

The Economic & Social History of Halesworth 720 AD - 1902 AD

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Preface

In 1988 the Museum was given permission to examine and retrieve any archaeological artefacts found during construction work on the Halesworth Relief Road and Angel Link. The area next to the Angel Hotel was identified as a medieval tenement or building plot, and proved most productive. Because of the importance of the finds, we were able to excavate several trenches on the sites of two proposed car parks one behind the Angel, and the other in the large garden attached to Barclays Bank. From these beginnings 'Halesworth Archaeology' was born and quickly developed into part of a multi-discipline project into the 'origins, medieval structure and post-medieval development of the Town within its rural hinterland.' A project incidentally that was recognised at the British Archaeological Awards of 1992.

Since the summer of 1989, I have carried out over twenty separate archaeological excavations, fieldwork projects, geological/topographical studies and building surveys. Most of the results have been published in Halesworth Archaeology Reports 1-6. Inevitably since most of the finds are from domestic and craft/industrial contexts the archaeological work has led to historical research focused on aspects of the economic and social history of Halesworth since the Middle Saxon period.

Concurrently, the museum has been exhibiting domestic and industrial items from the 18th century to the mid 20th century in a series of social history displays. Many have had leaflets or monographs to go with them, so consequently we have accumulated a mass of research material illustrating the lives of the ordinary inhabitants of the Town during the past 200 years; the 99% whose names only appear in census returns, parish registers, poor relief and pauper records.

The aim of this book is to combine these two strands of original research; archaeological fieldwork in its broadest sense and the historical into a single volume covering the economic and social History of Halesworth since its origins as a settlement, probably during the 8th century. However, a chronological interpretation gives the impression that the growth and development of a settlement like Halesworth has been one of continual progress; gradual rather than rhythmic. In fact during most of its history the Town has been at the mercy of the dynamics of economic activity, factors outside local control which could so easily turn progress into stagnation or decline.

To produce a single comprehensive volume covering the whole period has been difficult, partly because the original research material runs into several hundred pages of text; and partly because a large chunk has been expressed in the form of tables and figures. My intention therefore has been to provide as many maps, figures and tables as possible as an aid to the text which has been kept concise. This volume is not meant to be definitive, since there are still a number of areas to be researched in detail. But I hope that it fills a long recognised need for an over-view and will be of value to a wide audience from the general reader to the family historian.

This book is dedicated to the memory of the two who were responsible for my life long study of the lives of ordinary people. My grandfather Gunner Arthur Fordham of the Royal Horse Artillery who was badly wounded on the Somme battlefield in 1916, and died when I was only five. I finally obtained a photograph of him as a young man in 2004. Private Ernest Fordham who joined the 1/6th Queens Royal Regiment in 1938 to look after his younger brother. At the end of May 1940 and being unmarried at the time, he volunteered to cover the survivor's withdrawal to Dunkirk with his Bren gun. He was told that when well clear they would get a message back so that he could make his escape. No message came and despite being injured by a mortar bomb he fought his own private battle with soldiers of the SSVT Division. He was 20 years old and he was my Dad.

Map 1: Halesworth: Its location in Northeast Suffolk



Introduction

(i) Geology & Topography of Halesworth

The town of Halesworth is situated between 10 and 20m above sea level on the slopes of a ridge, and at the junction of three separate geological strata; (i) boulder clay, (ii) outwashed gravel and (iii) river deposits of peat, silt, gravel and sand. The parish church of St. Mary's stands at 18.5m above sea level, at the wider end of a small spur of land which has water on three sides. The main road (The Thoroughfare) runs along the spur before crossing the Town River by a bridge. North of the river the road climbs almost immediately up onto a plateau of boulder clay (40m above sea level). There are more heights of boulder clay to the south and west of Halesworth. Immediately to the east of the town the Blyth Valley opens out to over 1200m wide. On its northern side the edge of the floodplain is marked by the B1123 Holton and Southwold Road, and on the southern side by the Mellis and Wenhaston Road. Mostly the roads follow, or are just above, the 10m contour.

The Town River is the combination of three streams from the Spexhall, Wissett and Chediston valleys, which join west of Halesworth Bridge, flow around the ridge spur in a narrow channel, before turning south to meet the main Blyth River. In earlier times the Blyth Valley was a barrier to north/south travel, but a route leading west from the coast up onto the wooded clay plateau of 'High Suffolk.' At Halesworth, the division of the floodplain into two smaller valleys, meant that here a north/south route could cross the Blyth, and its northern arm the Town River.

It appears that the Town River has altered its course, depth and flow several times since the Anglian Ice Advance (c500000BC). At the end of the Ice Age the river was possibly 200m wide, and flowing in a deep channel cut into the Crag Sands 3m below its present depth. Later it narrowed to only 30m, but an area 135m wide was low lying and full of reed beds. Much later the river flowed on top of a bed of grey pebbles, 1.5m above its present course.

(ii) the Archaeology of the Halesworth Area

Until forty years ago, little was known about the local archaeology. An Iron Age site had been discovered at Westhall in 1855, while Roman artefacts were found at Wenhaston and a Bronze Age axe-head was uncovered at Wissett.

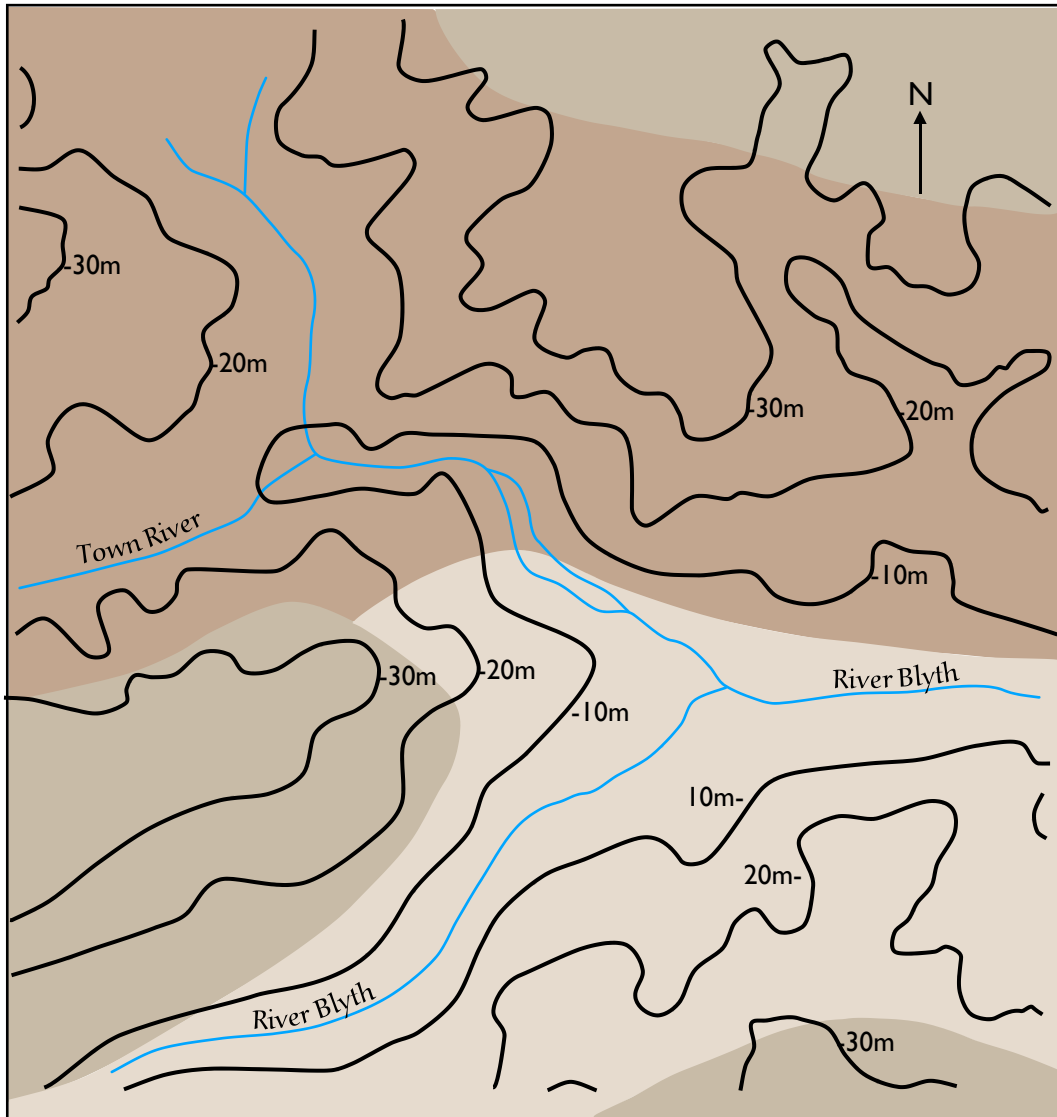
If we look at the Finds Distribution Maps now, we can see that a large number of sites of all periods have been discovered, particularly along the river valleys towards Blythburgh, Chediston, Walpole and Wissett. At Chediston Palaeolithic flint scrapers and the more delicate tools of the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods have been found. Also several more Bronze Age axes have been unearthed in the area. Roman sites are in evidence, although apart from Wenhaston, they are not extensive. There was a villa or farmstead near to modern Halesworth, but the Caistor-by-Norwich road to Dunwich (Stone Street) probably crossed the river Blyth at Blyford, and carried on to the large settlement at Wenhaston. The indications are that the area was much more densely populated than was previously thought; with many small farmsteads and villas occupying sites higher up the valley slopes.

Equally, there is an abundance of early medieval sites showing a pattern of secondary settlement on the clay plateau, with probably earlier and more nucleated Saxon settlements at river crossings and road junctions. One of these Saxon settlements was Halesworth. Fieldwork and excavations in the town have established a long and possibly intermittent occupation of this favoured site going back 8,000 years to Mesolithic times, although as yet we have no evidence from the Roman or Early Saxon periods; assuming that Halesworth existed as a village or proto-urban site prior to 720 AD.






Many sites in the area also illustrate a pattern of settlement expansion, then periods of contraction and even desertion. Blythburgh was an important Saxon trading centre and administrative focal point; but steadily declined

during the medieval period. By late medieval times Halesworth had emerged as the areas main settlement and market centre.

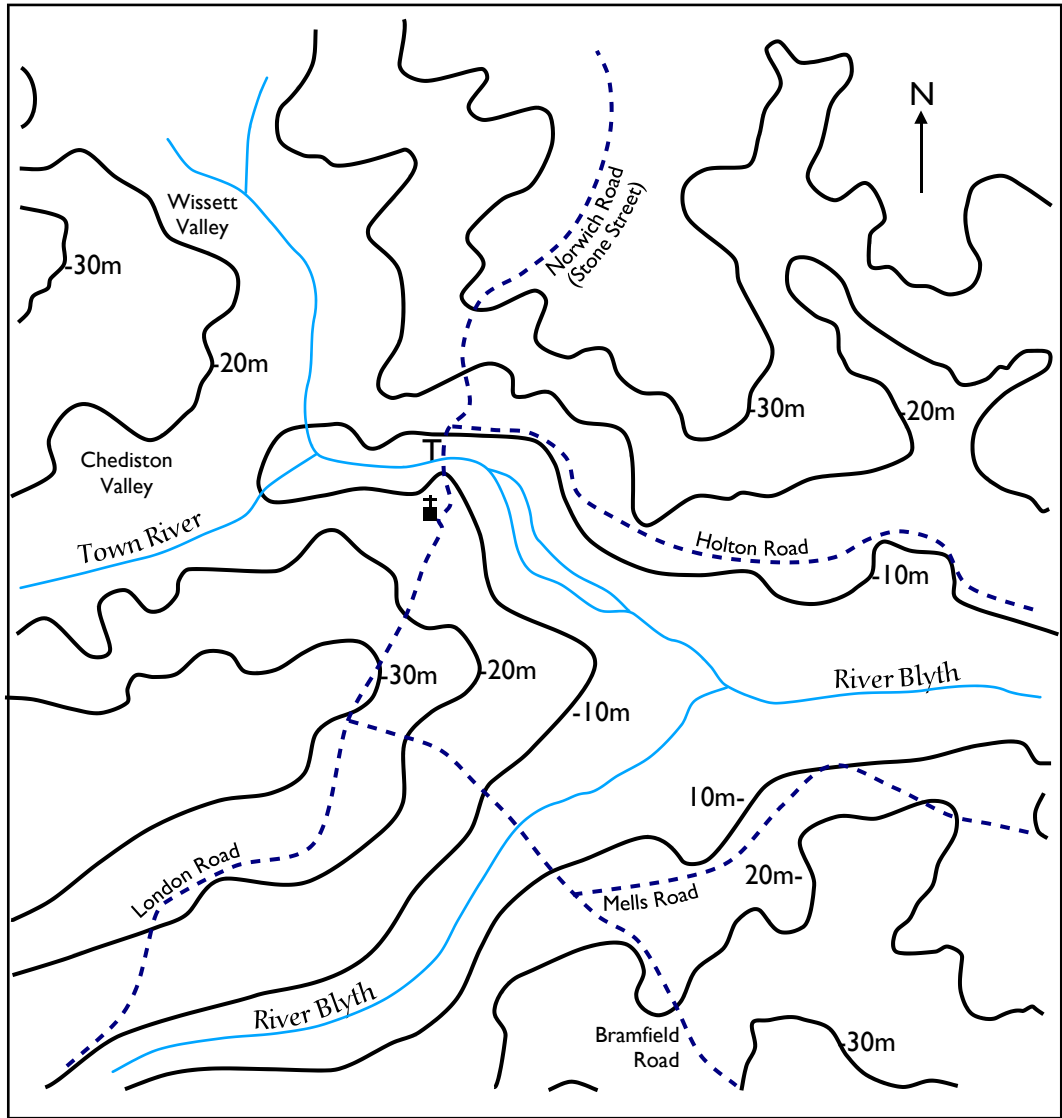
Map 3.1: Surface/Drift Deposits in the Halesworth Area



Key:




- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
|  | River Deposits
(Silt, Sand and Peat) |  | Contour Lines
10m (32.8ft) apart |
|  | Outwashed Gravel |  | Rivers |
|  | Boulder Clay | | |

Map 3.2: The Topography of Halesworth



Key:



- T Thoroughfare
- ☩ St. Mary's Parish Church

-  Contour Lines
10m (32.8ft) apart
-  Rivers
-  Roads

Map 4: Halesworth Archaeology: Fieldwork and Excavations east of the Church



Key:

- 1** The Angel Site
1988, 1989,
1993 & 2000
- 2** Link Road & related sites
- 3** Barclays Bank site 1989-1991
-  Georgian House
-  Well

Saxon and Norman Halesworth 720 AD - 1150 AD

Modern Halesworth was founded during the Middle Saxon period (650 AD - 850 AD), and probably situated on the side of a ridge of sand and gravel close to the Town River. The only evidence we have of early Halesworth is a row of large post-holes, and a few shards of pottery which suggests trading links with the large industrial and mercantile settlement of Ipswich. It is now thought likely that 'Ipswich Ware' pottery did not find its way to North Suffolk until after about 720 AD. Perhaps Halesworth was also a dependent settlement of the Royal Estate at Blythburgh.

By the 11th century the settlement had moved to the top of the ridge east of the church. It's possible that 'Halesuworda' had become a strategic crossing place where the Town River and its marshy flood plain, were narrow enough to be crossed by a wooden causeway. Perhaps Halesworth was also a tax centre for the payment of geld, as well as a collecting point for produce from the surrounding countryside with craft goods, agricultural produce and food rents moving up and down the river between Halesworth, Blythburgh and the coastal port of Dunwich.

Before 1066 Suffolk and Norfolk were the greatest arable counties in England. Suffolk specialised in barley, oats, rye, beans and peas; as well as the keeping of sheep. The food rent system for maintaining the lords and their households seems to have been general. For example, under Abbot Ufi (1020 AD), the food farm due every month from each village belonging to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmund's was 3 bushels of malt, ½ bushel of wheat, 1 ox, 5 sheep, 10 flitches of bacon & 1000 loaves.

At the time of the Norman Conquest 'Halesuworda' consisted of a rural estate held by Aelfric, and two smaller manors whose freemen were under the patronage of Ralph the Constable and Edric of Laxfield. Ralph held a large estate centred on Wissett and had the patronage of freemen in Walpole, Spexhall, and Chediston as well as Halesworth. By 1086 the estates were in the possession of Norman landowners owing allegiance to powerful tenants in chief of William I. The majority of Norman landowners in the Halesworth Area who found demesne farming attractive, probably specialised in mixed farming either arable and general livestock or arable and sheep. Although at Bulcamp the demesne (home farm) concentrated on goats for milk and cheese, while at Hinton the lord concentrated on sheep for wool, meat and milk. Other Norman landlords, wishing to maximise their returns, raised the rents of lesser landlords and tenants and rented out their own demesnes and rights over meadow, pasture and woodland.

The demesne (home farm) at the main Halesworth manor consisted of 120 acres of arable worked by 2 slaves with 2 ploughs, 4 acres of meadow and enough woodland for 100 pigs. The demesne animals were 6 oxen, 1 short legged horse, 18 sheep and only 10 pigs. There was also a watermill attached to the demesne. Another 120 acres of manorial land was held by tenants who in return provided most of the labour on the demesne.

Twenty years before in 1066, there had been enough demesne woodland on the heavy clay soil near Spexhall and Wissett for 300 pigs but by 1086 much of this was waste or had been cleared for cultivation. It's possible that rights over the cleared woodland were rented out by Roger Bigot who held Halesworth from the Earl of Chester.

It is difficult to estimate the degree of urbanisation in Halesworth. The population was approximately 130, (29 families) with 60% of the 21 peasant families holding tenements of 8 acres or less and possessing one ox. Smallholders like these often needed to work away from the land in order to provide enough food for their dependants. There may therefore have been a small unit of craft workshops to the east of the church. Here archaeological evidence suggests that a plumber/glazier was working on the church in about 1090, since stained glass and lead were found in a pit behind Barclays Bank.

So far the only evidence we have for the buildings of Late Saxon and Norman Halesworth are post and stake holes, burnt daub, and several pits and hearth areas. The arrangement of the wooden stakes and a number of the

posts suggests that they came from one building, approximately 5.0m by 3.5m, and supported a wattle framework, or were used to stiffen walls made of clay and straw. Associated with all these features were pieces from many different types of 11th and 12th century pottery, (including Thetford-type ware which was also manufactured at Ipswich and Norwich) an indication of Halesworth's trading links both local and regional. Evidence from further excavations allows speculation that during the 12th century the inhabited area of the town was extended north eastwards to include an area near the Angel Hotel, and part of the Thoroughfare next to the original river bank and the beginning of a wooden causeway.

(i) The Entries for Halesworth in the Domesday Book (1086)

(i.a) Lands of Count Alan of Brittany:

5 Freeman including Ulf the Priest who personally holds 40 acres as a manor, (Rectory Manor) with 2 smallholders. Woodland for 6 pigs; 4 acres of meadow; 14 sheep, 2 goats and 1 plough in lordship. Value 5s. The 4 other Freeman had 60 acres? With 2 ploughs & 2 smallholders. Value 10s.

Altogether the 5 Freeman had woodland for 60 pigs in 1066, now only enough for 20.

These lands are listed in the assessment of Wissett Manor and were under the patronage of Ralph the Constable (1066). Ralph became Earl of East Anglia in 1068, but died in 1069. His son Earl Ralph Wader forfeited his lands in 1075. Much of the Earl's land passed to Count Alan.

(i.b) Lands of Hugh Avranches Earl of Chester:

Aelfric held Halesworth before 1066 as a manor; 2 carucates (240 acres) of land. Then 4 villagers now 5; then 7 smallholders now 10; always 2 slaves. Always 2 ploughs in lordship. Then 3 men's ploughs now 2. Woodland for 300 pigs, now for 100. Meadow 4 acres; 1 mill, 1 cob. Always 6 cattle. Now 10 pigs and 18 sheep. Value in 1066 30s now 40s.

Both (a) and (b) were held by Bigot of Loges from Earl Hugh who paid Geld tax of 7½d. Count Alan claimed the lands of the 5 Freeman through his predecessor and his own possession and the Hundred agreed.

(i.c) Lands of Roger Bigod Sheriff of Suffolk & Norfolk:

In 1066 Gunner, a Freeman under the patronage of Robert and William Malet's predecessor Edric of Laxfield has 15 acres as a manor. 2 smallholders, always ½ plough and ½ acre of meadow. Value 3s. Robert of Vaux holds.

Map 5: Saxon and Norman Halesworth 720AD - 1150AD: Topography, Geology, observed features and pottery finds

Spot heights are present day ground levels minus depths at which features were uncovered.

