

SUFFOLK REVIEW



New Series 56
Spring 2011

SUFFOLK LOCAL  HISTORY COUNCIL

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Cover Illustration: This nineteenth-century painting of Bramfield Church, featured in June Brereton's article, was kindly loaned to the author by Mrs Peggy Woolnough and photographed for the *Suffolk Review* by Robert Gamble, to whom we send our thanks. The other pictures in the article are from the author's own collection. In Tony Broster's article the sale plan of 1881 showing Saxmundham Gasworks is printed with permission of Saxmundham Museum; figures 4 and 5 are the author's own photographs; the picture of Halesworth Gasworks appears with thanks to Ivan Sparkes; the advertisement from the Aldeburgh Official Guide of 1935 is copied with permission of Suffolk Coastal and the 1904 OS map of Lowestoft with thanks to Suffolk Record Office. Acknowledgement is also made to Suffolk Record Office for use of William Vick's photograph of Ipswich Town Hall (SRO Ipswich branch J14 Vick collection) and for Joseph Pennington's map of Ipswich 1778, both in Michael Stone's article. In the article by Rosemary Knox the view of Steiglitz (image 2511/9) is printed with permission of Geelong Heritage Centre, Victoria, Australia and the other photographs were taken for the article by Sylvia Rawlings.

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Hon Editor Nick Sign

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Editorial

In the preface to the second edition of their well-known book *A History of Suffolk*, David Dymond and Peter Northeast made a bold claim for their subject. 'We believe that Local History is more than an absorbing interest and more, indeed, than an academic subject; it brings people together to discuss and discover the complicated truth of human affairs, and helps us to appreciate the character and evolution of the communities in which we live.' In the 16 years since these thoughts were written, opportunities for Suffolk residents to come together to enjoy hearing about and discussing the results of local historical research have continued to grow. More than one hundred village groups from Barrow to Woolpit, affiliated to the SLHC, meet on a monthly basis to hear talks on a very wide range of topics or to conduct and discuss their own work. The SLHC also contributes to this process with conferences, courses, day meetings and the recorders scheme. This year the first conference in honour of Peter Northeast, presenting some recent research in local history, takes place at Blackbourne Hall, Elmswell, on Saturday 19 March. It will be opened by David Dymond with Clive Paine and Nick Sign also contributing.

Another good way in which SLHC members are kept informed of progress in many different fields of research into our county's past is through the pages of *Suffolk Review* and this edition, unusually, includes five articles, each one a good example of its type.

We open with an account by Tony Broster of the introduction to Suffolk of what in its day was a brand new 'wonder' fuel made from coal, town gas. Introduced to improve street lighting, gas was soon adapted to other purposes. Production, distribution, control, uses and costs are all examined and explanations given for the way the industry developed. Tony's familiarity with the financial aspects of his subject is of benefit in his examination of the figures for the different towns and companies.

June Brereton looks at the relationship between a parish and its clergymen through careful discussion of three occasions when confrontation arose between incumbents of Bramfield and their flocks from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. Drawing on a suitable range of sources June provides a vivid glimpse into the nature of these disputes, all of which both reflected and were influenced by national developments and policies.

The origins and early years of the Ipswich Literary Institution are then described by Michael Stone. This organisation was set up to provide a small library and reading room where newspapers and periodicals could be consulted by members. The date was January 1832 when the issue of 'Reform' burned as brightly in Ipswich as across the whole nation, and where a 'climate of abuse and neglect in local government' provides the author with the context for his article.

By way of a complete contrast the two final articles deal with the lives of some interesting Suffolk individuals. In 'The tale of Daniel Lewis' Rosemary Knox traces the adventurous career of a farmer who sought his fortune in the Australian gold mining community of Steiglitz, returning to his native county with riches and a wife! In the final article Hugh Gault traces the contrasting histories of two members of the Hull family of nineteenth-century Newmarket, charting their struggles against ill luck and adversity and in so doing, adding to our knowledge of the county in this period.

Nick Sign

Gas Production in Nineteenth-Century East Suffolk

by Tony Broster

Gas was the first service after water to be available to all homes piped from a central production to all buildings within a city, town and even larger villages. Town gas or coal gas was first publicised at the end of the eighteenth century. Its use for lighting was publicised at the same time. The commercial production of town gas did not start until the early nineteenth century. The essential raw material for the production of the gas was coal or on occasions coke. The main problem with this was the cost of transport: when considering places away from ports or navigable rivers the cost of a ton of coal doubled with these costs. This may be why the first gas works were in such places as London, on the Thames and in Suffolk, Ipswich on the Orwell. In this article it is intended to discuss the gas production in central and Eastern Suffolk, relating it to the national position, including that of London. It is intended to cover how the gas was produced, where the gas was produced, the control of the production, the use to which the gas was put and the figures arising.

How the gas was produced and distributed.

The first records concerning gas were made as early as 1688 by the Reverend John Clayton D.D. later Dean of Kildare, F.R.S.¹. He had been told of a flooded ditch 'wherein the Water would seemingly burn like Brandy'². His investigation of this found a 'shelly' coal seam under the ditch. He took samples to his laboratory there he heated them in a retort over an open fire where he found a black liquid tar. The gas was then amassed in a bladder, in which he was able to store it. His experiments appeared to have gone no further than pricking a pin hole in the bladder and setting fire to the escaping gas, which produced a bright light. He reported these findings to the Honourable Robert Boyle in 1688. This paper was lodged with Boyle's at the Royal Society, and nothing more happened except the paper was published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1740. In 1760 a pilot gas plant built by George Dixon to make 'illuminating gas' was abandoned after an explosion.³ The real founder of the British Gas Industry was William Murdoch a Scottish engineer who was working for Boulton and Watt as the firm's representative in Cornwall in respect of steam powered water pumps for draining the tin mines. In 1792 Murdoch experimented⁴ in his house and garden at Redruth, to determine how 'a viable plant could be constructed and operated to make, store, distribute and use coal gas as an illuminant.'⁵ Murdoch's ideas were not really taken on by Boulton and Watt, but they did illuminate their works in Soho and soon went on to illuminate the Manchester cotton mill of Philips and Lee, with 904 gas lights. This was the beginning of a flood but there was a problem in that Boulton and Watt had not taken out a patent on the work of William Murdoch. However in those first years they did sell some £3,105. 11s. of goods to Philips and Lee and made a profit of £617. 9s. from this and in the years 1806 to 1811 they sold £11,448. 3s. 5½d worth of apparatus and made £2,357. 3s. 3½d⁶ profit. This was their peak and soon competition caused a significant drop in sales and margins.

The year 1812 saw the foundation of the first gas company, the London Gaslight and Coke Company, established by royal charter. Four years later came the earliest provincial companies, in Preston and Liverpool, and there followed a rapid extension of the industry to most major towns by the mid 1820s.⁷

It could be that the opening of the Woodbridge Gasworks was wrongly reported by White's Directory⁸ as taking place in 1815, although earlier editions also quoted the same date⁹. The entry for Woodbridge refers to streets 'lighted from the gas works established in 1815 at the cost of about £6,000 and now belonging to six shareholders.'¹⁰ It could be that the gasworks

started as a unlimited liability partnership and did not become a limited company until later. The 1855 Whites Directory of Suffolk refers to Woodbridge Gas Light & Coke Co Ltd, The Quay, Woodbridge and it may be that the records M. E. Falkus had access to were only the Parliamentary ones, with no reference to the unincorporated organisation. Further investigation of the date of the opening of the gasworks has revealed that the first quarter that they are recorded as paying poor rate was to August 1845 when £3. 11s. 8d rates were paid for the quarter. There was nothing in any of the earlier four quarters. The Lighting Inspections rate book to 18 May 1852 revealed that the gasworks paid £1. 17s. 7½d lighting rates for the quarter.¹¹

Soon however Boulton and Watt had competition: a foreigner called Winzler (later Winsor) proposed a universal gas-lighting company authorised under the Gas Light and Coke Company Bill of 1809. The development of Town Gas as a lighting fuel now took place on a gradual basis until it was replaced in Britain by Natural Gas from the North Sea in the mid to late twentieth century. The chief problems were the nature of the processes to obtain the gas from coal; there were two: the gasification and the carbonisation systems and the latter soon predominated in Britain. The type of coal was important because for lighting purposes an impure gas was sought that burnt with a yellow flame; this was best obtained from bitumastic coals.

The early gas retorts were horizontal tubes about twelve inches in diameter which were charged (filled with coal) and having given off the gas, discharged (the coke removed) by hand through an iron door at one end called the mouthpiece. It was slow, dirty back breaking work. These retorts were made of iron and distorted badly with prolonged heating. Fire clay retorts with iron lids were introduced around 1822 and the through retort (charged at one end, discharged from the other) was developed by George Lowe in 1831.¹²

The size of the brick-built buildings holding the retorts varied usually with the quantity of gas required. The brick linings had to be replaced every two or three years, until better quality bricks were available. 'Automatic stoking machines were first used in 1868, and gravity fed, inclined retorts were developed by Andre Coze of Reims in 1885.'¹³ Further major improvements to gas production did not happen until the twentieth century. Other problems were the transmission of the gas, and its storage, (if this was required). Cast iron pipes were used throughout the nineteenth century; at the start surplus musket barrels were used, but these caused a problem with their short lengths (27" to 46") and the subsequent frequent joins; their bore was ¾" which was not adequate when demand increased. However, the quality improved over the years and the question of their diameters to maintain pressure was quickly resolved. The storage of the gas was a problem and therefore the first gas works produced gas for direct consumption. This was not very efficient and storage tanks were quickly introduced. The earliest tanks were rigid and waterless, with no external indication of expansion or contraction.

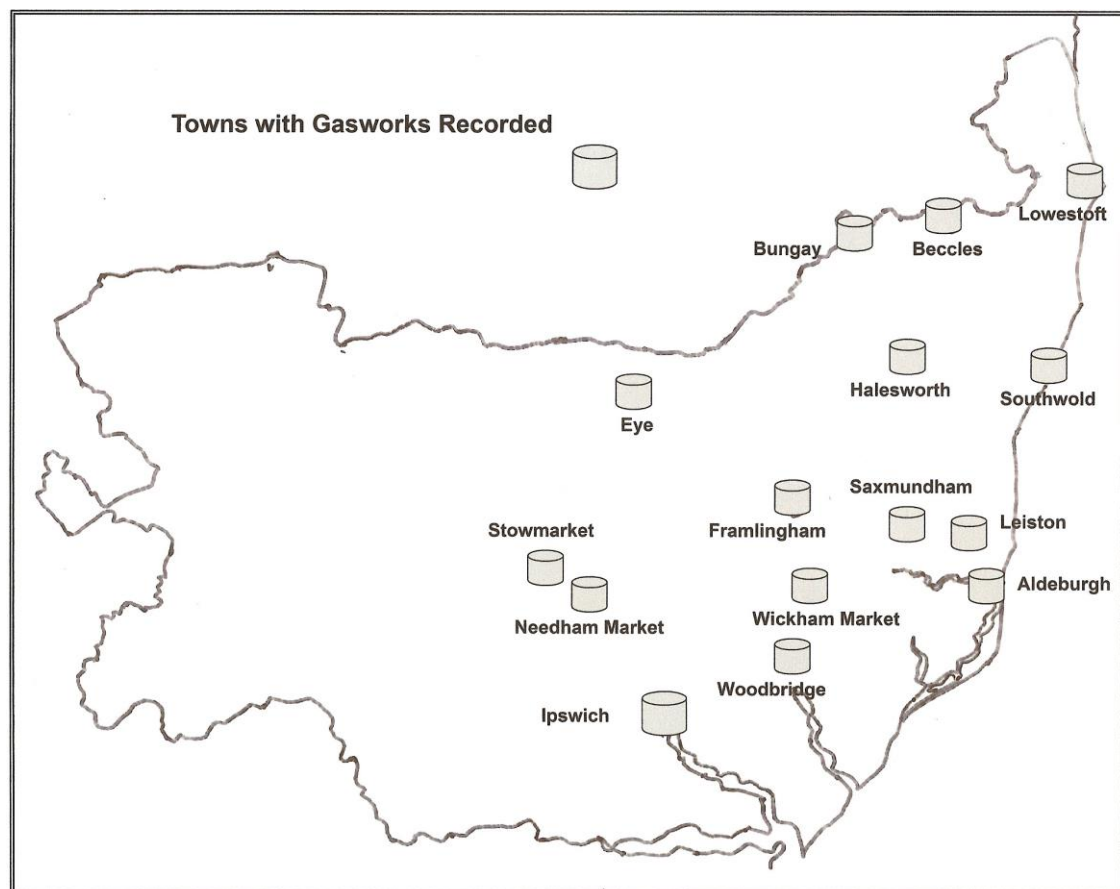
Some feared that gas in holders was unsafe. In order to show that such fears were unfounded, Samuel Clegg, in 1814 took a workman's pick and punched a hole in the side of a gasholder and lit the escaping gas. As Clegg knew, gas will not explode unless it is mixed with air in the right proportions.¹⁴

The telescoping types which were used in Britain until 1983 relied on the manometric property of water to provide water seal. There were two other types; the earlier one had external frames to hold the tanks. These tanks were invented by Tate in 1824. The later ones had a spiral guide with each lift (moving tank) rotating as it rose or fell. Telescopic gasholders had a great advantage over any other method of storage in that they were able to maintain a

constant pressure on the system, unless like the author you live in the last house on the North Thames Gas Board's main¹⁵. Another important development was the invention of the gas meter which meant that gas was sold on a consumed basis rather than a fixed quarterly or annual price. (Their introduction must have been like the introduction of domestic water meters in the last twenty years, good for small consumers bad for large ones.) The meter was developed by Samuel Clegg in 1817 (Clegg was William Murdoch's assistant at the time)¹⁶ while the prepayment meter was not developed until 1870, the date of the patent by T S Lacey.

