

HIDING IN PLAIN SIGHT: THE SITE OF THE MEDIEVAL MARKET BUTCHERY AT HADLEIGH

by SUE ANDREWS

INTRODUCTION

HAVING READ MANY documents housed at Hadleigh Archive concerning the market, when parking my car one day between Market Hall to the north, the Corn Exchange on the south and the Guildhall behind me on the west, I realised that the row of wooden gates and the brick wall facing me represented the former site of Hadleigh's medieval market butchery. Having discovered the location, this article explores the long-term role that the medieval market butchery played within Hadleigh and the subsequent development of the site when a designated butchery area was no longer required. It also gives an insight into some of the lives of men who operated as butchers within Hadleigh.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUTCHERY AT HADLEIGH

Medieval marketplaces were often divided up into designated areas for the various trading activities that took place. Different reasons have been put forward for this, including facilitating administration by the market authorities and enabling congestion to be managed within the market environment.¹ However, in the case of the butchers, confining their activities to an appointed location helped the authorities to manage the animal waste that the trade inevitably generated. Sanitation and refuse presented significant problems to all towns, but the slaughtering and butchering of animals in particular produced large quantities of unhygienic waste and its disposal needed to be carefully managed so that it didn't cause a wider nuisance to medieval market goers and other traders.² Imposing order on the meat trade by providing specified sites for sale of flesh set apart from general areas was one way in which market authorities could more effectively oversee the disposal of butchers' waste.

The process by which rudimentary butchers' stalls set up within a designated market area developed into more substantial units is described by John Stow in his *Survey of London* written in 1598. He wrote about Mountgodard Street in Farringdon Ward:

Before this Mountgodard Street stall boards were of old time set up by the butchers to show and sell their flesh meat upon, over the which stallboards they first built sheds to keep off the weather; but since that, encroaching by little and little, they have made their stallboards and sheds fair houses, meet for the principal shambles.³

In the case of Hadleigh, it seems more likely that the Butchery was specifically erected by the market authority, however, regardless of whether they developed arbitrarily, or as a result of more deliberate planning and construction. As they became more permanent, these rows of stalls or shops were often called 'shambles' after the wooden blocks on which butchers worked.⁴ At Hadleigh, although the term shambles crept into the 1619 borough ordinances, this facility was mainly referred to as the Butchery, butchers' stalls or 'certain shops'.⁵ Compared with at least twenty-five units at Newmarket on the county boundary between Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, the Butchery in Hadleigh was a more modest provision of five

permanent butchers' shops tucked into the north-east corner of the market ground, the only attempt in Hadleigh market to accommodate a particular trade in its own separate row.⁶

A market at Hadleigh is known to have existed since at least 1252, although it may have been operating on an informal basis before that date. In that year Gilbert and Lauretta de Kirkeby obtained a grant from Henry III for a weekly Monday market and three-day Michaelmas fair to be held at Toppesfield, one of Hadleigh's five manors.⁷ A suitable trading area was set out in front of Toppesfield Hall with the curtilage of the manor house to the west, the manor's boundary with that of the manor of Hadleigh to the north, the king's highway to the east and *Gosecrouch*, later called Duck Lane and now Duke Street, forming the southern boundary (this is outlined in Fig. 223, which also shows the extent of later infill). A right of way was maintained across the market ground from Toppesfield Hall to the highway, the major route through the town running north-south (now High Street).⁸ In order to bring traffic directly into the trading area from the west and south, it is possible that sometime in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the crossing of the Brett was moved from its original site by the manor's watermill to its present position further north where Toppesfield Bridge, the second oldest bridge in the county, still carries vehicular traffic into Duke Street.⁹

In 1419 the Clopton family, as lords of Toppesfield, began leasing out the market rights to a group of Hadleigh men. North of the right of way, but still within the market ground, was land called *Cherchecrofte* on which, by 1433, a two-storeyed timber-framed building known as the Market House had been constructed. Market House butted northwards on to the