Pottery:

- + () Number of Ipswich Ware (650 - 850) sherds recovered
- ▲ () Number of Thetford-type ware (850 - 1150) sherds recovered
- () Number of early Medieval ware (1000 - 1150) sherds recovered

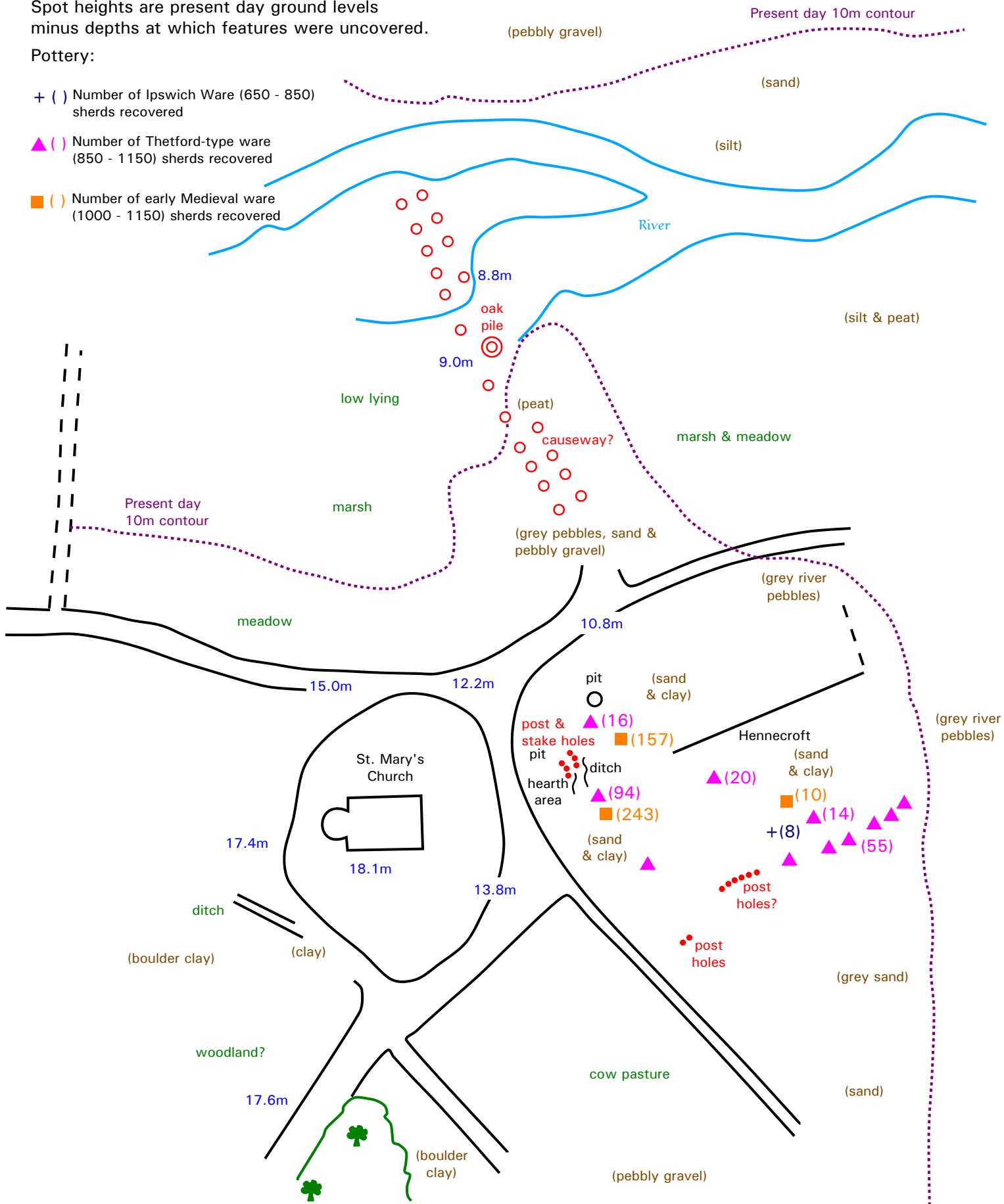


Fig 6.1: Barclays Bank Site: Remains of a Saxo-Norman Building 1000AD - 1150AD

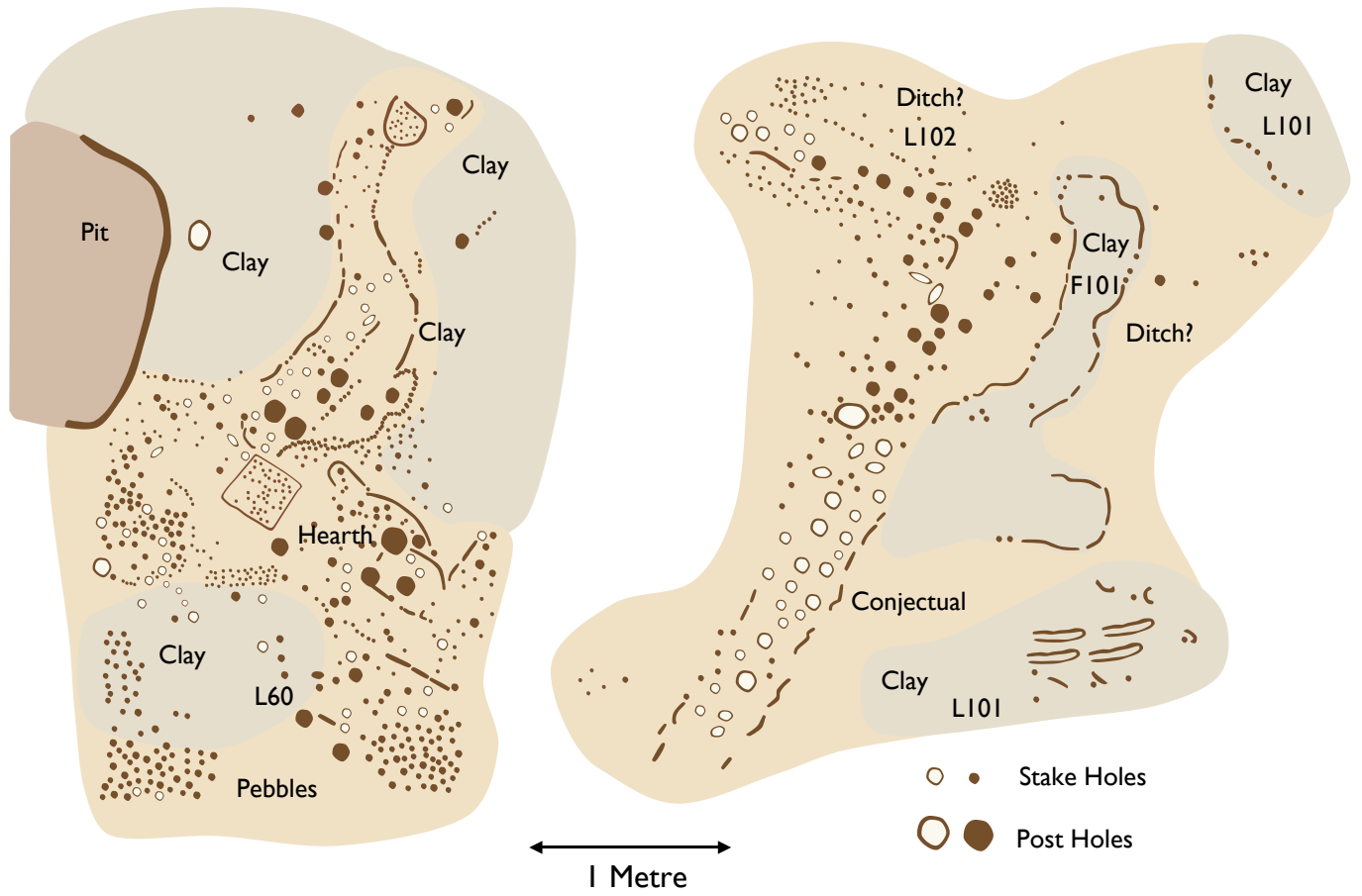
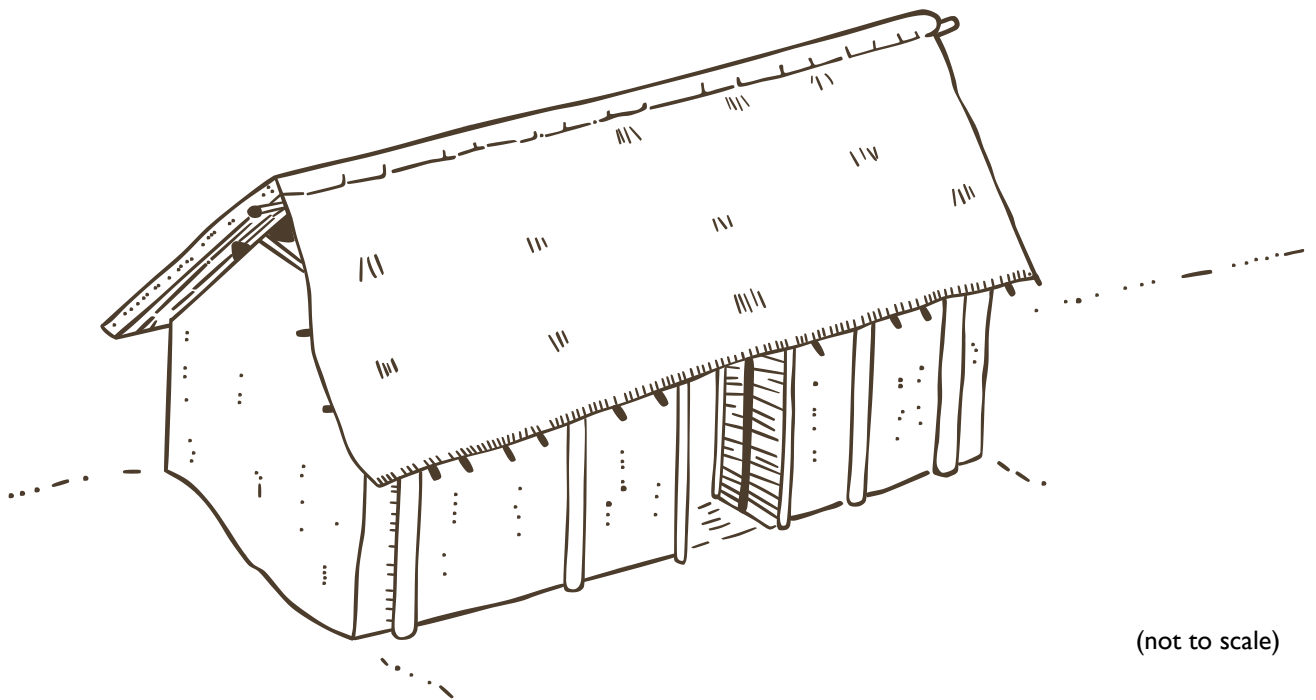


Fig 6.2: Angel Site: Artistic impression of the Post and Wattle house 1250AD - 1350AD



Medieval Halesworth 1200 AD - 1400 AD

The Late Saxon settlement of Halesuworda probably developed into a small market town during the 13th century. In East Anglia this was a time of population growth and economic prosperity, and a town would clearly be profitable to a feudal landowner if he could successfully establish one on his manorial land. At the very least it would yield more profit than just arable rents alone. A charter granting the right to hold a market and fair was issued to Richard de Argentein, Sheriff of Suffolk and lord of Halesworth Manor in 1223. This was probably followed by the laying out of new plots and tenements around a planned market area north of the church, and close to the administrative centre of the manor. The course of the Town River was also narrowed by building a new bank and reducing the floodplain. The old causeway was eventually replaced by a road, and the marshland became pasture. Later several houses and cottages were built alongside this thoroughfare.

As economic activity increased, so tenements and building plots were divided up to meet the demand for more properties near the market place. By the late 14th century the market consisted of at least 29 stalls, with most stall-holders paying 12d annually to the lord of the manor for ground rent. The total income from the market was approximately 48s 4d a year.

Archaeological evidence suggests that lead-working, spinning thread, weaving and brewing were being carried out on several tenements to the east of the church. On the Angel Site lead fishing weights were cast in sand moulds in a pit. Perhaps local fishermen were using the nearby rivers and bringing fresh fish to the Town.

Spinning was usually a part-time occupation carried on by women and children; the thread being wound onto a spindle, weighted by a lead or clay 'spindle whorl.' Weaving was becoming more industrialised because the horizontal loom needed extra space compared with the earlier upright loom. When completed the woven cloth would be sold on to the cloth finishers, although weavers could be employed by clothiers who also organised the finishing processes. Linen cloth made from hemp was also being produced, but most of it was sold locally and used for clothing.

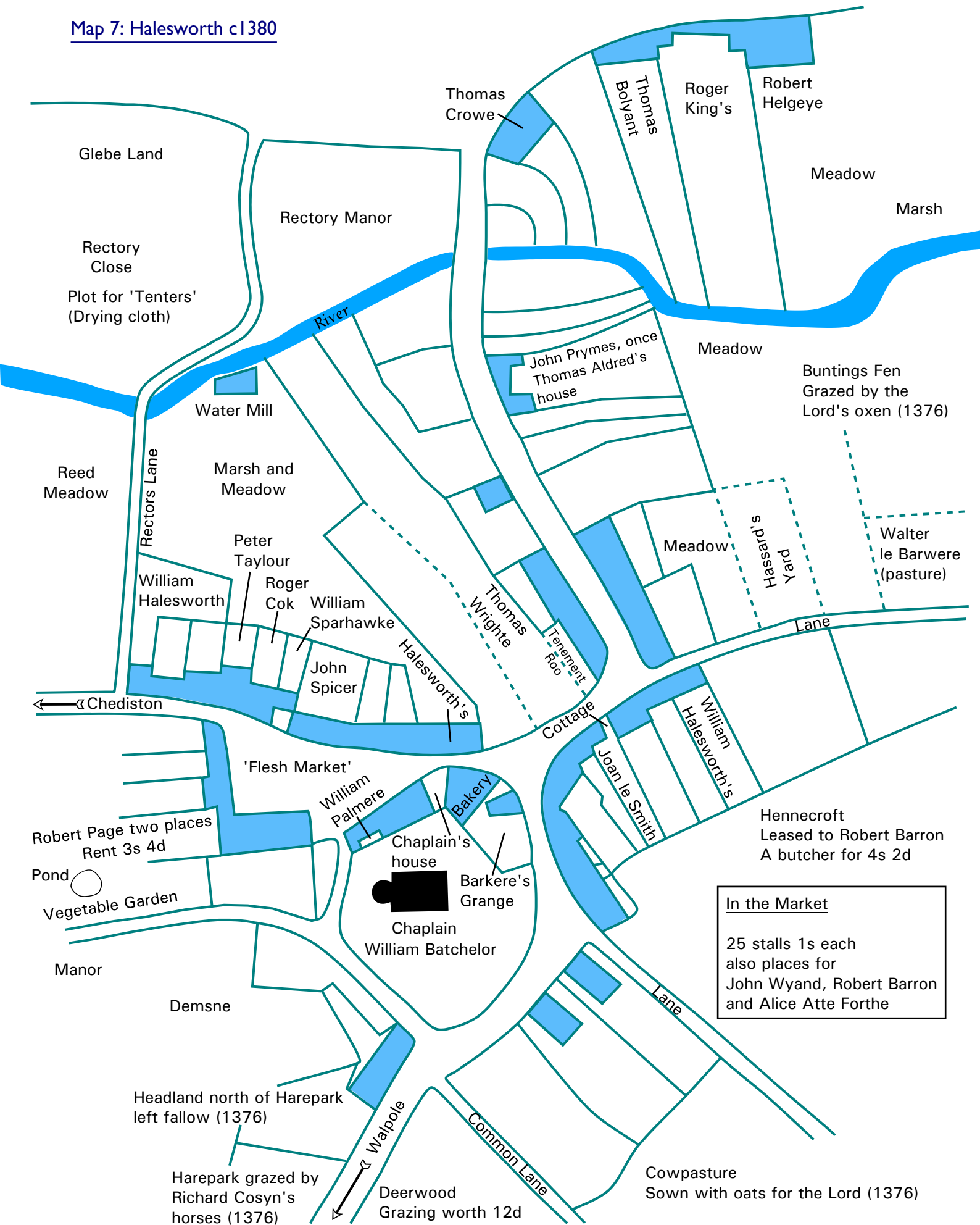
Documentary evidence shows that in 1380 there were two fullers or cloth finishers in Halesworth. One John Payn may also have been a clothier. Payn held a house and two pieces of land next to it from the Rectory Manor for which he paid a rent of 5s 4d and 4 lbs of wool; on one piece of land woollen cloth was set out to be dried. The cloth was stretched out in the sun between large hooks called 'teynters'. He also paid a new rent of 10s to Halesworth Manor for a tenement of land. John Stannard held a house called 'Badyngham' with a yard and garden opposite. He also held a plot inside the Rectory Close which had 'teynters' on it.

In the 13th and 14th centuries a small post and wattle house stood on the Angel Site close to the tenement boundary. Another building, this time long and narrow, stood near the boundary with the Angel Inn Yard. In a rubbish pit nearby pieces of a large cooking pot, a shallow bowl and a spouted pitcher were found. Towards the rear of the tenement another rubbish pit was found containing sheep, ox and cow bones. When the post and wattle house was no longer in use a large pit was dug in the floor and filled with oyster shells. Excavations on the same site also revealed several clay hearths and a clay-lined pit that were in use at the end of the 14th century, and possibly linked to brewing. Ale was regarded as a staple food, and householders brewed for their own needs and sold off any surplus. This was one step from providing a room in which to drink some of the ale purchased.

By the late 14th century the surrounding area was beginning to specialise in animal husbandry. This saw the rise of the butcher-grazier who was based in the town and leased land outside for fattening cattle. In 1375 part of Halesworth Market was called the 'Flesh Market,' with stalls being rented by butchers and butcher-graziers.

Further documentary evidence suggests that the processing of animal skins to produce leather was being carried out at this time. There was a ready supply of raw material at hand due to the keeping of oxen, cows and horses on the manor home farm. Butchers and graziers were also able to provide the tanners with hides. A tanner's first

Map 7: Halesworth c1380



In the Market
 25 stalls 1s each
 also places for
 John Wyand, Robert Barron
 and Alice Atte Forthe

job was to trim off the horns and hooves, and then wash the hides by immersing them in the nearby river. A number of horns have been found in the Town River and also buried in the old river bank in the Thoroughfare. When fully processed by the carriers the leather hides were sold on to the shoemakers, glovers and other leather-workers.

(i) Butcher-Graziers in Halesworth 1375:

Roger Cok had a house in the Market Place and paid new rents for a stall in the 'Flesh market', and about 1½ acres of tenement Faukes on the south-side of Chediston St not far from the Market.

Robert Barron of Sotterley paid a new rent for one place in the market, 12ft by 12ft opposite the house of Roger Cok, and next to the stall of Thomas Bolyant. He also leased 6a of Fakysfen for 16s a year; the 4a of Hennecroft for 4s 2d; and the grazing of Buntings tenement for 7s. All were east of the church and not far from the Town. Robert also leased a cottage close to the cemetery and near the entrance to the market, and a further 3a of land which went with it.

Thomas Bolyant rented a stall in the market and leased the grazing in Ewefen for 5s a year.

John Wyard from Beccles paid a new rent of 2s for one place in the market 18ft x 12ft. He had a house opposite the market, and later took on a tenement in Chediston St that had originally been part of the demesne.

John Spicer had a house opposite the market and leased one enclosure, probably of pasture, belonging to Faulkys tenement.

(ii) Halesworth Manor: The Demesne (Home Farm)

The Lords' demesne was an important part of most manors in East Anglia. It was the unit of agricultural production that was retained for his own use as a home farm, and provided food for the household and profit from any surplus that was sold off. By the late 13th century one third of all arable land in east Anglia lay in demesnes.

In 1318 Halesworth Manor was held by John de Argentine, and the demesne consisted of a manor house and garden of 3 acres; 100 acres of arable in two blocks of 80 acres and 20 acres; 18 acres of mowing meadow; 12 acres of private pasture; a Park of 12 acres; Harepark wood of 4 acres; and Holmere grove and Aldergrove. The manor house, park, wood, groves and 80 acres of arable lay in a compact block southwest of the parish church between Chediston Street and the road to Walpole. The second block of arable land was north of the river close to Stone Street, and the parish of Spexhall.

Much of the labour on the demesne was initially provided by 17 customary tenants who held land (tenements) in return for services rendered. Each tenant had to do four works (valued at 1d) in winter and spring; two ploughings (valued at 6d); another twenty works up to the beginning of the harvest (valued at 10d); and seven carrying services (valued at 3.5d). The 9 tenants holding 12 acres or more had to reap 12 acres of corn during the harvest (or give 4s to the lord), while the 8 smallholders whose tenements were about 4 acres in size, had to reap 2 acres of corn (or give the lord 8d).

By the end of the 13th century however, most tenements had been divided up into a number of smaller holdings. This was due in part to the fact that in Suffolk on the death of a customary tenant the holding was divided between the surviving sons. This subdivision reduced many tenants to poverty, forcing them into the ranks of the smallholders and landless labourers hired by the day. Sometimes to avoid the partition of the tenement one co-heir might sell his inheritance to another and then buy land with the proceeds.

In Peasenhall and Sibton (1328) 40% of individual holdings were 2 acres or less, and in the Halesworth Area only 2% of tenements were over 10a⁽¹⁾. Some tenements could be held by 10 or more individuals with the principal landowner (possibly still a member of the original family who gave their name to the tenement) organising the service tasks owed by the whole tenement. In most cases however, because the different tasks had been given a monetary value, it was easier for those holding a small part of the tenement to make a cash payment to the lord. In turn the lord would hire farm servants by the year and labourers by the day to carry out the work. With so many smallholders and those without land looking for work, rural wages in North Suffolk before the middle of the 14th century were low 1.5d for a days work hedging, ditching and threshing; and 2 - 3d for mowing and harvest work.

A small number of wealthy peasant families were able to add to their holdings by purchasing customary land or renting new 'assarts' which had been cleared for cultivation next to existing fields or close to the parish boundaries. Some of this waste land was also used to create new tenements.

In Halesworth in 1327, Godfrey del Heg owned goods worth £3 and held a customary tenement of 12a; Walter Hog owned goods worth £2 and held a customary tenement of 11.5a; Thomas Pede was a smallholder who owned goods worth £1 and held a customary tenement of 4.5a; and Richard Byrd owned goods valued at 13s 4d and possibly had a small tenement in Bridge Street north of the river. The only information we have about what crops were grown on the tenements and what animals were kept comes from an account of the tithes paid in Halesworth parish in 1342. Great tithes were paid on corn, wool and lambs and lesser tithes were paid on calves, milk, hemp and flax.

After the Black Death of 1348-9 many individual holdings, and sometimes whole named tenements, were without occupiers and therefore reverted to the possession of the lord. He could find new customary tenants and charge a higher entry fine, rent out individual pieces of land in the Town for 'new rents', or lease out whole tenements for specific periods at higher annual rents. In 1375 six named tenements were leased out (two to John le Reeve). Those tenants that survived the plague now had opportunities to extend and consolidate their holdings. At the same time the number of peasant holdings owing labour services declined, and tenants were allowed to possess copies of the entries in the manor court rolls that set out the conditions of their tenure (later known as copyhold tenure). Also the differences between free and customary land were diluted so that free tenants and townsmen were able to combine the two. There was also a movement towards the enclosure of leasehold and tenant land which enabling occupiers to manage their own crop and pasture rotations and farm commercially for the market.

¹ A peasant family of two adults and three children needed a tenement of at least 10 acres to supply them with enough food for a year

Map 8: The Demesne (Home Farm) of Halesworth Manor 14th C.

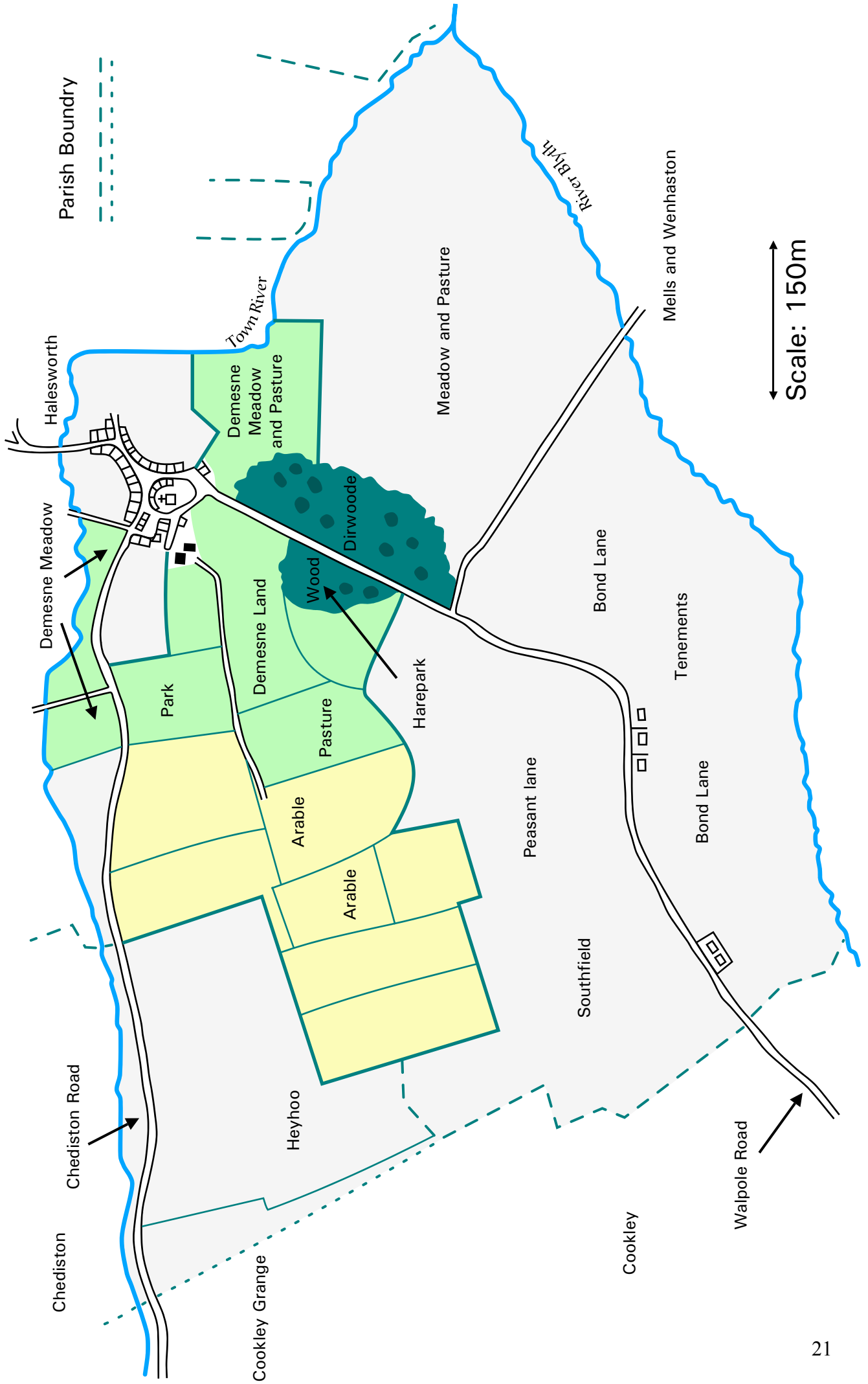


Fig 9: In the 14th century the named tenements belonging to Halesworth manor included -

1. Primary tenements with messuages and some land within the Town.			
Cageman	13.75a*	Hedges	12.00a
Bunting	12.25a	Byrd	
Payne	4.50a	Pedd	4.50a
Faulkes	4.00a	Reeve	9.25a
2. Secondary tenements with land close to the Parish boundaries			
Phillips	10.75a	Hog	11.50a
Ewe		Lock	12.00a
Droury		Southfen	
3. A New secondary tenement			
Newhaugh	12.50a†		

* The tenement name was kept as a label to indentify those individual pieces of land which had been sold or divided up, and to which services and payments due from the whole tenement were attached. In the 16th century the tenement known as 'Cagemans' was made up of 10 individual holdings while tenement 'Hedges' was made up of 8.