Location of Suffolk Gasworks

Figure 1 Map of Suffolk showing Gasworks



There were many gas works constructed in Suffolk during the nineteenth century. The town of Ipswich was believed to be the first and the records first mention this in 1828¹⁷. However White's Directory of 1844 states that Woodbridge gasworks started in 1815, even before the early London gasworks while the last to be built was that of Felixstowe which was constructed in 1884¹⁸. There are at least two theories as to when and why gas works were built. As can be seen from figure 1 above, the bigger towns, Ipswich and Lowestoft, were the first to do so. They also had the advantage of being ports and therefore coal was cheaper. (Records show that in Framlingham the cost of coal was 14s. 6d. a ton at Woodbridge and 20s. 6d. at Framlingham). Towns that acquired gas works in the 1830s were largely connected to the sea by rivers or navigations; Beccles and Bungay both on the River Waveney, Halesworth on the River Blyth Navigation, Stowmarket and Needham Market on the Gipping Navigation. The size (population) of the town is important, but then Bungay with

only a population of 1,689 in 1851 had obtained its gas works probably because its neighbour and rival was building one. The towns that acquired gas works in the 1840s largely acquired them as a result of neighbours, who would be in competition for trade, doing so. They all wanted to be rivals in their own way to places like Ipswich. By the 1860s, with the advent of most of the railway lines in the county, coal became cheaper so it was more economical to have gas lighting, and certainly the light was brighter than that provided by oil lamps or candles. The first mill or factory had been illuminated by gas in 1806, the Manchester cotton mill of Philips and Lee, and Pall Mall in London, in 1807, by gas supplied by Frederick Windsor.¹⁹ Table 1 (page 9) shows the towns of Central / East Suffolk for which there is some record of a Gas Works either directly or via the various trade directories.

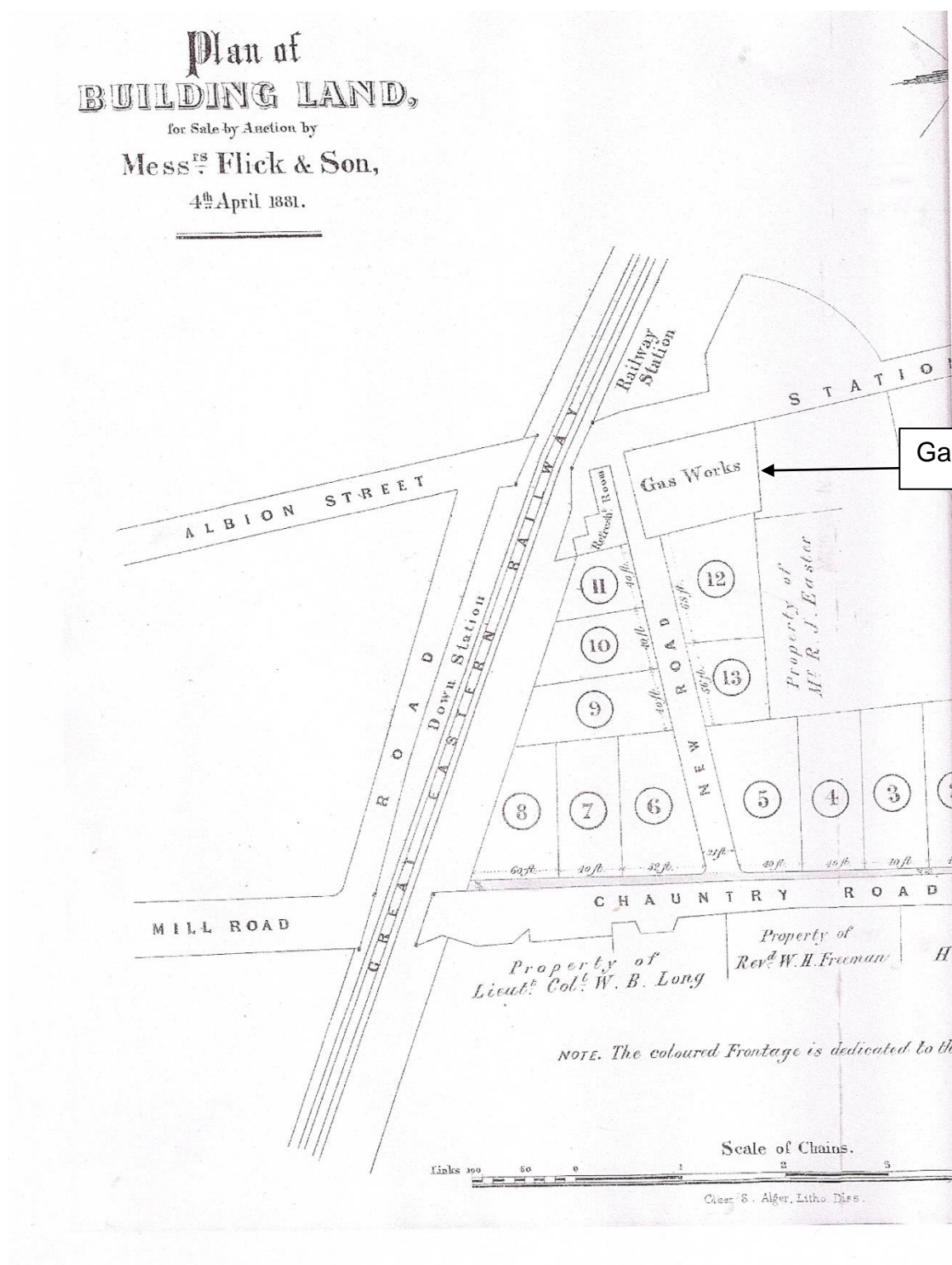
As can be seen in Figure 1 almost every town in East Suffolk had a Gas Works by the end of the nineteenth century, and those that did not were small towns, with populations of less than one thousand. The exact locality of the gas works in each town is not always easy to establish. There are Ordnance Survey plans of towns showing some of these and Trade Directories often give their addresses as 'Gas Street'. This name has now disappeared from most towns as it is suspected people don't seem to mind living in 'Station Road' but do in 'Gas Street'. Some were placed near the railway, others near the harbour, still others down wind of the town centre. Towns like Leiston and Wickham Market, where a local industrial unit had sold gas surplus to their requirements to the town, had no choice as the gas works were part of the existing facilities. The position of Saxmundham Gas Works is shown in figure 2. This is west of the town centre, but in an area that is being developed for tenanted property, adjacent to the railway which was not opened until 1862.

Then there are the exceptions to all the rules; those gasworks which were created by local industries to provide light for their workers. There were two such gasworks in east Suffolk. One was at Leiston which used the gas from Richard Garrett and Sons Ltd works.²⁰ Also from the records it appears that the gasworks was taken over by a separate company, but this may have been a part of Garrett's empire as no financial records are to be found at the Record Office. The other town which was supplied in the same way was Wickham Market, where the factory of Whitmore & Binyon engineers and millwrights supplied the gas. The only reference to this in the record office is the Lighting Inspector's records and the fact that even today there is a 'Gas Alley' in the town, leading to part of the company's workshop site.²¹

There is an old plan showing the position of the gas works in Lowestoft based upon the Ordnance Survey map of 1904.²² The Gas works here were situated on Lowestoft Ness just South of Ness Point, not far from the Sewage Outlet (strong smells in the same location). Surprisingly enough the street is still known as Gas Works Street and there is still what appears to be a gasometer there. This area of Lowestoft is industrial and this is why the name Gas Works Street remains. The site of the Gas Works in Framlingham had been on the market for several years, and is in College Road, just down hill from Framlingham College. Access to this was not good in respect of transporting coal, even after the railway was opened. The main reason for the building of the gas works here was the availability of the land near the town centre, and not the building of the College about two-hundred metres away, which was completed fifteen years later in April 1865.²³ The College still proved to be a major customer because the gas company even installed and supplied gas for lights on the entrance gate at no charge and at least by this time (from 1st June 1859) coal only had to be carted from the railway station in Framlingham, no longer from the Quay in Woodbridge.

The gasworks at Stowmarket is situated between the Gipping (river or navigation) and the railway, an ideal site in many ways to enable reasonable carriage costs. It must be realised that the gasworks were opened in 1837 but the railway from Ipswich to Bury St Edmunds was not opened until December 1846, nine years later, so the railway was not the explanation for the location of the works. Of course the most logical place to build any railway, proposals for which had been made by 1837 (the railway mania), would have been

Figure 2 Location of Saxmundham Gasworks



Saxmundham Museum – Flick & Son sale plan 1881

adjacent to the river as this offered a level location. The Gipping Navigation would have been used to transport the coal from Ipswich until the railway opened. The Halesworth gasworks was situated on the Norwich Road, and the author is told by the curator of the

Figure 3 East Lowestoft from a 1904 Ordnance Survey Map



Halesworth Museum that it is still possible to see burn or at least black marks on the wall that still remains. The site on Norwich Road is about 100 metres from the railway or 200 metres from Halesworth Station (for modern day location, just north of Wissett Road, and the Halesworth Divisional Police Station). This railway was opened on 1 June 1859, some twenty years after the gasworks were constructed. This time the gasworks, like those at Framlingham, were some way from any cheap source of transport for the coal, it being a good half mile or a kilometre from the quay on the Blyth Navigation. Even then was the harbour of sufficient size to handle any collier large enough to offer cheap coal? It may have been because the Blyth Navigation was deeper and wider than the river that remains today. The records for Bungay show an agreement between the Town Reeve and Feoffes of Bungay²⁴, with Thomas S. Peckston to 'contract for lighting the town of Bungay with gas.'²⁵

Figure 4 College Road, Framlingham. Site of gasworks



Figure 5 Close view of foundation plate in College Road, Framlingham

The contract was dated 27 April 1837 and was to run for seven years from 1 October 1837. Peckston was to purchase land, erect buildings and storage and fit up street lamps with necessary fittings. All the broken fittings were to be replaced no matter how they were broken and the lamps were to be an equal distance apart (this distance was not specified). The lamps were to be lit for 1,100 hours a year from October to the following April.

Control of gasworks, gasometers and gas mains by central government and the board of directors

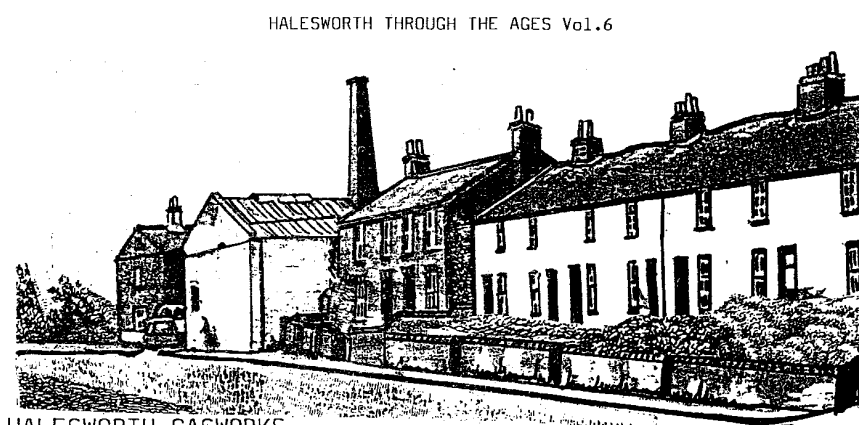
The control of the gas industry really started after the following incident.

A loud explosion at the Peter Street Works of the Gas Light and Coke Company in October 1813 was the cause of great alarm among the Citizens of Westminster. Although no lives were lost and little damage resulted, rumour spread and there was a sharp reaction against the new gaslights.²⁶

Table 1 Suffolk towns, showing population 1851 and earliest record of gas works

Town	Population 1851	Mentioned	Suffolk Record Office Reference
Aldburgh	1,627	1858	EE1/P1/5/
Beccles	4,398	1837	White's Directory 1892
Bungay	1,689	1837	186/H2/1
Eye	2,587	1850	White's Directory 1892
Felixstowe	691	1884	White's Directory 1892
Framlingham	2,450	1847	IH1/6/1
Halesworth	2,262	1837	IH1/7/1
Ipswich	32,759	1821	HA2/H2
Leiston	1,580	1851	HC30/E1
Lowestoft	6,781	1837	White's Directory 1892
Needham Market	1,148	1847	IH400/2/1
Saxmundham	1,180	1848	White's Directory 1892
Southwold	Not reported	1848	White's Directory 1892
Stowmarket	3,404	1837	IH1/10/1
Wickham Market	1,697	1867	White's Directory 1892
Woodbridge	5161	1815	White's Directory 1892

Suffolk Record Office (SRO) and <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/>



**Figure 6
Halesworth
Gasworks**

This caused a stir with worries about storing some 14,000 cu. ft of explosive gas in the City (Westminster), and the Home Secretary wrote to Sir Joseph Banks (President of the Royal Society, probably the most knowledgeable group) asking the society to examine and report which was done within a month. The committee reported to the effect that provided the gas was properly manufactured and stored it was safe. The problem that had caused the

explosion was identified and new procedures put in place.²⁷ Sir William Congreve (inventor of the military rocket) was appointed to inspect gas manufacturing establishments; this was not until 1822. The inspections took place on a weekly basis with the assistance of the inspector. Reports were published in Congreve's name in 1822 and 1823, looking at storage but also the laying of the gas mains: all the companies were allowed to dig up the highway and lay mains. This did not matter in rural Suffolk, but in London and other big cities competition between the several large gas companies operating there caused problems, with gas companies stealing from one another amongst the problems. In 1825 the Royal Society was again called in by Robert Peel (Home Secretary) to look at the activities of five Metropolitan companies. The report criticised the ventilation of buildings, construction of gasometers and mainlaying operations, and was the last report made by the society to the government. But even then there was little central control, and the main control rested with the local politicians and justices. But of course most of the gas companies were formed before the first Companies Act of 1862 and had private / local Acts of Parliament to govern them. In the case of the early ventures like that of the Woodbridge Gas, there appears to have been no private act setting up a company, and unfortunately none of the business records were passed over to Suffolk Record Office by Eastern Gas Board. It is assumed that this was because these records were not passed over to the Board.

