with horror at the thought of it. It is I got very much in liquor. But let me not give it so easy a name, but say I was very drunk, and then I must of consequence be no better than a beast. And what is still more terrifying, by committing this enormous crime I plunged myself into still greater; that is, that of quarrelling, which was this: my walking yesterday and again today, my feet were very sore, so that, meeting with Peter Adams, I asked him to carry me home, which he agreed to; and I accordingly got on horseback at *The Cats* after first having some words with a person and I can think for no other reason but because he was sober, or at least I know it was because I were drunk. We then proceeded on the road home and, as I am since informed, oftentimes finding an opportunity to have words with somebody, and, doubtless as often, giving somebody the opportunity to sneer and ridicule myself, as well in justice they might. And, I suppose I, to gratify Mr. Adams for his trouble, told him [if] he would go around by Will. Dicker's, I would treat him with a mug of 6*d.*, which he readily accepted of (though he, I understand, was very sober). There we met Mr. Laugham and several more, but who I cannot remember, and I suppose also in liquor. Now there was formerly a dispute between Mr. Laugham and I about a bill wherein I was used ill, and I imagine I must tell him of that. Or whether they, seeing me more in liquor than themselves, put upon me, I do not remember, but Mr. Laugham pulled me by the nose and struck at me with his horse-whip and used me very ill, upon which Mr. Adams told 'em he thought there was enough for a joke, upon which they used him very ill and have abused him very much. And whilst they were a-fighting, I, free from any hurt and like a true friend and bold hearty fellow, rode away upon poor Peter's horse leaving him to shift

for himself and glad enough I got away with a whole skin. I got home about 10 o'clock. But what can I say in my own behalf for getting drunk? Sure I am a direct fool, so many resolutions as I have made to the contrary, and so much as I am desirous of living a sober life, that I should suffer myself to be so easy deluded away when I know almost the sight of a bottle of wine will make me drunk. But, Oh! may the Supreme Director of all events give me grace to be wiser for the future; and as I have in so miraculous a manner several times been preserved from danger, I hope I shall never more be so weak, but have resolution enough to make this the last time . . .

Sat. 12 June. . . . After dinner Robt. Hook and I went down to see Peter Adams. After we had stayed there a while, he went to Waldron and I went to see one John Baker (at Mr. Adams's request), who the same people that abused Mr. Adams have in a manner abused; to wit, as he was a-coming home from the fair, they overtook him and whipped his horse and made him throw him off, and many more such-like actions. Came home about 8 o'clock not very well. With being so continually haunted with my conscience, it hath thrown me into a slight fever . . .

Thurs. 17 June. In the forenoon I went down to see Peter Adams. Found him in bed and determined to prosecute the men that abused him. Stayed and smoked one pipe and came home about 1 o'clock . . . Our parish played at cricket with Chiddingly Parish on Broad Oak and had not time to play it out, but to all appearance it was in the favour of this parish.[23] At home all day except for going to Peter Adams's . . .

Sat. 19 June. A very great tempest of thunder, lightning and rain, but in particular of lightning. It began about 12 o'clock in the morn and continued until near 2. This morn about 7.30 Mrs. Porter was safely delivered of a girl . . . We having fixed on this day for my wife and I to go to Hartfield on, my wife endeavoured to borrow a horse (being both disappointed of having one as we expected from Hartfield and Francis Smith) of Jos. Fuller, Tho. Fuller, Will. Piper, Jos. Burges and Richard Bridgman; though I believe they had no other reason for not doing it but want of good nature and a little gratitude, but I make no doubt they will, some one or other of them, be so good-natured as in a little time to come: 'Do write this land tax, or window tax, book for us.' And then I always find good nature enough to write them and the same time to find them in beer, gin, pipes and tobacco whilst I are a-writing them. And then, poor ignorant wretches, they sneak away and

[23] See above, p. 9, note 9.

omit to pay for paper. But God bless them; and I'll think it proceeds more from ignorance than ill nature. After Fran. Smith and I had balanced accounts today, I gave him £2, which he is to pay in London for me. I sent our maid to hire a horse of Will. Sinden, who replied he had never a horse able to carry us (though I should not have sent, had not his man told me he had a very good double horse I could have) though he daily carries a man almost as heavy as us both, beside a sack of wheat. My wife then applied to John Watford, who hired us his horse. My brother came over to stand the shop for us in my absence (about 3 o'clock). And about 4 o'clock we set out on our journey for Hartfield where we arrived about 8.10. As we were a-riding along near to Hastingford, no more than a foot-pace, the horse stood still and continued kicking up until we was both off. Our fall happened to be in a very dirty hole, but, thanks be given to God, we received no hurt. My wife was obliged to go into Hastingford House to clean herself. Gave the woman of the house 6*d.* Called at Mr. Browne's at Withyham to know about hop-bagging, but he was not at home. But his man told me he had not as yet bought any. This day received of Jos. Fuller 1 neck of veal, weight 6½ lb. at 3*d.* per lb. My wife and I spent the even at my father Slater's. We dined off some rashers of pork and green salad.

Thurs. 24 June. . . . Paid John Streeter 6*d.* which was a wager I laid with him concerning a cricket and lost[24] . . .

Sun. 27 June. In the morn after breakfast I got up on one of Mr. Batchelor's horses and rode with him over to Summerford in order to try him. Stayed and drank one bottle of cider with Mr. Mills in company with Mr. Jackson, Abra. Spencer, Mr. Heywood and Mr. Batchelor. Came home again about 11 o'clock. Dined at my father Slater's on a roasted loin of veal and a plum pudding. After dinner my father Slater, Sam. Slater, Master Pain and myself, with Mr. Batchelor, went beyond Buckhurst to see another mare of Mr. Batchelor's, which we caught and brought to Hartfield, calling, as we came along, at Buckhurst and drank 2 or 3 mugs of beer. This mare I like very well and am to give 8 guineas for her and to send him word by the carrier whether I will have her or no. We drank tea at my father Slater's, and about 5.45 my wife and I came away. She gave the maid 12*d.*, and I the man 12*d.* Sam. Slater brought us on our road about 6 miles. We came home about 9.15, just before there came on a very great tempest, for we had not been at home above ½ an hour before it began to thunder and lighten at a prodigious rate. There also was a

[24] This reference to betting on cricket is not included in the article in *The Cricket Quarterly* referred to above, p. 9, note 9.

very great quantity of hail and rain fell, and it was also very windy. Our maid at home dined on the remains of yesterday's dinner. Received of my father Slater £3 16*s.* 4*d.* in full. He gave me, in the way of balancing accounts, about 20*s.*, but unknown to his wife, who I think is the very picture of ill nature, and to whom in a manner I may partly charge some of my misfortunes upon. For her temper is not unlike that of Xantippe, nor my father's far distant from that of Socrates.

Mon. 28 June. At home all day. In the morn Master Piper came along with: 'I have got a little job I want you to do.' And which I did, but the poor old wretch sneaked away without ever offering to pay for paper etc., though all of it together, to wit, paper, sealing-wax and thread, amounting to 1*d.* His business was for me to write a letter to send with his rent and for me to send it by the carrier, which I did, as also wrote a bill and a receipt for land tax to go with it. But for all this, were I only to ask the poor creature to lend me a horse, it would be: 'Pho! I've ne'er horse. There is Jack Vine has 2 or 3 that do nothing but run the streets', not thinking all the time that he had not worked his above a month. Well, God bless him, and so let him go with only this: that he must be very ungrateful or very ignorant . . . I also sent word to Mr. Batchelor that I intended to have his mare at £8 8*s.* 0*d.* and he should accordingly send it by Smith a-Friday, and which mare is to be kept in common between my mother and myself, both to be joint purchasers of the mare. My wife very bad.

Fri. 2 July. At home all day. Dr. Stone here in the morning. We dined on the remains of Monday's dinner with a butter pudding cake. After dinner our maid went over to Framfield. This day I received the horse from Mr. Batchelor of Hartfield and lent Master Darby in cash 10*s.* My brother here in the even but did not stay. Heard also of Elizabeth Elless's being with child.

Sat. 3 July. In the morn Mr. French and I went up to talk with Eliz. Elless, who acknowledged she was with child and not above 2 or 3 weeks more to go of her time. We asked her to inform us of the father, which she seemed very unwilling to do, but she agreed with us to go and swear her parish,[25] though we were almost confident she did belong to our parish, but thinking she might be persuaded to swear the father,[26] we concluded to carry her to Lewes and accordingly came

[25] To go before a magistrate and to declare on oath the parish in which she had last gained a legal settlement within the terms of the Poor Law. The conditions which it was necessary to fulfil before settlement could be gained in a parish other than that of one's birth are fully explained in *Tate*.

[26] To name the father on oath before a magistrate. See below, p. 50, note 31.

back to prepare for our journey. My brother being come over, I got him to stand the shop for me in my absence, which he agreed to. Then Mr. French and I went down to Mr. Porter's to get him to meet us as we were a-carrying my lady along and to talk to her to inform her of the reasonableness and justice of her either informing us who the father was or swearing it, which he promised to do. I then went home with Mr. French to get his horses and dined there on a piece of pork and greens and a beef pudding (my family at home dining on some fried veal and bacon). After dinner we set out for Lewes, Mr. French's servant, J. Shoesmith carrying her, and he and I rode single. Mr. Porter, according to his promise, met with her and talked to her very much but all to no purpose; so we proceeded on our journey. When we came to Lewes, had her examined, and being informed by Mr. Verral, the justice's clerk, she would belong to us, we did not have her sworn; and with all the persuasions Mr. Verral, Mr. French and myself were masters of could not prevail on her to confess the father, though I think we tried all ways to come to the knowledge of him. We came back again about 9 o'clock and spent 4*s.* 9½*d.* . . . to wit: At Turner's 3½*d.*, at Martin's 1*s.* 1½*d.*, at *The White Hart* 1*s.* 2*d.*, examination etc. 1*s.* 0*d.*, *do.* at Martin's 5*d.*, *do.* at Turner's 3½*d.*, Turnpike 6*d.*

Sun. 4 July. . . . About 3 o'clock my brother went to my uncle Hill's in order to get a horse to go with me to Cuckfield upon tomorrow . . .