† Possibly made up of three enclosures of cleared woodland north of the Town.

The Manorial Accounts of 1375-6 give details of the 'mixed farming regime' that was followed on the demesne farm, what changes were made and how the work was organised. The aim was to produce a mix of corn and animal products that were interdependent. In the previous year barley had accounted for 48% of the harvest, wheat 26%, oats 13% and peas 11%. Some of the barley was used to provide grain allowances for the farm servants and the rest was probably malted, with any surplus being sold to brewers in the Town. Excavations close to the medieval demesne farm, have revealed evidence of two ovens or kilns that were used for corn drying and malting.

The arable to be sown with barley for the next harvest was first ploughed by the two demesne ploughs. Both were pulled by mixed teams of oxen and stotts (horses). One was worked by a plough holder and a plough driver, while the second was worked by the swineherd and another plough driver. The rest of the arable was either left fallow or ploughed by all the available teams, including those sent by the customary tenants who had the inconvenience of having to provide ploughing services again. This was because hired labour was now relatively expensive compared to before the Black Death (2.5d a day for general work and 3 – 4d for harvest work). After ploughing the arable was sown with wheat, oats and peas. Extra wheat was sown in 'le Heyefeld' and oats was sown in the 'Cowpasture.'

The harvest of 1376 lasted for five weeks and although customary tenants were required to reap some of the corn, the bulk of the work was carried out by 14 harvesters who were each hired for 3d a day plus three meals. Over the course of the harvest their meals consisted of bread, meat, herring, butter, cheese, milk, ale and cider. The demesne farm servants were given gloves so that they could help as well.

The animals kept on the demesne provided pulling power, manure, wool, hides meat and milk; and were fed on oats, straw and hay. The number of animals kept reflected the increasing importance of cattle as suppliers of meat. The oxen served a few years as plough beasts, before being fattened up for meat. Almost all the demesne livestock was eventually eaten. Grazing leases brought in less rent as part of the 'Lords' Park,' 'Colrones' and the summer pastures were used for the oxen, and Rydmedwe was used for the manor horses (now used to pull the

ploughs and carts). The old 'ox pasture was grazed by the demesne cows, although the 'dairy' of 23 cows with calf was leased out bringing in a rent of £7 14s 4d. Sheep were important not only for wool and meat, but as a source of manure. During the day they fed on the 43 acres of 'Heyhoo' and at night were penned on the nearby demesne arable in hurdle folds. After the harvest they were folded on the stubble.

After 1380 the rising cost of labour and a reduction in the number of consumers due to the plague, meant that much of the demesne could no longer be cultivated at a profit. Grain output never recovered to its earlier levels and consequently, much demesne land was leased out.

Table 10: A Summary of the Halesworth Manorial Accounts, kept by Robert de Bokenham serjeant of the manor Michaelmas 1375 to Michaelmas 1376.

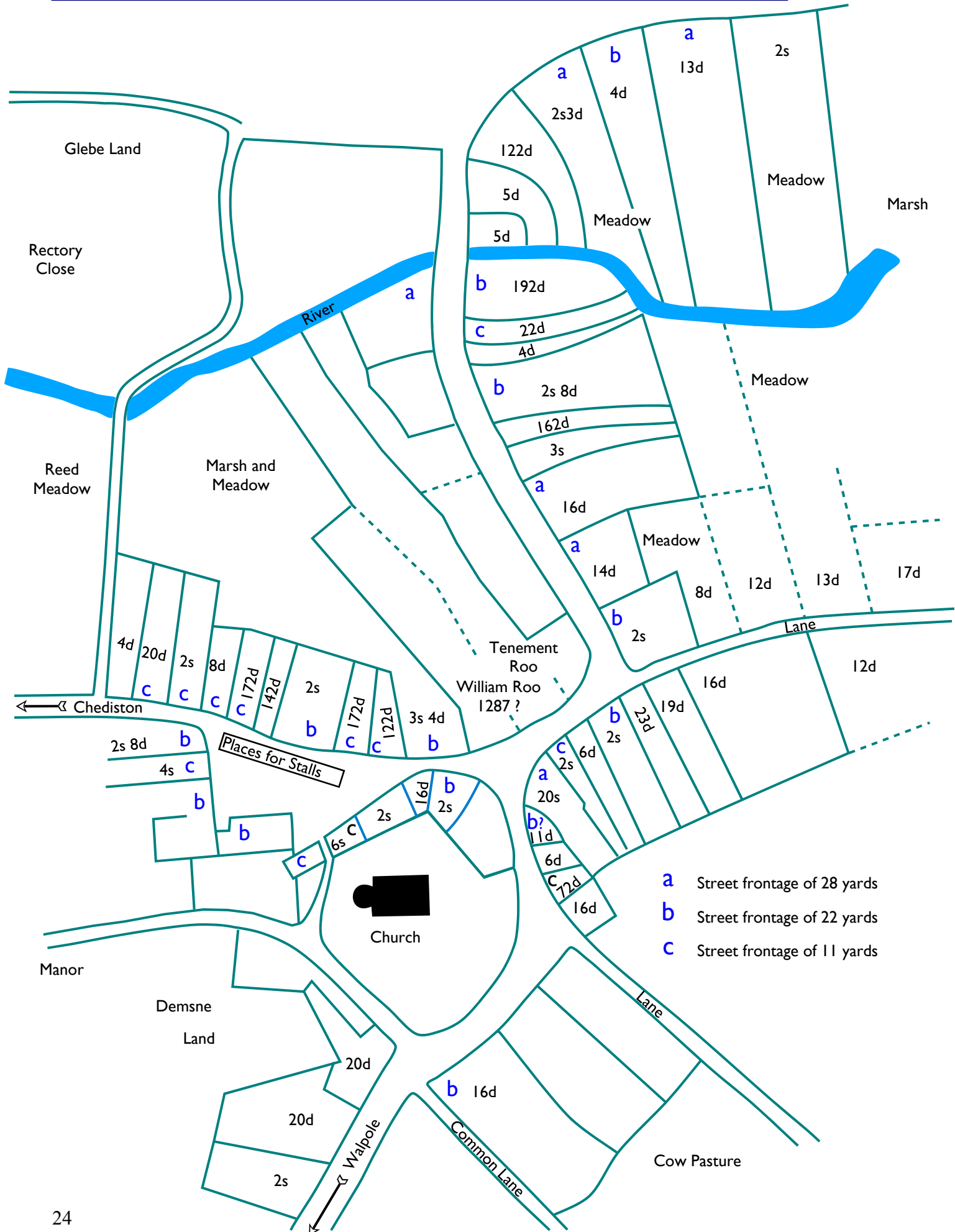
Receipts	£	s	d	Expenditure	£	s	d
Value of 1375 harvest wheat, barley oats and peas	34	01	9*	Threshing crop harvested in 1375	2	05	5½
				Ploughing & repairs to ploughs	2	17	10
				Weeding and mowing	1	00	2
				Cost of harvest (1376)	9	07	0
				Stipends for bailiff, clerk & demesne servants †	3	04	8
				Repairs to the grange and sheepfold etc. * *	1	00	3
				Total agricultural costs	19	15	4½
				Purchase of grain	5	03	2
Fixed rents & new rents	18	02	4½	Paid to the lady and Master Roger	10	11	2
Ground leases	8	11	8				
Profits of Fair	1	10	4	Paid to Richard Coryn senior Keeper of the guest house	11	16	4
Rent of Windmill	2	03	0				
Rent of Dairy	8	03	0				
Market stallage & tolls and sale of hides etc	3	16	6				

**This valuation does not appear in the accounts since unfortunately there is no section detailing flows of grain or livestock into and out of the manor. The assumption is made therefore that all the grain from the harvest of 1375 was used, and purchases totalling £5 3s 2d were needed to make up a shortfall during the year 1375-6. The value of the harvest was arrived at by multiplying the quantities produced by average prices wheat, barley & oats. It seems that the costs of producing the harvest of 1376 were met from the monies received from fixed rents, new rents and ground leases.*

†Bailiff 20s; clerk 6s 8d. Servants: plough holder 10s; two plough drivers 8s each; shepherd 7s; lad scaring birds 1s and lad going with plough 4s.

***Includes day wages of the following craftsmen and workers: thatcher 2d plus food; labourer 1d plus food; thatcher 4½d; labourer 3d; carpenter 4d; daubers 4d; plasterers 4½d; workmen 3d or 4d.*

Map II: Halesworth Town: The fixed rents of the late 14thC Tenements and Building Plots



Halesworth in the Later Medieval Period 1400 AD - 1630 AD

In the 15th century East Anglia experienced a contraction in economic activity, against a background of stagnant population growth and periodic outbreaks of plague. In rural areas landlords were forced to lease out more demesne land or to convert the arable to pasture. A number of rural parishes in the Halesworth Area suffered depopulation estimated in some cases to be over 50%. In 1428 the three parishes of Spexhall, Sotherton and Thorington were exempted from a tax that was levied on parishes with over 10 households. Tenements and cottages near Spexhall and Holton were described as 'wasted, derelict or ruinous.'

In 1446 Suffolk's tax quota was reduced by 16%, and within the county minute regard as to each townships circumstances was taken into consideration. Villages to the north and west of Halesworth received relief of between 20% and 38%. Small dispersed settlements within the wood pasture and clay common region were no longer sufficiently viable in the changing economic climate. But their stagnation enabled other nearby settlements to survive. It's possible that trade through the 'Flesh market' at Halesworth, and thence to Walberswick and other local ports, encouraged some local landowners to concentrate on dairying and animal rearing. Certainly, Suffolk cheese was being exported out of Southwold to Holland during the 15th century. Settlements in the sheep/corn region east of Halesworth were also fortunate, being able to sell their grain either for export or the London coasting trade. By 1500 a new group of prosperous yeoman and dairy farmers had emerged.

In Halesworth the population declined by much less, and although the town suffered a degree of contraction with several centrally placed tenements and cottages becoming derelict, and received a reduction in its quota of nearly 17%, some inhabitants were enjoying unparalleled prosperity. Merchants were dealing from Halesworth in goods other than manufactured items; contracts were being won, for example, to provision Calais, probably through the creeks of Southwold and Walberswick. These richer merchants were becoming substantial landowners by leasing manorial land, while rebuilding their homes and premises, and taking a more active part in the affairs of the Town.

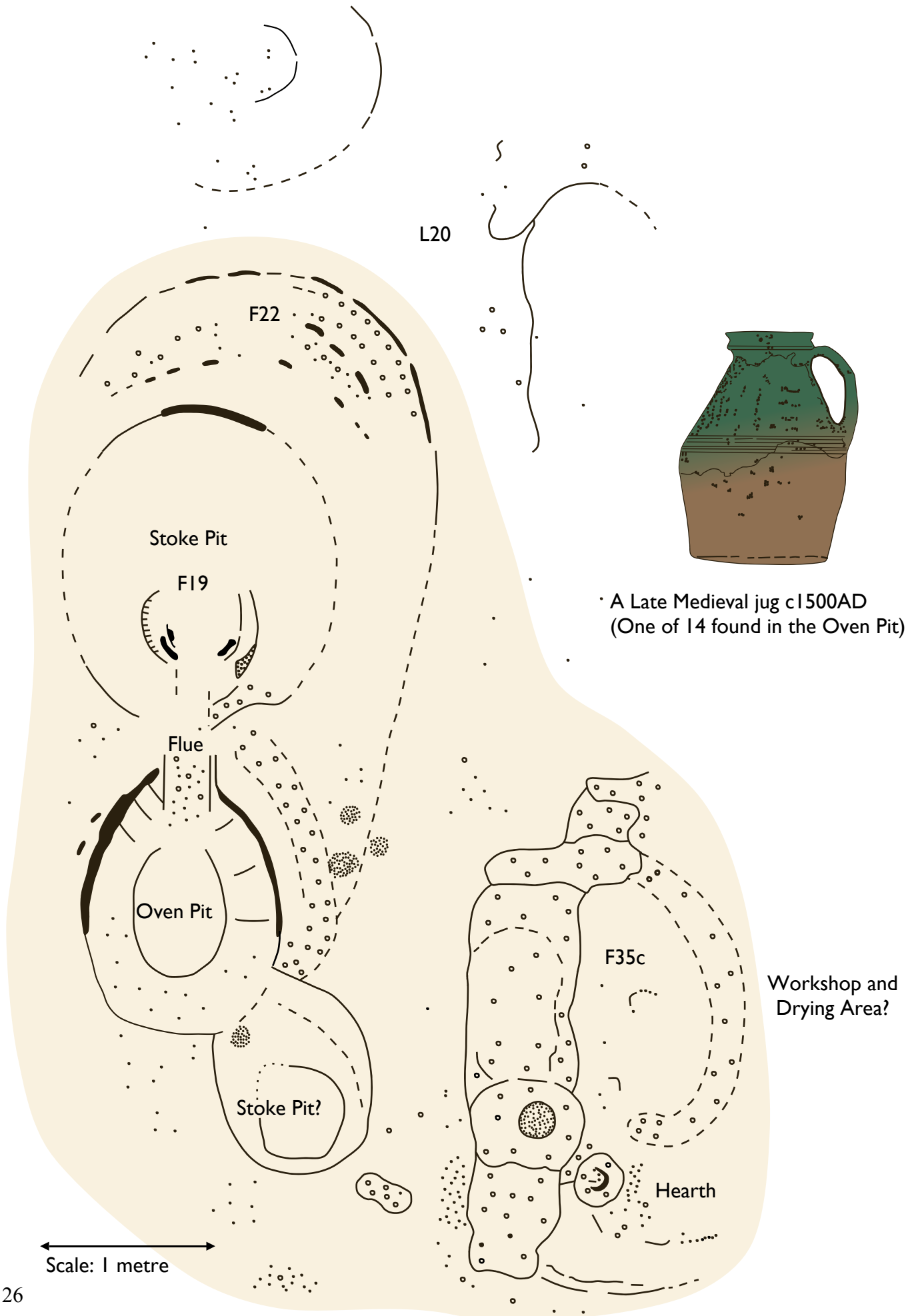
Wage-earners generally were also in a favourable position, since prices remained low for much of the 15th century while the purchasing power of their wages increased. There was also possibly an expansion of industrial employment opportunities in Halesworth and the surrounding area, especially for part-time and seasonal workers, as fewer agricultural labourers were needed in the wood pasture region.

During the late 15th and early 16th centuries a two-roomed cottage stood towards the front of the Angel Site. This was probably contemporary with the pottery kiln and workshop found towards the rear of the tenement. The cottage had a compacted clay floor, with a brick hearth set near the rear wattle and daub wall. The floor debris contained the remains of food cooked by the occupants; chicken and rabbit bones, mussels and eggshells. Small pieces of several pots and an imported German stoneware mug were also removed from the floor. These show that new types of pottery vessels were being used in the Town. Large jars or pitchers with a bung-hole where a wooden tap could be inserted were used to store ale. Skillets were flat frying pans, while tripod pipkins were saucepans with three legs. The earthenware cooking pot had mostly been replaced by the iron or copper cauldron, which was hung over the large open fire.

Vast amounts of stoneware pottery were imported into East Anglia from Germany during the late 15th century, a trade that continued to expand in the post-medieval period. Most of the production was centred on the Cologne area near the River Rhine. Jugs and particularly beer mugs became very popular along with the later bellarmines. These were large stoneware bottles, used initially to store wine.

By the late 16th century the cottage had been demolished, and the floor covered with a thick layer of boulder clay to support the low brick rubble walls of a large timber framed house. This was built alongside the Thoroughfare and except for a small passageway fronted the entire Angel Site.

Fig 12: The Angel Site Pottery Kiln 1475 - 1525AD



• A Late Medieval jug c1500AD
(One of 14 found in the Oven Pit)

(i) The Angel Site Pottery Kiln

The kiln was almost certainly of a type known as single flue, and consisted of an oven pit (1.54m x 1.14m) and a stoke pit (1.71m x 1.60m), joined together by a narrow flue (0.60m x 0.32m)

The potter would have lit his fire in the stoke-pit before pushing it into the flue. He would have paid regular attention to the fire, raking out the white ash and leaving it towards the rear of the stoke-pit, before adding more wood to the fire. The kiln oven would have been surrounded by a wall of clay that was capped with a temporary covering of turf, clay and broken pottery during firing. A single flue kiln had a raised oven floor; and kiln debris and pieces of fired clay found in the Angel Site kiln, suggests that the pots were stacked on 'kiln bricks' or fire bars. Some of the vessels found in the oven pit show signs that the glaze had crawled, while the bottom of a complete jug had an unglazed area on it which matched the rims of similar jugs.

After its working life was finished the Angel Site kiln was used as a convenient dumping place for charcoal, ash, scraps of copper alloy and kiln wasters. The oven pit was found to contain the substantial remains of about a dozen jugs and four large bung-hole pitchers. It's possible that by this time a second kiln was in use close by.

A significant find from the stoke-pit was a small antler from a deer, which had been smoothed, bored and fashioned into a potter's tool. With an appropriate handle, it was probably used to decorate vessels with a wavy line, and to make the bung-holes in pitchers. Near its point the tool was stained a slightly speckled green, a colour matching the glaze on some of the pottery.

The Late Medieval & Transitional-type pottery from the kiln has been identified as similar in style and decoration to that found on a number of kiln sites north-west of Halesworth, between Chediston and the River Waveney. These kilns are all associated with the Sterff family. Originally from Weybread, the Sterffs moved to Metfield, where they were producing pottery wares between 1485 and 1524. It is probable therefore, that a member of the family was making pottery on the Angel Site, perhaps fulfilling a specific contract for vessels used for brewing and the sale of ale.

By the 16th century craftsmen in Halesworth were manufacturing a wide range of goods. There is substantial evidence that a pin-maker (pynner) was working on the Barclays Bank Site east of the church. A burnt clay hearth and a floor area were uncovered. A large number of pins of various sizes, along with pieces of sharpened wire and copper alloy sheet were also found. This craftsman also produced lace tags, buckles, rings and belt studs.

Sometime during the late 16th century a furnace was built close to the hearth and floor. Its shape was long and narrow (2.85m x 0.94m), similar to an illustration in a book on the metal trades published in Basle in 1556 AD. The base and walls were of Flemish brick, and were laid on sand without mortar, suggesting that after use part of the furnace would need to be rebuilt. Perhaps bronze was meant to flow from it into nearby moulds. Post pits next to the furnace could have held supports for bellows or a shelter. The evidence points to its use for more substantial bronze-working than just making pins and buckles. It may have been used by two Norwich bell-founders, William and John Brend, who were contracted to recast several of the bells in the Parish Church between 1611 and 1624.

At some point it may have been used for iron-working as iron waste and slag were found inside it and nearby. Several contemporary pits also contained iron objects including nails and a spur. Perhaps the furnace was part of an armourers' workshop? George Grice was working in Halesworth between about 1608 and his death in 1630, when he was described in his will as an armourer. Archaeological evidence does suggest that by about 1640 the furnace was no longer in use.

Fig 13.1: Bell Making and a Pynner's Workshop 1450 - 1550AD Barclays Bank Site

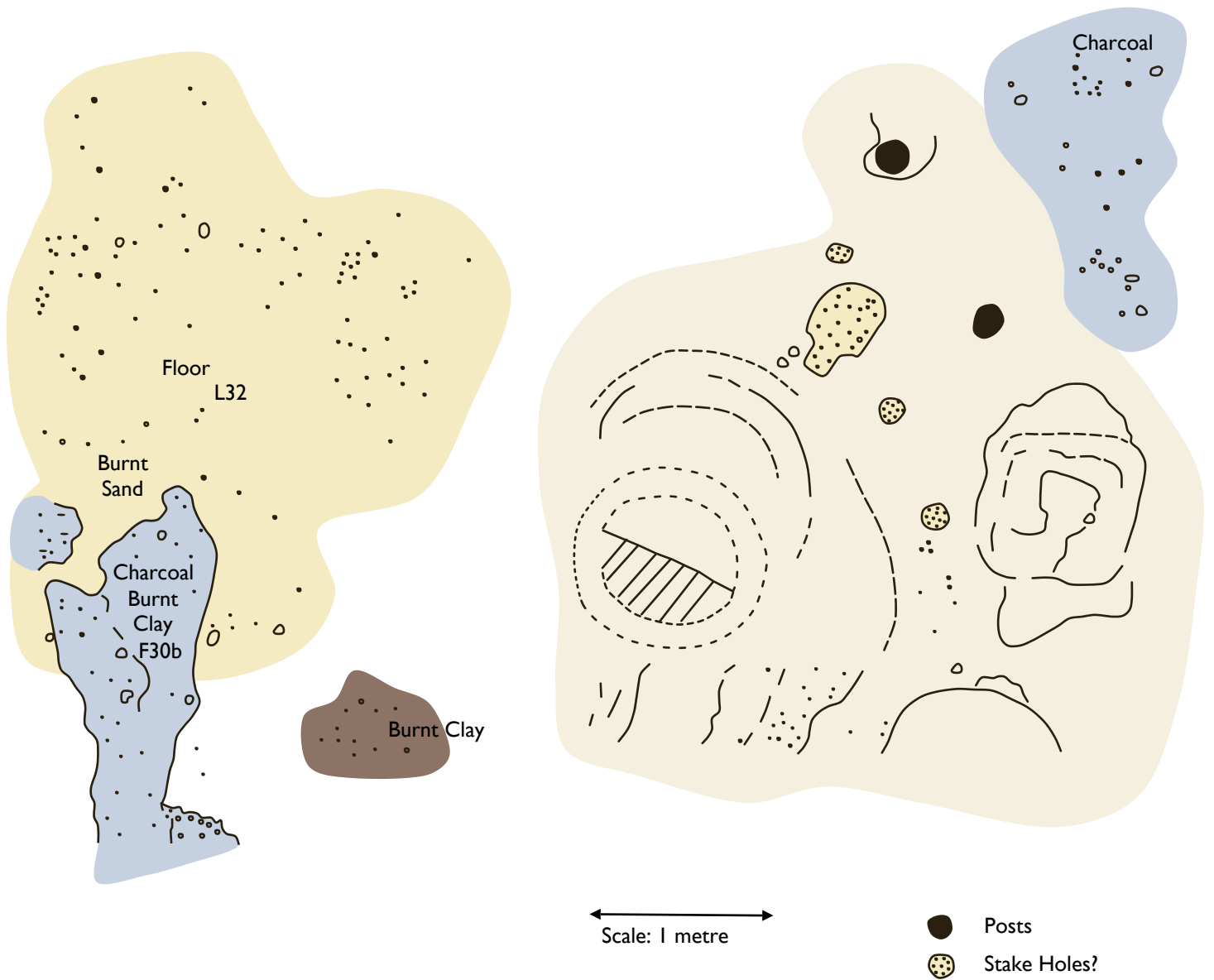


Fig 13.2: Metal Workers furnace c1600AD



Fig 14: Trades and Occupations in Halesworth 1520 AD - 1630 AD

Building & Wood Trades	Leather Trades	Metal Trades
Carpenter Joiner Cooper Glazier	Tanner Currier Strapmaker Saddler Shoemaker	Blacksmith Bronzesmith Pynner Bellmaker Armourer
Cloth & Clothes Trades	Food & Drink Trades	Miscellaneous
Weaver Shearman Tailor Mercer Glover	Miller Baker Brewer Innkeeper Innholder Grocer Victualler Butcher	Schoolmaster Clerk Priest Yeoman Midwife Servant Labourer

By the 17th century Halesworth, was one of the fastest growing towns in East Anglia. The town had survived the economic malaise better than many of its smaller neighbours. It declined less, and given the advantages of its topographical position, was well prepared to sustain its growth into the post-medieval period.