In the middle of the nineteenth century there were a selection of Acts controlling Gasworks, including the Gasworks Clauses Act of 1847, and its amendment of 1871. This act was amended in the Victorian fashion by general Amendment acts in 1863 and 1869; there was also a Sale of Gas Act in 1859²⁸.²⁹ The Gasworks Clauses Act and its subsequent amendments are largely concerned with the local gasworks and setting out the regulations which are required to either be incorporated within each individual private act or at least adopted by the company so created. Several of the amendment acts also cover the water industry, (both gas and water required holes to be made in roads, pavements and across private as well as public land). The regulations largely required that the supply companies created as little disturbance as possible and made good afterwards - a requirement that has only in the last 10 years been made again of the utility companies.

The Sale of Gas Act 1859 covered England, Wales and Ireland, (there was a separate act for Scotland). The main theme of the act was to define the measurement for selling gas, 'An Act for regulating Measures used in Sales of Gas [13th August 1859]'³⁰ the measurement was stated to be the cubic foot of gas, and the cubic foot was further defined as that which 'holds 62.321 Avoirdupois Weight of distilled or Rain Water at a temperature of sixty-two Degrees Fahrenheit and a Barometer of thirty inches'³¹. There were model testing instruments and all local authorities had to appoint an inspector to test the measurer used by the gasworks in the locality: their measurer had to be approved and stamped as such by the Exchequer. No repairs were allowed on these measures without them having to be retested and stamped. This seems to have been one of the earliest consumer protection acts.

Later acts required all the gasworks companies to produce and file with the regulators financial accounts. The exact layout was specified which was something that general company law did not attempt until the 1970s. Gas production also had to be reported again measured in thousands of cubic feet.³² The published return dated 1857 only reports Bury St Edmunds, but the information provided is the price of 1,000 cubic feet, the coal used, the amount of gas per ton and the illumination power compared with Sperm Candles. The cheapest gas was 4/- per 1,000, in Bradford, and Bury was 10/-. The gas per ton ranged from 5,500 to 10,400 cubic feet, the candle power was between 9 and 19 candles. The main legislation is covered in the various Gasworks Clauses Acts between 1847 and 1871. These cover regulations for digging up roads, entering premises, making good, notifying local authorities of the need to dig up streets and pavements (except in emergency).

The actions of the companies' boards of directors are well recorded but largely mundane after the initial set up of the gasworks. The initial recorded meetings (often before the gasworks company was formed) met at a local pub, (Needham Market at the Swan, Stowmarket at the Kings Head). The essentials were whether to have street lighting, the cost of setting up the works, the charge to the parish for the lighting, and where to build the works. After this directors were appointed, a superintendant also (Needham Market used Mr Goddard from Ipswich Gas Works). Sometimes the gas company maintained the street lights, and repaired damaged lights (there was vandalism in the 1830s in Stowmarket). After this the matters raised were routine, i.e. the price of coal, the charge for 1,000 cubic feet of gas, the source of the coal, provision of meters, the introduction of lime to filter the gas, its price and subsequent sale to farmers, the extension and repair of the mains, general meetings, and special meetings. Soon after the works were built the directors meetings took place there and only Annual General Meetings were held off these premises. Halesworth had long discussions (in 1889) on converting the company so that it had the better protection that was offered by the Gas Clauses Acts and counsel's opinion was sought. There were reports towards the 1890s of a falling of the consumption of gas.

Use of gas by commerce, industry, local authorities and private individuals

The only use of gas from its first commercial production was that of lighting, to replace tallow candles, or in wealthier establishments, oil lamps. The gas light was not like that known today by campers and caravanners, but a naked flame burning yellow (i.e. not efficient combustion) and depending on the mains pressure from 5cm to 150 cm in length (2 inches to 1½ yards or 54 inches) dangerous! At first these lights were used in factories and mills, to enable work to continue for the full working day of twelve plus hours in the winter. The cost of the gas light was calculated to be about half that of candles.

At the north end of the Hall, Mr Peto is now erecting (from Mr John Thomas's design) a 'Winter Garden', which will be lighted with gas – having a ring of gas jets around the interior of the dome. The length of this garden (chiefly of iron and glass) is 126 long by 107 wide, height to apex of central dome, 55 feet.³³

The gas used in the lighting of the 'Winter Garden' at Somerleyton Hall would have been provided by a small private gas works, a type of works which was not efficient, but which could be used to impress visitors. Street lighting was the main reason why most Suffolk towns acquired gas works,

Gas bore witness to night scenes, to aspects of the city that were hidden by day. Street lamps represented the intrusion of daytime order and the rational space of the improved city into the darkness of the city at night. Gaslight never fully conquered the night however, but was also absorbed by its poetry, evil and irrationality.³⁴

The gaslights were extremely visible for the proud leading citizens to show off. They wanted to emulate London, 'The belief that the streets at night had a peculiar beauty and poetry was a product of the gas industry and the spread of public lighting to more areas of the city than had been lit by oil.'³⁵ The early lights were just a hole or end of the pipe with no form of burner. These were soon introduced and produced different shaped flames, 'rat-tail, cockspur, cockscomb and batwing'.³⁶

By the early years of Victoria's reign, gas lighting had converted London nights into day, and to many writers in the period it seemed that London was the most illuminated capital city in Europe. Gas, as a source of street lighting, had been introduced in the city at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Its social advantages and economic possibilities were soon realised

and gas rapidly replaced oil as the main form of illumination in the public spaces of the city.³⁷

Gas lights had competition from both early electric lights and oil lamps. 'Gas mantles appeared on the scene in 1887 after Carl Auer, a chemist at Bunsen's laboratory in Heidelberg, discovered by accident that asbestos soaked in "rare earth"³⁸ compounds gave an intense glow when heated by gas.³⁹ These mantles were expensive and very fragile. Gas street lighting had gone almost completely by the 1950s.

The main use for gas at first was to light the streets and main public buildings. It took a little while for the number of private customers to build up. As soon as the gas company commenced its business in Colchester, the Channel and Paving Commissioners started erecting 'handsome cast iron fluted pillars' along the High Street to take the new form of illumination. It was the same everywhere.⁴⁰

The next most likely use of gas was to cook on, the first cookers in Britain were developed by a manager of the Northampton Gas Company, who installed an experimental gas cooker in his home in 1826 and with sponsorship from Earl Spencer, began producing cookers commercially in 1834. Models were exhibited at the Great Exhibition in 1851.⁴¹ The idea of cooking by gas became popular after the Manchester Gas Committee, and other gas producers started to rent cookers to the public in 1884. The thermostat did not come in for another forty years, but it is probable that cooking by gas prior to this introduction was no more difficult than cooking on a range powered by coal or coke. Certainly the instant heat of a gas fired hob is still very popular with cooks both professional and domestic.

GAS.



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Another popular use of gas in the home was heating with different types of radiant heaters. There was a problem however in the earlier years that impurities in the gas led to unpleasant smells. John Malden had suggested space heating by gas in 1813, produced by playing a gas flame over figures of cast iron. It was not until the mid eighteen hundreds that radiant gas heaters were developed. In 1849 heated pumice balls were developed by Edwards and in 1851 glass and firebricks by Smith & Phillips and asbestos fibre by Goddard in 1852. Leon developed a gas fire using a firebrick back embedded with asbestos tufts this was in 1852. All these fires used a bunsen type burner to give a well balanced hot gas flame.⁴² The other domestic uses of gas were in heating water, the Ascot, and the provision of refrigeration: most of this development took place in the twentieth century.

The industrial and commercial uses of gas were to start purely for lighting, shops, factories and pleasure grounds. The disadvantages of existing illuminates were considerable. Tallow candles needed frequent snuffing if their light was not to be impaired by smoking and guttering, while the alternative wax candles were from three to four times as expensive as tallow. Oil lamps tended to smoke in draughts,

Figure 7 Aldeburgh Gas Light Co. advertisement in the *Aldeburgh Official Guide*, 1935

regulation of the supply of oil was difficult, while the cheaper types of oil burned with an unpleasant smell. Oil lamps and candles were most inconvenient where large areas needed lighting, for then the labour involved in constant snuffing, the smoke and heat, and the dangers from sparks, were at their greatest. Much light was required by factories and workshops on winter evenings and also by shops and inns. Theatres and assembly rooms, which became common features of Georgian social life, were also large consumers. Street lighting, too, was another area where existing methods of illumination were found increasingly inadequate.⁴³

A classic example of the lighting of pleasure grounds was that of the Cremorne Pleasure Grounds in Chelsea, west London, on the Thames, with River boats (steamers) calling at the private pier. This was a modern (in 1861) version of the Vauxhall Gardens.

The history of Cremorne in the middle of the nineteenth century is the history of the speculative and entrepreneurial management [Edward Tyrrell Smith] of metropolitan leisure and entertainment. The opening hours of the gardens were extended so that visitors could enjoy sunny afternoons, as well as long, gaslit nights and each season the program offered more extraordinary attractions, which, on occasion, took the management to the brink of legality and social acceptability.⁴⁴

These gardens were very popular, both with families during the day and early evening, but gentlemen and ladies of doubtful reputation later at night. The price of entry at 1 shilling remained from the opening in 1846 until its closure in 1877, a price affordable to the middle classes and clerical classes, but not to the 'labouring sorts'. 'At night they [visitors] would see gaslights, strung along the walks and in the trees and blazing around the sites of the main attractions and side-shows'⁴⁵. The gardens were popular and certainly in the early years very profitable but with the advent of technology [electric lighting] their popularity ceased and they became notorious. The gardens were closed, sold and became building plots for housing (nothing changes). Another interesting use of gas was that by the end of the nineteenth century the bigger railway companies who had been using gas to light not only their stations, signal-boxes, and goods sheds, started to use it for carriages, carrying compressed gas in cylinders on each carriage. This replaced the oil lamps previously used.

Financial and statistical information

The records that are available at the County Record offices vary greatly, based purely on those that were handed over by the Eastern Gas Board. In some such as Framlingham there are the minute books recording directors' and share holders' (general) meetings including those made when the gasworks were being planned, and also giving details of gas volumes sold and the yearly financial figures. Records available for other gas companies include private ledgers, sales ledgers and sales day books itemising both the volume and value of gas sold to each customer. This was usually on a quarterly basis rather than the more frequent monthly basis, especially during the off peak summer months. Waste records recording gas, coal, coke, tar and lime not sold but wasted in some way, not always explained, cash books and letter books are also available. The best company for these records was the Needham Market Gas Light Co.⁴⁶, but the towns of Aldburgh, Framlingham, Halesworth and Stowmarket all had good records that were passed on to the Suffolk Record Office. An analysis of the records available was made and it showed that the companies were normally profitable and paid a dividend of 5% or more once a year, except when there had been exceptional expenditure i.e. major repairs to retorts or gasometers, which reduced the profit or created a loss. Gas productions increased with the occasional blip right through the available records. The average gas consumption has been compared with the average population of the towns (see Table 2 below). As can be seen the average consumption per head of population increases in the later years. Halesworth is top but has the latest period,

Aldeburgh's figures finish later than Halesworth, but these are reduced as they start twenty-four years earlier. The figures for Stowmarket and Needham Market are similarly low averages, but the period reviewed is also similar. It is interesting to note that the Needham Market Gasworks was closed in 1954, when the supply was taken over by the Stowmarket gasworks.⁴⁷ Looking at the figures in table 3 it appears that gas consumption per head of population increased during the century.

The financial figures are just as interesting. There are figures available for Halesworth from 1888 to 1900, Needham Market from 1848 to 1851, Stowmarket from 1841 to 1849, and Framlingham from 1855 to 1871. These figures cover a variety of town sizes but with the

Table 2 Ratio of gas production to population

Years Recorded	Towns	Average Cu Ft Produced	Average Population	Cu. Ft. per Head	Comments
1858-94	Aldburgh	1,198,282	1,861	644	Broad Period
1852-63	Framlingham	1,659,040	2,447	678	Mid Period
1882-91	Halesworth	1,886,311	2,429	777	Late Period
1848-58	Needham Market	328,617	1,211	271	Early Period
1841-49	Stowmarket**	1,205,037	3,798	317	Early Period
Average		1,255,457	2,349	537	

**Figures doubled as only Private Consumption recorded

Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich) towns' gas records.