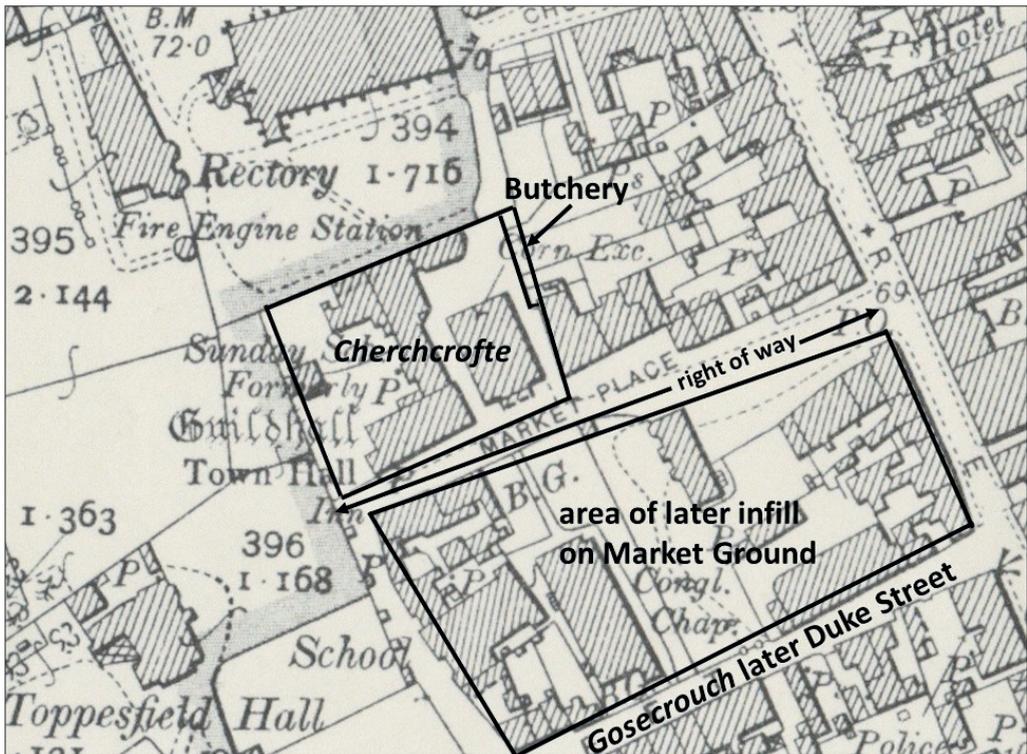


FIG. 223 – Overlay of Hadleigh market area showing position of *Cherchecrofte* and *Gosecrouch*, the site of the Butchery and area of Market Ground later infilled. (1904 Ordnance Survey map reproduced with permission of the National Library of Scotland).

graveyard of St Mary’s parish church.

The earliest extant reference to shops called *le bocherie* is dated 1435.¹⁰ The document does not give any details about the appearance of these shops, but they were evidently located somewhere to the east of Market House. In 1438 the Hadleigh lessees, led by Augustine Dunton, acquired the market rights on behalf of the town and a trust was established with the trustees referring to themselves as feoffees.¹¹ In 1449 a piece of *Cherchecrofte* that bordered southwards onto the lord’s right of way was sold by the feoffees and this became the site of the Guildhall, use of which was supposedly shared by the town’s five religious guilds.¹² By 1451 a three-storeyed timber-framed Market Hall had also been built opposite the church, which had an open way passing through with a shop either side, one of which was occupied at this time by butcher Thomas Dodder.¹³ Fig. 224 shows the position of these fifteenth-century buildings, together with the eighteenth-century extension to Market Hall and the site of the Bull Ring.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, in order to distance himself from the thriving market, the then lord of Toppesfield, Thomas Bendysshe, erected *le brykkewalle* running southwards from the churchyard’s south-west corner to Duke Street, which created Churchway.¹⁴ His evident antipathy towards the market continued unabated, however, as in 1501, Bendysshe was accused by four market feoffees of breaking up their buildings by force of arms and threatening their tenants to such an extent that they were in fear of their lives.¹⁵ After physical attacks with staves and knives, the tenants withdrew from their premises having had their limbs mutilated and other injuries inflicted upon them. As a result, rental incomes were lost and damages valued at a total of £20 had been caused to various market buildings, although Bendysshe lodged a counter claim stating that properties in question were not part