Its economy was largely based on the familiar occupational groupings of the leather, building, food and clothing trades. In 1619 there were at least eight butchers' stalls in the market and ten victuallers, brewers and innkeepers in the Town. There was a Mr Prime at the Lyon Inne, and a Robert Pryme at the Angel. Also living in the town at this time were John Browne, George Meeke and Thomas Thurston who were all common brewers.

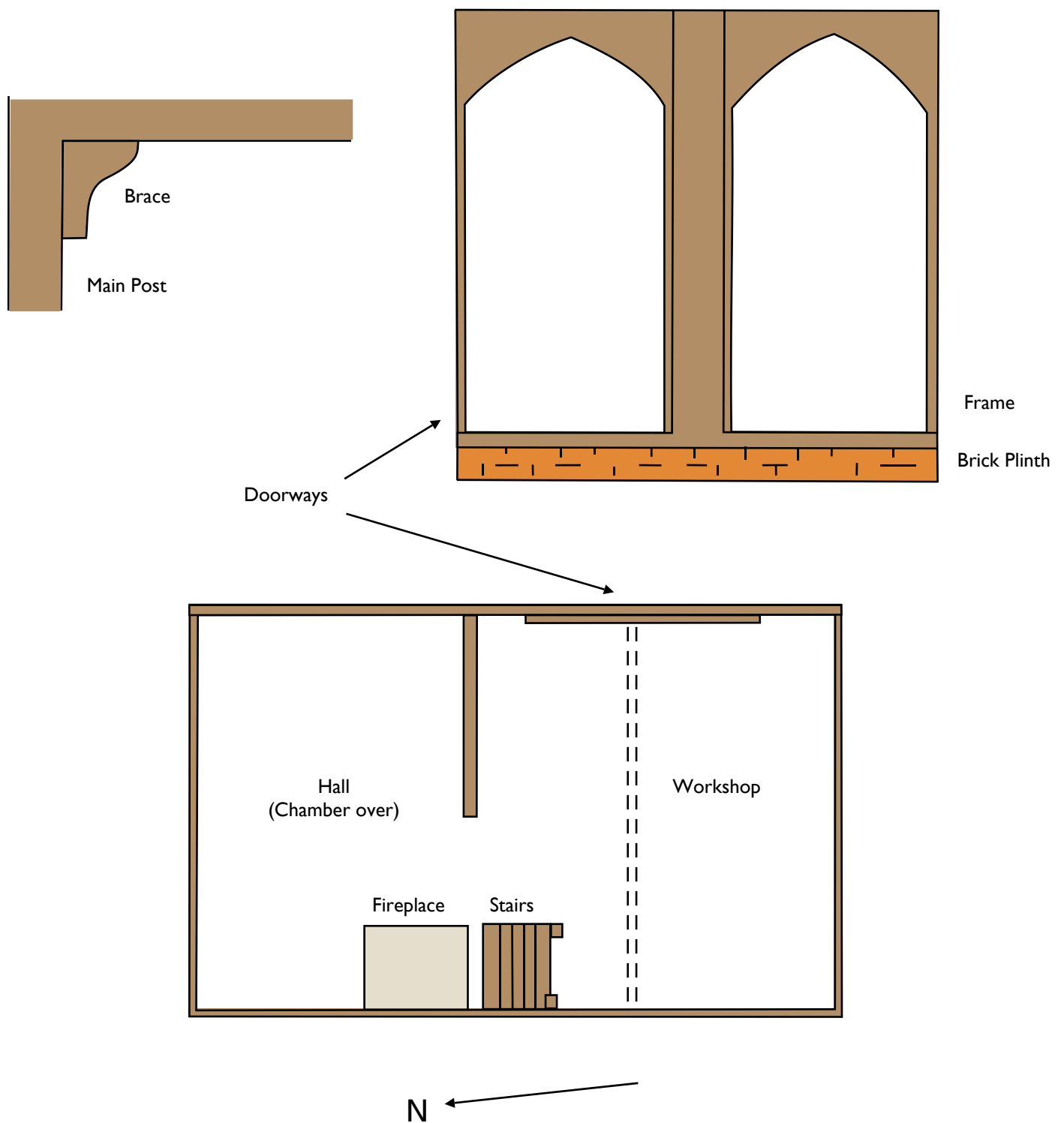
In 1629 John Prime (the younger) died leaving his property including an inn to his daughter Alice. His will makes specific reference to what was inside the attached 'brewhouse' – one copper and guild set (tub for fermenting), one mash vat, one wort vat, an underbecke or spout, a cooler and two forms.

(ii) Wages & Living Standards in the Halesworth Area 1270 AD - 1579 AD.

Building craftsmen, their helpers and labourers would have been able to work for a maximum of 250 days a year, since between 90 and 100 days were Sundays and holy days when work was not allowed. Carpenters might work all summer and part of the winter. Most ordinary labourers however, were only taken on for short periods and often had to travel to find suitable work. Urban labourers would have occasionally taken general agricultural work and any harvest work if it was available. Between November 1363 and February 1364 a Suffolk labourer worked for 40 days out of a possible 94 earning 5s cash. It's likely therefore that many labourers worked on average for no more than 180 days a year, including 25 days harvest work in the late summer. Before 1349 most rural labourers would also have found work for longer periods difficult to find due to the oversupply of male labour.

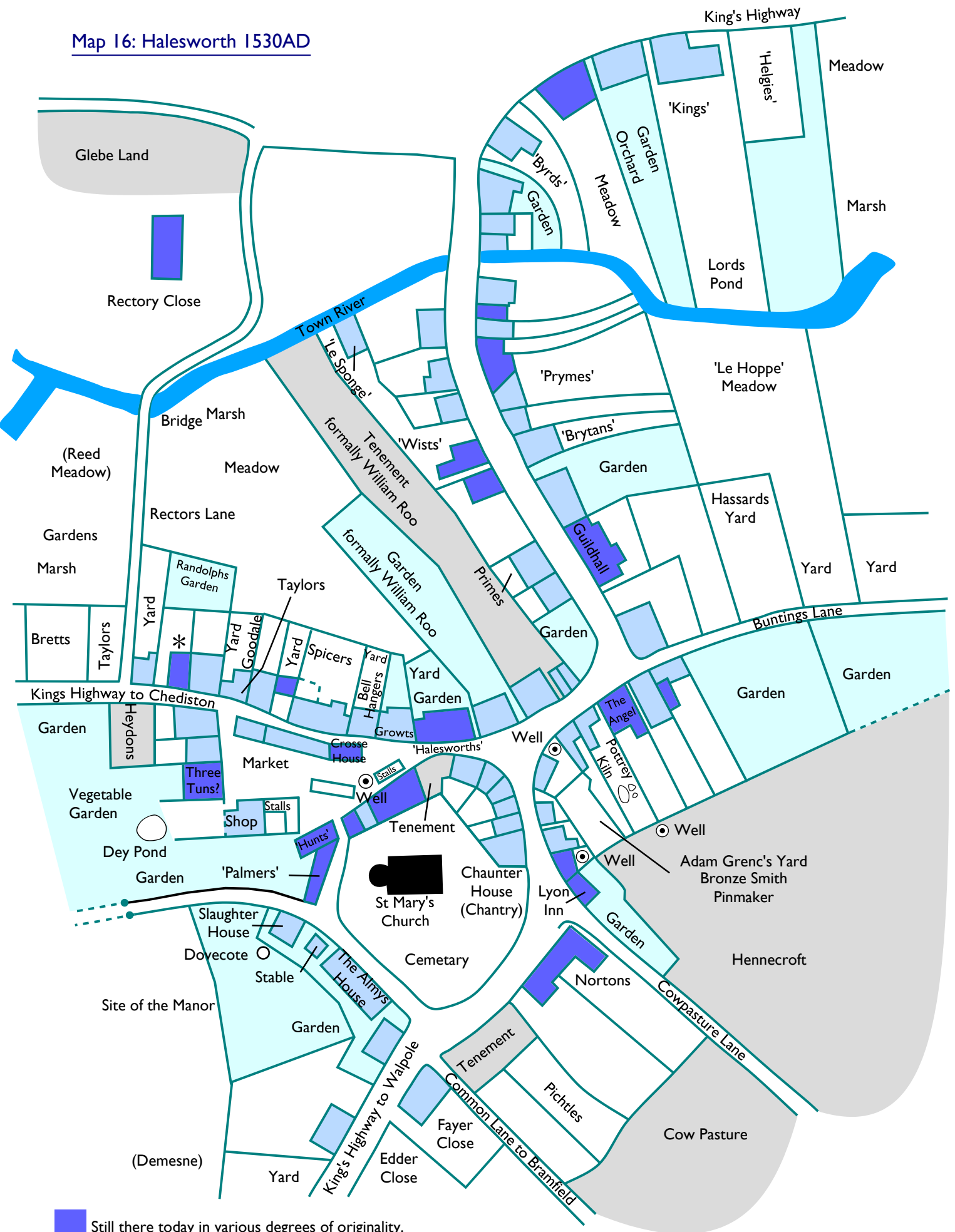
In the Halesworth area a number of craftsmen would have held an acre or two of land; perhaps their house in the Town stood on a tenement of between $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre. This would have provided some food for the family. Labourers however, had no land and lived in single roomed cottages or in one room of a larger house.

Fig 15: 144 Chediston Street



An apparently brick built house, previously a fish and chip shop, was found to be a timber framed building possibly belonging to the period 1450 - 1600AD. The frame was supported by a low plinth made of brick. The east wall had two doorways set close together either side of a main post. It is possible that the building was divided into a small workshop at the front, with separate living quarters screened off behind. Each could have been rented out to separate tenants. There were no clues as to what craft or occupation was carried out in the workshop. Perhaps it was one that benefitted from being close to the market, a leather worker (shoemaker, strap-maker or saddler) or an aspect of the woollen or linen trade (weaver or tailor).

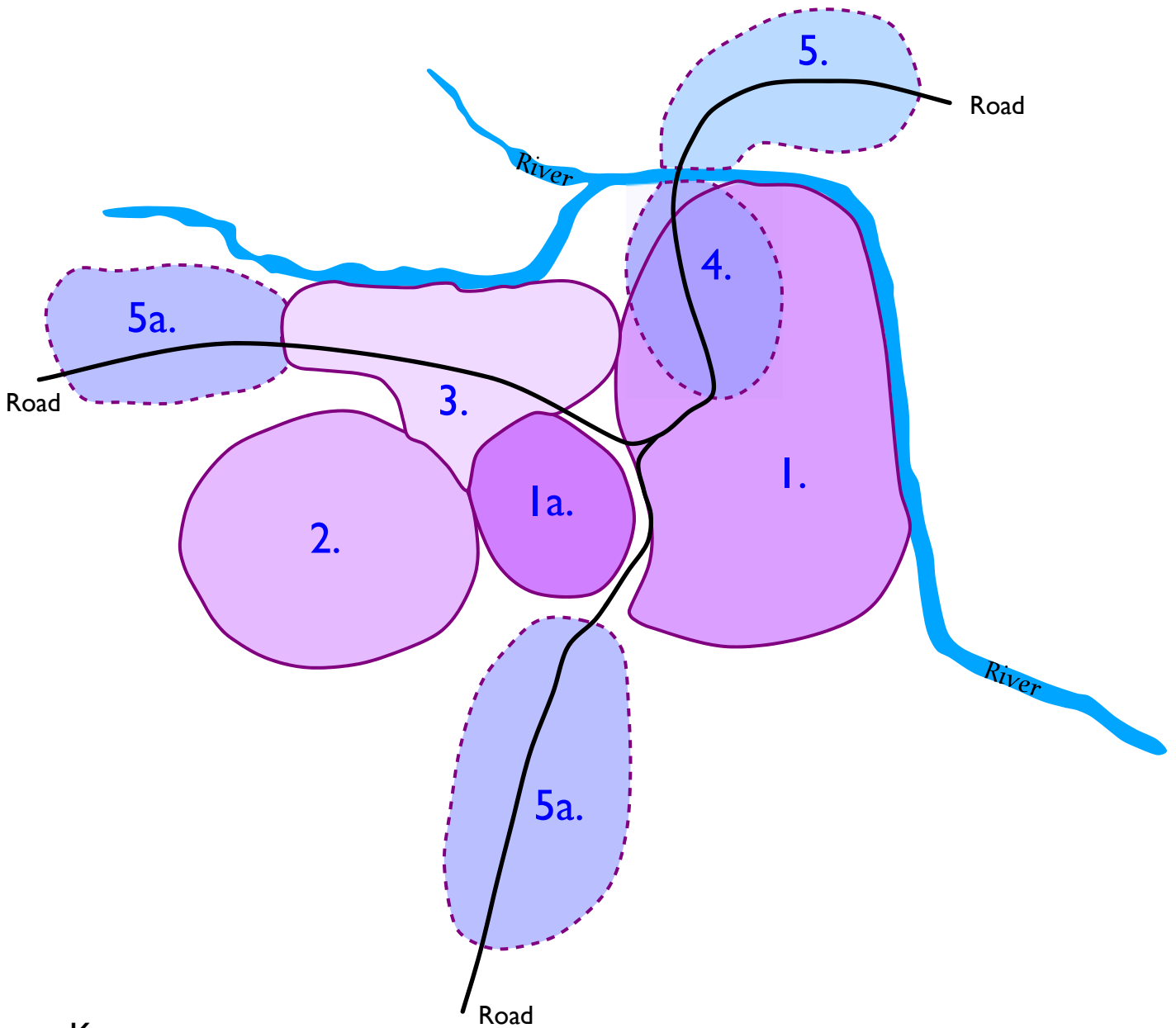
Map I6: Halesworth 1530AD



Still there today in various degrees of originality.

* 144 Chediston Street

Fig 17: Halesworth: Polyfocal or Composite Settlement* with Planned Aspects



Key:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| 1a. | Church. | } | Saxon/Early Medieval |
| 1. | Area east of the Church
Area for beaching boats
Bridging point
Craft/Industrial Zone | | |
| 2. | Manor and administrative centre | | |
| 3. | Market and planned urban area (including 1.)
controlled by The Lord of the Manor | | 13th Century |
| 4. | Expansion creating the Thoroughfare | | 14th/15th Century |
| 5. | Ribbon development | | 16th Century |
| 5a. | Ribbon development | | 17th Century |

* Developed over time from several focal points joined together by the planned layout of plots, tenements and a market.

Fig 18: Halesworth the Dynamics of Growth

8th Century - 10th Century

Focal point for trade into upper river valleys.

Village/small settlement at river crossing

Dependency of Royal Manor at Blythburgh.

Coastal port of Dunwich

Ipswich

Links

Other Factors

11th Century - 13th Century

Distribution point for trade.

Expansion of primary settlement area: growth of population, development of market area and urban unit. Small town? Controlled by Lord of the Manor providing for rural Hinterland. Geld Tax collecting point.

Blythburgh Royal Manor Market and central place

Port of Dunwich

Trade with Ipswich and Norwich?

Secondary expansion: dependent tenements, use of woodland and clay plateau.

Warm Favourable climate

14th Century - 15th Century

Failure of other Markets nearby. Contraction and desertion of settlements.

Contraction of secondary areas. Decline in population? Change in use of Manorial lands; more pasture and meadow, more animal husbandry. Growth in importance of leather trades.

Decline of Blythburgh and Dunwich.

Wetter climate. Severe Winters.

Crop failures.

16th Century

Serving rural Hinterland.

Further growth in urban area. Merchants involved in dairy produce trade to London and foreign trade to Calais, Holland and Germany? Established town, still with rural element.

Southwold and Walberswick harbours fishing trade, coastal and foreign trade.

By 1600 the fastest growing town in East Anglia.

On many manors in Northeast Suffolk barley was the main crop or shared that distinction with wheat. As well as being malted for brewing it was used for bread. In times of high prices many of the poorer families would have purchased barley instead of wheat. This was particularly important before 1330 when wages were low and grain prices high, and labourers were barely able to afford a diet of bread, pottage and water. Some families may have had two incomes. Opportunities for women in agriculture were limited before 1349 because of the oversupply of male labour, but in towns women brewed ale and sold the surplus, and also dealt in dairy produce. They also had opportunities to spin woollen and linen yarn, and to work as domestic servants.

After the Black Death (1348-9) there were fewer craftsmen and labourers available, and the survivors were able to negotiate for increased wages leading to an improvement in their standard of living. This lasted until the poor harvest and inflation of the period after 1520 changed matters.

In the medieval period bread and ale were regarded as staple foods. Maintenance agreements seem to suggest that an individual adult needed approximately 12 bushels of corn a year to provide enough bread for a basic diet. This equates to nearly 2lbs of bread a day. Therefore a family of two adults and two children needed 36 bushels of wheat or barley for bread; 16 bushels of barley malt to brew 2 ½ pints of ale a day; and a ¼ bushel of oatmeal for pottage.

Table 19: Wages and Living Standards (bushels purchased with annual wage) 1330 - 1550

1330	craftsman works 250 days earns	62.5s	97 bushels of wheat
	building labourer (helper) 250 days	31.0s	48 bushels of wheat
	rural labourer 180 days (155 + 25 days harvest)	21.3s	33 bushels of wheat
		21.3s	43 bushels of barley
1380	craftsman works	83.3s	133 bushels of wheat
	building labourer (helper)	52.0s	83 bushels of wheat
	rural labourer	42.3s	68 bushels of wheat
1450	craftsman works	125.0s	222 bushels of wheat
	building labourer (helper)	72.9s	129 bushels of wheat
	rural labourer	54.0s	96 bushels of wheat
1550	craftsman works	166.0s	81 bushels of wheat
	building labourer	114.0s	56 bushels of wheat
	rural labourer	67.5s	33 bushels of wheat
		67.5s	58 bushels of barley

Table 20: Day Wages (d) of Craftsmen & Labourers in North Suffolk & East Norfolk 1270 AD - 1579 AD. Also the value of those wages in terms of how many days work were needed to purchase a bushel of wheat and how many days were needed by the labourers to purchase a bushel of barley.

	Day Wages (d)			Number of days work needed, to buy				
	Craftsmen	Building Labourers	Farm Labourers	A bushel of wheat			A bushel of barley	
				Craftsmen	Building Labourers	Farm Labourers	Building Labourers	Farm Labourers
1270-9	2.00	1.25	1.25	4.5	7.2	7.2	5.4	5.4
1280-9	2.50	1.25	1.25	3.1	6.2	6.2	4.4	4.4
1290-9	2.50	1.25	1.25	4.0	8.0	8.0	6.0	6.0
1300-9	2.75	1.25	1.50	3.1	6.8	5.6	5.4	4.5
1310-9	3.00	1.25	1.50	2.8	6.8	5.6	5.4	4.5
1320-9	3.00	1.25	1.50	2.9	7.0	5.8	4.6	3.8
1330-9	3.00	1.50	1.50	2.6	5.2	5.2	4.0	4.0
1340-9	3.00	1.75	1.50	2.3	4.0	4.7	3.1	3.7
1350-9	3.25	1.75	2.25	3.0	5.6	4.3	4.1	3.2
1360-9	3.75	1.75	2.50	3.4	7.3	5.1	4.4	3.1
1370-9	3.75	2.25	3.00	2.7	3.4	3.3	3.3	2.5
1380-9	4.00	2.50	2.75	1.9	3.0	2.7	1.9	1.7
1390-9	4.00	2.50	2.50	1.9	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
1400-9	4.00	2.50	2.75	1.9	3.1	2.8	1.9	1.8
1410-9	4.25	2.75	3.00	2.0	3.1	2.8	1.7	1.6
1420-9	4.50	2.75	3.00	1.8	3.1	2.8	1.7	1.6
1430-9	4.75	3.00	3.25	2.0	3.2	2.9	1.8	1.7
1440-9	4.50	2.75	3.50	1.4	2.3	1.8	1.5	1.1
1450-9	6.00	3.50	3.50	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.1	1.1
1460-9	6.00	3.75		1.0	1.7		1.2	
1470-9	6.00	3.75						
1480-9	5.50	3.50	2.50					
1490-9	6.00	3.75		1.2	1.9		1.7	
1500-9	5.25	3.25	2.50	1.7	2.8	3.6	1.7	2.2
1510-9	4.75	3.50	3.00	1.7	2.4	2.8	1.1	1.6
1520-9	5.25	3.50	3.00	2.1	3.1	3.7	1.9	2.2
1530-9	6.00	4.00	3.00	2.2	3.3	4.3	1.7	2.3
1540-9	6.50	4.75	4.00	2.0	2.7	3.2	1.6	1.9
1550-9	8.00	5.50	4.50	3.1	4.5	5.4	2.5	3.1
1560-9	9.00	7.00	6.00	3.3	4.3	5.0	2.2	2.6
1570-9	10.50	7.50	7.25	2.5	3.6	3.7	2.1	2.2

The wage rates are rounded up or down to the nearest 0.25 of a penny.

The craftsmen were - carpenters, thatchers and plasterers. The work done by the Farm labourers included hedging, ditching, threshing, cutting and general tasks.

Occupations and Wealth in Halesworth 1653 AD - 1840 AD

(i) The 17th Century

At the beginning of the period most small market towns had populations of a thousand inhabitants or less, and some were little more than large villages. Weekly markets served as convenient centres of exchange for the inhabitants of the towns and their surrounding villages. Craft guilds were non-existent, and craftsmen were often organised into broader manufacturing groups. In towns like Halesworth, although the trend was towards local industrial specialisation, many tradesmen were just providing for basic needs. In Halesworth over 50% of those with an occupation other than labouring worked in the clothing, food and drink and building trades.

Many manufacturing operations were still closely linked to the land and agricultural products. Halesworth attracted not only its food supplies but also raw materials. Spinners, weavers, tailors and others in the clothing trades depended upon wool and hemp. Butchers and knackers congregated in Halesworth on market day. Butchers dominated as holders of market stalls, and supplied meat for food trades, hide and skins for curriers and tanners, and tallow for candle and soap makers. Millers were supplied with grain, bakers with flour, and maltsters and brewers with barley. In the rural area growing subsistence corn and keeping a few cattle, went hand in hand with spinning or weaving linen cloth, occupations that could employ women and children as well as men.

In late 17th century Halesworth there were more craftsmen employed in the leather industry than in any other. In 1674 there were at least two curriers and three tanners processing the hides before the leather was worked on by glovers, shoemakers, collarmakers and saddlers. This reflected the continuing concentration on dairying, cattle rearing and fattening, in the river valleys and the wood pasture areas of the clay plateau north and west of the town. However, increasing specialisation and division of labour produced distinctions between capital and labour. The major industries were being subdivided into the different manufacturing operations. Merchant employers with capital acted as middlemen by organising the various processes, 'putting out' materials such as hemp, wool, yarn and leather to domestic workers in town and village, and collected and dealing in the finished products. Commercial expansion depended therefore on available mercantile capital and credit, and a supply of cheap semi-skilled labour.

Many craftsmen like bakers, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths and carpenters, continued to produce on a limited scale for the local market. They used hand tools and simple machinery in small domestic workshops. Entry to a trade was by a seven year apprenticeship followed by promotion to journeyman. However, the need for capital stopped many from becoming master craftsmen; they frequently remained wage earners, working for the middlemen organisers.

There was a concentration of wealth in a small number of Halesworth families. Several used their capital to organise the manufacture of clothing and leather goods, while others dealt wholesale in both manufactured goods and agrarian produce. Merchants sent cheese and butter to London via the Southwold coasting trade, while others were buying and selling considerable amounts of linen yarn.

Many of the wealthy continued to own land in and around Halesworth, and their town houses reflected affluence in the number of heated rooms they had. The Hearth Tax returns of 1674 show that those with four or more hearths included several drapers, a grocer and a currier, as well as professional men such as doctors.

The returns list 226 households inhabiting 167 houses in Halesworth. However, 118 households were exempt from paying tax, as they were too poor, with nearly all of them living in small cottages containing a single hearth. If we compare the returns with the Parish Register we find that 46 of the poor households were headed by widows, and many of the rest were headed by labourers, shoemakers or those who worked in the seasonal building trades. Clearly with over half the households described as being poor there was a need to help those in desperate

circumstances. The small almshouse near the church was in a ruinous state so in 1686 with money left by William Carey, a new almshouse was erected ‘as a habitation for 12 or more poor single women and single men’.