Table 3 Growth of gas consumption per head in nineteenth century

Years	Average Annual Cu Ft Gas	Population	Cu Ft per Head
Aldburgh			
1858-61	591,120	1721	343
1862-71	955,620	1990	480
1872-81	1,302,990	2106	619
1882-84	1,184,437	2159	549
Framlingham			
1852-61	746,740	2252	332
1862-69	1,448,763	2569	564
Halesworth			
1882-91	1,886,311	2316	814
Needham Market			
1848-51	212,538	1148	185
1852-58	400,050	1243	322
Stowmarket			
1841-49	602,518	3404	177

Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich) towns' gas records

exception of Halesworth approximately the same decades. The figures shown in tables 4a and 4b show a variety of figures with annual sales of gas as low as £85 for Needham Market, but as high as £958 for Halesworth whose population was only about twice the size not ten times. Framlingham is the only gasworks to have shown a loss, but this is because for some

unrecorded reason no money was received for the gas supplied for street lighting. This also explains the drop in profit margin from the range of 36% to 48% to as low as 14%. Based upon the average population of

Table 4a Results of two Suffolk Towns

	<u>Average</u>	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Highest</u>
<u>HALESWORTH</u>	1888 - 1900		
Gas Sold	881	780	958
Other income	202	140	248
Total Income	1,083	972	1,199
Direct Costs	688	588	764
Overheads	124	30	211
Total Costs	812	655	955
Profit	271	129	358
<u>NEEDHAM MARKET</u>	1848 - 51		
Gas Sold	136	85	162
Other income	49	37	76
Total Income	185	122	238
Direct Costs	111	99	135
Overheads	34	1	54
Total Costs	145	100	189
Profit	40	22	64

Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich)

Table 4b Results of the further Suffolk Towns

	<u>Average</u>	<u>Lowest</u>	<u>Highest</u>
<u>STOWMARKET</u>	1841 - 49		
Gas Sold	392	342	432
Other income	461	319	569
Total Income	853	661	1,001
Direct Costs	443	348	532
Overheads	174	97	247
Total Costs	618	445	779
Profit	235	156	310
<u>FRAMLINGHAM</u>	1855 - 71		
Gas Sold	415	182	605
Other income	67	34	117
Total Income	483	216	721
Direct Costs	270	164	446
Overheads	146	66	325
Total Costs	416	230	771
Profit	67	(64)	143
Dividend	68	-	102

Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich)

these four towns in the century, Framlingham and Halesworth were of similar sizes, with populations of 2,400, Needham Market was the baby with 1,200 and Stowmarket was a giant with 3,800. This really means that only two towns are comparable, but the range is reasonable. Stowmarket's profit was lower than that achieved by Halesworth but Framlingham's was on the low side, perhaps because too much discount had been given to the College. The results show that gas production was usually a profitable venture giving a good return to the investors.

The main reason that the towns of Suffolk built gasworks was to provide street lighting and there does not appear to be any consideration in the records as to profitably, only not to lose money. Despite this all the records show consistent profitably except for the one exception of Framlingham. Gas was a gift to the Victorian mind; it gave them what they thought of as control over the night! However the gas industry suffered the same problem as twentieth century industry - constant innovation. In this case it was electricity, which stopped the growth and could have killed the industry if it had not modernised itself. As can be seen from earlier paragraphs gas lighting in many localities continued until the 1950s and later. It was high streets, main roads and new lighting areas that received the benefit of electric light. The use of gas continues to this day, but town or coal gas was replaced by North Sea gas (natural gas) following its discovery in the mid 1960s. The production of coal in Britain has declined, which could have been partly caused by the change to natural gas. The present day effect is that it would not be possible to produce town gas. The site of the Framlingham Gasworks was on the market for several years for housing development, but the probability of pollutants on the site may have prevented its sale. Town gas was dirty and smelly to produce with many potential pollutants as side lines, even without the advent of North Sea gas it would have been killed off with the Health and Safety laws, especially with the gasworks being so near centres of population. Town gas was extremely beneficial to the majority of the population in its prime.

¹ Hutchinson, Sir Kenneth F.R.S. *The Royal Society and the Foundation of the British Gas Industry, Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 39, No. 2. (Apr., 1985), pp. 245-270.

² Ibid, p. 245

³ <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/milestones2.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)

⁴ Other authors state 1794 for Murdoch's experiments

⁵ Hutchinson Vol. 39, No. 2. (Apr., 1985), p. 249

⁶ Falkus, M. E., 'The Early Development of the British Gas Industry, 1790-1815', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 35, No. 2. (May, 1982), 224

⁷ Falkus, M. E. 'The British Gas Industry before 1850', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 20, No. 3. (Dec., 1967), 494.

⁸ White's Directory of Suffolk, 1855

⁹ White, William, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Suffolk, 1844*, (1844)

¹⁰ Ibid, p 204

¹¹ The Woodbridge Gas Company was taken over by the Ipswich Gas Company in 1928 or 1929 depending on which statutory instrument is followed no 1020 or 1097

¹² <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/milestones2.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Little Bushey Lane, Bushey Heath, Hertfordshire between 1944 and 1960. Sunday's roast was served up well after 2 p.m. when there was sufficient gas pressure to operate the gas oven.

¹⁶ <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/milestones2.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)

¹⁷ SROI HA2/H2/1/49, 50 Ipswich Gas Light 1828

¹⁸ SROI Whites Directory of 1892

¹⁹ <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/milestones2.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)

²⁰ Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich) Report of the Leiston Lighting Inspector.

²¹ Author's field trip on 25th August 2008.

²² Robb, Ian, *Lowestoft A History & Celebration*, (Salisbury, 2005) p75

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- ²³ Roberts, Bob, (Editor) *Fram, The Journal of the Framlingham & District Local History & Preservation Society* 5th Series Number 6 pages 12 - 20
- ²⁴ The term Feoffes was used to describe the holders of a grant of land which could be used for charitable purposes.
- ²⁵ Suffolk Record Office (Lowestoft) 186/H2/1
- ²⁶ Hutchison, Kenneth, 'The Royal Society and the Foundation of the British Gas Industry', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 39, No. 2. (Apr., 1985), 253.
- ²⁷ Hutchison, Kenneth, The Royal Society and the Foundation of the British Gas Industry, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 39, No. 2. (Apr., 1985), 254.
- ²⁸ www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/A2A/records
- ²⁹ Copies of all these Acts of Parliament except for the Sale of Gas Act 1859 are not available in Suffolk; the copies which should be available in the Central Reference Library were missing on 19th January 2009. However copies of the bills that should have become the acts are available through <http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/home>, as are copies or reports and regulations made under the acts. In fact the web page has 194 items under the heading of Gasworks, ignoring local gasworks and metropolitan ones.
- ³⁰ Sale of Gas Act 1859, c.66
- ³¹ Ibid
- ³² *Gas works: Abstract of return of all gas works established under acts of Parliament.* (HMSO London, 1857)
- ³³ Williamson, Tom, *Suffolk Gardens & Parks*, (Oxford, 2000), 130
- ³⁴ Nead, Lynda, *Victorian Babylon people, streets and Images in Nineteenth-century London.*, (New Haven, 2000), 83
- ³⁵ Ibid, 101
- ³⁶ <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/lighting.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)
- ³⁷ Nead, Lynda, *Victorian Babylon*, (New Haven, 2000), 83
- ³⁸ Lanthanum, Cerium, Praseodymium, Neodymium, Promethium, Samarium, Europium, Gadolinium, Terbium, Dysprosium, Holmium, Erbium, Thulium & Ytterbium.
- ³⁹ <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/lighting.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)
- ⁴⁰ Brown, Jonathan, *The English Market Town*, (Marlborough, 1991), 140
- ⁴¹ <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/cooking.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)
- ⁴² <http://www.gasmuseum.co.uk/heating.htm> (accessed 12 December 2008)
- ⁴³ Falkus, M. E., 'The Early Development of the British Gas Industry, 1790-1815', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 35, No. 2. (May, 1982), 217-234.
- ⁴⁴ Nead, Lynda, *Victorian Babylon*, 109
- ⁴⁵ Ibid, 110
- ⁴⁶ IH-400/2-IH-44/6, Needham Market Gas Light Co. SRO(I)
- ⁴⁷ Durrant, Mike, (editor), *Stowmarket – Then and Now*, (Ipswich, 2003), 156

Bramfield, Suffolk: Putting its Head above the Parapet or Standing and Being Counted

by June Brereton

First, a little about where Bramfield is and why I have chosen the following three episodes in the very quiet and uneventful history of the parish of St Andrew's near Halesworth.

Bramfield is a small parish about 7 miles inland from the North Sea coast at Dunwich and to the west of the A12. It lies in a valley formed by a tributary of the Blyth, the church standing above the village on a spur of land. St Andrew's is well known for several outstanding features. It has the only separate round tower in Suffolk as well as probably one of the country's finest rood screens. This and a 15th century wall painting where a wooden cross was erected, 'the good rood', the Coke memorial by Nicholas Stone and the sad ledger slab relating the tragic life of Bridgett Applewhaite bring visitors from far and wide. The church is mentioned in Domesday and was given to Blythburgh Priory by 1160 by the lord of the manor, an under tenant of the Earl of Richmond.



BRAMFIELD CHURCH, FROM THE S. E.

London: Published by the Author.
Rural & Domestic Art.

This is a drawing by Alfred Suckling from his History of Blything Hundred in 1845 and shows the church much as it was (with the exception of the 17th century Town Houses by the tower) in the 14th century.

The three episodes take place in the mid sixteenth, seventeenth and twentieth centuries all concerning clergymen who found the people of Bramfield difficult, namely Antony Wilkenson the popish curate, Bartholomew Allerton, the man from foreign parts and the Rev. Cyril Barker, a square peg in a round hole.

This article is not a condemnation of these clergy for they were all men of their time, but although not part of the secular structure, because of their important and powerful position in the parish or as we would view it, village society, they were (certainly in the first two cases and mistakenly in the third case) the people who most closely touched the lives of ordinary individuals. Generally speaking Bramfield has not tangled with authority, has behaved itself and has kept a low profile, but on three occasions that have come to my notice, through the manoeuvrings of the clergy assigned here, Bramfield people have chosen to stand their ground. Would we do it today? I wonder! There have been a few signs of people voting with their feet away from their parishes but as sanctions nowadays do not feature excommunication or burning at the stake the national press does not hear of it! The first case was during the 16th century. It shows us some of the effects of the religious changes then taking place, as were the problems arising from the sequestration of ministers in 1644, which was the foundation of the second brush with authority. The third case was really a storm in a teacup but caused an uproar locally and happened in 1939.

1. The case of John Pryme and the 'popyshe cuerat'

This is a long and complicated case concerning the payment of tithes, heard at Norwich Consistory Court in 1556 on the death of John Pryme during the reign of Mary I. It is immensely detailed but it demonstrates clearly (or not very clearly) the importance the membership of a parish and the clarity with which ownership of land was connected to the wealth of a parish and the parson. I have tried many times to condense and clarify all the ramifications of the relationships and I suppose the best way might have been to make a table of events, but that would be immeasurably tedious and boring, so here goes!

Until 1465 the chapel of St Margaret in Mells had been used as a parish church after which, no more services were held there except on the 'Evene & daye of Seynt Margarete'. At the time, John Cowper lived in a newly built farmhouse with land on the border of Mells and Bramfield. He considered that St Margaret's was his parish church and he paid all his dues and tithes to that church for the use of Mettingham College to whom the manor had been given in about 1376.¹ After the near demise of St Margaret's, John Cowper, along with the people of Mells went 'abroad' to church, mostly to Halesworth, still paying his tithes to Mettingham College. For some reason he was ordered by the master of Mettingham College to attend church and receive the sacrament in Bramfield for the four offering days; after that he could go where he chose. As well as attending Bramfield he should pay the vicar there five shillings.

On John Cowper's death his son Robert continued the payment. By 1478 Robert had bought a tenement, Howards (The Shorts) in Bramfield², and having repaired it, moved out of his farmhouse in Mells, moved into Bramfield, but still owned the house and land belonging to the farm in Mells. For 11 years Robert Cowper had tenants in the Mells house and land, and the two holdings were considered as one; Robert, now giving his goodwill to Bramfield, caused the payment to be augmented by commodities. This started the entire ensuing squabble.

Robert Cowper died in June 1506 followed by his wife the next February, and his executors sold the five-year lease of the Mells tenement to Simon Toppesfield of Halesworth. This is important to the wrangle because neither Simon nor any of his family or dependents ever came to Bramfield nor paid any money to Bramfield, but remained in Halesworth and paid tithes to Mettingham College. Simon Toppesfield renewed the lease at the end of the first five years when he leased the Mells farm to John Wetynge who occupied it until he died in December 1516. His executors were two men from Halesworth and notably his supervisor, Sir Robert Harryson, vicar of Bramfield. Until the following Michaelmas the executors took possession of the Mells tenancy and the vicar according to the account in the registers, availed himself of the tithes.

When the new tenant, John Peck had been there one year, the vicar of Bramfield demanded the same tithes of him as when he (Sir Robert Harryson) had 'occupied' the farm and as John Wetynge had done in the past. John Peck 'fell at lovinge & byddyn' with the vicar who would not settle for just the 10s. a year that John Peck had agreed to pay. At the manorial court of Mettingham College the vicar was told in no uncertain terms that he should accept the 10s a year or he would get nothing, as John Peck and his dependents would be moved to another church. If you remember this lessee was required to attend Bramfield only four times a year but this seems to have fallen in abeyance. John Peck paid his 10s. a year for the next eight years which brings us to 1524 when John Pryme came into the farm. After he had been there a year the vicar demanded that John Pryme should pay him for the past year and after another falling out it was agreed with John Pryme that he should pay 17s. Shortly after this settlement the vicar came to his house in Mells and desired that John Pryme should not disclose to the master of Mettingham that he was paying 17s. as the vicar was accountable to Mettingham for only 10s.