Mon. 5 July. In the morn I was called up about 5.25 by Master Mugridge to inform me [he] had some wheat to dispose of, and I agreed for Sinden to look on it. About 5.50 I set out for Framfield on foot, but met my brother about the London Gate with a horse where I got on horseback and went and breakfasted at Framfield. After breakfast we set out for Cuckfield in order to treat with Mr. Hesman concerning hiring of his shop. We arrived at Cuckfield about 11 o'clock where we treated with Mr. Hesman and saw his stock, and he agreed to leave it immediately by appraisement or to cry a sale and keep on till St. Michael and then leave it by appraisement. But we agreed to consult within ourselves and let him know our minds in about 14 days' time. We dined at *The King's Head* on veal cutlets. We just called on Mr. Jos. Hills, and from Cuckfield we went to a fair at St. Joan's Common. From thence we came to Chailey and drank tea (meeting with Mr. Beard a-coming from the fair by accident). We came together as far as Uckfield where we parted, my brother going to Framfield, and I came home about 10.30. I spent about 4*s.* 6*d.* This day I received of my mother £4 4*s.* 0*d.* for her half part of the mare bought between us . . .

Weds. 7 July. At home all the morn . . . In the even Master Darby, myself and one of Master Rice's men went down and looked at Master Trill's house, and it seemed very much out of repair. I gave orders to have it repaired. Read some of Tillotson's work. Master Piper and Mr. French again come with: 'I wish you would write the land and window tax books for us.'

Thurs. 8 July. At home all day. Busy a-writing the land tax book. Dined on the remains of Sunday's dinner with the addition of an eel pie. Read some of *The History of England.* Finished writing the land tax book.

Fri. 9 July. In the morn wrote out one window tax book. About 9 o'clock Mr. French called me to go to Laughton with him in order to see a funeral there, to wit, the Hon. Lady Frances, dowager of Castlecomer,[27] sister to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and accordingly we went. She was brought to Halland about 11 o'clock, but not taken out of the hearse, and was interred in their family vault at Laughton about 1.30, and in the 69th year of her age. The pall was supported by the Hon. Col. Pelham, Sir Francis Poole, ---- Campion, Esq., T. Pelham, Esq., John Pelham, Esq., and Henry Pelham, Esq. The funeral service was read by the Bishop of Chichester. There were two mourning coaches, Mr. Pelham's and Col. Pelham's and the bishop's, but not so great a number of people as might be imagined. We called at the keeper's as we went as also went into Markwick's at the Pound both before and after the funeral. For Mr. French is that man who would willingly never be without a dram of gin in his hand. Oh, that mankind should be so abigated[28] to that baneful liquor, a liquor more surer to kill than even a cannon ball. We called at T. Jones's as we came home, but, however, I got home about 6 o'clock, and sober. After I came home, I dined on what my family left, to wit, a cold eel pie and batter pudding and cold bacon (but that I ate none of). Afterwards I finished writing out the land and window tax books, and in the even Mr. Elless and I walked up to John Vine the younger's to borrow his little horse to ride to the Wells[29] upon, but he was not at home, which was a good excuse for not lending me it . . .

Sat. 10 July. At home all the morn. Mr. French and I went with Gilbert the bell-hanger up in the steeple to see what was the matter

[27] The sister of Thomas, first Duke of Newcastle, and the widow of Christopher Wandesford, Viscount Castlecomer. She had died on 27 June.

[28] Turner seems here to have committed a malapropism. To abigate is to drive away. What he appears to have meant is 'addicted'.

[29] Tunbridge Wells.

with the great bell. We found the gudgeon broken. We accordingly agreed to give him for mending it 7*s.* 6*d.* and to pay Joseph Durrant for his work besides, and it must ensue as a natural consequence for Mr. French to go into Jones's, which we did where he spent 5*d.* and had most of the liquor to himself . . . After dinner my brother came to call me to go to Tunbridge Wells, and according about 4.30 we set out, he upon Mr. French's little horse and I upon my own. We called at my aunt Ovendean's at Boarshead and stayed about 30 minutes. We got to my brother's at the Wells about 7.30 and stayed and chatted with my brother until past ten, when we adjourned to *The Angel* and stayed there before we broke up till past 2, but all very sober. We should not have stayed so late had it not been for a little diversion we were partakers of, occasioned by some words happening between the gentleman of the house and his barkeeper, or whore,[30] or, I am pretty well assured, both. But what a surprising thing it is to think a man should suffer himself to be used in such a manner by an almost common jilt. My brother paid the whole reckoning. Moses and I lay at *The Angel* and *Crown*. I bought of Mr. Ed. Baker the 1st volume of *The Tatler* for T. Davy, which cost me 18*d.* and also Ainsworth's *Dictionary* for Mr. Fran. Elless, which cost me 12*s.*

Mon. 12 July. At home all the morn and very busy. My brother went home as soon as we had breakfasted. In the morn Mr. French and Mr. Piper came for the land and window tax books. As Mr. French has so often favoured me with a horse, I could not expect any gratuity from him. But as to poor old Piper, who never conferred a favour on me, he sneaked away with, 'Sir, I thank you', but forgot either to pay for the paper, which was 2*d.*, or so much as to say he should be glad to have an opportunity that he might have it in his power to serve me as far. Oh! thou black fiend, ingratitude. But what can one expect from a wretch who sets his whole delight in nothing but money and knows not the real use of it farther than it is conducive to the adding of store to store? . . .

Tues. 13 July. This day died Eliz. Elless, and immediately after she was dead, Mr. Adams told me Mr. French and I would be fined on account of her death. The reason was because we carried her before a justice and asked her to swear the father.[31]

[30] Turner, even in his private diary, found it necessary to write this word 'w---e'.

[31] Had Turner and French taken Elizabeth Elless before a magistrate on 3 July, as they had originally intended, and had her questioned as to her pregnancy, they would have been breaking the law. The statute 6 George II, c. 31 forbade such action until one month after an illegitimate child was born. However, Adams's threat was an empty one, since Turner and French had eventually decided that there was little point in getting her to swear the father. See above, p. 48.

Weds. 14 July. At home all the forenoon. Paid Jos. Fuller for a bullock's heart 1½*d.* We dined on the heart baked in the oven and stuffed and a pudding under it. About 4 o'clock Mr. Porter came to me and told me he thought it was the parish's duty to examine into the death of this poor creature who died yesterday, and have her opened. For there was, according to all circumstances, room to suspect she or some other person had administered something to deprive herself or child of life. For they had agreed with a nurse to come a-Monday, which she accordingly did, and was agreed with for only a week, and a person an entire stranger. Now this creature was very well all the day a-Monday and baked. And after she had taken the bread out of the oven, she took a walk and returned about 8 o'clock. And about 10 o'clock, or between 9 and 10, she was taken with a violent vomiting and purging and continued so all night until Tuesday, 5 o'clock, at which time she expired. And the latter part of her time she was convulsed, and if asked where in pain, she would answer 'All over.' Now what was very remarkable, she had not above 2 or 3 days more but her time as to child-bearing was expired. And during all the time of her sickness she never had any pangs or throes like labour, nor no external symptoms whatever, and complained of great heat, and was afflicted with an uncommon drought. And what more increased our suspicion was as Mr. John Vine's two men and apprentice was a-coming home from work a-Monday night, they saw Peter Adams's horse stand tied up at a pair of bars which lead into a very remote and obscure place in a wood, and upon which they immediately concluded to see whether he was alone and accordingly placed the boy at or near the bars whilst they went into the wood. Before they had went far, they saw Mr. Adams, who made directly for the bars where the boy see him get on his horse and ride off. And as the men also knew him, they went forward, but not far, before they found where two people had stood and also two places where people had lain down. They then agreed to separate and endeavour to find out his partner, and one of them had walked but a little way before he see this unhappy creature, with whom he shook hands and talked to. And afterwards they all three see her together. This the men offer to swear before any magistrate. And as the affair has occasioned much talk, it led Mr. Vine the elder to see if there was anything in what they said as to there being a place as if people had lain down, where he found two as they described and also found a horse had been tied up at the bars. They were also seen on Saturday night by another person, conversing over a pair of bars, he on horseback, leaning over his horse's neck, and she a-leaning over the bars. And

during the whole time of her illness they never sent for any midwife or apothecary, nor did not call in any neighbours till near noon on Tuesday, and then only 2 or 3 simple creatures. And he, Peter Adams, were with her a great part of the day on Tuesday until she became speechless, and then shook hands with her and parted. And for a great while past they have been as conversant and familiar as if they were lovers though he was a married man. To do him justice he has had one child before by another woman, and his wife, poor woman, is now big with child. Upon this suspicion we went down to Mr. Jer. French's to consult him, whom we found of the same opinion. From there we went to Mr. Coates to consult him where we found him already very strong in the same opinion. And we all agreed to have her opened in order if possible to discover whether she or any one else had administered anything to deprive her or the child of life. We stayed and drank a mug of beer and all came away together, Mr. French going home and Mr. Porter and I came up the street, it being then about 6 o'clock. Mr. Porter lent me a horse upon which I immediately set out for Luke Spence's Esq., to ask his advice and which way to proceed, but he not being at home, I went forward to John Bridger Esq. and very luckily met him a-walking in his garden near Offham. He told me he thought it was our duty and also very proper to have her opened, and as she was an inhabitant of the parish, her friends nor no other person could prevent our doing it. I then went to Lewes to get Dr. Snelling to perform the operation, and whom I found at T. Scrase's. But he told me if there should be anything found in the midwifery, he could not report it; so it would be proper to have a man midwife to assist him, and on that account I did not agree with him to come until such time as I had again consulted the parish. I saw Mr. Tucker at T. Scrase's, who informed me that at Windsor Fair wool sold for no more than 6*d.* per lb, which he said was about of equal goodness with our common wool, but not so clear from filth; and lamb wool was from 5½*d.* to 6*d.*; and farther added that Mr. Tho. Friend's orders out of Yorkshire were all stopped. I stayed at Mr. Scrase's while my horse was a-baiting and drank one mug of mild ale between Mr. Tucker and Scrase and myself. I came home just at 10 o'clock. It lightened very much all the way I came home at times. I went directly to Mr. Porter's to consult him again in the affair. He seemed to blame me a little for not getting Dr. Davy, or some other man midwife; but however, we agreed that I should set out early tomorrow morning in order to get Snelling and Davy both to come along with me as early as possible. I then went to Joseph Fuller's and borrowed a horse to go upon tomorrow (who I found all in bed, and who I called, and they accordingly promised me I

should have one). I came to my own house about 11 o'clock . . .