Many widows and single women needed to work to survive. They formed an abundant female workforce with basic needle skills, for the growing ready made clothing industry. What the available evidence cannot tell us is how many widows or wives were working in their own homes, stitching clothes or spinning yarn, using materials ‘put out’ to them by drapers or tailors. Or how many younger family members were apprentices or servants.

Fig 22: House Types & Rooms 1674 - 1700.

House Types and the Number of Hearths	Number of Rooms	Likely Rooms
Two or three cell type house divided into two cottages. One hearth in each.	2 - 3 in each cottage	Hall,* parlour & upstairs chamber or loft
Two or three cell type house divided into two cottages. Two hearths in each.	2 - 5 in each cottage	Including hall* (or low room*), shop service room and/or back-house and upstairs chamber.*
Two or three cell type house. Two hearths.	2 - 5	Hall,* Parlour,* shop and two upstairs chambers (one could be heated instead of the parlour).
Three cell type house. Four or more hearths.	7 - 9 +	Including hall,* parlour,* shop, pantry, dairy, buttery,two or three upstairs chambers* and garrett.

*Heated rooms

(ii) The Possessions of the Poor

One pewter dish, two iron pots, two brass skillets, a wooden can, leather bottle, a hook, a pair of andirons, a warming pan and a hatchet. An old bedstead, a blanket & two bolsters, and a pair of sheets. Two chairs and four old chairs. Daubing tools, and a bunching block for dressing hemp. Value of goods £1 9s 2d. The Inventory of a Poor Hemp Dresser (1681).

Halesworths’ population was being served by nine inns and a number of small ale-houses. Many of the common alehouses were probably in Chediston Street; several were unlicensed and often disorderly. William Barfoot was an ale-house keeper and small brewer. The inventory of his possessions made after his death in 1705 provides a description of his ale-house. It was small containing hall and parlour with two chambers above, and only the hall and hall chamber were heated. There was also a garret in the roof, a backhouse of buttery and wash house behind the ground floor rooms, and a cellar possibly below the hall. The beer was drunk in the hall as it contained one table, two stools and fourteen chairs. The beer was provided in pewter tankards and pots, ranging in size from a half-pint to a quart. In the backhouse rooms were the brewing vessels. These were a ‘*tyn boiler and cover, one iron pott, two old tubbs, three keelers, two empty half barrells and four empty barrells.*’ In the cellar were ‘*two barrells of beer one decayed.*’ The value of the whole inventory was £29 9s 0d

Ranked according to wealth, ale-house keepers & brewers were generally just above poor labourers and widows (inventories valued from £15-£20). They were of similar status to shoemakers (£32) but well below farmers (£79-£400) and merchants (£181-£443)

(iii) The 18th Century

In the 18th century Halesworth was still a town of small businesses, supplying a local urban market, and the needs of the surrounding countryside. In 1724 Daniel Defoe commented that 'East Suffolk was the first district of England feeding and fattening both sheep and cattle with turnips.' The country along the Waveney Valley and around Halesworth was used for this purpose, as the local farmers were within reach of London, with its growing population, and had grazing, straw and root crops readily available.

There was an agreement between 'the Lord of the Manor of Halesworth, and the county Gentlemen, Graziers and Drovers of North Britain that the last Market day in May (from about 1710) would be supplied with lean cattle.' There was also a strong trade in Scotch beasts like Galloways. These could be purchased at the autumn 'Bullock Fair,' yard fed over the winter, and in summer run over the 'ollands and summerleys,' as well as the permanent pasture. After fattening the cattle were sent on to the London market. New opportunities were there for those with capital prepared to take a risk. In the 1750's Henry Nursey a Halesworth butcher, carried on the business of being a cattle drover. The moving of cattle was an occupation compatible with being a prosperous butcher.

Others like Alderman Skoulding the son of a draper, and Richard Whincup a Halesworth grocer, used their capital in other directions. Although Skoulding called himself a liqueur merchant, he was ready to deal in any commodity that would turn a profit. He amassed property including warehouses, coal yards, and a malthouse and kiln beyond the Angel Yard. In 1726 Richard Whincup dealt in the following commodities which were stored on his premises:-

Warehouse – Sugar, currants, raysons, spirits, figs, ginger, sweet oil, rice, bees-wax,

indigo, vinegar & paper.

Stables – Tobacco, soap, oker, malloses, casks and a parcel of yarn.

Chandle House & Yard – Tallow etc (for making candles).

Chamber – Tobacco.

Rush Chamber – Rushes (14 gross) & besoms; a parcel of yarn

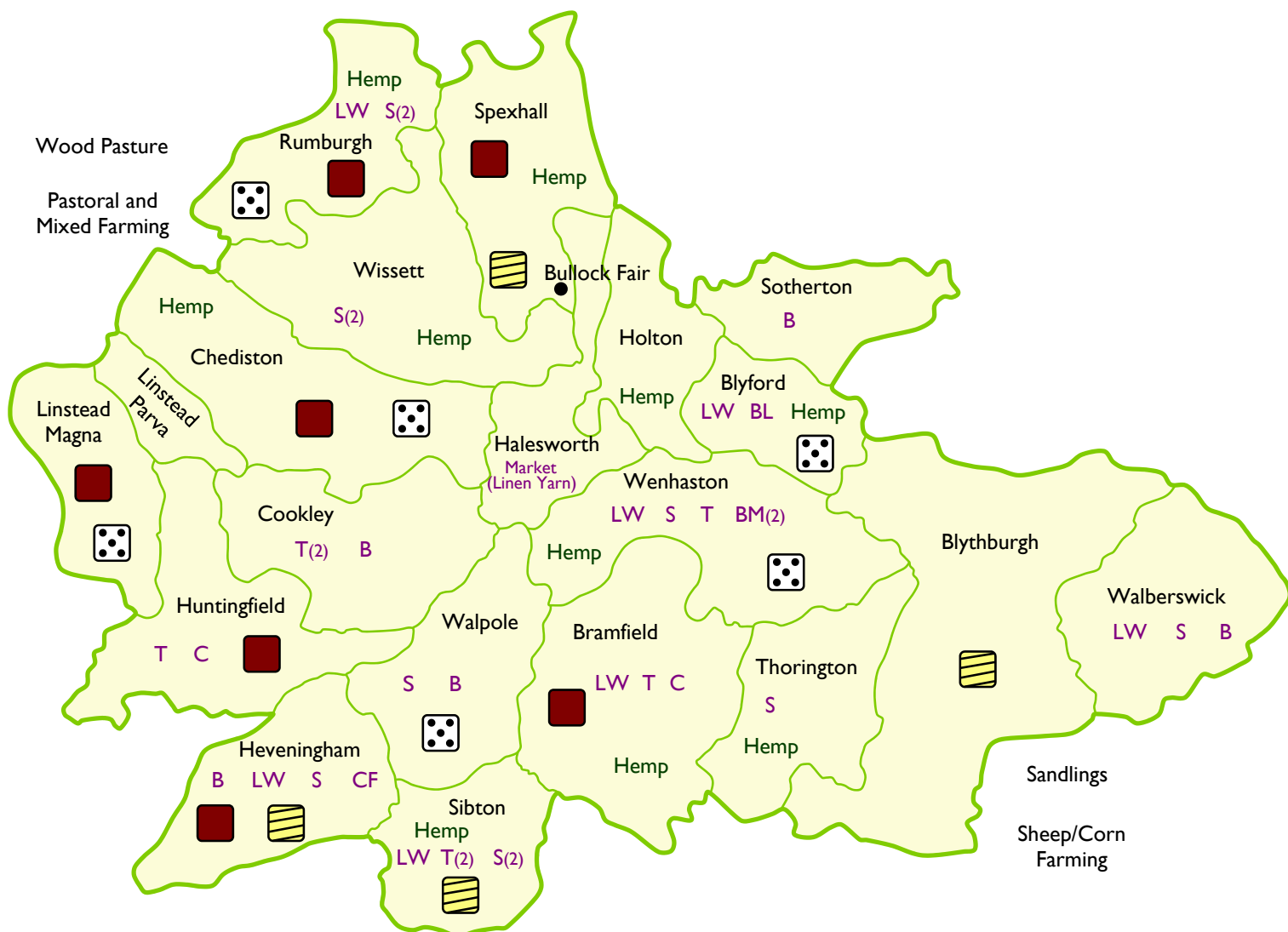
Shop Chamber – Tare yarn (finely dressed hemp) & cotton.

Shop – Pins, pipes, gunpowder, shott, nails & salt; linen cloth, thread, 5 dozen holland inkle and parcels of laces and tapes.

(Inkle was a linen tape used for girdles and apron strings, and cheaper sorts of trimmings.)

The insatiable appetite of the Norwich worsted industry for yarn spun from long staple wool provided extra income for many women and children in the Halesworth area. Some of these 'new draperies' contained worsted yarn mixed with linen yarn, and the age-old establishment of the hempen linen industry in the villages around Halesworth, meant that linen yarn was readily available. Although it was mostly Norfolk combers who controlled the spinning of local worsted yarn, the weaving of some worsted 'stuffs' was carried out in Halesworth. This was organised by a Suffolk comber, and was enough to provide work for 30 local spinners at a wage of 5d a day (children 2d). However, only a small percentage of the local linen yarn went to producing worsted 'stuffs.' The rest was still used by weavers to produce a 'hempen linen' fabric for the local market.

Map 23: Economic Links: The Rural Setting






Key:

Village Trades 1650 - 1699

BL Bricklayer B Butcher BM Brickmaker C Cordwainer CF Cheese Factor
 LW Linen Weaver S Spinner T Tailor

The growing of Hemp for the local linen industry: Hemp

Dairy Cows, Cattle Rearing and Sheep Returns 1803.

-  Cows above 8 per 100 acres
-  Young Cows and Oxen above 5 per 100 acres
-  Sheep above 11.4 per 100 acres

Blything Hundred averages:

Cows 4.6 per 100 acres
 Young Cows and Oxen 3.0 per 100 acres
 Sheep 11.4 per 100 acres

'The town is populous, and the Market good. There is plenty of linen yarn, which the women of the county spin, partly for the use of families, and partly for sale. Good commodity for trade.' Thomas Cox (c1730).

In 1753 a group of businessmen and landowners decided to improve the river Blyth so that boats of 20-30 tons could sail from Southwold Harbour to Halesworth. The hope was that the new navigation would enable keels and wherries to carry grain from Halesworth and surrounding villages to Southwold harbour, and return with cheap coal to fire the furnaces of developing rural industries. The leading entrepreneur for the enterprise was a Halesworth brewer Thomas Knights. Knights hoped that the Navigation would solve his financial problems by increasing trade and prosperity in the town. On the 4th May 1753, John Reynolds surveyed the river and produced an estimate for the work of £4614. A number of shopkeepers and innkeepers were persuaded to subscribe money towards the cost of an Act of Parliament. However, there was some opposition to the scheme from merchants who tried to discourage trade on the river, while others felt that Reynolds estimate was far too high.

On 1st April 1757, the Act to make the river Blyth navigable from Halesworth to Southwold was given the Royal Assent. Between 1757 and 1759 new surveys were carried out by Langley Edwards from Norfolk. Edwards commented that he would *'make the river navigable for 50ft long barges, loaded with 26 tons of coal, and 2 and a half-foot draft of water. To do this the work would include making the river wider and deeper and cutting off sharp corners all the way to a place about 1 furlong below Blyford Bridge. The tide will set up the barges to that place once every 13 hours.'* He subsequently prepared a cheaper scheme costing £3000, which was accepted by the Commissioners. By 1761 subscriptions had raised a total of £3587. (Only £225 came from Halesworth!)

In 1759 James Colleson the contractor employed to make the Navigation, began to dig out new cuts and deepen nearly 5 miles of the Blyth above Blythburgh Bridge. The New Reach (formally the New Cut) was a wider and straighter channel running from the Blyth to the new quay basin east of Halesworth Bridge. The 'Navigators' dug out the basin, while bricklayers and others worked on rebuilding bridges and constructing five new locks. Two brick locks were made at Halesworth and Wenhaston Mill; and wood faggots were used for the other three at Mells, Blyford and Bulcamp.

In July 1761, the first keel with a cargo of coal reached Halesworth. A keel or wherry could transport 9 chaldrons of coal from Blackstone Quay to Halesworth in one day. By road the same amount would need four heavy wagons, each pulled by four horses. By June 1762 a warehouse and crane had been erected on Halesworth quay. The warehouse was advertised as being where *'Corn and all kinds of goods may safely be deposited therein;'* while from the Quay it was said that *'All persons may be supplied with the very best coals, cinders, lime, brick Holland tiles, deals and wainscot.'* By 1764 a further £330 had been subscribed to build a second warehouse and landing place south west of the quay on land between the New Reach and the river.

By 1774 the quay was a busy, grimy and noisy place; there were great heaps of bricks, stones and timbers on it, while nearby were open coal grounds, coke ovens and lime kilns. An iron merchant obtained permission to lay coals on the quay, and to build a warehouse for lodging the iron that was floated up the river. In the following year a new granary was built to house the corn brought up to Halesworth quay. Soon the keels were replaced by wherries which were faster and easier to manage. During the 1770's the river trade was good with tolls and dues averaging £146 a year, meaning perhaps 300-400 journeys a year.

After 1750 there was an increase in those involved in servicing the local economy and Halesworth society. Some services like medicine, law, transport and domestic service had existed in the 17th century. Professional service, with its high costs to the consumer, had only been available to the wealthy. But as the economy became more complicated, those services that had been carried out within the framework of existing enterprises developed as separate entities in the town. Demands were raised for lawyers, accountants, engineers and surveyors. Industrial growth and specialisation resulted in the larger scale farmers and merchants needing better management controls, agents and salesmen, financial and credit arrangements through bankers, and the protection afforded by insurance.

In 1782 Gurney and Turner opened a branch of their Yarmouth bank in the town, and it soon became the centre for most of their Suffolk banking activities.

From 1785 the Bungay to Ipswich turnpike ran through the town, connecting at Darsham with the London and Yarmouth road, so Halesworth shopkeepers were able to order a variety of clothes and manufactured goods from London. There was also the appetite for entertainment services through music and local theatre. Affluent families were spending more on luxury items supplied by china dealers, milliners etc. A number of different types of lightweight pottery and porcelain were available from shopkeepers in the town. They were ideal for the growing middle-class market in Halesworth and the fashion for tea wares, which was first met by importing expensive Chinese and continental porcelain. The new types, especially creamware and its blue glazed variety pearlware, soon eclipsed the heavier delftware, and the utilitarian glazed red earthenware. Nearer to home the Lowestoft porcelain factory was producing a saleable product to meet the demand for cheaper dinner and tea wares.

In the 18th century, the poor were regarded as the responsibility of the parish where they had 'legal settlement.' They were given 'out-relief,' money, clothing, winter fuel and medical assistance in their own homes. Their children could be apprenticed, and as a last resort the parish paid for a pauper's funeral.

During the second half of the 18th century, the agricultural labourers weekly wages became linked to the price of wheat. Providing its price remained stable, two days ordinary work (2s 0d) purchased enough bread or flour to feed an average family for the whole week. However between 1756 and 1769, the average price of wheat rose to over 5s a bushel. More labourers were forced to apply to the overseers of the poor for help. The wealthy occupiers of land, who paid the bulk of the poor rates, were keen to see their rising burden decrease. One answer was to provide a single 'poor-house' for a large group of parishes. The parishes in Blything hundred, including Halesworth, were united for all aspects of poor relief, forming a single legally recognised body under the control of elected directors and guardians. Their first meeting was held at the Angel Halesworth in June 1764. Financial success depended on building a house of industry that would be run by a professional staff, and large enough to contain several hundred paupers.

The newly incorporated parishes of Blything Hundred raised sufficient capital to cover the expense of building and equipping a '*House of Industry*,' capable of responding to the needs of four hundred pauper inmates. John Borrett was contracted to make and supply the bricks, although 100,000 bricks were also purchased from James Pepper of Halesworth. By the time the construction of the house at Bulcamp was finished, the cost had risen to over £11,000. It then needed to be fitted out and made ready to receive its first inmates. The directors preferred to place contracts with tradesmen in the local area. The Building Committee awarded contracts to the value of £2,414, with most of the business going to craftsmen and suppliers in Halesworth, Wenhaston, Southwold and villages close to the House. William Vincent of Halesworth carried out the plumbing and glazing work; the Halesworth brazier William Wade supplied '*Coppers*,' boilers and most of the kitchen utensils; weavers supplied 1350 yards of half-white Suffolk hempen cloth for sheeting, as well as hemp table cloths, towels and pillow cases; and Henry Nursey was one of several butchers to supply beef and mutton. The 'House' was also supplied with an extensive range of clothing for the inmates including 100 coats, gowns, undercoats and caps, and 192 pairs of breeches and hose. The injection of so much capital must have had a major impact on the local economy, stimulating production and providing extra disposable income.

The '*House of Industry*' at Bulcamp was opened on the 13th October 1766, and provided 'facilities for the care and education of the young; the instruction and employment of the able-bodied; the humane treatment of the old; the medical care of the sick; and the '*correction of the indolent and disruptive pauper*.' 56 paupers were admitted on the first day of which 13 came from Halesworth. Between 1766 and the end of 1771 over 80 paupers from Halesworth made the journey to Bulcamp. By 1772 the total number of inmates was 343.

(iv) The 19th Century

By the end of the century Halesworth was ceasing to be a market for the local dairy farmers, who supplemented their income from growing hemp. Dairying declined as higher prices gave farmers the expectation of better profits from grain and bullock fattening. There was a growing need for bread, malt and beer from the London market. There had been a trade in grain from Southwold harbour to London, since before 1750. Wheat, peas, beans and above all barley, which grew well on the lighter soils were the main exports of the village merchants who organised the coastal trade. The 'Holden Directory' of 1811 stated that *'barges from Halesworth pass down the Blyth Navigation 3 or 4 times a week with corn for the London Market.'* The London corn factors installed an agent in Halesworth as a corn bonanza steadily increased the trade. The big London brewers were also looking for local maltsters to malt the barley for them, before it was shipped to London.

In the late 18th century, it had been the general trend for linen weavers to concentrate in towns. Small scale 'factories' (weaving shops) were established in Halesworth, where master weavers could employ two or three journeyman weavers at 1s to 1s 6d a day. They purchased their yarn from spinners living nearby or from grocers and drapers in the 'Halesworth Yarn Market,' and made it into linen cloth of various degrees of fineness. They concentrated on cheaper, course types of linen and sold the cloth in their immediate neighbourhood or to shopkeepers in Halesworth.

However, the local hemp cloth industry was affected by competition from cheaper cotton goods. Produced in the mills and weaving sheds of the north, they were 'generally used, and in nearly all cases substituted for hemp cloth and sold for not more than a quarter of the price.' The decline in demand for home spun yarn from the Norwich worsted Industry aggravated the existing distress, while the spinners and linen weavers in Halesworth also faced competition from Bulcamp House of Industry where the inmates were employed in spinning hemp, and weaving linen cloth for use in the House.

During the early decades of the 19th century the local linen industry continued to decline. It was noted that *'The chief manufacture of Halesworth had been the spinning of linen yarn giving employment to many in the area.'* In Ipswich in 1819 *'a depression in trade led to a fall in price of every description of drapery goods.'* From 1815 the wages of handloom weavers declined by 60%. The problems of linen and worsted were only part of a general decline in rural areas; workers in the old industrial centres of East Anglia had few opportunities for alternative employment and no escape from chronic unemployment, high food prices, and the poverty of low agricultural wages.

Between 1801 and 1830 the population of Halesworth grew from 1,676 to nearly 2,500 inhabitants (528 families) living in 491 houses. In 1831 of those with occupations 44% worked in the retail trade, and another 40% were labourers or in domestic service. Its many labour intensive trades attracted those from nearby villages like Holton and Chediston who were prepared to 'seek opportunity,' and already possessed the skills that made finding employment easier. But by 1830 over 30% of able-bodied men in the Blything Hundred were said to be unemployed. Agricultural labourers who moved to Halesworth desperate for work, found themselves in competition with many others. These low-income families were forced to live in the already crowded tenements and yards of Chediston Street and Pound Street. In January 1830 a 'Census was made of all the Pauper families' living in Halesworth; 322 poor families (or 61% of the total) were listed. These included 24 widows, another 11 widows with children, and 100 families with 3 or more children. Out of a total population of 2473, over 1100 were living in poverty.

By 1830 Halesworth trade using the Blyth Navigation, was nearly double all trade using Southwold and Reydon quays. 60% of the grain shipped from Southwold came from Halesworth, while most of the coal bought in by collier was destined for the town. There was a coach building works and an iron foundry in the town. Commercial and industrial activity had shifted towards the river and the north of the town although an enterprising linen manufacturer and draper like James Aldred of Chediston Street could still make a living until the 1840's.

Map 24: The Hemp Industry in Halesworth 1790 - 1850

Chediston Street
and Market Place

Hemp Cloth
Manufactory,
Weavers, Dyers,
Linen Drapers,
Bleach Ground
and Twine
Spinner.

Quay Street and
Bridge Street area

Weavers, Bleach
Ground and Linen
Draper.



Pound Street and
Honeypot Lane

Hemp Dressers,
Weavers, Rope
and Twine Maker,
Rope Walk and
Twine Spinner.

But with its prosperity dependent on serving the surrounding rural area, the town had probably reached the limit of its economic expansion and was increasingly vulnerable to the depressed nature of farming. Suffolk was becoming an industrial backwater, unable to compete, as changes wrought by the industrial revolution; mechanisation and large-scale factory production saw industry concentrated in areas close to sources of coal and iron.

(v) James Aldred Hemp Cloth Manufacturer, Draper & Grocer 1779 - 1846.

James Aldred was the son of John and Mary Aldred of Wissett. John was a linen weaver, and James probably finished his apprenticeship with his father before moving to Halesworth in 1799 to set up his own linen weaving business. He occupied a house owned by his father on the south side of Chediston Street, and used the weaving shop next door. In 1802 James purchased the weaving shop and the property that stood between it and the street. It is believed that James married soon after, and that his wife gave birth to a son James and a daughter Mary (both are mentioned in James Aldred's will). After the death of his first wife James married Sarah Leavold. Members of Sarah's family were merchants in Beccles and linen drapers in Ipswich. Their children, John Thomas (1820), William Henry (1822) and Sarah (1825) were all christened in the Halesworth Independent Chapel, where Sarah had been a member since 1809. By the time of his marriage to Sarah in 1819 Aldred was advertising his business as a Hemp Cloth Manufactory.