This situation pertained for 30 years until 1555 during which time Mettingham College had been dissolved in the Reformation. By now Antony Wylkenson was rector of Thorington and vicar of Bramfield. (Nicholas Thirling is in the registers as vicar and reappears again later until his death in 1562.) Antony Wylkenson demanded of John Pryme not only that he pay his tithes in full but also that he should attend Bramfield church every Sunday and holiday (holy day) arguing that, John Pryme 'favored not the ould Relegion and that he was not a good Catholleke man as thene he Called it, and w^t dyvers other thyngs Conterarie to the sayd John prymes Conssience'.

This is of course now during the re-establishment of the Catholic faith after Mary's accession. This could explain the absence of Nicholas Thirling as vicar since he had quickly taken advantage of the opportunity to marry in 1550 during Edward's reign and his two children were christened in Bramfield in 1551 and 1553. Perhaps he kept a low profile, coming back only after the accession of Elizabeth. Or was he persuaded to make himself scarce? This is an interesting picture of the village life for the few years of Mary's reign.

To go on with the story of John Pryme, he refused to use Bramfield church, withheld all payments and sought all the means he could to be free of 'such a popyshe cuerat'. Sadly John died on 31 August 1556 before he could achieve this and, in front of witnesses, John Pryme's widow on the authority of the Bishop of Norwich, was ordered 'to paye such dues or duties as are belonging to the Vicar and the Clerke for ii years last past... and also to have masse and deryge and to offer up the masse peny' And hereafter to do in all thyngs A p'yshon (parishioner) to do'. The dirge was held in Bramfield Church on 10 November 1556 and she also had to pay 18s. for her tithes.

The significant point here is that the mass, the dirge (prayers for the dead) and the mass penny had all been relatively recently forbidden during Edward's reign. Did the congregation of St Andrew's welcome the reintroduction of ceremonies that they had grown up with? Or had they welcomed the simpler form of worship during Edward's short reign? The parish church had been central to the everyday life and social round of village inhabitants and although they were not privy to the political machinations at court, the consequences were profoundly fundamental to the way ordinary people led their lives. Was John Pryme admired for the stand he had taken against the re-established Roman Catholic church? Even though this is not a full picture of the turmoil that the Reformation impinged on the laity we can get a taste of the sudden changes that had been introduced and the reluctance of some people to engage with them. I think we can assume that the 'popyshe' Antony Wylkenson moved on at the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, and masses, dirges and mass pennies would again become things of the past.³

2. Scandalous Ministers and the man from foreign parts (Bartholomew Allerton)

Charles I had been on the throne since 1625 and was married to Roman Catholic Henrietta Maria; feelings were running high against 'high church practices' and steps were being taken by certain parties to stem what they saw as creeping Roman Catholicism.

Although Henry VIII created the Church of England by replacing papal authority with royal supremacy, doctrine and practice as laid down in the Act of Six Articles of 1539, remained officially conservative until his death in 1547. During the short reign of his son, Edward VI, the Church was again reformed, becoming more thoroughly Protestant. In January 1549 the first English Prayer Book was introduced and from Whitsun that year the Mass was to be conducted in English. Despite violent protests from supporters of the old ways in the West Country and East Anglia, the pace of reform increased. In 1552 Archbishop Cranmer's second Prayer Book made 'great and significant changes to the Order of Communion.'⁴ Every vestige of the Catholic liturgy was abolished; confirmation now lacked the sign of the cross on the forehead, the priests could wear a surplice but not any form of cope, and had to celebrate mass at a table standing to the north; many images had been defaced as idolatrous. The Act of Uniformity 1559 abolished the mass and by 1571, Elizabeth having been excommunicated by the pope, the English Church by law was now Protestant. The preaching of the Word of God was to be central to services.

Protestantism was one thing, but Puritanism was another. For some, the church, now lacking its former authority and mystical rites, was in need of rescue from some of the more extreme tenets of the Reformation. William Laud, made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, was determined to do exactly that. Laud, wishing to exalt the place of the Sacraments, insisted on the eastward position of the communion table isolated by rails, which then became in some people's eyes an altar. People were to kneel when receiving communion, and bow at the name of Jesus. The pulpit was no longer to be the main feature of the church, puritan lectures were to be suppressed. He also supported the re-issue of the Book of Sports and no hats were to be worn in church.



This picture copied from a Victorian water-colour in Bramfield Church shows the 17th century style with an imposing pulpit on the south wall and the railings ordered by Archbishop Laud. A Communion table is mentioned in the 17th century accounts and a carpet to cover it. This was presumably still in use at the time of this painting. It is possible that this painting was done as a record of the earlier church furnishings before the re-ordering of the 1870s.

In 1644, having been vicar of Bramfield for two years, Thomas Wright was sequestered from the living. No reason was given, compared with the indictments against Thomas Ambler of Wenhasston; he was accused among other things of frequenting alehouses in the company of

‘drunkerds and disordered malignant persons... defending the book of sports... bowing before the altar table...to preach in his surplice and refusing to deliver the sacrament of the lord’s supper in any place but at the rayles’.

At this time during the rise of anti-popery, hostility to bishops and the beginning of the movement against the monarchy the following attitude was taken by people who wanted ecclesiastical reform, for example Sir Simonds d’Ewes, MP for Sudbury. ‘It would be the greatest glory of his majesty’s reign if we change the greater part of the clergy from brazen, leaden - yea, and blockish - persons, to a golden and primitive condition, that their authority might be warranted by their godly example.’¹⁵ Perhaps Thomas Wright could have matched such a description being a follower of the High Church liturgy and ceremonial favoured by Archbishop Laud, (1573 - 1645) a close supporter of King Charles I. Both the king and Laud were opponents of the pope, but Queen Henrietta Maria was allowed by her marriage treaty to practise her Roman Catholic faith and the court was practising a form of worship which seemed very like the Roman Mass when viewed from outside by people who were increasingly separated from the monarch. Perhaps he was one of the ‘brazen persons’ described above or did he try to interfere with the activities of the agents sent by William Dowsing on the 9th April 1644? The entry in Dowsing’s journal reads thus.

‘Bramfield, April 9. 24 superstitious pictures; one crucifix, and a picture of Christ; and 12 angells on the roof; and divers Jesus’s, in capital letters; and the steps to be levelled, by Sir Robert Brook.’¹⁶ For some reason, he was ejected from his living.

For the likes of Simonds d’Ewes, parish priests who sometimes, at the behest of powerful local landowners hostile to the Parliamentary cause, carried on with popish practices and failed to rebuke parishioners who practised archery, played football or engaged in other rural sports on a Sunday, were the sort to be removed. Although Thomas Wright was not accused directly of carrying out any of these practices it can be seen that it would be very easy to offend, especially if some members of the congregation were determined to see him off. Bramfield was without a parson.

Bartholomew Allerton or ‘the man from foreign parts’

Worship in Bramfield now has an interesting aspect. The Committee for Plundered Ministers admitted Bartholomew Allerton as vicar, filling Thomas Wright’s living. Bartholomew Allerton was not just another more acceptable minister; he had an unusual background and how he came to be ‘posted’ to Bramfield we shall never know. He could have been living in the area as he had married Sarah Fairfax of Rumburgh in 1639 (connected to the puritanical Yorkshire Fairfax family) but how he met her I’ve yet to discover. Isaac Allerton, a London merchant is listed as travelling on the Mayflower in 1620 accompanied by his family among whom Bartholomew is listed. Isaac proceeded to make several crossings of the Atlantic, supplying the Plymouth settlement with cattle and provisions and trading up and down the

eastern seaboard. Bradford, one of the leaders of the Pilgrim Company states that Isaac's son Bartholomew returned to England and died there. This may have been because his father's business dealings in the Colony were failing. A chancery suit of 1657 in which Bartholomew Allerton was a defendant relates to a property in Suffolk. The Court Roll for 1651 records that Bartholomew Allerton had 10 acres of land and one and a half acres of meadow.⁷ This is followed by evidence that the will of a Bartholomew Allerton, clerk of Banfield, (probably Bramfield) was proved in 1659. It is almost certain then that Bartholomew Allerton served as parish priest in Bramfield, (and surely a more suitable man could not be found than someone who had been brought up in the New World); how did he get on here?

Were the parishioners of Bramfield agreeable that their vicar should be evicted? It seems from the minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers who had undertaken to provide for the families of such men, that Bramfield had not, by 18th June 1646, accepted Bartholomew Allerton as their minister because they were not paying him the due tithes. He made a petition to the Committee in Bury St Edmunds which would determine the 'difference between the minister of Bramfield and the parishioners'. In fact two letters addressed to Sir Phillip Perceval have come to light written from Bramfield by Bartholomew mentioning the following.

I am (thanks bee to god, from whom wee injoy all wee have) in peace settled here: but how longe this will continue I know not: for there is at present a Counsell against mee at London, which arrived there that very day in the evening upon which I despatched my businesse: what hee intendeth or can doe against mee, is not for mee to imagine: yet am confident that truth will defendeth it selfe, at the hardest, against falsehood: I deserve noe ill:

I have not as yet been able to determine who was causing the trouble but it could have been Ralph Rabett probably supported by Edward Nelson, an avowed adherent of the old religion, men who were not likely to have been supporters of a Puritan parson. The dispute was not settled until the death of Thomas Wright in 1647 when the Committee recommended to the Commission for the Great Seal 'to present to Bramfield in their gift through the death of Mr Wright from whom it was sequestered, Bartholomew Allerton to whom it was sequestered in Mr Wright's lifetime'.

In many cases where clergy lost their living, persons bearing a grudge trumped up the charges. Whether this was the case at St George (St Cross?) South Elmham we cannot tell, but William Evans was accused of a plethora of sins, viz

drunkenness: neglecting to preach Sunday afternoons & to observe fasts: presented parishioners in court for going elsewhere for sermons when he did not preach: in the pulpit he said those who contributed to Parliament were accursed: instead of a sermon read a royal declaration 'concerning the Militia, the Ships, Fortes, and Towne of Hull'.⁸

In spite of these shortcomings he was speedily restored in 1660 as... guess what? Vicar of Bramfield and Thorington in 1662 staying for the next 34 years! That, together with the ease with which this 'scandalous' minister, William Evans, was accepted as vicar in 1660 and then stayed for thirty years, makes me think that there were influences at work in Bramfield that were not wholly in sympathy with the aspirations of the Grand Rebellion. This pressure came almost certainly from the Rabbet and Nelson families.

3. Bramfield attends the High Court

An interesting episode in the life of Bramfield happened in the few years prior to the Second World War. The Rev. Cyril Barker was appointed vicar in Bramfield in 1937 a short while after a new Head Teacher had arrived at the village school. He immediately turned up at the school ready to take morning assembly and generally oversee the religious life of the school as he had in his last parish. Miss Smy, by repute a lady of strong character, who was not agreeable to this, forbade him from visiting the school and he had to apologize to her in the local press, writing a very contrite letter. He found that what he had assumed

was a school closely connected with the church was in fact what we know today as 'Voluntary Controlled' as opposed to a 'Voluntary Aided' school.⁹

Maybe in response to this, the Rev. Barker attempted to found a Grammar School in the Vicarage. A very elaborate prospectus was published with extravagant aims of Academic Scholarships, a Cadet Corps, games, athletics and all manner of subjects not found taught in schools in the locality. It is described as a 'Private Day School for boys of 10 years and upwards' at a cost of 5 guineas a term. Recruits were few and the school only lasted a few weeks being closed by the Education Authority, as the whole thing was so irregular.

The Rev Barker however was not finished yet. Although he seems to be remembered with wry humour by the people who were children during his brief incumbency, going about the village on his bicycle with his kettle on the back seeking the best well water, (his own well being immediately below the churchyard!), he does seem to have caused an inordinate amount of trouble in the parish. He is described by a churchwarden in the ensuing dispute with the parishioners as an upsetting influence, turning all the grown-ups out of the choir, causing congregations to dwindle alarmingly and endeavouring to be 'head man in the village'

He took the Church Council to the High Court in 1939, suing them for libel over a dispute about 12s.1½d of church collections missing from a cash box in the church. The box had contained money for the Deanery magazine plus some church collections and the vicar had used the whole amount to pay for the magazines. The churchwardens accused the vicar of stealing the church money and told him to leave. Having heard the facts laid out by the prosecution, including other disputes, the judge remarked that the folk of Bramfield were very touchy people! The defence counsel for the churchwardens was Quentin Hogg (later Lord Chancellor), at the time a brilliant young lawyer, who quickly demolished the character of the Rev. Barker who then lost the case. He left the parish soon after. The judge said the case, which lasted two days, should never have been brought.¹⁰

In conclusion, I am certain that most parishes have stories to match these glimpses into what amount to 'storms in a teacup' but I'm sure that when they happened the people of Bramfield must have been very disturbed by the turmoil and public notoriety that had upset their quiet and unremarkable daily life.

¹ Rev. Alfred Suckling, LLB, *The History & Antiquities of the Hundreds of Blything & Part of Lothingland in the Co. of Suffolk*, (1847)

² SRO(I) HB26, 371.71

³ This account is taken from Rev. Thomas S Hill, (Ed), *The Registers of Bramfield*, (Mitchell and Hughes, 140 Wardour St. London, 1894). Hill was Rector of Thorington and Vicar of Bramfield

⁴ W J Sheils, *The English Reformation 1530-1570*, (Longmans, 1989) p.45

⁵ Clive Holmes, (Ed), *The Suffolk Committees for Scandalous Ministers 1644 – 1646*, (Ipswich, 1970) p.9

⁶ Trevor Cooper, (Ed), *The Journal of William Dowsing*, (Boydell, 2001) Entry 238

⁷ SRO(I) HB26, 371/80

⁸ A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: Being a Revision of John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy During the Grand Rebellion, 1642-60*, (Oxford, 1948) p.333

⁹ In a voluntary controlled school the foundation (often the Church of England) has only some formal influence since the Local Education Authority decides the curriculum, employs the school's staff and funds the school; whereas in a voluntary aided school the foundation pays the costs of the building and has much greater influence on its operation.