Thurs. 15 July. About 4 o'clock in the morn I rose and went down to Jos. Fuller's and called up Jo., T., and R. Fuller and got their horse and set out about 5 o'clock and called at Whyly to inform Mr. French of our intentions (whom I found abed) but called him up; and as Mrs. French was just going to breakfast, I stayed and breakfasted with them. I got to Lewes about 6.20 where I called up Mr. Davy as also Mr. Snelling. I borrowed of Mr. Snelling in cash £7 4*s.* 0*d.* I also left with Mr. Tho. Scrase, who I called up, £6 15*s.* 0*d.* which he was to pay to Mr. Geo. Kemp, and take up a bill which he had of the same value, drawn on me by Mr. Richd. Waite, which bill he was to send me by the post. Mr. Snelling, Mr. Davy and myself came to Mr. Porter's about 10 o'clock, where we went in and stayed just the time of eating a bit of bread and drinking a glass of wine. We came up to my house where we provided ourselves with all things necessary for the operation, to wit, a bottle of wine and another of brandy and aprons and napkins, together with a quantity of fragrant herbs such as mint, savory, marjoram, balm, pennyroyal, roses etc., and threaded all the needles. We then proceeded to the house when we duly examined the nurse, who confirmed all we had heard before, with the addition that it was such a case as she never saw before and that she was fearful all was not right. The doctors then proceeded to the operation after they had dressed themselves and opened their instruments. They first made a cut from the bottom of the thorax to the os pubis and then two more across at the top of the abdomen as:

The operation was performed in mine and the nurse's presence. They also opened the uterus where they found a perfect fine female child, which lay in the right position and would, as they imagined, have been born in about 48 hours. And as the membranes were all entirely whole, and the womb full of the water common on such occasions, there was convincing proof she never were in travail. The ilea were all very much inflamed, as was also the duodenum, but they both declared they could see no room to suspect poison. But if anything else had been administered, it had been carried off by her violent vomiting and purging (though they said circumstances looked very dark and all corroborated together to give room for suspicion). We came back to my house about 1 o'clock, and Mr. Snelling and Mr. Davy went to

Mr. Porter's. The doctors both allowed this poor unhappy creature's death to proceed from a bilious colic (so far as they could judge). After dinner they both came up to our house when I paid Dr. Snelling the £7 4*s.* 0*d.* I borrowed of him in the morn and also gave each of the gentlemen one guinea for their trouble . . .

Sat. 17 July. In the morn after breakfast went down to Mr. French's to get him to bring me from Lewes ½ oz. cauliflower seed, and when I came there, I found Mr. French, his servants, and Tho. Fuller a-catching of rats; so I stayed and assisted them about 3 hours, and we caught near 20. The method of catching them was by pouring of water into their burrows, which occasioned them immediately to come out, when either the dogs took them or [we] killed them with our sticks. Just as we had done, Mr. John Vine came in. We stayed about ½ an hour and came all away together, Mr. Vine and T. Fuller coming round by our house and only for the sake of a dram. What a surprising thing it is that a man of Mr. Vine's sense and capacity should so much give way to the unruly dictates of a sensual appetite. Mr. Vine, as we came along from Mr. French's was making several observations with regard to good economy in husbandry. To wit, he said that man who went the road a-timber-carrying etc. never hurt his horses if he did not overload them, and he very plainly demonstrated that going with a light load turned out most to the master's advantage in time, and therefore he must of consequence get more money by light loading than heavy. He also observed that the only way to eradicate the weed vulgarly called 'kilk'[32] out of the ground was by pulling it up, for was it once permitted to stand to seed, it would be difficult to get it out of the ground because every time it was ploughed, and the seed turned up to the surface of the ground, it would then grow. He said he had been credibly informed by gardeners that the seed would lie in the ground 50 years, which he in some respect confirmed by the following instance of his own observation, to wit, he sowed a border in one part of his garden with lettuce, some of which he let stand and seed, but never tilled the border nor did anything to it for 3 years, nor all the time had any appearance of any young lettuces, as might justly have been expected to spring from the seed that must consequently have shed itself. But at the expiration of 3 years when they came to till the border again, they had as fine a crop of lettuces as if the border had that year been sown with new seed. He also observed that ground designed to sow wheat on, if it be laid up fallow and exposed to the summer sun and well stirred, it will mend more than a coat of lime and the best

[32] Charlock.

method that can be taken to destroy weeds . . . After dinner I went down to Messrs. Merrick's and Rothfield's for some scythes which were brought from Lewes and left there for me.

Sun. 18 July. . . . After churchtime my wife and I went up to Mr. Jos. Burges's and drank tea there and stayed till between 9 and 10. But I think I never saw children humoured more to their ruin than theirs, Mrs. Virgoe's excepted. I this day heard of the loss of Fort St. Philip and the whole Island of Minorca after being possessed by the English nation 47 years and after being defended 10 weeks and 1 day (to wit, from the 18th of April to the 28th of June) by that truly brave and heroic man General Blakeney, and at last was obliged to surrender for want of provision and ammunition. No man, I think, can deserve a brighter character in the annals of fame than this. But, oh, he were, as one may justly say, abandoned by his country, who never sent him any succours. Never did the English nation suffer a greater blot than in this affair, nor, I doubt, a greater blow. Oh, my country, my country! Oh, Albion, Albion! I doubt thou art tottering on the brink of ruin and desolation.[33] This day Tho. Roase and Catherine Clarke were out asked.

Thurs. 22 July. . . . Mr. F. Elless and I walked down to the Nursery. My business was to get some money of Edmund Elphick, but could not. Never, never was money so scarce as now. We came home about 8 o'clock. As we went along, we laid 1 lb. of gingerbread concerning the length of the church field footway. I laid it were 38 rods, and he that it was not. So accordingly as we came home, we measured it and found it to be 39 rod and 3 feet, so that I won this great but innocent wager, and a far more prudent one than had it been £100. This day Mr. Porter's daughter was baptized by the name of Elizabeth.

Fri. 23 July. In the morn Mr. French and the keeper drawed the pond before our door and made us a present of a brace of carp. Afterwards we went down to the church to take Peter Adams's bond out of the chest in the church to ask Mr. Poole's advice on it, who is at Mr. Porter's. We went into Jones's and spent 5*d.* apiece. Dined on a piece of pork and peas with a baked beggar's pudding.[34] After dinner went down to Mr. Porter's to ask Mr. Poole's opinion on the bond, who says without the order he could do nothing, but we must execute the bond against him. Afterward searched the church chest to find the

[33] The loss of Minorca to the French early in the Seven Years' War was greeted as a national disaster. Turner's diary reflects both the nation's mood and also its admiration for General William Blakeney, the eighty-four-year-old defender of the island, who was said not to have gone to bed throughout the entire 70-day siege.

[34] Perhaps the pudding made with bacon which elsewhere in the country is called Badger pudding. See Lizzie Boyd ed., *British cookery* (1976), p. 309.

order but could not. My brother came over in the afternoon and stayed and drank tea with us. In the even I went up to Mr. Piper's to ask him after the order where I found about half of it. Came home about 8.25. I gave my brother the best of the 2 carp.

Sat. 24 July. After breakfast went down to Mr. Porter's to have Mr. Poole's advice again upon the bond. What I wanted to know was how to proceed against Peter Adams in [this] affair. He, the said Peter Adams, had a female bastard child by Ann Caine, now the wife of Thomas Ling, and as security to the parish for the said child that it should not become chargeable, he gave the said parish a bond, dated 4 April 1752, wherein he binds himself, his heirs, executors and administrators to pay the churchwarden and overseer of the parish for the time being the sum of 18*d.* a week and every week from the birth of the child for so long time as the said child shall continue to be chargeable to the parish. Now during the 14 last months of Jos. Fuller's being overseer, he (Fuller) paid the said woman the 18*d.* per week for keeping the child, but as yet hath not been paid it again, and when I first came into office, I asked Mr. Adams about it, and he seemed to make use of a great many quibbling expressions concerning paying it. But after 2 months had been elapsed and he often asked about it, he at last told me I should pay it and he would soon pay me again. But now there is almost 2 months more past and mine is not paid; and Ling and his wife continually harassing me for the money, I have again mentioned it to Mr. Adams and told him I would pay no more and that he must pay it soon, upon which he told me it was my business to pay it. Mr. Poole gave me a summons to oblige Adams to appear before him at *The White Hart* at Lewes a-Saturday next to give his reasons for not paying; and then if he could give no reason for not paying and could not be brought to do it by the justices, we must then immediately execute the bond against him and sue him for the same. I gave Mr. Poole's servant 12*d.* for the summons . . . In the even talked to Peter Adams again who still quibbles on but will not absolutely deny paying it.[35]

[35] The East Hoathly parish officials had got themselves into a muddle. Evidently when Adams had admitted being the father of Ann Caine's bastard child in 1752, they had obtained an order from the justices obliging Adams to pay for the child's upkeep; they had then, as they thought, insured this order by making Adams enter into a bond to pay 18*d.* a week for as long as the child remained a charge on the parish. The taking of this bond had, by 6 George II, c. 31, rendered the justices' order unenforceable, and in order to extract payment the parish officers would have had to sue Adams on the bond at common law. Richard Burn in *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer* (*sub* bastards) advised churchwardens on just this point: 'the taking of a bond in any kind seemeth not so convenient for the parish, as an order made by the justices; because the suing upon a bond is both tedious and expensive, whereas the course of carrying of an order into execution is very short and easy. But then, on the other hand, a bond will bind a man's executors; but the order of the justices being obligatory only upon the man himself, when he dies, the order dieth with him'. Turner had a copy of Burn's book and appears to have consulted it by 29 July, but it had only been published in the previous year: the mistake had been made three years before that.