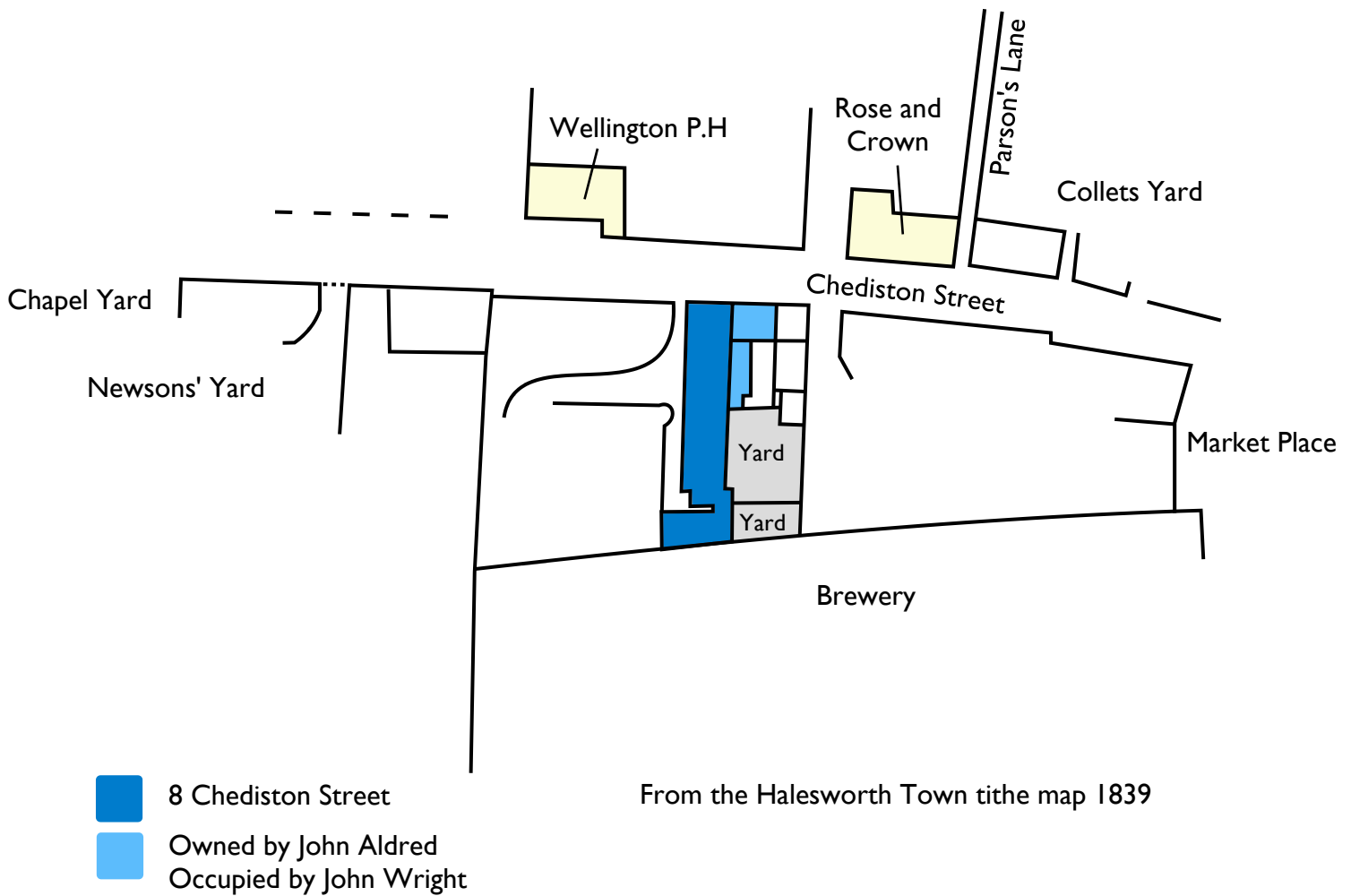
In 1827 James Aldred was offering his large stock of cloth at reduced prices, so that he could continue to keep in employment, though at reduced wages the very large number of poor persons who were dependent upon his establishment for support. Between 1827 and 1830 James borrowed a total of £500. The money probably paid for storage improvements to the premises next to his Manufactory, to accommodate his new business venture. It seems that the only way he could continue in business as a manufacturer was to branch out into selling a general stock of '*Grocery, Drapery, Hosiery and Haberdashery.*'

In 1830 James placed an advert in the Ipswich Journal introducing respectable families to the quality and durability of the family linens that he was still manufacturing. Not only was he selling them at a reduced price, he had a network of drapers from Norwich to Ipswich acting as his agents. It appears that manufacturing the hemp cloth was a family business. James was the manufacturer and wholesale supplier, while his father John (and later his brother Robert), grew and retted the raw hemp and bleached the woven cloth in Wissett. The advantages for the business were that all three had capital and income from other occupations. John and Robert were both farmers, and by the time Robert took over as the 'bleacher', he was occupying 220 acres; owning Whitehouse Farm and Brook Farm and leasing Bleach Farm.

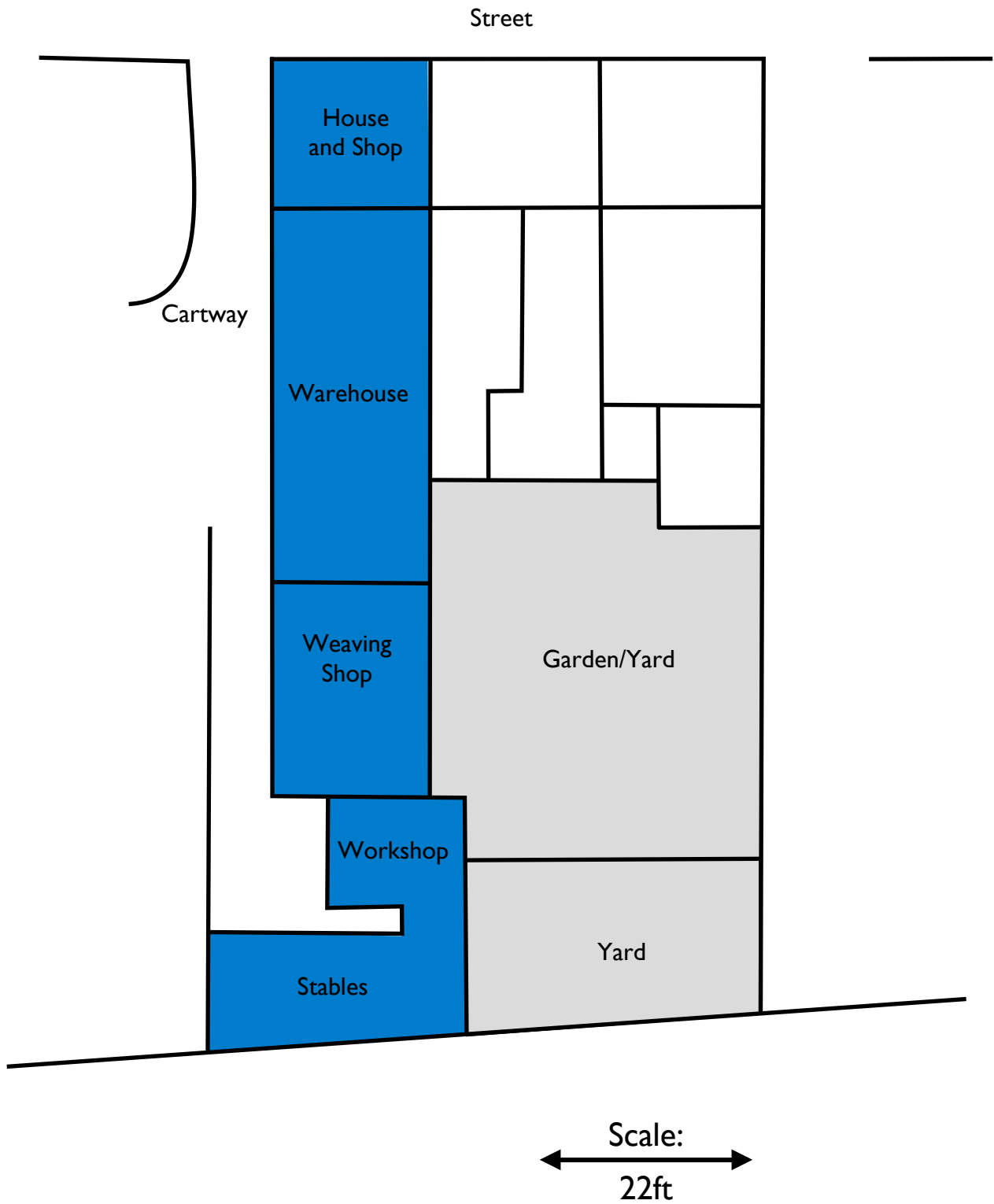
However, the collapse of the hemp cloth market in the face of overwhelming competition from power looms and cheap cottons meant that the inevitable demise of the manufacturing business was only delayed. By the summer of 1839 James Aldred was concentrating almost entirely on the drapery side of his business, having moved to new premises in the Market Place next to the Kings Arms. Upmarket and fine linens from Ireland and Europe now formed the bulk of his shop stock. By the end of 1842 James Aldred was no longer manufacturing cloth and was looking for a tenant for the premises in Chediston St.

James Aldred died in 1846 aged 68. He instructed his executors to auction or sell by private contract, his household effects, the tenement in Chediston St, and the stock from his farm at Sotherton. Before her death in 1849 Sarah Aldred agreed to sell the shop and property in Chediston St to Daniel Croft. In 1861 part of the property including the old weaving shop, was described as a '*Lodging House.*' (No.8 Chediston Street now stands on the site of James Aldred's Hemp cloth Manufactory).

Map 25.1: The Location of James Aldred's Hemp Manufactory in Chediston Street



Map 25.2: Premises in Chediston Street occupied by James Aldred (1838) Hemp Cloth Manufacturer, Draper and Grocer



Malting and Brewing in Halesworth 1750 - 1900

During the 18th century the brewing trade in Halesworth began to attract self-reliant entrepreneurs with a solid financial base and capital to invest. Men already involved with farming, and trading in bulky goods such as coal, timber, and lime. If any of them needed a lesson on the importance of a sound financial base they only had to look at the example of the Halesworth brewer Thomas Knights. Undeterred by a lack of financial resources, he acquired brewing and malting property in the Town, including the Green Man and its brewery, the Swan, and the Angel with a large amount of land down to the river. Behind the Angel yard he built a brewery with malthouse and store. However, by 1750 Knights was in trouble. Perhaps he expected a large inheritance following the death of his uncle Phillip, who was also a brewer. Phillip Knights inventory was valued at £429 but the money spent by his executors totalled £546.

Prominent among the new entrepreneurs attracted to the Town was Robert Reeve. Brought up in the malting business, he moved to Halesworth and found success as a maltster, brewer and merchant. In 1758 he acquired the Pound pightle malthouse, and in 1764 he became the tenant of the Three Tuns and its brewery. Like many successful brewers he purchased a number of public houses in Halesworth to give his brewery a ready market. After his death in 1793 his son James took over the brewing business. Eventually it was to include over thirty public houses in and around Halesworth.

Another who was attracted to the Town was John Woodcock the son of a wealthy draper from Harleston. Woodcock purchased the brewery and maltings in Bridge Street, and acquired land next to the quay where he had brickyards and coal sheds. By 1798 his property also included five public houses in Halesworth, a maltings at Reydon, and public houses in Southwold. In addition he went into partnership with Samuel Bradeley, a wholesale brewer who owned two public houses in the Town.

By 1801 the population of Halesworth was well served by 19 public houses and a 'Beer Hall.' 11 public houses belonged to the Woodcock/Badeley partnership or James Reeves. The rise of the common brewer with control of retail outlets was an increasing threat to the small-scale retail brewer, providing for a single public house or the limited household trade.

By the end of the 18th century consumer tastes had changed from porter to lighter beer. Consequently the big London brewers like Truman, Whitbread and Barclays were using a pale malt, and the best pale malt was produced from Norfolk and Suffolk barley. The high grain prices and the expectation of better profits encouraged many local farmers to growing more barley. In 1801-2 Suffolk was making more bushels of malt than any other county.

Early in the new century, Messrs Prest the London corn factors, established their agent Hammond Ringwood in a house in Quay Street, close to the Navigation and next to several newly erected malthouses. Prospects remained high, and in 1813 the price of malt rose to three times what it had been in 1788. Even though the period immediately after the French Wars (1815) proved difficult, the demand for grain and malt from the London market continued to grow. However in 1819 Messrs Prests went bankrupt and Ringwood emerged from the crisis in possession of a lime-kiln yard, coal sheds, granaries and the maltings with two kilns.

After John Woodcock's death his brewing and malting property was sold to Dawson Turner the Yarmouth banker, and William Hooker. They in turn sold the Bridge Street Brewery in 1821 to Patrick Stead and John Robinson. They were only interested in the makings as they already owning a number in South Norfolk and East Suffolk, and needed extra capacity to meet their contracts for supplying malt to London brewers. The malting and brewing trades were given further encouragement by changes made by the Government. In 1830 the tax on beer was scrapped, and at the same time the 'Beer house Act' was passed allowing small households to open beer-shops without a licence. Consumption of beer increased as did the London brewers appetite for Suffolk malt. By 1839 there were five maltsters in Halesworth - Edward Prime, Samuel Self in Chediston Street, Martin George,

William Atmer at the Angel, and of course Patrick Stead. Prime and Self were also brewers, and the other common brewers were Reeve & Cracknell of the Halesworth Brewery, and Henry Searle (also a beer retailer). There were 12 public houses in the town, 6 of which belonged to Reeve & Cracknell, and 6 beer houses, including 3 in Chediston Street that may have received their supplies from Samuel Self.

During the 1830's Patrick Stead committed himself to Halesworth because 'the quality of the water and also the quality of the barley which is grown in the neighbourhood is so good I cannot find any so good anywhere else.' In 1837 Stead purchased land to the east and south of the old brewery in Bridge Street on which he built a complex of four new maltings and kilns. He also spent £200 on constructing a lock to connect the Town River with the Navigation. This enabled wherries to sail past the Quay and load up beside the Bridge Street maltings. He then purchased the Quay maltings and land next to the Navigation from Hammond Ringwood where he built more maltings

Between 1837 & 1841 he sent over 16000 quarters of malt each year to London. One customer alone Truman Hanbury, paid him over £3,800 per annum (1838-51). Also like other successful men in Halesworth, Stead was prepared to deal in any bulk commodity that could be carried by wherry between Halesworth Quay and Southwold Harbour.

By the 1840's there were a dozen wherries belonging to Halesworth merchants, carrying corn and malt down river, and returning from Southwold with timber chalk and coal. During the malting season of eight months at least three 25-30 ton wherries a week were loaded with malt at Halesworth.

Ever on the look out to increase his capacity to produce quality malt, Stead erected a kiln in the form of a 50ft tower, divided into 5 stories, and heated by steam pipes and a hot air blast. The green malt started on the top floor and was moved down each day, and was ready for market on the 4th or 5th day. For four years he supplied Trumans' with malt prepared this way, but in 1847 the system failed and he suffered financial loss. This was one of several problems that eventually led him to sell his business in Halesworth. He was increasingly frustrated by the silting up of Southwold Harbour and the deteriorating condition of the locks and bridges on the Navigation. He also felt that the railways were the future and that they '*would do away with small ports*'. Patrick Stead sold all his holdings in Halesworth to Trumans' for £18,000 and retired to Scotland.

During the 1840's the Reeve family sold their brewing empire to their partner Thomas Cracknell, who put it all up for sale in 1855. Thompson George purchased the Halesworth Brewery, the Three Tuns and 13 public houses. After Thompson George's death the brewery became the property of Messrs Croft & Flick who also owned the maltings behind the Angel yard. In 1888 The Halesworth Brewery was sold to the Colchester Brewing Co. Ltd.

In 1850 Strathern & Paul established the Family Brewery in Bungay Road using the premises owned by Edward Prime. After purchasing the site in 1861, Parley Strathern rebuilt the brewery and enlarged the adjacent maltings. When the brewery was reopened in 1870 it was renamed 'The Prince of Wales Brewery.' Meanwhile the London brewers had appointed Robert Burleigh as their agent to manage the 'Stead Maltings.' Following Burleigh's death in 1883, James Parry a merchant who also dealt in coal, lime and guano became agent. In the 1890's, in response to a better economic climate and an increase in profits, James Parry contracted Wallace Ellis of Wenhaston to build a new maltings in the Station Yard. At the same time Frank Kendall-Chapman decided to rebuild and enlarge his maltings next to The Prince of Wales brewery in Bungay Road. Completed in 1898, this new malting had six floors including two in the roof for barley storage, and a steeping capacity of 80 quarters. At the turn of the century the industry was still thriving with more than 45 tons (300 quarters) of malt being produced in the town each week.

Fig 26: Brewers and Maltsters in Halesworth 1844-5

Name		Location	Rateable value (1844 - 51)*	Other Interests
Edward Prime	Maltster & Brewer	Bungay Road (Business taken over by Riches)		Farmer in Peasenhall with his brother Benjamin. Also a Lime Burner.
Alfred Riches	Maltster & Brewer	Bungay Road (Tenant of prime)	Malt office £22 Brewery £19 5s	Bankers Agent, Coal and Corn Merchant and Lime Burner.
Thomas Cracknell	Maltster & Brewer	Halesworth Brewery, Market Place. (Also 34 public houses)	Malt office £20 Brewery £105	Farmer, Wine and Spirit Merchant.
James Reeve	Brewer	Castle Holton Road		Ex partner of Cracknell.
Samuel self	Maltster & Brewer	Chediston Street	Malt office £9	Beer Retailer.
William Atmer	Maltster & Brewer	The Angel	Malt office £20	Spirit Merchant.
Denny Wade	Brewer	Mill Hill		
Thompson George	Maltster	Angel Pathway (by the river)	Malt office and cottages £60 All property £162	Lime Burner, Coal and Corn Merchant.
Patrick Stead	Maltster	Bridge Street & Quay Street	Maltings £100 Business £600	Coal merchant.

* Highway rate or Poor rate assessments.

(i) Economic Changes 1840 - 1900

The railway arrived at Halesworth in 1854, when a temporary station to the north of the town became the terminus for the line from Haddiscoe and Beccles. By 1859 a permanent station had been built at Bungay Road when the line was extended to Woodbridge, with connections to Ipswich and London. The competition from cheaper rail transport resulted in the steady decline of the river trade using the quay, and the last sailing wherry came up to Halesworth in 1883.

The new transport links helped to change other aspects of the local economy. Inhabitants were able to migrate to London and the industrial districts, attracted by more permanent employment and better pay. A movement later fuelled by the depressed state of agriculture from 1880. In 1891 50,000 Suffolk born people were living in London. The small scale manufacturing enterprises in most East Anglian market towns like Halesworth found it increasingly difficult to compete, even in local rural markets, with cheaper products mass produced in the factories of the Midlands and the industrial North. The basic unit of production in the Town was still the domestic workshop where family members worked. In 1851 there were only three businesses in Halesworth that employed 10 or more workers. A merchant & maltster employed 31; the brickmakers at Church Farm employed 12 men & 9 boys; and an ironfounder employed 11 men & boys. Between them they employed 63 persons, or just 6.6% of the working population. A further 8 businesses, mostly in the clothing trades, employed an average of 5 workers each.

The tailors in the Thoroughfare made clothes for the gentry and middle classes, while those in Chediston St produced and repaired working clothes for the many labouring families living nearby. Drabbett (for labourers' smocks), cotton cord, 'waistcoating and trousering' were purchased from local drapers like William Lincolne.

However, by 1860 80% of men's and boys clothing in England was being mass-produced as ready made and sold by clothiers and outfitters. Joseph Dyer opened his outfitting depot in Halesworth in 1850 and by 1856 he was selling ready made shirts, cords and drabbett overalls. His 'Economical Clothing Depot' had four departments ready made, order, hats and caps, and boot and shoe. In 1864 Dyer left Halesworth to take over 'Womack's' outfitting Depot in Norwich, and he was soon advertising that when ordering by post Halesworth customers would have 30,000 garments to select from.

In 1867 the 'Celebrated Outfitting Establishment of Riches and Skoyles of Norwich' opened a branch at White Hart Corner Thoroughfare, selling suits, coats and other garments suitable for the working classes. Soon ready made clothing for sale in Halesworth could be purchased from factories and warehouses at Syleham 10 miles west of Halesworth, Norwich, Haverhill, Ipswich and London.

By 1881 the number of men and women employed in the tailoring and outfitting trades in Halesworth had declined by almost 50% compared with 1851; and in 1892 there were only two bespoke tailors advertising in the town. *'Except for the best kinds of clothing, the old fashioned tailor has been crushed out; the great bulk of the cheap clothing was in the hands of a class who were not tailors at all in the old sense of the term.'*

Within Halesworth, and in response to the changing economic climate, there was an increase in the size of those businesses which were still supplying an established market, and were not vulnerable as yet to outside competition. In 1881 there were eight businesses employing 10 or more people; a leather currier and boot manufacturer, a leather-seller, a coach maker, a merchant and maltster, a brewer, a draper and grocer, a builder, and a printer. In total they employed 235 persons; 27% of the working population in Halesworth.

(ii) Information about Suffolk from the Report of the Commission into the Working of the Factory and Workshop Acts (1876)

There are textile factories winding and weaving silk, and manufacturing drabbett cloth from cotton and linen; there are several clothing factories, a number of iron foundries, and factories building coaches or making agricultural implements. Dressmaking and millinery form a large proportion of the workshops. (A workshop is a manufacturing establishment that employs less than 50 hands.) Inspectors have the power to enforce regulations in dwelling houses where the occupier carries on a business and employs protected persons - children under 13, young persons 13-18 and women, in a handicraft.

In the principal occupations of the Halesworth area the hours of work are less than 60 a week, and not more than 10 hours a day. Since the passing of the Workshops Regulation Act of 1867, a prosperous time has elapsed. Many servants have become masters, competition is at its keenest, while machinery supplements hand labour; machines are improved on every year. In clothing and boots and shoes workshops the hours are 8 am to 6 pm, or 8am to 7 pm, with Saturday to 1 or 2 pm. In the workshops of dressmakers, milliners and tailors some have asked for permission to work overtime. If children are employed they cannot work for more than 6 ½ hours a day. No children under 8 are to be employed.

There are generally to be found in towns three classes of trades men in each business. (1) The first class enjoys the favours of first class families, opens later and closes earlier than the others. The first class shops are more spacious and better ventilated. (2) Seeks for ready money customers among the class who can afford to purchase a good article. He keeps open to give customers the opportunity of shopping after 6. (3) Catches the multitude who from habit will not shop till late in the evening.

The hours of labour in shops engaged in drapery, millinery, haberdashery, fancy goods, ready made clothing and grocery are 7.30 am to 8 pm; 8 am to 8 pm and 8 am to 7 pm with a short day once a week. On Saturdays the shops keep open till 9, 10 or 11 pm and on market days the same. Breakfast time is generally 30 minutes, dinner 20 minutes and tea the same. On market days during the season there is no time for dinner. In agricultural towns the farm labourers and cottagers come in about 2 or 3 pm; they wander up and down for hours visiting houses for refreshment and drink, and begin shopping about 8 or 9 pm. More money is taken in the third class businesses on a market day or Saturday from 8 pm to 11 pm than during the day.

Drapers employ 3 women for every man. Great improvement has been effected in the employment and treatment of females in shops. Children are generally employed as errand boys, they begin first and leave off last and are put to all sorts of work and receive little education.

Despite the changes in the rural economy the long tradition in Halesworth of processing hides and producing leather goods was strong enough to encourage Walter Ives to set up a 'Boot Factory' in Bridge Street to specialised in the manufacture of boots for the wholesale trade.

Ives was born in Laxfield and moved to Halesworth in his early 20's to start a business in the Market Place as a currier. By 1864 Walter had moved to larger premises in Bridge Street. In 1881 he was manufacturing boots for the wholesale trade, employing 25 men, 16 boys, 8 women and 5 children. In 1892 Walter's son Charles Samuel Ives was making shoes and boots for direct sale in a shop at 8 Thoroughfare. The boot factory was badly damaged by fire in 1900, but was back in production by 1902 when 60 people were employed.

(iii) Employees at the Boot Factory & the Coach Makers

Walter Ives Boot Factory 1881: boot maker, boot worker, boot clicker (2), boot closer (2), boot fitter (4), boot upper machinist, boot machinist at works (5), boot riveter (2) and boot finisher (2).

Sarah Smith coach maker the coach works Bridge Street 1881: manager, coach maker's assistant, coach builder, coach smith (6), body makers (9), trimmers (5), painters (4), painter's labourer, wheelers (2) and coach maker's apprentice.