¹⁰ R Douglas Brown, *East Anglia 1939*, (Terence Dalton Ltd. Lavenham, 1980)

Ipswich Literary Institution – The Early Years

by Michael Stone

This article outlines the members, the premises and some of the possessions of an organisation, now little known, that existed in Ipswich town-centre for some 20 to 30 years from 1832. In the turmoil of anticipated Parliamentary Reform, the early 1830s were a time of intensified activity throughout the country. In Ipswich, the Parliamentary election in May 1831 was fought on the issue of that reform, with the traditional names of 'Yellows' and 'Blues' being temporarily replaced by the labels 'Reformers' and 'Constitutionalists'. Whereas the two 'Blue' sitting members had in 1830 been returned for Ipswich unopposed, in 1831 two 'Yellows' won, reflecting a national swing in expectation of reform. The flavour of party politics in the boroughs of Suffolk is conveyed to modern readers of Charles Dickens in his fictional *Pickwick Papers* based on his experience reporting for the London *Morning Chronicle* on the Parliamentary elections in January 1835.

In every community one finds a small body of politically active people wielding influence and perhaps power, sometimes honourably, sometimes not. Words like 'oligarchy' and 'faction' come to mind. That position is often sustained from outside the formal constitution, by those influential people meeting on an informal basis. The question posed is whether the literary society the subject of this article had party political purposes of that nature.

Quite apart from politics, in many towns this was a period of growth in what we might today call 'adult education' as well as in schooling. Fuelled by a variety of motives, libraries and museums and institutes were founded, and many flourished. In Ipswich, in addition to more private Book Clubs and the local Philological Society, the Union Public Library was set up in 1817. Of a different nature was the Mechanics Institute, founded in 1824 which with its library moved ten years later to premises in Tavern Street, where still flourishes a very different institute. John Blatchly has also told the story of the 'Town Library', housed first in Blackfriars sacristy and then in a room at Christ's Hospital, that included some volumes dating from the early seventeenth century¹.

The word 'library' has to be understood with care since it can mean a collection of books, or the organisation that manages that collection, or the place in which the collection is housed. 'Books' may range from rare antiquarian volumes, through journals in membership reading rooms to a public lending library open to all. Nor are such collections static, since acquisitions are added and losses sustained. Moreover, not always evidenced by inventories or identifying marks, collections may have shelving together without merger, or be fully amalgamated.

The Ipswich Institution had a further character not merely literary, derived from its privileged membership of political 'insiders' and its consequent meeting-place in the Town Hall. The reader will perhaps remember accounts of the state of the Ipswich Corporation in the 1830s.² Municipal Commissioners, empowered by central government to investigate, concluded that the corporate body was 'ill-regulated' with a history of abuse of power and neglect of duty. Indeed, under the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 the corporation was dissolved, and re-formed. That climate of abuse and neglect in local government provides the context for this article. Many of those so accused had earlier been present at a meeting in January 1832. It was called to set up this seemingly innocent literary organisation. The names listed at Appendix I include many familiar to local historians. It will here be left for others to decide whether this literary institution was an attempt to consolidate socially one 'party' to the exclusion of the other, or to reconcile opposing political interests, or perhaps neither of these purposes.

* * *

On 16 January 1832, 'clergy gentry and other principal inhabitants of the town' attended this preparatory meeting under the chairmanship of John Chevallier Cobbold, senior of the two bailiffs exercising mayoral responsibilities.³ As expected, they resolved to establish a Literary Institution. This was to provide, on a shareholding and subscription basis, a Reading Room offering newspapers and periodicals, as well as a small Library. A provisional Committee was set up. It seems that some preparation behind the scenes had already been undertaken, for a lease of appropriate space in the Town Hall was granted within days by a decision taken on behalf of the Corporation. This gave the trustees of the intended new body exclusive occupation of the upper floor at the front of the Town Hall (see Appendix II) for 42 years at a nominal rent of £1 per annum⁴. The lease included use of the private entrance at the south-west corner of the building (entered as it were 'round the back') and the existing staircase.

Mr Cobbold offered to lease further space out of the neighbouring 'Tuns' inn, owned by his family brewery. This enabled the Institution to install its own staircase. With the necessary right of passage (through and across the east end of the Town Hall) added to the Corporation lease, the new body had secured a more prestigious means of approach. The committee quickly received an estimate for fitting up the rooms from one Mr Whiting, seemingly approached in advance. The measurements were given as Library (18 x 17 feet), Reading Room or 'Hall' (46 x 28 feet) and side room (14 x 8 feet).

A prospectus was prepared and an advertisement placed in the politically-competing local newspapers (*Ipswich Journal* and *Suffolk Chronicle*), for a meeting of shareholders to be held a mere fortnight after the first. Membership was not to be limited to shareholders, but most of the shares were taken up in those first few days. Indeed, only 11 were available to the public (outsiders), from which conclusions may be drawn. Six vice-Presidents were also named (see Appendix I).

An invitation was extended to the existing Ipswich Union Library (also known as the Public Library, though itself a subscription organisation) to move its stock of books to the new premises for the use of both sets of subscribers. The Union Library accepted this proposal, subject to the Institution paying off their existing debt and compensating their life members. Their optimistic request for a separate staircase, to preserve their separate and independent status, was however declined by the Institution, who were nevertheless not offering full merger.

Meeting on 15 March 1832, shareholders received an offer, made by the Revd. William Kirby, of his herbarium and his collection of fossils. Kirby was a local man, then in his seventies, who had acquired an international reputation in entomology. This offer was said to be welcome, but it clearly extended the literary character of the Institution. The practical problem of display was imaginatively overcome by obtaining permission to erect a gallery over the above passage to house exhibits in what became known as the museum. The work was put out to tender, and that of Mr G. Mason was accepted.

In the next few months progress was achieved on several fronts: the rooms were physically refurbished and fitted up with bookcases. Gas chandeliers were installed. An early annual budget envisaged not only 100 shareholders but also additional members paying a (double) annual subscription of 3 guineas. Initial expenditure for establishing and furnishing the premises was £1,476 15s. 2d. This was partly met by sales of shares at £5, and partly by small loans evidenced by red tickets. Detailed terms were settled with the Union Library for their members: £10 entrance fee plus one guinea annual subscription. It was not long before a proposal was made for the two societies to be united.

The library facilities were increased in two respects: a set of some 25 volumes of Public Records was acquired (Appendix III) and the local Medical Society was offered a shelf-space. The advertisement for a Librarian produced 39 applications, short-listed to five. Mr H. Tracey was elected at a salary of £40 pa, plus 2/6d a week for cleaning. (Some three years later he would be dismissed for financial irregularity). Of the books of the Union Library acquired, 560 needed repair and 73 re-lettering. Although members donated books and other items, more funds were required to purchase 'standard' books for the library. £500 was to be raised by the issue of further 'red-tickets' @ £5, on which 4% interest was payable. Five newspapers were ordered including *The Times* (but some were later discontinued) with five periodicals and three quarterlies. To reduce costs, the day-old copy of the *Morning Chronicle* was passed on to the Mechanics Institute for an annual sum. The rooms were to be open, attended and heated, six days a week from 10 a.m. until 4 or 6 o'clock according to season. On 4 September 1832, seven or so months after the preparatory meeting, the shareholders were able to inspect the rooms shortly prior to opening.

A constitution was prepared and printed, and a General Committee of Management appointed. The question arose as to who might become members and who would be received as visitors. Barristers at sessions were admitted without specific introduction. Members could introduce friends without themselves attending, on a note being provided to the Librarian. Wives and daughters of members were admitted to the reading room, but only from 11 to 3pm. Ladies were to be accepted as members, but only where no gentleman headed the household. The original admission fee to the museum exhibits was abolished. Chess was 'allowed' in the Committee Room. Much of the success of this early period was attributable to the Secretary Mr Gross, who was to be succeeded on his retirement by Mr R. Garrod.

Reference was made above to the collection known as the Town Library. On 17 September 1832 the Corporation ordered its removal to these new rooms in the Town Hall, to be housed and managed by the Ipswich Literary Institution. This may seem to add official status to what was merely a 'members club' accountable only to 'insider' shareholders, mostly councillors.

Sentiment was soon progressing nationally promoting both genuinely public libraries and reading rooms, and with recognition of the educational value of accessible museums. In 1847, a newly established Ipswich Museum was opened in the street then newly created still bearing that name. The world was changing fast and the initiative that produced the Institution only fifteen years earlier had been overtaken. In 1851, entries in the minute Book of the Institution ceased without explanation and the Institution continued only in a limited state thereafter until auction of all its books in 1862. Soon the Town Hall site was cleared for the erection of the present building (1867-8).

Appendix I

Ipswich Literary Institution – the early years: some names

Patron	Duke of Grafton	Euston
President	Sir Robert Harland, Bt.	Orwell Park
Vice-Presidents	Broke, Sir Philip Bowes Vere, Bt.	Broke Hall, Nacton
	Middleton, Sir William F.F., Bt.	Shrubland Park
	Reade, John	Holbrook
	Fitzgerald, John	Wherstead
	Kirby, Revd William	Barham
	Berners, Ven. Henry D., Archdeacon,	Woolverstone Hall
Benefactors	Rigby Wason, (Borough MP), Revd Charles Day, Revd William Betham, Charles Tyrell (County MP) of Haughley Park (Appx 3)	

L= trustee of lease PC = Provisional Committee MC = Management committee
 [B] = Bailiff (1800-30) [TC] = Town Clerk [CC] = Common Council of Borough

Aldrich, Revd William	PC, L,	Handford Lodge
Alexander, R.D.	Banker, PC/ MC,	St Matthews St.
Bacon, Edward	Banker, PC/ MC, Treasurer, [CC, B x 5 laying 1818 stone].	
Baird, Andrew Wood	Physician, L, MC,	St Matthews St.
Batley, William	PC, [CC, TC, B x 6],	New Market St.
Beck, Edward	Physician, PC,	Northgate St.
Bullen, George	Surgeon, L,	Carr St.
Catt, Benjamin B.	Surveyor (designed 1818 façade), [CC, B x 1],	St Clements
Cobbold, John Chevallier	Brewer, Chairman, PC/ MC, [CC, B x 2],	Holywells &c.
Cobbold, Revd Francis	L,	Cliff
Cowell, Charles	MC, prob. Secretary & lender to Union Library	
Fitch, W.S.	MC, Postmaster, collector of MSS	
Garrod, Robert	MC, Secretary from Nov.1833	
Gross, Charles	Attorney, PC/ MC, Secy. to Nov.1833, TC, Lower Brook St.	
Head, Jeremiah	Savings Bank Secretary, L, PC/ MC,	St Peters
Jackaman, S.B.	Attorney, MC, [CC, TC, B x 5]	St Nicholas St.
Josselyn, George	Attorney, L, MC,	Upper Brook St.
May, William	Merchant, L	
Pownall, Edward	MC, Attorney.	
Shewell, J.Thomas	Draper, Tailor, PC, MC,	Tavern St.
Sparrow, John E.	Attorney, PC/ MC, [CC, TC, Coroner, B x 2],	Buttermarket
A/so Whiting, John	Surveyor,	Westgate St.
Baldiston, Samuel	Contractor,	St Peters
Mason, George	Contractor,	Lower Brook St.
Tracey, Henry	1st Librarian	

Note to Appendix I - on political allegiance

Modern concepts of political parties render the word 'party' inappropriate in the National Parliament of the 1830s where members grouped informally around leading personalities. In local public life however, there was at that time among the politically active in the Borough of Ipswich a clear and intense split between 'Blues' and 'Yellows', sometimes under different names. 'Blues' tended to support the monarchy, the constitution and the established church. 'Yellows' were Whigs or Radicals, frequently 'Chapel' (Non-conformists).

Before 1832, only free burgesses, freemen of the borough, had voting rights. Of these, many were non-resident and were transported to Ipswich from London and the country (in their scores if not hundreds) at the expense of candidates. Others were scarcely literate. By contrast, many of the leading townsmen in commerce and retailing were not freemen. Open polling, for all its disadvantages at the time, provides detailed records for the modern researcher, but this extends only to the enfranchised. Thus we lack confirmation of the political allegiance of nearly half of the founders of Ipswich Literary Institution.

At least four, members of 'the Twentyfour', were prominent 'Blues':

Bacon, Cobbold, Jackaman, Sparrow.

Three more are known to have been 'Blues': Batley, Catt, Gross.

Two are known to have been 'Yellows', at least at one time:

Head (elected as Honorary Freeman in 1822)

May ('a leading Reformer' in 1835)⁵

Moreover, one donor to the library stock was Rigby Wason, a 'Yellow' MP for the borough (1831-35).

Appendix II

The Town Hall Building in the 1830s

The Cornhill may be described as the spiritual centre of Ipswich. The Town Hall (also earlier called the Guildhall or Moot Hall) was until the second half of the twentieth century the administrative and judicial centre of Ipswich. Given a different role after those functions were relocated, the present building stands today as a visual focus, as it has since 1868 in all the exuberance of its Venetian Palace style.

In about 1800, the space now occupied by its unified frontage contained four separate buildings.