Sun. 25 July. . . . This day I had a sailor at the door who asked charity (and whom I relieved), who could speak 7 tongues . . .

Mon. 26 July. Paid Joseph Fuller for 1 loin of lamb, 2½ lb. at 3½*d.*, 8½*d.* My brother came over in the forenoon. I also went down to Mr. French's to take the measure of Sam for a hat. Paid Dame Trill 3*s.* in full for keeping Ann Brazer, due this day. We dined on a roasted loin of lamb and cauliflower with remains of yesterday's dinner. My Dame Trill complained that the 4*s.* a month allowed them was not enough; so I made her an offer to give her 5*s.* this month, and for it to be continued. But she would not accept of it and said she would have more or none. In the afternoon, wrote out Mr. John Vine's bills. This day received of Mr. Fran. Elless 12*s.* for the dictionary I bought for him at the Wells[36] the 11th instant. Also received of him 15*s.* 9½*d.* in full on account except the forms, tables etc. This night our servant sat up with Joseph Mepham. Read part of Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio*. This day gave Dame Dan a pair of stock and hand cards on the parish account.

Weds. 28 July. In the morning my brother came over . . . After breakfast I went over to Framfield with my brother to borrow some 6*d.* sugar. Came back again about 11.10 and brought my brother John's little boy home with me[37] . . .

Thurs. 29 July. In the morn paid the gardener at Halland 8*d.* for 1 gallon of currants for myself and 1 hundred of walnuts for my mother. We dined on a piece of pork and beans. Yesterday I see Peter Adams and asked him again for the money which is due from him to me and Ann Caine for her keeping the child which she had by him, but could not get it. In the even I went down to Mr. Porter's to consult him about it, and who is altogether for my serving the summons upon him, but I must think that is a wrong way of proceeding. For as he gave the parish a bond, we can have nothing to do with a justice in the affair because the bond must I think make their order (if we really had a whole one) invalid. So proceeding in this manner will subject us to his ridicule and

[36] Tunbridge Wells.

[37] The boy stayed with Turner until 11 January 1757, and returned to stay intermittently thereafter.

be expending the parish's money to no purpose. Now I think the only way to act would be to empower an attorney to give him a letter, and if he did not pay it on receiving that, for him then to execute the bond against him and to sue him until such time as he should either pay it, or we could carry him to gaol, unless he could give bail . . . In the evening about 7 o'clock went down to Mr. French's as agreed, from whence we went to Halland in order to have Mr. Coates's opinion on this affair, who says our best way will be to serve the summons, and then the justices will oblige him either to pay it or, he thinks, commit him to the house of correction. But, oh, those are all vain and chimerical notions formed in the brain by ignorance! For by an Act of the 6th of George II it says if a bond is made subsequent to an order, it invalidates the same, and we must sue him at common law for the same.[38] But however, Mr. French and I agreed at their request to serve the summons upon him tomorrow. Came home about 9 o'clock. Mr. Coates informed us that Admiral Byng was arrived at Spithead where he was under an arrest for cowardice and misbehaviour in the Mediterranean relating to the losing of the Isle of Minorca.[39]

Fri. 30 July. In the morning Mr. Jer. French came to call me in order to go and execute our summons and went to call Joseph Fuller in order to get him to go as a witness for us that we actually did serve him with the summons. As we were a-going to Peter Adams, we were so fortunate as to meet him not far from Master Potter's, where after some talk and persuasions for him to consider and not give us trouble and put himself to an unnecessary expense, I served the summons on him. He seemed a little surprised at the sight of it and actually did behave better than I expected and promised to see us again tonight or tomorrow morn. I came home and found Mr. Roase at our house, who stayed and breakfasted with us, but went away directly afterward . . . I then rode over to Framfield to borrow some more sugar of my mother and also carried her walnuts. I received for them 2*d.* and ½ gallon of black currants. Came home and dined on a piece of bacon and beans . . .

Sat. 31 July. Mr. French and I in the morn hearing that Richd. Hope's servant was with child went up and talked to her about it, as

[38] See above, p. 56, note 35.

[39] Admiral John Byng was made the scapegoat for the loss of Minorca. He arrived at Spithead on 26 July and remained there under arrest until court-martialled. The court sat from 28 Dec. to 27 Jan. 1757 and found him guilty of neglecting his duty in not doing his utmost to destroy the French fleet and relieve Minorca. He was sentenced to death and was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque* in Portsmouth harbour on 14 March 1757. A fierce pamphlet warfare raged on the question of his culpability.

also to her master and mistress concerning her being a parishioner by living in their service. To the first of which the poor ignorant creature answered she hoped she was not with child, though 'twas true, she said, she had deserved for it more than once or twice. But however I am very doubtful there is reason to suspect she is with child. We then talked to her mistress (her master not being at home) about her settlement, who says they agreed with her from about 1 July 1755 to new Lady Day 1756, after the rate of 35*s.* per year, and at the expiration of which time they agreed with her from Lady Day 1756 to Lady Day 1757 after the rate of 30*s.* per year. As we came home, we met with Richd. Hope who confirmed all his wife had told us before. About 12 o'clock Mr. French and I went to Lewes in order to meet Peter Adams according to his summons, but he never came, and the justices, to wit, John Bridger and William Poole told us the order was made invalid by accepting of his bond and we must sue him on the bond at common law. Mr. Verral, Mr. Plumer and Mr. Aldersey told us the same, the last of which wrote us a letter to Peter Adams. We also asked of their worships (as Mr. French called them) concerning where the poor girl belonged to, who all assured us to our parish. Mr. French and I dined at *The White Hart* on a piece of boiled beef and greens, a breast of veal roasted and a butter pudding cake . . .

Weds. 4 Aug. . . . About 12 o'clock Peter Adams called on me to go with him to Ringmer in order to see the people who were eye-witnesses of his abuse a-Whitsun Tuesday, which I accordingly did. We found James Carter, John Mitchel, David Tippings and Dorothy Presnal, all eyewitnesses of his and my abuse, which they say was very great and, in their opinion, insufferable. We called at John Martin's, Wm. Dicker's, T. Peckham's and Fran. Turner's. I spent 12*d.* Mr. Adams (though I went in a manner purely to oblige him) could not agree very well for going out in a hurry. I went without any money in my pockets and upon that account got him to pay 3*d.* for me, upon which he very tauntingly asked me whether my wife would not let me carry any money in my pockets for fear I should either lend him some or pay some for him. So one word rose to another until I fairly brought him under . . .

Sat. 7 Aug. At home all the morn. My brother dined at our house on beans and pork. After dinner he and I set out for Lewes, both on one horse. My business was to borrow £40 of Mr. Rideout on my mother's account, but could not. Drank tea at Mr. Hook's. I was in company with my uncle Hill at *The White Horse* where he informed me that Mr. Geo. Beard and his wife intended to come and dine with me

tomorrow. As Mr. Hill, Mr. John Fuller, Mr. Atkins and myself sat a-drinking, Mr. Hill and John Fuller laid the following bet, to wit, provided John Fuller is not married before Xmas next, he is to give Mr. Hill a fore-quarter of beef weighing 20 stone. And if he is married before Xmas next, then Mr. Hill is to give Mr. Fuller £4 for a fore-quarter of beef of 20 stone[40] . . .

Sun. 8 Aug. . . . Just before churchtime my mother and brother and Mr. Beard and his wife came in, and they with myself and nephew went to church . . . They all dined at our house on 2 roasted ducks (of our own breed), a piece of bacon, a leg of mutton, cauliflowers and carrots, with a currant pond pudding boiled . . .

Tues. 10 Aug. . . . I yesterday and today endeavoured to borrow some bottles of Mr. Atkins and Mrs. Fuller, as also Mr. Porter, but they could not lend me any though I have lent them some several times. Oh, ingratitude, thou blackest of fiends!

Thurs. 12 Aug. In the morn Mr. Jeremiah French and myself signed a certificate for Edward and Mary Gibbs to the Parish of Wittersham in the Isle of Oxney in the County of Kent, and it was attested by Thomas Prall and John Streeter. It was dated the 10th of August, and Streeter carried it with him to Lewes to have it signed[41] . . .

Sat. 14 Aug. . . . Paid James Fieldcox of Battle £1 2*s.* 6*d.* in full for the goods this day received from him: 2 doz women's pattens 18*s.* 0*d.*; 1 doz. *do.* clogs 4*s.* 6*d.* . . . About 3 o'clock my brother Moses came over to stand the shop for me whilst my wife and I went to the Wells. Accordingly about 3.05 my wife and I set out for Tunbridge Wells in company with Tho. Davy. We called at my Aunt Ovendean's at Boarshead and stayed about 30 minutes. We got to the Wells about 6.50. We drank tea at my brother's and then took a walk about the Wells. Saw Edward Smith. My wife lodged at my brother's and I and T. Davy at *The Angel*. We went to bed about 11 o'clock. My brother stayed all night. Received by Streeter the certificate sent by him a-Thursday, which is signed by J. Bridger and T. Fuller.

Sun. 15 Aug. In the morn we got up about 5 o'clock and

[40] £4 for a 20-stone fore-quarter would have been about twice its value.

[41] French and Turner were here issuing a certificate, which had been asked for by the parish in Kent to which Edward and Mary Gibbs had moved, acknowledging that their last legal place of settlement was East Hoathly. Thus if the Gibbses subsequently became a charge on the rates of the parish into which they were moving, and had not fulfilled any of the conditions necessary to gain a settlement there, they could be sent back to East Hoathly. The certificate, called a Settlement Certificate, was issued on a printed form and needed the counter-signature of two justices. One of the witnesses (in this case Streeter) was required to swear before the justices that he had seen the parish officers sign the document. A settlement certificate is shown as Plate 6.

breakfasted at my brother's. And then my wife, Sally, T. Davy and myself set out for the camp on Cox Heath where we arrived about 11 o'clock, just as they were all got to their devotions, to wit, 12 congregations and 1000 in each congregation. They seemed to be very attentive at their devotion, and minister seemed to have a fine delivery. I think the camp as fine a sight as I ever see.[42] We went from the camp to Maidstone where we dined at *The Bird-in-Hand*, together with many more, on a piece of fine boiled beef, carrots, and cabbage and a fore-quarter of lamb roasted and French beans. We stayed till about 3 o'clock, and came home by the camp and got to the Wells about 9 o'clock . . .