Table 28: The Economic Structure of Halesworth: The Relative Importance of Occupational Groups (% of work force employed)

(a) 1653 - 1823 *

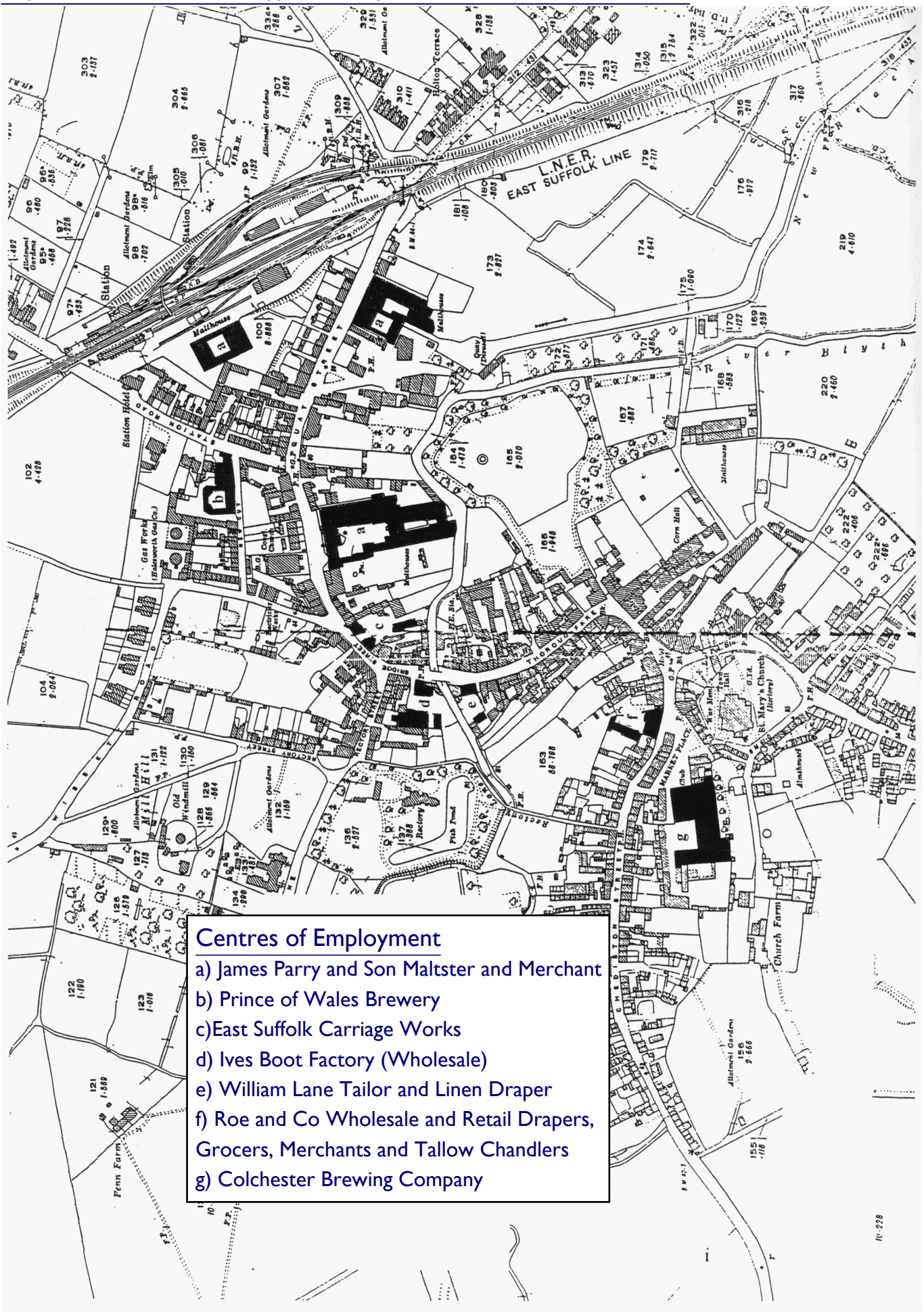
Occupation Group	1653-1699		1729-1760		1761-1785		1813-1823	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Building	12.9	3	10.8	3	9.6	3	9.7	4
Wood	5.3	8	6.6	7	5.0	8	2.5	10
Leather	18.2	1	17.4	2	11.5	2	8.5	6
Metal	5.3	8	5.0	8	6.5	5	3.8	9
Textiles & Clothing	12.0	4	9.3	4	6.9	4	10.2	3
Food	11.2	5	7.5	6	6.5	5	8.9	5
Drink	5.9	6	5.0	8	3.0	9	5.5	8
Miscellaneous	5.7	7	8.1	5	5.8	7	11.0	2
Professional	5.1	10	2.4	10	2.6	10	6.8	7
Agriculture & Labouring	18.2	1	27.8	1	42.0	1	33.0	1
No. Of Individuals	544		334		260		236	

(b) 1841, 1851, 1881 & 1901

Occupational Group	1841 Census		1851 Census		1881 Census		1901 Census	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Building & Wood	9.5	5	8.9	6	8.1	4	7.3	6
Leather†	1.7	13	1.0	13	2.4	10	1.1	13
Metal	6.0	7	5.4	7	7.7	5	8.1	4
Textiles***	2.8	10	2.2	10	1.9	12	2.0	12
Clothing	15.6	2	16.8	2	16.1	2	11.9	3
Food & Drink	10.2	4	11.7	3	13.7	3	17.5	2
Professional Commercial	6.9	6	9.5	5	7.2	6	7.3	6
Distribution	2.8	10	5.1	8	5.8	8	7.0	8
Transport	2.1	12	1.4	12	1.2	13	3.0	10
Other	4.2	8	5.1	8	5.8	8	4.8	9
Domestic Service	21.3	1	20.2	1	21.3	1	18.7	1
Labourers	3.1	9	1.5	11	2.4	10	2.6	11
Agriculture	13.8	3	11.2	4	6.4	7	7.8	5
No. Of Individuals	930		956		831		812	
Population	2662		2662		2498		2246	

* From Parish Registers. † Shoemakers & glovers now included in clothing trades.

** Drapers now included in textile trades.



- Centres of Employment**
- a) James Parry and Son Maltster and Merchant
 - b) Prince of Wales Brewery
 - c) East Suffolk Carriage Works
 - d) Ives Boot Factory (Wholesale)
 - e) William Lane Tailor and Linen Draper
 - f) Roe and Co Wholesale and Retail Drapers, Grocers, Merchants and Tallow Chandlers
 - g) Colchester Brewing Company

The Provision of Health Care in Halesworth after 1840

Introduction

During the period of relative prosperity between 1845 and 1874, the able-bodied poor found employment more easily, and were reluctant to seek relief under the new harsher regime in the Poor Law Institutions. However, the aged and infirm were entering the workhouse in greater numbers, and more inmates were clearly sick and in need of medical and nursing care. As the number of patients increased, so the infirmary or sick ward formed a much larger part of the institution. Workhouse infirmaries though had no outpatients departments or operating rooms. The daily care of the sick was in the hands of nurses, many of who were also paupers in the institution.

After the 1834 Poor Law Act the destitute sick endured much hardship. In 1859 Louisa Twining wrote about the poor quality of workhouse nursing – *‘Crowded wards, and quite apart from humanity, the sick would recover more rapidly if properly nursed.’* The Poor Law Board also encouraged different groups to be accommodated separately. Dangerous lunatics were sent to the County Asylum, quiet lunatics and imbeciles, if present in considerable numbers, were placed in separate wards, and cases of infectious diseases were isolated in a *‘Pest House.’*

(i) Blything Poor Law Union

Under the 1834 Act and subsequent acts the new Blything Poor Law Union was to appoint a Medical Officer. Blything was too big an area for a single medical practitioner to cover. It was divided into Districts, each having a contracted District Medical Officer.

In 1883 The Medical Officer and Public Vaccinator for Halesworth (No 1 District Blything Union) was Dr Pryce Morris. His main duties were: *‘to attend all poor persons requiring medical attendance and supply the requisite medicines according to a written order of the Relieving Officer or the Guardians.’*

The Relieving Officer for No 1 District was H. White (also Inspector of Nuisances to Blything Union Rural Sanitary Authority). His main duties were: *‘to receive applications for relief and to examine the circumstances of every case – state of health, ability to work, condition of family and means of applicant. In cases of sickness or accident requiring medical attendance, he was to procure such attendance from the District Medical Officer. To ascertain from DMO names of any poor persons attended to or supplied with medicines. In cases of urgent necessity, to afford relief either by giving such person an order of admission to the Workhouse and conveying them there, or by affording his relief (not money) out of the Workhouse ‘whether such destitute person be settled in any Parish comprising the Union or not.’* Other duties include supplying weekly allowance to all paupers belonging to the district. To visit, relieve or attend non-settled poor being within the district.

The Inspector of Nuisances was able to remove patients in Halesworth suffering from infectious diseases, and living in unhealthy and overcrowded dwellings, to the isolation hospital or *‘Pest House.’*

In 1896 the new Blything Rural District Council reported *‘that there is a House called the Pest House situated in the Parish of Halesworth, which exists for the purpose of an Isolation Hospital. It is a 17th century building in Loampit Lane. It is kept in rather a basic condition, and is brought into use when infection hits the town’.* In 1902 during a smallpox epidemic, the interior of the Pest House was renovated and ventilated, and made suitable for the reception of patients suffering from the infectious disease.

(ii) The Union Workhouse

In the Blything Union Workhouse⁽²⁾ at Bulcamp the role of the medical staff was crucial as the sick and infirm came to comprise the majority of inmates. The Workhouse Medical Officer was concerned only with the

² The House of Industry became the Union Workhouse in 1835

workhouse premises and those living within its walls. In 1883 The Workhouse Medical Officer was Frederick Haward of Halesworth. His main duties were: *'to attend punctually upon persons in the workhouse requiring medical attendance, and to supply medicines to such persons. To examine paupers on their admission to the workhouse, and to give directions as to the diet, classification and treatment of sick paupers and paupers of unsound mind. To report to the Guardians any pauper of unsound mind in the workhouse deemed to be dangerous, and fit to be sent to the Suffolk Lunatic Asylum at Melton. To give instructions as to the diet or treatment of children or women suckling children, and to vaccinate such of the children as may require vaccination. To report any defect in the arrangements of the infirmary, and in the performance of their duties by the nurses of the sick.'*

In 1881 the only Nurse on the staff at Bulcamp was Harriett Weaver, although she probably had help from inmates. The duties of a nurse were *'to attend upon the sick and lying-in Ward, and to administer all medicines and medical applications, according to the directions of the Medical Officer. To inform the Officer of any defects which may be observed in the arrangements of the sick or lying-in Ward; and to take care that a light is kept at night in the sick ward.'*

In 1901 the Workhouse Medical Officer was Dr Pryce Morris, and the Census returns show that there were now two 'sick nurses' Ellen Knight (aged 22) and Eleanor Cresswell (aged 34).

As life expectancy increased so did the percentage of aged dependent on poor relief. There was also a marked decline in the numbers of paupers entering the workhouse who were in early and middle life. From 1896 the mixed general workhouse, where conditions were supposed to be a deterrent, was encouraged to become a place where the old might *'enjoy their indulgencies.'* The aged and infirm were to have minor luxuries such as tea, coffee and tobacco, and to be allowed to wear their own clothes and where possible to be provided their own room.

(iii) The Patrick Stead Hospital

Until the end of the 19th century there was little treatment a hospital offered which could not be provided just as effectively in a well-appointed domestic house. Therefore the better off paid to be treated in their homes. Hospitals were the first port of call for the sick or injured of the poorer classes. Those involved in accidents or with life threatening sudden illnesses were usually promptly admitted.

Children, incurables, patients with chronic or infectious diseases, the mentally ill and pregnant women were usually sent to the Poor Law Board and Local Authority run workhouse infirmaries and isolation hospitals. The ideal patient was from the respectable labouring poor, able to contribute to the cost of treatment, and likely to get better quickly. However, hospitals frequently ran into financial difficulties. Private rooms with a better standard of accommodation were introduced for richer patients and Flag days were held to raise extra funds.

Cottage Hospitals, like the Patrick Stead, were established in rural areas in order to reduce the distances people had to travel to receive treatment. Local doctors attended to the patients. The cottage hospital had between six and twenty-five beds, and charged a small weekly sum. In design it had a homely and domestic appearance to put patients at ease. The first cottage hospital opened in Surrey in 1859, and by 1875 there were nearly 150 scattered throughout the Country.

In his will Patrick Stead left an initial £1,000 to aid the Rector of Halesworth and three elected parishioners acting as trustees, to establish an Infirmary or Hospital in the Town. Finally out of an estate valued at £56,000 the trustees received over £25,000.

The Patrick Stead Hospital opened on September the 6th 1882. The hospital accounts show that the cost of the building was £4,200 4s 10d and road making and gas fitting added a further £942 to the expenses. There was therefore a balance in hand of about £21,000 from which the only outlay would be the furnishing of the premises. The surgeons in the Town Dr's F Haward and Pryce Morris (joined in 1883 by Dr Percy Warwick) acted as medical officers, and advised the Trustees as to the fittings and equipment needed.

'The Hospital is situated on high ground on the Bungay Road. It is a handsome structure in the Elizabethan style built of red brick with a stone front. It has east and west wings and stands in well laid out grounds of about 3 acres. Inside the building the very newest improvements have been obtained. With an abundance of windows the cheerful sun meets the visitor at every turn. Already many have derived great and lasting good from the institution. The Trustees have been most successful in their choice of matron and nurse, both of whom are gratefully spoken of by all who have been favoured by their skilful and Christian attentions'. (Kelly's Directory 1883 & Lamberts Almanack 1885)

The sick or injured arrived at the Hospital and waited in the 'Outpatient's Waiting Room' until called into the consulting room to see a doctor. He needed to find out quickly if a patient's condition was minor or serious. If minor the patient was given advice, supplied with bandages and sent to queue at the dispensary to collect their medicine. Those who had suffered serious injuries could be admitted to the 'Accident Ward.'

In 1884 a balance sheet was prepared covering the Hospitals' first two years. Cost of medicines and salaries to the medical officers totalled over £190, while the matron's salary and staff wages were £239. It was fortunate that the income received from investing the balance of Stead's bequest amounted to £1,234 16s 9d since only £55 was received as patient contributions.

The in-patients being treated at the Patrick Stead Hospital had to pay a contribution of at least 2s 6d a week. (In 1899 an agricultural labourer's wage was 12s a week.) This was beyond the resources of a large percentage of the population of the Town. Patients inadmissible to the hospital on medical grounds, or too poor to pay would have to apply for help from the District Relieving Officer. For those not able to look after themselves this would mean entry to the Workhouse infirmary at Bulcamp.

(iv) Book of Regulations and Byelaws. (Printed by W. P. Gale 1905.)

The medical arrangements of the Hospital were under the supervision of a committee comprising of the Medical Officers.

Applications for admission by a patient are to be signed by a clergyman, surgeon, magistrate or churchwarden. Admissions were subject to the filling in of four forms. Form of Letter of Recommendation; Form of Undertaking of Friend of Patient; Form of Medical Certificate for Admission and Form of Ticket of Admission.

If on admission the Medical Committee considered a case unsuitable for treatment, the relative or friends shall remove the same if condition so permits.

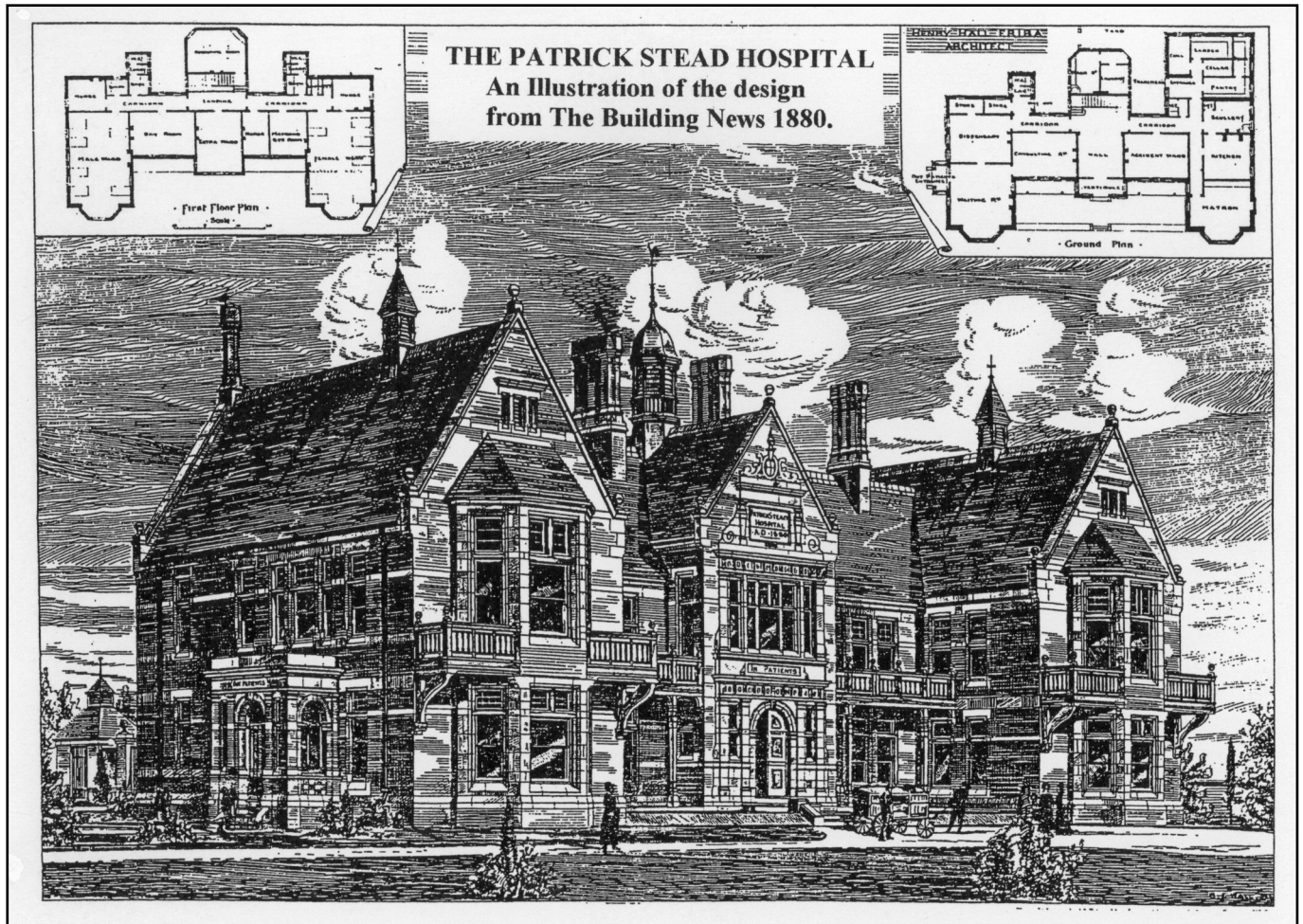
No patient is allowed to remain in Hospital longer than eight weeks, unless the medical committee decides otherwise.

No woman would be admitted as a patient or be allowed to remain on the Hospital after the sixth month of her pregnancy.

Persons suffering from infectious diseases, consumption, lunatics, persons disordered in their intellect, and persons having incurable ulcers, and those unlikely to receive benefit from hospital treatment, were inadmissible as patients.

Patients are required to pay a weekly sum according to their needs. The sum expected by the Trustees is from 2s 6d upwards. In special cases the Trustees may dispense with any payment.

Fig 30: Patrick Stead Hospital. An illustration of the design from the Building News 1880



Patrick Stead Hospital, Halesworth

“This illustration shows the design accepted in an open competition for the above hospital. Mr H.K. Colling was appointed referee, his recommendation being accepted by the trustees. The instructions required a dispensary for outpatients, and an accident-ward on the ground floor, with the kitchen and necessary offices, and on the first floor a ward with six beds for female patients, with an extra ward for special cases; a convalescent or day-room, nurses’ rooms, matron and servants’ bedroom, and an operating room. A lodge and mortuary are also provided. The plans attached show the disposition of the several rooms and wards. Mr Henry Hall, F.R.I.B.A., is the author of the design, and the trustees have instructed him to carry out the work”.

(v) Byelaws

Male patients are not allowed in the female wards, and no female patients in men's wards.

There is to be no cursing or swearing, or use of indecent or abusive language; no playing of cards or dice and no smoking in the Hospital.

Friends of patients are allowed to visit between three and five p.m. on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays only.

Thrift and self-reliance led shopkeepers and skilled craftsmen in Halesworth to make provision for the cost of illness by belonging to a Friendly Society. In Halesworth *'The Loyal Clarence Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows'* was founded in 1892 and met at the Swan hotel. Contributions started at 1s 6d per month (16 years of age) and finished at 3s 2d (44 years of age). Members received sick benefit of 10s per week for first 12 months sickness; and 5s per week for any sickness after 12 months; £10 was paid at the death of a member, and £5 at the death of a member's wife.

By 1903 there were three Friendly societies with branches in Halesworth; The Rational Sick and Burial Association with 500 members, the Ancient Order of Foresters with 300 members, and the 'Oddfellows' with 230 members.

Fig 3 I: Patrick Steads Hospital 1901

Name	Age	Occupation	Place of Birth
Staff			
Azubah Atkinson	47	Matron	Lincolnshire
Elizabeth Atkinson	45	Nurse	Lincolnshire
Arthur Prentice	34	Nurse	Halesworth
Caroline Flatt	26	Cook	Wissett
Patients			
Louisa Harper	33		Halesworth
Kate Crisp	22	Domestic	Wingfield
Hannah Smith	50		Wenhaston
Alice Barker	23	Domestic	Westleton
Ellen Goddard	6		Wenhaston
Francis Hall	61		St. Cross
William Emmerson	62	Coachman	Knodishall
George Catchpole	10		Blythburgh
Other			
Jane Atkinson		Boarder	

Income and Poverty in Halesworth 1881 - 1902

During the late 19th century there was an apparent improvement in the living standards of most manual workers. There was a gradual fall in the price of provisions especially flour and bread, and in a largely rural area like Northeast Suffolk this was important since more bread was consumed as part of the labourers' diet than elsewhere.

In the Blything Union an agricultural labourer's family of two adults and three children aged between 8 and 12, might purchase up to 46 lbs of bread a week, while a general labourer would purchase 34 lbs. This compares with 28.5 lbs (Board of Trade Report 1904) for the average working class family on the lowest income.

However, there was little improvement in weekly earnings in the Blything Union. The weekly cash wage of an agricultural labourer was 12s 0d in 1880 and 12s 6d in 1900. This usually equated, with piece work, to weekly earnings of around 14s 0d. In Halesworth, which was dependent for trade on the local rural economy, the wage of an unskilled labourer was close to that of the agricultural labourer. This was mainly due to an oversupply of men looking for work because of the depressed state of farming. In the Town in 1900 20s or 25s a week was a good wage for a manual worker, while the average wage for general labourers was 16.2s. (In the early 20th century the average weekly wage for unskilled labourers in the UK was 21.7s.)

The Agricultural Labourers Cash Wage at Frostenden and the Cost of Provisions

Year	Weekly Cash Wage	Price of Wheat (b)	Price of Bread (4 lb)	Cheese 1 lb	Butter 1 lb	Beef 1 lb	Mutton 1 lb
1880	12s 0d	5.5s	7d	6.75d	11.25d	7.25d	6.75d
1890	10s 6d	4s	6d	5.5d	11d	6d	5.75d
1900	12s 6d	3.4s	5.25d	5d	10.25	6.25d	5.75d

Most working class households were vulnerable to the slightest change in their circumstances. Seasonal and cyclical factors effected employment which inevitably meant that the poorest sections of society were still experiencing poverty. Most casual and ordinary labourers worked by the day in the malting, brewing and building trades. They were a semi-employable class who were always on the verge of destitution. In many households the women's earnings helped to prevent hardship where the man was working for a wage that was insufficient. In Halesworth in 1881, although women accounted for at least 25% of the working population, they were confined to domestic service (18.3%) and the clothing trades. There was probably an unknown number of women not enumerated in the census as 'occupied,' who were home dress or shirt makers, or combined casual or seasonal work with childminding, and taking in lodgers. However, by 1900 the employment of women and children in agriculture had nearly ceased to exist due to reduced labour demands. Unfortunately women workers joined unskilled men in a labour market marked by low wages and poor job security.