(1) The western half had been converted for use as a civic hall, by the insertion of an upper floor into the earlier church dedicated to St Mildred. [That saintly and reputedly royal abbess from Kent dates from the very time that the settlement of Ipswich was established and its street pattern laid out, about 700 AD.] Depicted on the town Common Seal of 1200 AD, this church was an icon for the town. By 1800 it had a hybrid appearance, part ecclesiastical-gothic, part castellated parapet. The upper floor was approached at the front by an outside covered staircase, a dominant feature.

(2) At its east end stood a narrower building with red-brick diamond-patterned front, rising to a high stepped gable. In appearance it resembled the Pykenham gateway in Northgate Street; both date from the fifteenth century.

(3) Further east stood a squarish double-jettied house with pitched roof: the Tuns Inn (otherwise called the Corn Exchange Tavern), a Cobbold house.

(4) The most easterly building, the narrowest and least lofty of the four, was for many years the jewellers shop of Mr R.S. Cole.

Reference to figure 1 clarifies the position at the rear.⁶ Between King Street (later to be the northern end of Princes Street which did not then exist) and on the west side the present pedestrian-way by the 'Golden Lion', a rear passageway made this an island site. Not until 1881 did the Corn Exchange replace the 'Kings Head', and the passageway disappeared.



Figure 1. Pennington's Map of Ipswich, 1778: an enlarged extract

From 1818 until 1867 the Town Hall looked from the Cornhill as shown at figure 2 with this rather grim Palladian façade.⁷ The first two buildings had in 1812-18 been transformed,



Figure 2. Ipswich Town Hall as seen from 1818 to 1867
The façade was designed by Benjamin B. Catt

partially demolished, but leaving unaffected the third and fourth buildings. Façade is the right term, for its erection under the direction of Benjamin Catt, however dramatic in appearance, was little more than a re-fronting with the old building retained within. The Cornhill frontage of about seventy feet gave a regular external appearance with its thirteen windows. On the first floor were the old main hall of the merchants' guilds together with a council chamber. Below were kitchens and three vaults. The internal alterations intended in 1818, when the first stone was laid,

were however not completed until 1841/2. Clarke, deploring in 1830 the half-finished interior state, attributed the lack of funds to the turbulence of party contention within the corporation.⁸ Some may see the concealing of dilapidation for over twenty years behind the façade as echoing the state of borough governance. Certainly the poor physical state of the Town Hall in 1832 was attributable to the very men who planned the early years of the Institution. Neither lasted long thereafter.

Appendix III

Public Records

The county still owns a set of about 25 volumes endorsed under the heading 'Record Commission'

'The Library of the Corporation of Ipswich
upon condition that this work be open for the perusal of literary
and legal persons, inhabitants of the county of Suffolk. 11th July 1832.'

The Commission (predecessor to the Public Record Office) had been appointed to undertake official publication of various State Papers. Its secretary was in 1832 Mr Cooper of Lincoln's Inn.

The Revd John Longe, Vicar of Coddanham, began the process of acquisition, writing in August 1831 to Charles Tyrell MP of Haughley Park, one of the Knights of the Shire⁹. Longe asked for help in obtaining for Suffolk a set of public records. It is unclear whether he was acting on his own initiative or was executing the wishes of others, for example the county magistrates. Tyrell obtained agreement in principle from Lord Brougham, Lord Chancellor in Grey's cabinet. Longe arranged that the Ipswich Bailiffs would provide accommodation 'in the Corporation Library'. Having confirmed progress to a meeting of shareholders of the Institution on 8 May 1832, Longe was granted honorary membership of the Institution. Consigned by water carriage, on 2 August 1832 two large packages containing the set of volumes arrived at Ipswich. They were safely lodged at the Town Hall, but could not be unpacked until the room and bookcase were ready.

Longe himself on 23 April 1833 'spent some hours at the Literary Institution rooms, and examined some of the volumes'. There is no record how frequently they have been consulted since that time in over 175 years.¹⁰

References

- ¹ John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich* (Woodbridge, 1989) pp.49-62.
- ² For a contemporary account up to 1830, see G.R. Clarke, *History & Description of Ipswich* (Ipswich, 1830), pp. 147-65. For a short modern account: Robert Malster, *A History of Ipswich* (Chichester 2000), pp.134-9.
- ³ This article relies heavily on the Institution Minute Book (SRO(I) K13/1/13.1).
- ⁴ David Allen, (ed.) *Ipswich Borough Archives 1255-1835*, (Woodbridge, 2000) p.325.
- ⁵ Clarke, *History*, p.151 and David Warnes, & John Blatchly, *Bribery Warehouse - the Ipswich Parliamentary Elections of 1835* (Ipswich, 1986)
- ⁶ Figure 1 is an enlarged extract from the reproduction printed and published by the Borough of Ipswich (1975) of Joseph Pennington's map of Ipswich 1778.
- ⁷ Figure 2 is the photograph by W.Vick, original in the Vick Collection J 14 at Suffolk Record Office. Of the Cornhill frontages both pre- & post-1818 a number of reproductions are readily accessible; for example :
- Malster, *A History*, jacket, 106, 115, 117
- Lilian J. Redstone, *Ipswich through the ages* (Ipswich 1948) facing p.57.
- Peter Bishop, *The History of Ipswich, 1500 years of triumph & disaster* (London 1995), facing p.84, p.89
- David Allen 'The Public Water Supply of Ipswich' in *PSIAH*, XL pt I (2001) pp.42, 43, 45
- ⁸ Clarke, *History*, pp.170-2
- ⁹ Michael Stone (ed.) *The Diary of John Longe, Vicar of Coddendam, 1765-1834* (Woodbridge 2008), pp.132,136-9,147,151.
- ¹⁰ The volumes are among those listed in *British National Archives Sectional List 24* (1983) pt V. The set is now housed at Suffolk Record Office (SRO (I) fR 025.171).

The Tale of Daniel Lewis, Suffolk Goldminer

by Rosemary Knox

Some forty years ago when I first came to Wiston I was told a tale of a Daniel Lewis, the farmer who went to the West Indies and made his fortune in gold which he kept in a wooden box. One narrator even claimed that he had seen slave whips hanging up in Daniel's old farmhouse. It was many years later when I started looking into the history of Wiston in detail that I remembered the story again. By then I knew that Daniel Lewis had existed and had been buried in Wiston churchyard in 1902 so I realised the West Indies could not be the right place for his adventures as the dates were wrong. Fortunately I soon discovered the best source for correct information, Maurice Harvey, whose godmother, the widow of the last of Daniel's great-nephews, had left him the very box which was said to have held the gold. He knew that Daniel had gone, not to the West Indies, but to Australia but he confirmed the legend about the gold. His godmother had told him that Daniel, when he returned, used to pay his bills with gold from the box. So I started to try and discover more of this tale, using parish registers, the censuses and also the internet to question Australian sources.

First it is best to give the family background of Daniel Lewis. His family were farmers at Polstead. His grandfather, Stephen, had been a tenant of the Rowley family of Tendring Hall, Stoke by Nayland, from whom he held Sprotts Farm, a good sized farm of 208 acres with a fine farmhouse¹ but his will shows that he also owned another farm of his own which the Rowley estate papers reveal to have been a farm of 17 acres with a substantial farmhouse and buildings.² Stephen had married Ann Partridge, a member of the large farming family at Wiston³, so Daniel had a strong farming inheritance. He was baptised on April 20th 1809 in Polstead church. His elder brother had died as a baby but he had four sisters, Sarah Anne, Ester (or Hester), Maria and Henrietta.⁴ Although Stephen had left his farm and all the chattels to Daniel's father, Robert and his heirs, saying that his other son John had already been helped financially and therefore needed no legacy, when he died in 1818 his son Robert had predeceased him by a few months. Daniel, Robert's heir, was only fourteen and the Rowley papers show that his uncle took over the family farm while Anne, Daniel's grandmother, remained as the tenant of Sprotts.⁵ Whether this was a family arrangement or whether John just moved in when his father died can only be guessed; certainly John ended up selling the farm to the Rowleys and Daniel had no part in it. Daniel with his mother and four sisters presumably stayed on at Sprotts. In 1827 tragedy then struck and within six months it seems both Daniel's mother and his sister Sarah Anne had died. In 1831 his grandmother died and the tenancy at Sprotts passed out of their family. At sometime during all this change Daniel Lewis, who was still only twenty two when his grandmother died, left Polstead and can next be found in Wiston when his sister Ester, described as 'spinster of this parish' was married to John Rose at the church there in 1833 with Daniel as witness.⁶



Wissington Grange today, showing the east front

Henry Partridge, a cousin, who farmed Wissington Grange, had died in 1832 and in 1834 Daniel formally took over this tenancy which was also part of the Tendring estate belonging to the Rowleys. The Grange was long term family tenancy as Thomas Partridge can be found there in 1758⁷, followed by William and then Henry. These long term tenanted farms seem to have passed easily between relatives and connections as, in due course, when Daniel set off on his adventures he was replaced by his brother-in-law, James Hawes. Local tradition says that the original house at the Grange was burnt down and the present house clearly dates from about the time Daniel took over. On the front are carved the initials DL, ML and HL which may represent Daniel and his two sisters who would have been living there around the time when the new house was built. Whoever rebuilt the house (it might have been the landlord, the previous tenant or Daniel himself) it seems he viewed it as the new family home where he supported his sisters and himself from the farm. While he lived there he married off his three sisters, first Ester to John Rose, then in 1837 Henrietta to William Rose, the younger brother of John but described as a butcher from Cavendish, and finally in 1847 his sister Maria to James Hawes.⁸ James and his two brothers, Samuel and George, had all inherited land from a Samuel Steward but while his brothers had both inherited reasonable farms in Wiston James had only a small holding.⁹



The initials carved into the east wall of Wissington Grove

[Both the above pictures taken by Sylvia Rawlings]

In 1851 Daniel was the census enumerator for Wiston. He ended his rounds with his own farm, the Grange, where he entered Harriet Lungley aged thirty seven born in Margeretting in Essex. He entered her as housekeeper but did not give her a status, so he did not consider her a servant or a visitor. And then his adventures began. Although no record of Daniel and Harriet marrying in England can be found, the Listings of the Immigration to Victoria 1852 – 1859¹⁰ reveal a Mr Daniel and Mrs Harriet Lewis of appropriate ages travelling on the *Mount Stuart Elphinstone* which arrived in Victoria in July 1852. The internet then widened the scope of my searches and through the help of enthusiastic researchers at first the National Library of Australia, then the Steiglitz History Society and finally the Geelong Heritage Centre Daniel Lewis was found as a gold miner in Steiglitz in 1857 holding a Miners Right Certificate which means he held crown land.¹¹ The main gold at Steiglitz was first discovered in 1855, some years after the gold at Ballarat. It lay in difficult country mostly reached on horseback and the first European settlers arrived in the 1830s looking for agricultural land rather than gold. But from 1851 there were signs of gold in the streams there and alluvial mining began with men rushing to try their luck from Geelong, the nearest town.¹² The original aborigines soon disappeared. Is it possible that Daniel had heard of the gold discoveries and decided to try his luck; or did he go looking to farm there but instead followed the men rushing to mine gold? It might even be that he bought land to farm and then gold was discovered on it, but Australian records of this time are very sparse before 1866 by which date Daniel had returned home.



View of Steiglitz in 1868 A great contrast to the peaceful farm in Suffolk

So why did Daniel and Harriet set off for Australia? Daniel appears to have had no financial problems; he had a good farm, and must have been a respected member of his community as he was chosen as enumerator of the census. It was certainly the time when the poor members of the farming community in Suffolk were being encouraged to emigrate. Over 2000 people were sent to Australia from East Anglia between 1847 and 1852,¹³ 480 from Suffolk, but these were all Poor Law people, including single women, sent by their parishes on assisted passages. There exists a poster, originally displayed at the village of Monks Eleigh¹⁴ but clearly one of many, offering good terms for young families to emigrate to Australia or the Cape of Good Hope, and the Vicar of Stoke-by-Nayland, (a village near Wiston,) whom Daniel may easily have known, was busy encouraging his poorer parishioners to go to New Zealand.¹⁵ Emigration was clearly in the air and good farming land was apparently easy to come by, while an agricultural depression covered East Anglia. None the less it seems strange that what had previously appeared to be a sober family minded man should suddenly leave a comfortable life and go to the ends of the earth.

It is known that people did sometimes emigrate when they were unable to marry in England so the most obvious reason seems to be that either Harriet or Daniel was previously married. Harriet seems the most likely but in the 1841 census she is a single woman of thirty still living with her elderly parents in Rochford, Essex. In 1847 her father William died and shortly afterwards her mother (there are two Mary Lungleys in Rochford who died at this time, one in 1848 and one in early 1851). This suggests that Harriet found herself a single woman left on her own, searching employment and somewhere to live at the time when Daniel no longer had any sisters to look after him. It is more difficult to be absolutely certain that Daniel never married. His name is a common one and although he seems to have been a steady Suffolk man it is just possible that he might have had an earlier adventure between his father's death when he was fourteen and his mother's death when he became responsible for his sisters. Unfortunately this would have occurred before the central registration of marriages began and it is certainly not recorded in local marriage registers. In the London Registers now on the internet there are no less than five Daniel Lewises married in those brief years with no details to show where they came from and there must be many others elsewhere. But a man who decided to set out on such an enterprise when aged forty might have been a

restless young man and it would explain why his uncle took over the family farm when his grandfather died, as Daniel might have been away.

In the 1861 census for Wiston (Wissington) there is no sign of the Lewises but in 1871 they are home again. Their return journey can be seen on the passenger list of the *Kosciusko* bound for London in 1864.¹⁶ The ages given do not fit because they must have been considerably older than the ages given there. Comparing the ages given for Harriet in the baptismal register and those in the censuses she clearly had an elastic view on ages, but they are Daniel and Harriet Lewis and they would have been home in time to be in the 1871 census. It is clearly them. They would have been away twelve years, long enough for their marital status to go unquestioned as they had no children, and they returned with a modest fortune to see them live out their days as man and wife. It is sad Harriet was to die so soon.