Mon. 16 Aug. . . . We came away about 3 o'clock, and called at my Aunt Ovendean's, drank tea and came home about 8.35 . . . Bought at the Wells Locke *On Human Understanding* which cost me 4*s.* 6*d.*, and Mead *On Poisons* which cost me 4*s.*, but did not bring them away because he was to send them me by the news man.

Thurs. 19 Aug. . . . After breakfast went to Mr. Dicker's for to receive a small bill (along with Robt. Hook), but did not get it. From thence we went to a cricket match played on Cliffe Hill between the Parish of Mayfield and an eleven pretended to be chosen out of the whole county—but it were only to draw people together. Mayfield went in first and got 78 runs. The pretended county eleven got 55. Then Mayfield went in and got 73, and the county men got about 10 and 3 wickets down, when their time expired.[43] See Mr. Beard, who told me I could not have above 1 or 2 at the most of the 4 pieces of hop-bagging I bought of him the 20th of June. Oh, scandalous! . . .

Fri. 20 Aug. . . . Oh, how dull is trade, and how very scarce is money! Never did I know so bad a time before. To think how much I have due to me and cannot get in! What shall I do? Work I cannot, and honest I always will be if the Almighty will give me grace. I that used at this time of year to take £15 or £20 a week, and sometimes £25 or £30, now seldom take above £5 or £10. To what can I attribute this loss in trade? I sell my goods as cheap as ever I did and buy them as well, so far as I can judge; and my design is to use my customers with as good manners as I ever did. And I do my utmost endeavour, so far as I know

[42] Previous editors have regarded this gathering as a church parade of 12,000 troops; and, indeed, Coxheath near Maidstone in Kent was the principal training ground for the military in the second half of the eighteenth century. See C. Herbert, 'Coxheath camp 1778–1779', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 45 (1967), pp. 129–48. Turner's somewhat cryptic entry, however, makes this assembly sound more like a huge Methodist field-meeting.

[43] See above, p. 9, note 9.

to do it, but trade in all places, and more particularly in a country place, is very precarious. For I observe trade has declined ever since I have been married, but why I know not . . . This day the King's Plate was run for on Lewes Downs when only Mr. Martindale's horse *Adolphus* started for the same. Afterwards there were several hacks started for a saddle.

Sat. 21 Aug. In the morn about 8 o'clock I was sent for down to Mr. Porter's to be a witness to something, but what I do not know. (But I conjecture it to be articles of agreement between Mr. Porter and some other for the sale of a farm of Mr. Porter's lying in Essex, and now in the occupation of Tho. Wright). Mr. Porter signed one paper, and the gentleman's name that signed the other was, I think, John Benison. He was dressed in a band, and had a gown or cassock on and seemed as if he belonged to some college or hospital. Miss Dinah Binge and myself witnessed both the papers . . . This day the subscription purse of £50 was run for on Lewes Downs when there was only 2 started for the same; *viz.*, Lord Craven's bay mare *Princess Mary*, and Mr. Howe's chestnut horse, which was won by the mare with ease, there being only two heats, though the odds at starting were 12 to 10 on the horse.

Sun. 22 Aug. . . . After churchtime went down to Mr. Sam. Gibbs's (I being sent for), they having this day lost their youngest child. They wanted to know if I had any shrouds small enough. I drank tea there in company with Mrs. Fuller, Mrs. Gibbs, and Mrs. Thunder . . .

Mon. 23 Aug. . . . In the afternoon very bad with tooth-ache. Read the newspaper wherein I find the nation is all in a ferment upon the account of losing dear Minorca. A remarkable wet day. In the even put up about 60 papers of tobacco.

Thurs. 26 Aug. In the morn went to Mr. Peckham's to weigh his wool which I bought of him the 2nd of August for my mother. Accordingly I weighed and packed it, my brother coming there to me. There was 165 fleeces which weighed 13 tod 24 lbs,[44] which at the price agreed for (to wit, 20*s.* per tod) amounted to £13 15*s.* 0*d.*, and which sum of money my brother went and brought from my mother's, and I accordingly paid it to Mr. Peckham and took his receipt in full of all demands from my mother. Mr. Peckham gave me 12*d.* for a packing fleece and which my brother and I divided between us . . .

Mon. 30 Aug. . . . About 11.20 Tho. Fuller and I set out in order to see a cricket match at Mayfield, *viz.*, Mayfield against the county (or the pretended county), but there was not time to play it out. The

[44] The tod was equal to 32 lbs. See above p. 15, note 22.

county got the first innings 52, and Mayfield headed them 18. Then with 4 of the county out in the 2nd innings, and that 18 got, and 14 ahead of Mayfield when they left off.[45] I won 6*d.* and spent 12*d.* We came home to T. Fuller's about 10 o'clock, sober. But before I could get home I was a little high, which proceeded from what I drank there . . .

Sat. 11 Sept. . . . In the afternoon my brother came over to bring the mare for my wife and I to go to Chailey upon tomorrow, but did not stop . . .

Sun. 12 Sept. . . . In the morn about 5.20 my wife and I set out on our intended journey and went to Framfield . . . We got to Chailey about 9.05. We breakfasted at Mr. Beard's and went to church there . . . My wife, my brother, and myself dined at Mr. Beard's in company with a man and woman (whom, I understood, came from Lindfield) on a piece of bacon boiled and turned, cabbage, a piece of beef roasted, plum suet pudding, horse radish and cucumbers . . . We got home about 9 o'clock, and very sober. I paid Mr. George Beard 20*s.* in full for a piece of poking (hop-bagging) received from him the 4th instant . . . I think Mr. Beard is very happily situated with regard to trade, but I doubt not very much so in his wife. But, as he got to bed to her beforehand, he must be said to have done very justly in marrying of her.

Mon. 13 Sept. At home all the morn. About 11.30 I went to Mayfield in order to see a cricket match, viz., Lindfield against Mayfield. When I came to Mayfield, there were four of Lindfield out, but Lindfield got 52 runs the first innings and Mayfield 48, which made Lindfield 4 ahead. Lindfield got 31 the second innings, which made them 35 ahead of Mayfield, who went in and got them with only one wicket up. I came home about 6.50. I paid for the standing of my horse 2*d.*, which was all I spent, for I neither ate nor drunk while I was gone, nor nothing before I went but dry bread and cocoa, tea and some coffee mixed . . . My opinion concerning the game was that Lindfield kept the field best and batted best in general, but could not bowl. And what is remarkable, they was all tradesmen, and but one above 25 years of age, and I think eleven of very civil men.[46]

Tues. 14 Sept. . . . Sent to Messrs. Barlow and Wigginton to buy me two sixteenths of two lottery tickets.

Weds. 15 Sept. . . . Bought of a man who called at the door, and

[45] The grammar of this entry is not obvious, but the meaning is clear. See above, p. 9, note 9.

[46] See above p. 9, note 9.

whom I took to be a Jew, 3 doz. lead pencils, for which I gave him 2*s.* 7½*d.* . . . About 5 o'clock Mr. Elless and I walked down to Laughton to inquire after a dozen of scythes I had left at Gurr's which I found there, and also to see the church which is now an-ornamenting . . .

Sat. 18 Sept. . . . Received from Barlow and Wigginton 1/16th part of 2 lottery tickets which they bought for me, and for which I am to send them 32*s.*, viz. 16*s.* for each 16th share[47] . . .

Mon. 20 Sept. In the morn my brother Moses and Mr. Will. Bennett called on me in their way to Lewes, but did not stay . . . We dined on the remains of yesterday's dinner. Wrote a letter for Mr. Will. Piper to Mr. Geo. Tomlin with 2 pockets of hops marked 'W.P., No. 1, 2.' Also wrote another for Mr. James Hutson to Mr. Geo. Tomlin with 1 pocket of hops marked 'J.H., No. 3;' and also a letter for Mr. Jer. French to Messrs. Swanson and Hedges with 1 pocket of hops, marked 'J.F., No. 3.' In the even Mr. Porter's hoppers bought their pole-pullers' neckcloth.[48]

Thurs. 23 Sept. . . . This day there was a cricket match played on the common, *viz.*, between the tradesmen and farmers of our parish which was won with great ease by the latter.[49] In the even Halland hop-pickers bought their pole-pullers' neckcloth and, poor wretches, many of 'em very unsensible . . .

Sun. 26 Sept. In the morn my wife and self went to church, and soon after we was at church, my brother Moses and sister Sally came to us . . . Surely, as we expected my brother and sister, nothing could be more rude than for not one of us to stay at home besides a servant. But, however, their good nature overlooked it and they came home and dined with us on 2 roast ducks and gravy sauce, a piece of beef boiled with turnips and carrots and a suet plum pudding. My whole family at church in the afternoon, and also my brother and sister . . . My brother and sister stayed and drank tea with us and went away about 6 o'clock. About 9 in the evening we were all alarmed by a drunken travelling woman, swearing and rolling about the street. In the evening read 3 of Tillotson's sermons.

Mon. 27 Sept. . . . Just before dinner my father and mother Slater,

[47] See below, p. 115, note 43.

[48] Hop-picking or hopping attracted a large number of migrant workers in September. The pole-puller held a key position in the work. He cut the hop-bines and lifted the supporting poles out of the ground in order to bring them low enough to be stripped by the pickers. It was necessary that he should stand out in the hop-gardens and he therefore wore a brightly-coloured neck-cloth. For hop-picking see George Sturt, *A small boy in the sixties* (Cambridge, 1927), Ch. VII.

[49] See above, p. 9, note 9.