For households headed by women lower pay often resulted in destitution. In 1901 a large number of households in Halesworth, particularly in Chediston Street and nearby, were headed by widows. Working widows were paid at rates that assumed that all females were dependents of working men. With young children to support, many widows worked by the day (1s 6d) as charwomen or washerwomen/laundresses. Women in general were the chief sufferers from most causes of poverty. The majority of families receiving out-relief in Northeast Suffolk were those of widows. Regular weekly payments were 2s 6d cash, and beef and milk up to the value of 1s 2d depending on how many children there were to support. In these circumstances it's not surprising that children were often living on a diet of white bread, jam and tea and '*chronically hungry, stunted ill-clad and ill-shod.*'

The elderly, those over 60, were particularly vulnerable to poverty, as most were no longer economically active and part of the formal labour market. Many ended up in the workhouse or became dependent on out-relief for long periods. By 1890 a third of all men and women over 70 in England were receiving poor-relief with an income of less than 10s a week. In Northeast Suffolk a single person over 60 received just 2s 6d. Married couples received 5s 0d a week. In the Blything Union it is conjectured that during 1897-8 approximately 1107 individuals (4.3% of the population) were paupers, 940 received outdoor relief in their own homes, (of which 445 were aged 60 and over); and 167 individuals were inmates in Bulcamp Workhouse.

The urban poor experienced poorer health than village inhabitants. Infant mortality rates among unskilled labourers' families were higher than rates among skilled and professional families. In the Blything Union infant deaths (0-12mths) for the period 1881-1910 fell from 759 to 561; but diarrhoea & dysentery, TB & respiratory diseases still accounted for 21% of deaths by 1901-10. For adult deaths (those aged 15-44) in the same period TB was the major cause but the number of deaths from it was falling. However, in parts of Halesworth the spread of infectious diseases was encouraged by overcrowding, poor housing and sanitation. In 1901 the number of houses in the town was 529, of which 220 had fewer than 5 rooms. In 'Area 2' (Chediston St Steeple End & Market Place) out of 162 houses 91 had fewer than 5 rooms. A typical cottage in Chediston Street had a front room, back kitchen and two bedrooms, and was rented out for 2s 0d a week.

A report on the 'Sanitary State of Huntingfield and Halesworth' (for the Blything Rural District Council 1896.) commented on the sad state of hygiene and availability of clean water in the Town.

'There is no public water service and inhabitants have to obtain drinking water from the wells. In the upper and best part of town the inhabitants are obliged, for drinking purposes, to resort to a single well in the Market Place. This well is situated less than 40ft from the churchyard. There is no regular system of drainage and Halesworth is exclusively a cesspit – privy town. Neither is there is a regular system of removing house refuse. At the National School for Girls and Infants iron pails are used and emptied daily.

There was a diphtheria epidemic in 1895-6 with 64 cases, the largest number occurring in Chediston Street. I inspected the building in Chediston St in which the first case (a boy aged four) occurred. It is a tumble-down semi detached cottage by the roadside. The ground rises at the back so there is a natural tendency to dampness in the dwelling. The privy is situated a few feet behind the house on higher ground and is out of repair and in a foul condition.

Many cottages are unfit for habitation. In Newsons Yard the cottages are flint built, and out of general repair. They are lived in by the poorest of the unskilled labouring class. Only two privies of a rough description are available for seven houses.

The Medical Officer and Sanitary Inspector's books show a considerable number of visits when various unwholesome and insanitary arrangements were ordered to be rectified. There is inadequate provision for isolating cases of infectious disease, nor proper means of disinfection. In fact in a meeting with members of the Rural District Council The gentlemen only wished to impress upon me that this district is no worse than others, and the amount of illness scarcely warranted an inspection.'

In 1898 Mr Ives brought before the Parish Council the question of current housing problems. A resolution '*More houses are desirable for the working classes in Halesworth*' was passed. Thereafter leading employers and others interested in the well being of the inhabitants set up the '*Halesworth Freehold Building Society*' A site near the Gas works in Wissett Road was selected, and between 1899 and 1902 sixteen houses were built. By the end of 1902 all were occupied. They were first let out at £9 per annum, a rent of 3s 5d a week. These houses were obviously for skilled manual workers, perhaps those who worked in Mr Ives' Boot Factory, and not labourers living in Chediston Street and earning 16s a week.

Fig 32: Social Class by Occupation. (Men of Working Age)

NE Suffolk	1850	1875	1900
Unskilled/semi skilled	47%	46%	45%
Skilled manual	39%	36%	39%
Professional	14%	18%	16%

Halesworth			
Unskilled/semi skilled*		23.7%	30.3%
Skilled manual		66.4%	56%
Professional		9.9%	13.3%
*Unskilled labourers only		13.8%	13.5%

Norwich			
Unskilled/semi skilled	26%	26.5%	28%
Skilled manual	60%	55%	55%
Professional	14%	18.5%	17%

For many families in Halesworth life was a continual cycle of poverty. An unskilled labourer would earn his maximum wage in early adult life. He would remain relatively prosperous after marriage until the birth of a second child. As the young family grew in size they would descend below the poverty line and live in the cheapest cottage or tenement in the poorest parts of the town. The family would remain there until the wife or eldest child started work. Even then if circumstances changed, periods of illness, unemployment and debt would see them sinking back into poverty. As old age approached the labourer and his wife would become more dependent on poor relief, with the likelihood of the workhouse as their place of residence.

(i) Estimating the Amount of Poverty in Halesworth 1902.

In 1899 Seebohn Rowntree investigated working class poverty in the city of York. He measured weekly incomes against a 'poverty line' based on a diet and budget to meet minimum needs. Any family whose weekly income was below the line was deemed to be in primary poverty. The main causes of primary poverty were low wages, illness, old age, the death of the chief wage-earner, or supporting a family with six or more children.

Rowntree's standard diet was selected from the cheapest rations specified for workhouse meals, and was to provide a man with 3478 calories a day, the minimum that nutritional science considered necessary for medium physical work. Based on this the expenditure per week on food for an average family of five, including three children, was 12s 9d (3). When money for rent, fuel, clothing and sundries are added the family needed a minimum weekly income of 21s 8d.

Rowntree estimated that 27.8% of the total population of York were living in poverty. 9.9% were in primary poverty and 17.9% of the population were in secondary poverty. Secondary poverty was defined as where total earning was sufficient to maintain physical efficiency but some portion was absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful. Perhaps paying off debt from when unemployed or sick, or spending on drink and gambling. At the end of the 19th century it was calculated that up and down the country not less than 15% of the urban working class were in primary poverty.

In 1904 Dr Mann, in a study of a village in Bedfordshire, accepted that an average family needed to spend 12s 9d on food, but calculated that because of low rents their total necessary expenditure per week would be 18s 4d.

³ 3s 3d for the adult male, 2s 9d for the adult woman, and 2s 3d for each of the three children.

According to Mann 34% of the population of the village were in primary poverty, but a greater percentage were likely to experience severe poverty at sometime during their lives.

However, if we were to use Rowntree's primary poverty line to measure poverty in rural Suffolk, all the families of ordinary agricultural labourers with one child or more would be below the poverty line, and most unskilled and semi skilled workers in towns with families including two children or more would also be in poverty. We would probably therefore over estimate the proportion of the total population that were likely to suffer poverty and destitution.

In 1923 Dr A. Hill collected 98 weekly diets from rural Essex. They lacked variation, but the average male daily intake of calories was 2872. This could come from daily meals consisting of bread, cheese and sugar together with garden produce. In the Halesworth area the usual diet for an agricultural labourer his wife and three children, of bread, butter, cheese, a small amount of meat, vegetables, tea and sugar would give the necessary calories, based on 2,900 for the man at a weekly cost of about 8s 6d. However, this assumes that the family's total consumption of bread would be at least 46 lbs a week, and that the vegetables would be supplied from the garden or allotment.

It is my intention therefore to use a poverty line based on the diet at Bulcamp Workhouse for casuals (the able-bodied who were looking for work and stayed for short periods only). Casual men and boys aged 12 and over were expected to work 8 hours a day digging etc and their meals, dominated by bread (1.5 lbs per man day), provided them with approximately 2,800 calories. The casual women and girls aged 12 and over were also expected to work for 8 hours, but their meals provided them with 2,300 calories. Children aged between 8 and 12 were not expected to work, and their meals provided them with 1515 calories a day.

Bulcamp standard weekly diet for a male aged 12 and over: Bread 10.5 lbs, margarine 0.9 lb, cheese 0.9 lb, meat 0.9 lb, potatoes 1.7 lbs, jam or treacle with supper only, and tea, cocoa, coffee or broth. Based on this the expenditure on food per week for an average family of five, including three children, was 10s 4d. The individual cost being: adult male 2s 11d; adult female 2s 5d; and children (aged 8-12) 1s 8d each.

Unlike Rowntree or Mann we do not have accurate information about the circumstances and weekly incomes of individual families or households in Halesworth. We can therefore only estimate the number of families and single occupiers who were likely to have experienced poverty over a lifetime, or were below a poverty line in 1902. However, we do possess the weekly wage rates of workers in a number of manual occupations in the Town, and by comparing these and the possible incomes of different social groups (working widows, the elderly etc), against the minimum expenditure needs of families and households of different sizes and circumstances, we can arrive at a more accurate estimate.

Halesworth Poverty Line 1902: necessary weekly minimum expenditure

	Food	Rent	Fuel/clothing/sundries	Total
Couple	5s 4d *(6s 0d)	2s 0d	2s 4d	9s 8d (11s 8d)
Couple + 2	8s 8d (10s 6d)	2s 0d	3s 6d	14s 2d (18s 10d)
Couple + 3	10s 4d (12s 9d)	3s 0d	4s 1d	17s 5d (21s 8d)
Couple + 4	12s 0d (15s 0d)	3s 0d	4s 8d	19s 8d (26s 0d)
Widow + 3	7s 5d	2s 0d	3s 5d	12s 10d
Widow (over 60)	2s 5d	2s 0d	1s 8d	6s 1d

*Rowntree's minimum expenditure amounts are in brackets. Rents in Halesworth were much lower than in York.

(ii) To Estimate the Number of Families Likely to Experience Poverty

First we classify by industrial sector and level of skill, the census material enumerating the occupations of the working population. Then we compare each manual occupation with the material on weekly wage rates, and count the number of male semi skilled and unskilled workers in each sector whose weekly wage was below 17.6s (poverty line for an average family with three children). Making the assumption that most were the heads of families, we compare the total with the number of families in the census.

Table 33: Weekly Wages of Manual Workers in Halesworth 1895 - 1902

	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
Printer	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s
Compositor	25.0s	25.0s	25.0s	25.0s	26.0s	26.0s	26.0s	26.0s
(i) Smith	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s	28.0s
(ii) Semi skilled	22.5s							22.5s
Millwright	28.0s							28.0s
Machine joiner	24.0s	24.0s	24.0s	24.0s	24.0s	24.0s	24.0s	24.0s
Coach builder								22.0s
Outfitter								23.9s
Journeyman tailor	21.0s	21.0s	21.0s	21.0s	21.0s	21.0s	21.0s	21.0s
Boot factory (man)								23.6s
Boot factory (woman)								10.5s
Dressmaker								9.0s
Bricklayer	23.8s	23.8s	23.8s	23.8s	23.8s	23.8s	23.8s	23.8s
Carpenter	21.8s	21.8s	21.8s	21.8s	21.8s	21.8s	21.8s	21.8s
Builder	18.3s*	18.3s	18.3s	18.3s	18.3s	18.3s	19.2s	21.0s
Building labourer	11.0s*	11.0s	11.0s	11.0s	11.0s	11.0s	11.0s	12.3s
Lad	6.4s*	6.4s	6.4s	6.4s	6.4s			
Brewers labourer								16.0s
Mineral water (wn)								6.0s
Iron founders labourer								16.2s
Railway porter								16.2s
Carter								16.0s
Labourer collecting rubbish								17.0s
Carting rubbish					16.0s			16.0s
Charwoman								9.0s
Laundress								9.0s
General labourer								16.2s
Agricultural labourer	12.0s †	12.5s	13.0s	13.6s	14.0s	14.6s	14.3s	14.3s

Average Wages for Men in Halesworth

Skilled workers	24.2s
Unskilled	16.2s

*Wages paid from Halesworth account books; † Based on cash wages plus payments for piece work paid to ordinary agricultural labourers at Frostenden. All other weekly wages are based on Norwich (1906) or Haverhill rates and have been adjusted accordingly.

Secondly we estimate the number of working widows and the elderly (mostly women) who were over 60 and not working, and probably received poor relief or charity. This was done by concentrating on Area 2 in the census (Chediston Street, Steeple End & Market Place – the poorest part of the Town), and counting (i) the number of households headed by widows who were working; (ii) the number of elderly widows no longer working; and (iii) those receiving charity donations and living in the almshouses. From the total I arrived at an estimate for the whole Town.

Although wage material for the 1880's is not available, we can estimate the number of families who were likely to experience poverty in 1881 by using the census material in a similar fashion.

Table 34: The Number of Families & Single Occupiers Likely to Experience Poverty in Halesworth in 1881 and 1901

Unskilled and semi skilled workers in each sector	1881	%	1901	%	1901 Area 2 only	%
Building trades	9		13		7	
Food and drink	50		65		19	
Metal trades	4		2			
Distribution and transport	15		28		4	
Other	4		13		9	
Agriculture	37		40		17	
General labourers	24		21		12	
Total (i)	143		182		68	
Total number of families in census	563		541		172	
Unskilled and semi skilled as %		25.4%		33.7%		39.5%
Widows and Elderly not living on own means (estimated)	1881	%	1901	%	1901 Area 2 only	%
Working widows (laundresses at home and charwomen)	28		23		11	
Those over 60 dependant on poor relief	18		42		21	
Widows receiving charity (almshouses)	11		8		8	
Total (ii)	57	10.1%	73	13.5%	40	23.3%
Number of families in primary and secondary poverty (within poverty cycle)	200	35.5%	255	47.2%	108	62.8%
Total population in poverty cycle		30.3%		39.7%		50.0%

In 1902 the number of families and single occupiers within the poverty cycle in Halesworth is estimated to have been 255 (47.2% of families/households) or 39.7% of the total population. This was made up of (i) 182 families of semi skilled and unskilled workers with weekly wages averaging 16.2s; and (ii) the 73 widows, and elderly over 60, who were likely to have received low pay, poor relief or charity. Many of these families and single occupiers would have been living in the 220 cottages and tenements in Halesworth with less than five rooms.

Those families with an income of 20s or more a week (assuming no long term unemployment or sickness) were only likely to have experienced poverty if the number of children at home was five or more, or when they reached old age.

The number of families and single occupiers most likely to be in primary poverty and below our designated poverty line because of low wages, the death of the chief wage-earner, or old age is estimated to be 134⁽⁴⁾ (24.8%). This was made up of (i) 40 families where the head of the household worked in agriculture and earned a weekly wage of 14.3s; (ii) 21 families where the head of the household was a general labourer working by the day and earning no more than 16.2s a week; and (iii) The 23 widows working by the day as charwomen or laundresses and earning no more than 9.0s⁽⁵⁾ a week, the 42 elderly people likely to be receiving out-relief⁽⁶⁾ and the 8 elderly widows living in the almshouses.

An elderly couple would receive cash relief of 5s 0d a week. This might be spent on 14 lbs of bread, 1½ lbs of sugar, ½ lb of butter, ½ lb of meat, 3½ lbs of potatoes, tea and a tin of milk. At a cost of 3s 0d (1902 prices) a week this gave each of them just 1700 calories per day. To be above our poverty line they needed out-relief of nearly 10s 0d a week instead of the 5s 0d they actually received.

At a meeting of the investigators who compiled a report into how the destitute in Norwich lived (1912) it was recommended that the scale of weekly out-relief payments for widows, their families, and the elderly should be – for every adult 5s; every old couple 10s; a non-working widow 5s, for the first child 4s; for the second child 3s; and for each child thereafter 2s 6d. If we consider this scale of payments to be minimum income requirements and adjust them to what they would have been in 1902, we find them remarkably similar to our poverty line: a couple 8s 10d; family of 2 adults + 2 children 15s 1d; 2 adults + 3 children 17s 4d; 2 adults + 4 children 20s 0d; and a widow + 3 children 12s 10d.

⁴ 79 of these families and single occupiers were living in Area 2.

⁵ A working widow with three children to support, and living in a four room cottage in Chediston St (rent 2s 0d) would still have needed a weekly income of 12s 10d to be above the poverty line. If the children were young, she would be unable to work a full week and more dependent on out-relief. She probably spent the 2s 6d cash relief on bread or flour and small amounts of cheese, fish, sugar and tea; to supplement the relief in kind (beef and milk). This left little in hand for the rent/fuel/clothing and sundries.

⁶ A non-working elderly widow, living in a cottage in Chediston St (rent 2s 0d), would have needed poor relief or charitable doles totalling 6s 1d a week to be above the poverty line.

Appendix I

Medieval Statistics: Halesworth Compared with Three Rural Parishes Nearby

(a) Population 1086-1603. Percentage Changes

	Size Acres (‘000)	Pop. 1086	Pop. 1327	(% +-) 1327 - 1086	Pop. 1524	(% +-) 1524 - 1327	Pop. 1603	(% +-) 1603 - 1524
Halesworth	1.44	131	400	+205%	346	-14%	522	+50%
Chediston	2.36	113	320	+183%	157	-51%	207	+31%
Blyford	0.94	45	118	+163%	63	-47%	84	+33%
Bramfield	2.54	189	497	+163%	189	-62%	261	+38%

(b) Distribution of Taxable Wealth 1327 (Subsidy)

	Taxable wealth		Values of movable goods of taxpayers					Taxpayers
	Total wealth	Wealth per taxpayer	5s-10s	11s-20s	£1 1s -£1 19s 11d	£2 and above		
Halesworth	£56.25	£2.81	0	3	4	13	20	
Chediston	£47.24	£1.48	6	7	9	10	32	
Blyford	£20.25	£1.27	4	9	1	2	16	
Bramfield	£26.15	£1.19		12	4	6	22	

(c) Distribution of Taxable Wealth 1524 (Subsidy)

	Taxable wealth		Value of taxpayers wages		Values of taxpayers’ goods or land.					Taxpayers
	Total wealth	Per taxpayer	Wages of £1	Wages over £1	£1 - £1.99	£2 - £9	£10 - £19	£20	Over £20	
Halesworth	£369. 66	£5.69	6		23	22	10	2	2	65
Chediston	£163. 00	£5.62	4	1	3	17	1	2	1	29
Blyford	£44.00	£3.67	3		3	5		1		12
Bramfield	£275. 00	£6.16	4			24	5	1	1	35

(d) Wage Dependency & Economic Status 1524

	Number of families Wage Dependent – day labourers, farm servants, cottagers, skilled labourers & minor craftsmen.					Total families Wage dependent	%	Craftsmen & farmers	Landowners merchants etc
	Number of families	Wages Below £1*	Wages of £1	Wages over £1	Goods £1 - £1.99				
Halesworth	77	12	6		23	41†	53	32	4
Chediston	35	6	4	1	3	10	40	18	3
Blyford	14	2	3		3	8	57	6	
Bramfield	42	7	4			11	26	29	2

* It's estimated that the heads of 12 households earned less than £1 a year and did not qualify to pay the subsidy.

† In Halesworth the majority of the day labourers would not have held land, and worked for craftsmen.

Appendix II

Trades and Industrial Occupations in Halesworth 1653 AD - 1823 AD

Cloth Making	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Comber		✓		
Towe comber (linen)				✓
Hemp dresser (linen)				✓
Weaver	✓	✓	✓	✓
Weaver (linen)			✓	✓
Weaver of stuffs	✓			
Clothing Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Tailor	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hatmaker	✓	✓	✓	✓
Straw hat maker				✓
Feltmaker	✓			
Hosier		✓	✓	
Staymaker		✓	✓	✓
Milliner	✓			✓
Draper	✓	✓	✓	
Linen draper	✓			✓
Wollen draper	✓	✓		
Mercer				✓
Chapman	✓			✓
Haberdasher	✓			
Building Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Brick maker			✓	✓
Brickstriker			✓	
Brick Layer	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thatcher	✓	✓		
Mason	✓	✓	✓	✓
Glazier	✓		✓	✓
Hewer of clapperboard	✓			
Carpenter	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sawyer	✓		✓	✓
Plumber and glazier		✓		
Plumber				✓
Painter				✓

Food Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Butcher	✓	✓	✓	✓
Oatmeal maker				
Baker	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grocer	✓	✓	✓	✓
Miller	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grocer and draper				✓
Corn dealer				✓

Drink Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Inn holder	✓	✓	✓	
Inn keeper	✓			✓
Ale house keeper	✓			
Publican				✓
Maltster	✓	✓		
Brewer	✓	✓	✓	✓
Maltster and brewer			✓	
Merchant and maltster				✓
Liqueur merchant				✓

Leather Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Tanner	✓	✓	✓	✓
Currier	✓	✓	✓	✓
Fellmonger	✓			
Leatherdresser		✓	✓	
Cordwainer/shoemaker	✓	✓	✓	✓
Saddler	✓	✓		✓
Glover	✓	✓	✓	✓
Collarmaker	✓	✓	✓	✓
Breeches maker			✓	✓

Wood Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Cooper	✓	✓	✓	✓
Wheelwright	✓	✓	✓	✓
Turner	✓		✓	
Joiner	✓	✓	✓	
Dish turner		✓	✓	
Carpenter and Joiner				✓
Chairmaker		✓	✓	
Cabinet maker				✓

Miscellaneous Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Apothecary	✓		✓	
Watchmaker	✓	✓		✓
Clockmaker			✓	✓
Ropemaker	✓			✓
Pipemaker	✓	✓	✓	
Tobacconist	✓			
Fanmaker	✓			
Basketmaker	✓	✓	✓	✓
Pattenmaker		✓		
Wig maker	✓		✓	
Shopkeeper		✓	✓	✓
Tinker				✓
Potash man	✓			
Coalsman	✓			
Ash man	✓			
Chandler (candle maker)	✓	✓		✓
Knacker	✓			
Carter/carrier	✓	✓	✓	✓
Coal merchant				✓
Merchant			✓	
Barber		✓	✓	
Perfumer and hair dresser				✓
Seedsman			✓	
Waterman				✓
Bargeman				✓
Coach builder				✓
Ostler				✓
Jobber				✓
Bookseller				✓
Printer				✓
Gardener	✓	✓	✓	✓
Chimney sweep		✓	✓	✓
Soldier		✓		
Player		✓		
Excise man		✓		

Metal Trades	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Blacksmith	✓	✓	✓	✓
Brazier/Pewterer	✓	✓	✓	
Copper smith		✓	✓	
Whitesmith			✓	✓
Locksmith	✓			
Pailmaker	✓			
Ploughwright	✓			
Gilder		✓	✓	
Cutler		✓		
Gunsmith		✓	✓	
Pump maker			✓	✓
Millwright			✓	
Farrier				✓
Iron founder				✓
Ironmonger				✓

Professional	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Schoolmaster	✓			
Attorney	✓	✓	✓	✓
Physician/doctor	✓		✓	
Surgeon		✓	✓	✓
Sergeant at law	✓			
Lawyer		✓		
Solicitor				✓
Chemist and druggist				✓
Banker				✓
Auctioneer				✓
Clerk (bankers, brewers etc)				✓

Agriculture and Labourers	1653 - 1699	1729 - 1760	1761 - 1785	1813 - 1823
Yeoman/farmer	✓	✓	✓	✓
Husbandman	✓	✓	✓	✓
Haymaker		✓		
Cow keeper			✓	
Cow leech			✓	
Labourer	✓	✓	✓	✓

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Michael Fordham

Born in Greenwich in 1947 he went to Charlton Secondary Boys School. Despite his 11+ failure he became a member of the school's first 6th form and gained four 'A' levels. He then became the first pupil from the school to go to university. Between 1966 and 1969 he studied economic and social history and economic geography at University College London and the London School of Economics.

His interest in history and archaeology started when at the age of 10 he was given a 1914 star and military badges belonging to his grandfather. At the same time his father was bringing home items uncovered by diggers on various building sites where he worked. Several years later he found a large number of photographs and letters belonging to his mother's family. However, for many years he didn't have a single photograph of his father's family who had been horsemen and farm labourers in East Anglia.

After university he worked for Greenwich libraries before spending 17 years teaching. He specialised in teaching History and Environmental studies (which often included archaeological fieldwork), and organising school journeys and rural study trips. When his children were young he and his family moved to Halesworth after spending several holidays at a relative's place in Holton.

Since 1988 he has been curator of the Halesworth & District Museum.