In 1871 they were renting Maltings Farmhouse which had been unoccupied in 1861. Daniel is described as 'farmer out of business' so he had enough money to live on his own means, while the land was farmed by his landlord, George Holton, the largest farmer in the parish.¹⁷ Sadly Harriet died in 1876 and is buried in Wiston churchyard, but Daniel continued to live at Maltings Farmhouse with a housekeeper, no doubt supporting himself with the gold from that chest. In 1899 Maltings Farm was bought by Dr Jane Walker for her Sanatorium and finally in 1901 Daniel is found boarding at what was almost certainly Bulmers Farm on the Wiston Road as a deaf old man. He died in 1902 aged 93. Mrs Hawes, from whom the story of the gold originally came, was aged four when he died and living in the next village, Bures St Mary. Daniel had settled back into Suffolk rural life for many years but the tale of the box of gold lived on as legend.

¹ S.R.O. Ipswich HA 108/10/5/6

² Stephen Lewis' will S.R.O. Bury IC/500/2/102, the farm details S.R.O Ipswich, HA108/2/76

³ Sudbury Marriage Licences 1779

⁴ S.R.O. Bury FBA78/D1/5-11 Polstead Registers

⁵ S.R.O. Bury FBA/78/A4/1

⁶ S.R.O Bury FB65/D1/10-11

⁷ S.R.O, Bury FB65/G1/1

⁸ All Wiston Register details taken from transcripts held in the parish

⁹ Samuel Steward's Will of 1824, part of private deeds.

¹⁰ Index of unassisted Passenger Lists to Victoria 1852 - 1923

¹¹ Victoria Electoral Roll 1856 – 1857 Call no. me N477

¹² Ray Sumner, *Steiglitz Memories of Gold*, (National Parks Service, Victoria, Australia, 1982)

¹³ James Jupp, *The Australian People*, (Cambridge University Press, 2001) page 289

¹⁴ S.R.O. Bury FL 607/13/9

¹⁵ Frances Torlesse, *From Bygone Days*, (Harrison, 1914)

¹⁶ Index to Outward Passengers to interstate, Uk, New Zealand & Foreign Parts 1852- 1901 Public R.O. Victoria

¹⁷ Deeds in private hands

Fleetwood, Henry and Robert: The Hulls of Nineteenth-Century Newmarket

by Hugh Gault

Introduction

An unusual name on one of the headstones in Newmarket cemetery marks the grave of Fleetwood Hull who died in February 1866 aged 52. It would not be so surprising if this was the name of a Lancashire fisherman¹, but finding it in landlocked Newmarket is unexpected. The juxtaposition of Fleetwood and Hull, two places far apart but almost exactly opposite each other on the west and east coasts, also makes it stand out. Fleetwood's wife Elizabeth is buried in the same grave; thirteen years younger she had outlived him by nearly forty years dying in January 1903 at the age of 76. Nothing unusual in the difference in their ages or that she outlasted him, but another reason for wanting to find out more about Fleetwood Hull and his family.

Newmarket was a small, but already well-known, settlement at the start of the 19th century. Less than 1800 people lived there at this stage, and the population was still under 3000 by 1841,² but it was already a mix of great wealth and crushing poverty. The long-established horse racing industry ensured both extremes.

Family Background

Fleetwood's father Henry had been born in the mid-1780s³ in Suffolk and lived in the St Mary parish in Newmarket for much, if not all, of his life. He was a cabinet maker, probably a trade that he had learned from his own father, Fleetwood's grandfather. As there is no record of Fleetwood's mother Elizabeth in the Census returns from 1841,⁴ she had almost certainly died before then. Fleetwood had at least two brothers: Henry, born in 1803, so ten years older and a younger one Robert born on 24th September 1815⁵. An older sister Elizabeth or Eliza had been born in 1810/1 and it is probable that there were other brothers and sisters born between Henry and Fleetwood, but no record remains of them.

By the early 1830s Fleetwood's brother Henry had left Newmarket to move to Bartlow (about 20 miles from Newmarket to the south of Linton in Cambridgeshire) close to Ashdon where his wife Harriett came from. They had two sons, including a boy named after his uncle Fleetwood.

By contrast Fleetwood and Robert were to become prominent members of the Newmarket community in the mid-19th century, though both were to meet with adversity towards the end of their lives, wrestling with ill-health and ill-luck respectively in their final years.

Fleetwood Hull

Fleetwood was born in August 1813 and married Frances Kettle in April 1835 when he was 21.⁶ In 1841 they were living at Litcham in Norfolk, over 40 miles from Newmarket between Swaffham and Fakenham, with Fleetwood's older sister Eliza, her husband Alfred Copeman a saddler, a younger Hull sister Selina who had been born in 1825/6, the Copemans' baby son and the Hulls' infant daughter. As well as these seven, there were another three people in the house, two of whom were girls attending the Ladies School Eliza ran (as perhaps Selina was too) and the third of whom was a 25 year-old servant.

It is not clear what happened to Frances and their daughter, or whether she and Fleetwood had other children, but Fleetwood had returned to Newmarket before 1847 and in September that year married Elizabeth Martin at St Mary's. In the next three years he and Elizabeth had a girl and a boy, naming the son Fleetwood Henry after both father and grandfather. Their oldest daughter died young, as did their third child Frances⁷ and another daughter Mary Eleanor⁸ later, but they had another four children in the next few years. By 1861 Fleetwood Henry was their oldest child, a 10 year-old with five younger siblings still alive.

Kelly's Directory for 1847 lists Henry Hull and Son as a cabinet maker and upholsterer at High Street Newmarket. The "Son" was Fleetwood, and it can be assumed that his trade as an upholsterer came from his time with his brother-in-law Alfred the saddler. By the time of the 1851 Census, Fleetwood's father Henry was living with the family and Fleetwood was now described as an auctioneer. He was still practising as an auctioneer ten years later, but had reverted to describing himself in the 1861 Census as a cabinet maker, now doing well enough to employ a man to help him. Fleetwood carried on these trades simultaneously, and was clearly becoming a respected and trusted member of the community.

By 1861 the family had moved to 12 High Street, Newmarket close to the station that had been opened in 1848 by the Newmarket and Chesterford Railway Company, but now operated by Eastern Counties Railways (the company that extended the line to Bury St Edmunds in the 1850s). In October 1858 Fleetwood had held a timber auction at the railway station, while in 1854 he had auctioned off the navigation tolls for Burwell Lode.⁹ He must have been seen as reliable and a man of integrity to be entrusted with these tasks. He reinforced this reputation in August 1861 when he collected the names of people who had put out a fire and submitted them to the insurance company's Fire Office: "the result was a liberal reward".¹⁰

Fleetwood had joined St Mary's Vestry at the start of 1858, proposing Fuller Andrews that March as collector of taxes -provided Andrews was able to put up £300 surety.¹¹ Fleetwood himself was appointed Assessor of Taxes for 1858/59, perhaps a natural progression for an auctioneer well known in the town, and relinquished his position on the Vestry.¹² A year later, probably while Fleetwood was still the Assessor, his brother Robert appealed against his tax assessment, asking that the Vestry reduce it. But they confirmed it.¹³

In April 1862 Fleetwood was voted collector of the rates for the parishes of All Saints and St Mary's, beating two other candidates "by a considerable majority".¹⁴ It is not apparent that he was asked to provide a surety as Fuller Andrews had been.¹⁵ Fleetwood reappeared briefly on the Vestry in November 1864 when St Mary's appointed a new organist, but from the pinnacle of his community career in 1862 the only subsequent record is of Fleetwood's obituary. This appeared in three papers in February 1866:

"On 6th [February] after a long and painful affliction, at Newmarket, aged 52, Mr Fleetwood Hull, formerly auctioneer and upholsterer, and lately tax-rate collector, of that town".¹⁶

Perhaps Fleetwood had to sell his businesses to make ends meet in his final years,¹⁷ or perhaps his son Fleetwood Henry did not have the necessary skills to be a cabinet-maker. Whatever the explanation, the son was to become a draper rather than following in the family tradition.

Robert Hull

Whereas his older brothers Henry and Fleetwood moved away from Newmarket (the former permanently, the latter temporarily), Robert remained in the town, following a different trade, though one requiring similar skills of concentration, attention to detail and precision to cabinet-making. It is not recorded who he was apprenticed to, but he was to become a

watch-maker. This was how he was described in the 1841 Census when, at the age of twenty-five, he still lived with his father. He seems to have remained unmarried, and by 1847 he appears in his own right as a watchmaker in Newmarket High Street. This was three years after his career, rather than apprenticeship, as a clockmaker started. It was to last thirty years until 1874.¹⁸

He clearly prospered, moving his home and shop to 192 High Street (now Stockbridge House, next to the stables) as a watchmaker and jeweller. In the 1871 Census he is listed as a Master employing several people. Along the way, while still in his forties, he had become an agent for the Royal Farmers Insurance Company, the Royal Mint's receiver of old copper coinage, exchanging new coins for old, and the Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths for Newmarket (a task also requiring precision and attention to detail).¹⁹ He acted as the depository for Newmarket Bible Society, holding a stock of Bibles and Testaments at his shop.²⁰

When Robert retired in 1874, not yet sixty, it was as a wealthy man. His Royal Farmers agency was taken on by another jeweller²¹ and, rather than retain his other posts and remain in the town, he sold up and moved to Portishead near Bristol. He shared his new home, a large property in Nore Road with extensive grounds, with his older sister Eliza Copeman and one domestic. Both he and Eliza described themselves as annuitants in the 1881 Census, but his retirement was only partial as he ran an equestrian business from home. Appearing in court from time to time would have been an inevitable part of running a jewellery business, but Robert would ordinarily expect to be the plaintiff rather than the accused.²² However, a case against him had been in the offing for some time, eventually reaching the High Court on 4th November 1887.²³ He had been accused by the bankers Messrs Hammond & Co of over-drawing an account by £7266 (the equivalent of more than £350,000 in 2010). Robert argued that he had already agreed with the bank to pay back £6000, while the other £1266 was interest for which he was not liable. He also counter-claimed damages against Messrs Hammond & Co for their negligence. Although an out-of-court agreement was reached, it was too late for Robert's time in Portishead. In 1883, perhaps to pay the Hammonds what he thought was owed them in the hope of avoiding court, he had sold the property in Nore Road.²⁴ Although the High Court judge ruled that the Hammonds already had more of Robert's money than they were entitled to, it was too late for Robert to start afresh. He was already 72. Unlike his brother Fleetwood, he died in obscurity - not even warranting the briefest notice of his death.

References

¹ Indeed, somebody with the same name was the witness at an 1887 fisherman's wedding in Lancashire. See http://www.lan-opc.org.uk/Fleetwood/stpeter/marriages_1874-1890.html

² See <http://www.sohamroots.co.uk/genealogy/1851dirnewmarket.html>

³ 1785/6 according to the 1841 Census when he lived with another son Robert; 1782/3 when he lived with Fleetwood in 1851.

⁴ Nor is there any further detail in the International Genealogical Index (IGI).

⁵ According to the IGI.

⁶ This was at Barnwell, but whether at the one south of Oundle, or at the one in Cambridge (perhaps more likely), is not clear from the IGI.

⁷ Aged 10 in 1862 of water on the brain - see *Bury and Newmarket Post*, and *Suffolk Herald* 16 September 1862

⁸ Aged 2 in 1857 - see *Bury and Newmarket Post*, and *Suffolk Herald* 17th February 1857

⁹ *Bury and Newmarket Post*, and *Suffolk Herald* 19th October 1858 and 15th March 1854

¹⁰ *Bury and Newmarket Post*, and *Suffolk Herald* 13th August 1861

¹¹ St Mary's Vestry minutes for 18th March 1858

¹² St Mary's Vestry minutes for 8th May 1858

¹³ St Mary's Vestry minutes for 2nd May 1859

¹⁴ *Bury and Newmarket Post*, and *Suffolk Herald* 22nd April 1862

¹⁵ Most of the Vestry minutes between 1860 and the end of 1864 are not included in the Bury St Edmunds record.

¹⁶ See *Bury and Newmarket Post, and Suffolk Herald* 13th February 1866; *Ipswich Journal* and *Cambridge Independent Press* both 17th February 1866

¹⁷ None of these Hulls feature in the wills or probate inventories held at Bury St Edmunds Records Office - which may suggest that they had little inheritance to pass on.

¹⁸ A.L. Haggard & L.F. Miller, 'Suffolk Clocks and Clockmakers', Ramsgate, Thanet, 1974

¹⁹ See *Ipswich Journal* 4th August 1860, *Bury and Newmarket Post, and Suffolk Herald* 7th January 1862 and Kelly's Directory 1864. He was also executor for a local tea merchant Ebenezer Bailey (see *Bury and Newmarket Post, and Suffolk Herald* 11th June 1861) so was trusted and relied on by fellow traders.

²⁰ *Bury and Newmarket Post, and Suffolk Herald* 12th November 1867

²¹ *Bury and Newmarket Post, and Suffolk Herald* 20th October 1874

²² This happened at least twice while he ran the shop in Newmarket - see *Bury and Newmarket Post, and Suffolk Herald* 21st February 1865 and 5th April 1870.

²³ *Bury and Newmarket Post, and Suffolk Standard* 15th November 1887

²⁴ See, for example, *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* 23rd June 1883

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