Mrs. Elliot and son, came in and dined with us on the remains of yesterday's dinner. Soon after dinner Mrs. Elliot and her son went for Hailsham, and I, out of complaisance to my father Slater walked with him to Eason's Green to see a cricket match, *viz.*, Lindfield against Framfield and Maresfield which was not played out but was like to be won with great ease by Lindfield, they most often running out designedly or striking up their wickets the second innings[50] . . .

Mon. 4 Oct. This day Thomas Roase and Catherine Clarke were married at our church and are, I believe, an old maid and an old bachelor . . .

Tues. 5 Oct. . . . My brother came over in the forenoon for the mare and for a basket [of] bullace. Received of him 16*s.* for his share of the 2 shares of the 2 lottery tickets I bought. Will. Burrage at work for me in the forenoon a-picking up of apples etc. . . . In the morn wrote out about ¾*d.* worth of paper in land tax receipts for Mr. Piper and Mr. French, but they neither paid for the paper nor thanked me for my trouble. But there, I'll suppose it was want of knowing better. Paid my brother 2*s.* for a Bible I had of my mother a-Sunday.

Fri. 8 Oct. . . . In the even read one of Tillotson's sermons and which I think a very good one. Oh! may the God of all goodness give me the grace to mind what I read, that the same may sink deep into my heart and mind, and that I may every day become a better Christian. Oh! how weak and feeble are my best resolutions . . . Daily and hourly do I sin, my own righteousness being but filthy rags . . . and may the God of all goodness pour into my heart his holy spirit that I may live by faith and not rely on my own works, which are vain, and that I may work out my salvation with fear and trembling.

Sun. 10 Oct. In the morn Dr. Snelling came and ate some breakfast with us and afterwards opened one of the capillary arteries of my temple for the benefit of my eyes. I asked several people to assist Mr. Snelling in doing it, but could get none till I asked Dame Durrant, who assisted in doing it. The artery lying deep, the operation was obliged to be performed with a dissecting knife. The first cut did not hurt greatly, but the incision not being big enough at the 1st cut, he was obliged to cut a second time, which hurt me very much. Mr. Snelling did not stay, but went away very soon. Only our maid at church in the forenoon, who stayed the communion. My wife very ill . . .

Mon. 11 Oct. . . . After breakfast borrowed a horse of Joseph Fuller to ride to Lewes upon to have my temple dressed. I got there about

[50] See above, p. 9, note 9.

12 o'clock, where I found Mr. John Snelling in bed, who arose and dressed my temple with a pea in the same nature as an issue, and did, in a manner, ask me to dine with him, but his behaviour was such as gave my imperious temper disgust, so I did not dine with him, but went and spent an hour or two at *The White Horse* with Mr. Tucker. I came home about 6 o'clock, and, with eating nothing all day and drinking but little, yet I was somewhat in liquor . . .

Thurs. 14 Oct. . . . The 2 Master Watfords a-gathering of apples for me all the afternoon, and stayed to beat out some apples for me in the even to make some cider with, as did also Tho. Durrant, who came in to cut my wife's and nephew's hair . . .

Fri. 15 Oct. . . . Tho. Davy spent the even with me, and also supped with us. We played at cribbage until past 11 o'clock; I lost 2*d.* Mr. Elless sat with us a little time in the first of the even. This is the day on which I was married, and it is now 3 years since. Doubtless many have been the disputes which have happened between my wife and myself during the time, and many have been the afflictions which it has pleased God to lay upon us, and which we have justly deserved by the many animosities and dissensions which have been almost incessantly continued and fermented between us and our friends from almost the very day of our marriage, but I hope I may now say, with the holy Psalmist, 'It is good for us that we have been afflicted,' for, thanks be to God, we now begin to live happy, and I am thoroughly persuaded if I know my own mind that if I was single again and at liberty to make another choice, I should do the same, I mean, make her my wife who is so now.

Sun. 17 Oct. About 9 o'clock my wife, self, and nephew set out upon a horse borrowed of Fran. Smith to see Mr. Hill of Little Horsted where we arrived about 10.30 and found ourselves disappointed of going to church as we had proposed, my uncle being already gone to church. We dined at my uncle's in company with my mother and brother (who came to Horsted Church and so came home with my uncle) on a leg of very ordinary ewe mutton half boiled, very good turnips, but spoiled by almost swimming in butter, a fine large pig roasted, and the rind as tough as any cowhide (and it seemed as if it had been basted with a mixture of flour, butter and ashes), and sauce which looked like what is vomited up by sucking children, a butter pond pudding, and that justly called, for there was almost but enough in it to have drowned the pig, had it been alive . . . We came home just at 7 o'clock and, considering the house I had been at, sober, though it may with justice be said I was the worse for drinking . . .

Tues. 19 Oct. . . . About 4.30 I went down to Jones's according to notice given a-Sunday of a vestry. Our company were as under: Mr. Coates, who did not stay long; Mr. Piper, Jos. Durrant, Ed. Hope, Rd. Hope and John Watford went away about 7 o'clock, but the reason was because they found if they stayed they must spend their own money and not the parish's; Mr. Jer. French, Mr. John Vine, Mr. Adams, Jos. Fuller, Mr. Hutson and myself stayed till 11.40. We spent upon the parish account 3*s.* 6*d.* which I paid, and we afterwards spent our 7*d.* apiece. We agreed upon the following particulars; *viz.*, to allow Dame Burrage ½ bushel flour per week; to allow Edward Babcock ½ cord wood and ¼ hundred faggots; and also to allow John Dan the same quantity. Also it was agreed to pay Tester's debt by a majority of 5 or 6 voices. I borrowed of Mr. French 18*d.* Mr. French and Peter Adams laid 5*s.* each; Mr. Adams laid Mr. French should go to the parish church of Hellingly and there hear a sermon (to be preached by the Rev. Mr. John Stone) and that when he comes from church he cannot repeat the text, which Mr. French laid he did name the chapter and verse of the text, and also each particular word contained in the text. At home all the forenoon a-writing.

Weds. 20 Oct. . . . As I were this day a-considering of the particulars that passed at the vestry yesterday, I think nothing sinks so deep in my heart as Dame Burrage's affair, to see a poor woman supplicating our charity with 6 poor helpless children (all small) deserted by a husband (who was well-known to be a more than common industrious man and also one who did not spend his money, but readily and with cheerfulness shared it in his family) and who has been eloped from his family about 10 days. Sure the thought of it must pierce any heart that is not entirely shut up and has bid adieu to all humanity, and so must it more, if we only reflect and consider something great must be the reason to force a man from his beloved family and which undoubtedly has been this poor man's cause. Many of the richest and leading men of our parish (though I think not the wisest) have long since been endeavouring to pull down the price of this and some more poor men's wages (though not a man of 'em can say he ever asked more for a day's work than he earned) by bringing in many poor into the parish from other parishes, some with certificates and some without, until the parish is full of poor, and those wise gentlemen's scheme almost come to take effect. Here was at this time everything remarkably dear; *viz.*, malt 3*s.* 9*d.* and 4*s.* a bushel; Warwickshire cheese 4¼*d.* a pound; beef and mutton 3*d.* and 3½*d.* a pound; and wheat 5*s.* a bushel, and nothing but daily expectation of working for small wages (nay, even for less

than his due). Now let any of those cunning men, or even any other person, only lay his hand upon his breast and put it to his conscience, and at the same time to let his tongue utter the dictates of his heart; then must the following sentence be pronounced: Oh, cruel and inhuman usage, oppression, fraud and grinding the face of the poor are our guilt! Oh, may the annals of future times never record so much barbarity![51]

NB: I do not any ways commend Burrage for leaving his family, for I think it a very unjust and imprudent thing in him, and more particularly so, as he the night before he went away received of Mr. Jer. French £3 and which he carried away with him. The only thing I endeavour to point out is the motive which occasioned him to abscond.

Thurs. 21 Oct. . . . I went down to Jones's with Master Hook to consult with him about distraining Dallaway. Spent there 2*d.* Spent at Uckfield 16*d.* on the parish account and 2*d.* on my own. Received of my mother 8*s.* for 2 gallons of brandy. I must, I believe, drink nothing but water, for I find a glass or 2 of liquor makes me drunk, for today I could not get home sober; but I will once more try if I cannot live without being guilty of this vice.

Fri. 22 Oct. In the morn went and asked Dallaway for the money due to me; who seemed to make light of it . . . In the even Master Dallaway and his wife came and talked with me again about their debt and seem to talk to me in a very imperious and insulting manner, which I find is all I get by my good nature in trusting people so long, and then if I but ask them for it, I am insulted in this manner . . .

Sat. 23 Oct. Paid Jos. Durrant in cash £2 5*s.* 9*d.* being for the same sum paid for my use by Mr. Geo. Tomlin, hop factor (who sold Durrant's hops), to Messrs. Margesson and Collison. Notwithstanding Durrant owes me money and has done these 18 months past, he was so unreasonable and I think I may say unjust as to ask me for the above; but Oh, such meanness of spirit! . . . The gardener at Halland made my wife a present of some grapes in gratuity for my trusting him sometimes (only let me observe the difference in people's tempers) . . .

Tues. 26 Oct. . . . My wife paid Mrs. Atkins a visit in the afternoon and drank tea with her, but I was obliged to send for her home about 5.45 on account of my brother's and Mr. Soundy's (servant to Mr. Humphrey of Horsham) coming to our house to treat with me about letting the shop at Framfield to the said Mr. Soundy, who stayed at our

[51] See below, p. 239, note 19.

house until near 7 o'clock when I went with them to Framfield and spent the even there (my mother not being at home, having been at Mr. Beard's at Chailey ever since Sunday last). The gentleman, I think, seems to be about 26 years of age, born in the suburbs of London, also served his time in Southwark, and has lived journeyman in several places in London, and made 1 voyage to our American plantations, the agreeableness of which he greatly extols; and he seems to be a very sober person, and one who, I think, appears qualified to move in a higher sphere of action than keeping a little shop at Framfield. We did not go to bed until near 1 o'clock. Mr. Soundy and I proposed going to Chailey tomorrow to talk with my mother. Laid at Framfield all night and went to bed sober.

Weds. 27 Oct. We breakfasted at Framfield, and about 10.10 Mr. Soundy and I set out on our intended journey. We arrived at Chailey about 12.05 where, after talking to my mother about 40 minutes, Mr. Soundy proceeded on his journey to Horsham. The proposals I made to him are as under, *viz*:

To let him the shop with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging yearly, or for any term of years, for £8 a year; and for him to take the whole stock at the appraisement of 2 persons indifferently to be chosen betwixt him and my mother; and also for him to take all the fixtures, and to pay one half of the money down and the remaining at 6 months' end, and to enter upon it at Lady [Day] next; and [he] has agreed to consider of it and let me know his further resolutions soon.

I dined at Mr. Beard's on part of a leg of mutton hashed (but spoiled in doing), a pigeon pudding and cold plum pudding, but all in very bad order . . . Were I to speak my sentiments freely, I think Mr. Beard seems not happy in his choice. And really Mrs. Beard appears to me to be a very indifferent partner . . . I think I never came home with more pleasure in my life than tonight. Not that it proceeded from any material business I had done in my journey, but to find my wife well and also myself sober and not to have spent any money in my journey. Oh, the reflection is pleasure immense! . . .

Thurs. 28 Oct. . . . Mr. Porter, for himself and also for Mr. Coates, Tho. Fuller, Mr. French, Mr. Gibbs and myself—in all 6—agreed with John Fielder to bring us from Hastings a-Saturday next 1 thousand herrings, Hastings tale,[52] and one thousand of pandles,[53] for the doing of which we are to give him 15*s.* 6*d.* and also to pay what the herrings and pandles cost on the beach; and then we are to share the

[52] i.e. according to the Hastings measure.

[53] Shrimps.

herrings and pandles between us in equal shares. Mr. Millward has promised us to take care we shall have good fish and as cheap as if we bought a last.[54] Very busy all day.

Sat. 30 Oct. After breakfast Mr. Sewell of Littlehampton came to talk with me concerning hiring my shop. I agreed to let him know my further resolutions in about 3 weeks . . .

Sun. 31 Oct. In the morn Fielder brought our herrings, and one hundred over for Mr. Vine but could get no pandles. I paid him for the 1100 herrings 33*s.*, *viz.*, 16*s.* 6*d.* the herring cost on the sea beach and 16*s.* 6*d.* his charge of bringing, with Mr. Vine's. They were parted in the manner:

Mr. Porter	213	5*s.* 0*d.*
Mr. Coates	213	5*s.* 0*d.*
Mr. Gibbs	213	5*s.* 0*d.*
Mr. French	213	5*s.* 0*d.*
Mr. John Vine	64	1*s.* 6*d.*
Do. Jr.	64	1*s.* 6*d.*
Mr. Peckham	96	2*s.* 3*d.*
R. Hook	32	9*d.*
Jos. Fuller	32	9*d.*
Jos. Durrant	32	9*d.*
Myself	24	5*d.*
	1196	£1 8*s.* 0*d.*
Tho. Fuller	213	5*s.* 0*d.*
	1409	£1 13*s.* 0*d.* . . .

Mon. 1 Nov. . . . Wrote to Mr. Soundy to beg him to send me his answer as soon as possible, whether he likes to take my mother's shop or not . . .

Thurs. 4 Nov. . . . About 2 o'clock my wife went down to Whyly to pay Mrs. French a visit, and I drank tea at Mrs. Weller's and talked with her about my leaving the shop. About 6.30 I went down to walk home with my wife. I stayed until near 9 o'clock and had the good fortune to get away indifferent sober. While we were at Mr. French's, Mr. Piper came to call Mrs. French to his wife, who, it seems, had sent for the midwife and many more good women—now, the poor old creature's purse!

[54] A last of herrings is ten thousand. It is not clear what this consortium did with the herrings. The members presumably either pickled or smoked them.

Fri. 5 Nov. In the morn went to church, and about 2 o'clock I went to Mr. Porter's tithe feast where I dined (in company with Mr. Porter, Mr. Coates, Mr. Piper, Mr. Burges, Jos. Fuller, Jos. Durrant, Fran. Turner, Richd. Bridgman, Edmd. Elphick, Will. Jenner and John Vine Jr.) on a buttock and brisket of beef boiled, 5 or 6 ribs of beef roasted, 3 boiled plum puddings, carrots and turnips. I paid Mr. Porter 8*s.* for 1 year's tithe due at St. Michael last . . . I came away about 11.10 when the company all broke up. Mr. John Mugridge was remarkably drunk, but I think all the others was very sober, some few excepted. There was in the even a very strong argument between Mr. Porter and Mr. Adams concerning the unhappy affair of poor Elizabeth Elless, when I think it must astonish almost any thinking person to see with what audaciousness the poor hardened wretch behaves, for he seems to glory in and give encouragement to crimes of the deepest dye, and his chiefest discourse consists in obscene words and oaths. Oh, may the poor unhappy creature think upon his vicious course of life and that the Almighty Disposer of all events may graciously grant him divine grace that he may repent and be converted and return unto the Lord his God. N.B. My family at home dined on the remains of yesterday's dinner. Mrs. Piper was this day about 1 o'clock delivered of a fine girl, but the poor old man her husband sat with us very easy both before and after the news were brought to him of his wife's delivery, contenting himself with saying he should get home soon enough to kiss the old woman, for they were no starters. Query: Did the old man's actions show he felt any inward pleasure at his wife's safe delivery or his being blessed with a fine daughter?

Sun. 7 Nov. In the morn Mr. Darby made me a present of a pig, and I in return gave him about a pound of sugar, value 8*d.* . . . We dined on the pig, given us by Mr. Darby, roasted, a piece of beef boiled, a plum rice pudding and turnips . . .

Mon. 8 Nov. . . . About 11.30 Thomas Durrant and I set out on our journey to Steyning. We called at Falmer and Patcham to bait our horses and arrived at Steyning in the evening . . .

Tues. 9 Nov. In the morn Mr. Burfield and I settled the accounts . . . After this we must walk up to Steyning Town with Mr. Burfield where he had us about from one of his friends's houses to another until we became not very sober. But, however, we got back to Mr. Burfield's and dined there . . . After dinner, knowing my wife would be very uneasy if I did not get home tonight, and also that my business would want me, and thinking myself capable to undertake such a journey, I came away, leaving Thomas Durrant there, who actually was past

riding, or almost anything else. I arrived at home through the providence of God very safe and well about 7 o'clock. I spent in the whole journey 4*s.*, and to give Mr. Burfield his just character in the light wherein he appears to me, he is a very good-tempered man, a kind and affectionate husband, an indulgent and tender parent, benevolent and humane to a great degree, and one who seems to have a great capacity and judgment in his business. Honesty seemingly is his innate principle: but after all a man very much given to drink. When I came home, Dame Durrant was like to tear me to pieces with words for leaving her son behind. But, there, poor woman, she and I were both in one pickle. But, however, Master Durrant and she and Henry Weller of Eastbourne and Fanny Weller spent the even at our house when it all came to rights with the assistance of 2 or 3 drams of her beloved Nantz.[55] Received of the gardener at Halland 12 bushels apples and ½ bushel potatoes. Steyning I think is but a small town, though both a borough and a market town, and also a free grammar school there.

Fri. 12 Nov. In the morn I got up and went over to Framfield and called at Tho. Farrant's, as I went along, for some money, but could get none . . . Came back and drank tea at my mother's in company with Mr. John Davenport and Mr. Soundy, the latter of whom has declined taking my mother's shop . . .

Weds. 24 Nov. . . . Mr. Snelling called on us and dined with us on the remains of Sunday's dinner with the addition of some pea broth. I also paid him 5*s.* in full for opening one of my temple arteries on Sunday the 10th October. Mr. Snelling stayed with us till about 4 o'clock . . .

Thurs. 2 Dec. . . . This day the child of Mr. Will. Piper was baptized; the sponsors was Mrs. Tealing, Mrs. French and Mr. Diplock. They made the poor old man's pocket suffer by the company's emptying as many of his old rusty bottles as they possibly could, and more than their behaviour could give sanction to (as I hear), supposing decency to be the standard for good behaviour.

Sat. 4 Dec. . . . In the even read to Tho. Davy an appeal to the public in behalf of Admiral Byng wherein he is clearly proved to be no ways guilty of what has been laid to his charge, nay, even so far from it that he behaved like a prudent and courageous commander in the Mediterranean; and his bad luck proceeded from an inferior fleet, and one which our treacherous or simple ministers, or the Lords of the Admiralty, or whoever the planners of the voyage were, could never

[55] Brandy: a corruption of the French place-name Nantes.

expect to have success, having but few men, not one hospital, nor fireship, nor never a tender sent with them; and every time they received a letter from him wherein he mentioned the want of fresh succours, or anything that might inform the public of the faults of the ministry, that never was published in the *Gazette*, and only such parts of his letters as might, for want of the whole, make him look odious to the world.[56] Tho. Davy supped with us and stayed near 3 hours with us. I also read Bally's poem on the wisdom of the Supreme Being, which I think is a very sublime piece of poetry and almost too much so for my mean capacity. But as I find the author's views are good, I do, as I am bound in duty, like it very much.

Fri. 10 Dec. . . . I was obliged to send James Marchant to Lewes for 2¼ yds cloth for Mr. Coates, and he, like a calf, stays all night. Oh such fools! By this piece of his folly I shall have the cloth left in my hands . . .

Sat. 11 Dec. . . . I this day received a letter from Mr. Sewell wherein he informs me he has given over all thoughts of taking my or my mother's shop . . .

Tues. 14 Dec. . . . My brother Moses came over (to take up a frock and pair of breeches for my nephew) in the afternoon; he stayed and drank tea with us, as did Master Piper. Received of my brother 8*s.* 8*d.* in full [for] 2 gallons grape brandy, exclusive of carriage. In the even Mr. French and Mr. Jos. Fuller coming into our house accidentally they stayed till about 10 o'clock, at which time Mrs. Fuller and her daughter came and called Jos. Fuller, thinking, as I must imagine, that by their superiority of wit they could best judge when it was proper for him to come home. But, however, to do the good woman justice, she, finding Mr. French at our house and her husband sober, so that she did not use much of that volubility of tongue which she is many times so unfortunate as to be afflicted with on such occasions. I would not, by this short digression, be thought to bear ill nature to the last, and therefore the most accomplished, part of the creation (I mean the fair sex), but would have they should employ themselves in all the soft and endearing ways that their nature seems framed for to delight man with, and not by assuming too much of the obstreperous and masculine behaviour render themselves (instead of the greatest happiness, which

[56] For the case of Admiral Byng see Julian S. Corbett, *England in the Seven Years' War* (1907), 1, pp. 96–138. See also above p. 58, note 39. It is interesting that Turner, who may have just been under the influence of the last pamphlet he had read, seemed convinced of Byng's innocence. For a description of Byng written by someone on board the *Monarque* see below, p. 85. For his death and Turner's opinion restated see below, p. 93.

the contrary behaviour must consequently yield to mankind) the greatest misery, trouble and misfortune that can I think accrue to man . . .

Weds. 15 Dec. In the forenoon went down to John Watford's and agreed to take of him one fat hog of about 10 or 12 stone, to be ready in the month of February, at 2*s.* 2*d.* per stone, and to weigh no feet and ears if I kill him at home . . .

Thurs. 16 Dec. . . . Read part of Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*, which I find to be a very abstruse book. I find trade very dull and money prodigious scarce and everything very dear, *viz.*, malt 4*s.* per bushel, wheat 5*s.* 8*d.* a bushel, oats 17*s.* per quarter, cheese 4*d.* per lb., butter 6*d.* per lb., and good beef 22*d.* and 2*s.* per stone. What will become of me I cannot imagine, my trade being so bad; and I know not what to do to earn a 1*d.* . . .

Fri. 17 Dec. After breakfast I designed to go down to Whyly to choose my hog and then to go to the keeper's and round by Laughton. But after I had been at Mr. French's and chose my hog, it rained, which prevented my proceeding in my journey any farther . . .

Sat. 18 Dec. . . . I can with truth say I have not been one pole from my house today. Oh, nothing to do, the thoughts of which almost drives me to despair!

Tues. 21 Dec. . . . This being St. Thomas's Day, I relieved the under-mentioned persons with one penny each:

1. Wid. Hope
2. Jn. Streeter
3. Wid. Pilfold
4. Dame Burrage
5. Rd. Brazer
6. Fran. Turner
7. Jn. Durrant
8. Will. Henly
9. Jas. Emery
10. Lucy Mepham
11. Sam. Jenner
12. Tho. Tester
13. Tho. Heath
14. Rd. Heath
15. Su. Swift
16. Rd. Prall
17. Jn. Elless
18. Roger Vallow
19. Will. Starks
20. Tho. Dallaway
21. Wid. Cornwell
22. Rd. Vinal
23. Wid. Caine
24. Sarah Vinal
25. Tho. Ling
26. Jn. Dan
27. Widow Day
28. Wm. Eldridge
29. Robt. Baker
30. Rd. Trill
31. Ed. Babcock
32. Ann Wood
33. Wid. Bristow

. . . At home all day. In the even read 4 of Tillotson's sermons, and also in the even John Watford here a-beating out of some apples for some cider and who supped with us.

Weds. 22 Dec. . . . This day received . . . my pipe of cider which I had made by Mr. Heaver of Uckfield . . .

Sat. 25 Dec. At home all day. No churching here the whole day. James Marchant and the widow Caine dined with us on a sirloin of beef roasted in the oven with a batter pudding under it, a plum suet pudding, boiled potatoes and some bullace pies. In the even Tho. Davy sat with us about 3 hours and to whom and in the day I read 7 of Tillotson's sermons.

Sun. 26 Dec. In the morn the Rev. Mr. Hamlin of Waldron preached at our church and also gave the communion. My wife, self and maid at church (leaving my nephew at Richard Prall's). We all stayed the communion and gave 18*d.*, that is 6*d.* each, we giving our servant her 6*d.* I believe there might stop at the communion about 40 or more people which, I think, is more than I ever saw before. We had an excellent sermon, Mr. Hamlin in my opinion being the completest churchman of any clergyman in this neighbourhood, and one who seems to take a great deal of pains in the discharge of his duty . . .

Mon. 27 Dec. In the morn gave two women and 2 children with a pass 12*d.* Gave John Streeter the post 12*d.* to his box. Gave Tho. Hemsley 6*d.* to his box. Gave Robt. Hook 3*d.* to his box. About 12 o'clock I went down to Laughton to attend the funeral of Tho. Jones where there was, I believe, more than 80 people; his age 67 years. We had an indifferently good sermon, but I think very indifferently delivered to the audience. The text *Psalms* 39.14: 'For I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner, as all my fathers were.' I came back about 5.40 when I went into John Jones's, the parish being met there at a public vestry to choose surveyors. The two surveyors chosen for the year ensuing are Mr. Will. Piper and Mr. Jos. Durrant: the electioners, Richd. Hope and John Vine Jr. The company were Mr. Jer. French, Messrs. Jos. and Tho. Fuller, Wm. Piper, Peter Adams, Jos. Burges, Jn. Potter, Edmd. Elphick, Fra. Turner, John Watford, Jn. Cayley, Robt. Hook and myself. I spent nothing. I came home about 7.40. I gave Eliz. Akehurst 6*d.* to her box; do. Tho. Turner 6*d.* to his box. Read 4 of Tillotson's sermons. Dined today on a piece of a shin of beef stewed. Just almost as we were going to bed, in came Tho. Fuller, Mr. Will. Piper and John Cayley, and as Mr. Will. Piper and T. Fuller are such (what shall I say?) spongers—no, only old Piper—that they must stay and smoke one pipe, they stayed smoking and drinking until they

two was very drunk; and at last, poor fools, they must quarrel, and for no other reason that I can judge but because Tho. Fuller told that which in my opinion was really true, *viz.*, Master Piper, being lavish of his professions of kindness, and how much he loved his dear neighbour, which at last occasioned Tho. Fuller to tell him that he could never recollect any favour or kindness he ever showed him. But he did remember that once, on some emergent occasion, he wanted to borrow about £4 of him for a few days, but the poor old man would not let him have it, though he was well assured he had the money by him and could have spared it; and told him of many such-like mean actions, which made the poor old man at last so angry that he cried and bellowed about like a great calf. But, however, they all went away about 2 o'clock. Now let me shift the scene and meditate on the vice of drinking to see how despicable it makes a person look in the eyes of one that is sober. How often does it set the best friends at variance, and even incapacitates a man from acting in any respect like an human being because it totally deprives him of reason, and he is not capable of acting with reason, it is much to be doubted he will be guilty of that which is most vile and sinful. Oh, may the God of all mercy give me his grace always to detest and abhor this vice, and that the obnoxiousness of it may thoroughly work such an impression on my mind that I may never more be guilty of it, and that the many dangers which I have so often been exposed to when I have, as it were, rushed impetuous and headlong into destruction (by drunkenness), from which I have sometimes almost miraculously escaped by the undoubted providence of a all-wise Being! I say, that this may more thoroughly have its due effect upon my mind, let me never forget the goodness of God to his sinful creature, but may I meditate on it day and night that by so doing I may confirm my intentions of never giving myself the least liberty of doing anything that shall any ways tend to that heinous and ever-to-be-abhorred vice . . .

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Sat. 1 Jan. . . . Jos. Fuller smoked one pipe with us in the afternoon, and I got him to pay the poor tomorrow, I having promised to go to Framfield to serve a funeral there for my mother. But in the even received a letter from my sister that the person was not to be buried tomorrow as appointed, but is to be buried a-Monday . . .

Sun. 2 Jan. . . . After churchtime my brother Moses and cousin Moses Bennett came over to acquaint me that my mother wanted me to tie up 12 favours for her in order for me to carry tomorrow to the funeral, and accordingly my wife tied them up in the even . . .

Mon. 3 Jan. In the morn went over to Framfield where I arrived about 9.45. After eating a mouthful or 2 of buttered toast and drinking a few dishes tea, as also looking over and tallying and taking an account of the gloves, hatbands, favours etc., I set out for the funeral of Alice Stevens, otherwise Smith, natural daughter of Ben. Stevens (at whose house she died). I got to the funeral house about 11.50 where my brother Moses came to me soon after, in order to learn to serve a funeral and also to give me what assistance he could. The young woman's age was 28 years, and I think I never saw any person lament the death of anyone more than Ben. Stevens did for this poor girl, his daughter. After serving the funeral, as soon as it was possible we could, we set out for Buxted Church where she was to be buried, with a large company of people (she being carried on men's shoulders)[1] where we arrived about 4.20 and where we had an excellent sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Lawson, Curate of Buxted, from *Hebrews* 9.27: 'And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment.' The young woman was laid in the ground about 5.50 after staying at the grave about 15 minutes, it being dug too small. When all was over, my brother, Charles Diggens and myself came to Framfield. I stayed at my mother's and baited; and then my brother came home with me and stayed and spent the evening with us, and stayed all night. We came home exactly at 8 o'clock. I received of my mother in cash 4*s.* and by old gold and silver 16*s.* which, with the £4 sent me the 30th December, makes together £5 which I have borrowed of her. My mother gave me 12*d.* for my gloves given me at the funeral and for silk used in tying up the favours. I gave away hatbands, favours, gloves etc. at the funeral for my mother's use as under:

[1] Turner may simply be remarking on the fact that the coffin was carried on shoulders rather than on a horse-drawn conveyance; alternatively, he may be referring specifically to the body being carried by men. It was often the case that women dying in their viriginity were borne by women. At such funerals also the favours distributed were often, as in this case, white rather than black. For examples of these practices in an earlier period see Clare St. Q. Gittings, 'Funerals in England 1580–1640: the evidence of probate accounts'. Unpublished Oxford M.Litt. thesis; Bodleian Library MS. M.Litt.d.1890; and for later survivals Anne Ruffell, 'To crown a virgin', *The Countryman*, 87, no. 3 (Autumn 1982), p. 33. See above, p. 7, note 5.