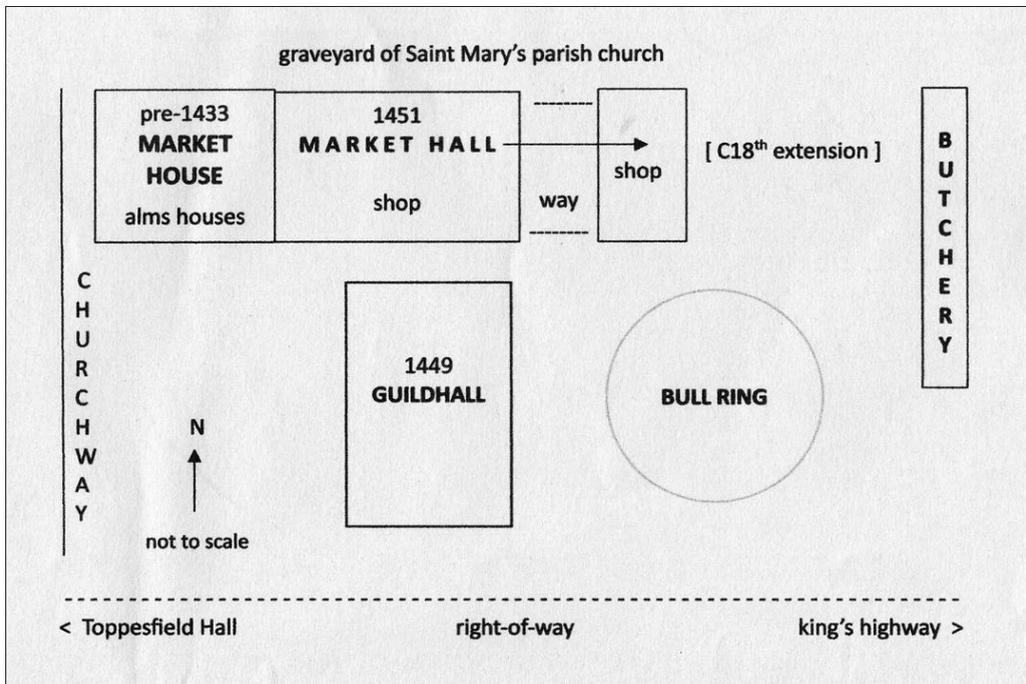


FIG. 224 – Sketch-map (not to scale) of *Cherchecrofte* showing the market buildings as they developed in the fifteenth century. *Le bocherie* is first mentioned in 1435.

of the agreement made by his predecessor in 1438, and that the feoffees and their tenants were trespassing on his property. One such tenant under threat was butcher John Danyell, who was probably renting a place in the Butchery. If this was the case, the area under dispute was east of Market Hall, but still on *Cherchecrofte*, which had been part of the 1438 grant. No further record of this dispute appears to be extant, but the probable outcome would seem to favour the feoffees.

The butcher John Danyell drew up his will in 1507 when he was of 'full mynde and stedfast in god'. His ability to be generous to his church above the usual small amounts given to cover unpaid tithes, forgotten offerings and repairs to the building can be seen in his £40 bequest for a cup (chalice).¹⁶ He also established a short-term charity for almsfolk at Magdalen chapel, where residents were to be delivered flesh valued at 12d every Saturday for a year, except during Lent when fish was to be provided.¹⁷ These abundant gifts, together with bequests for prayers for his soul and provisions for his family, indicate that Danyell's business was far more extensive than just a place in the Butchery: a shop on the ground floor of Market Hall might have been an outlet for him, but he may have been renting premises elsewhere in Market Place.

Hadleigh's town audits were held annually on the first Tuesday in January and were the venue for the selection of officials. These included market bailiffs who were chosen to serve two-year terms, with one new official appointed on each occasion to work alongside an existing partner with a year's experience. This system was interrupted only when a serving bailiff died, when an experienced man returned to duty. From the mid-sixteenth century, however, individuals began to hold this office for longer than a year, for example, from 1563, Henry Smith was bailiff for ten years consecutively.¹⁸

Later, from the late seventeenth century onwards, bailiffs became known as market collectors, which reflects the fact that they were expected to collect rents. In Henry Smith's first year of serving as a market bailiff, for example, he collected rents from thirteen shops, six standings, five houses, three cellars and a chamber (possibly over the Corn Cross), as well as from five butchers' stalls at 5s each, and was tasked with purchasing a necessary beam, scales and weights that would be set up for use as the market standard if disputes arose. Bailiffs also marked opening and closing times for trading by ringing a bell. During the winter months, from Hallowmas to Our Lady Day (1 November to 25 March), the market operated from eleven in the morning until four in the afternoon, but in the summer months, trading was for six hours with the market closing at five o'clock in the afternoon.¹⁹ Bailiffs were also obliged to keep annual accounts, which included details of the income generated by charges for hiring out spaces in the Butchery. Unfortunately, there is no continuity in the survival of these accounts, there being only eleven between 1547 and 1751, and, in addition, the terminology of the accounts is somewhat inconsistent with units identified as being in the Butchery variously referred to as stands, stalls or shops. Whether places were leased for a period of years is also unknown as these annual accounts only record rents received for that particular year.²⁰

The earliest surviving bailiff's account begins in March 1547 and shows 11d being paid for a half-year term for a 'stram' in the Butchery, while the following year, Synge the butcher paid 12d for a similar period. Thomas Cantler paid 4s rent for a butcher's shop, but whether he was hiring a place in the Butchery or in the Market Hall passage is not recorded.²¹ His name appears in Hadleigh's tax returns: in 1524, his assessment was £6, but by 1543, the value of his goods was £20. Cantler lived in *Bux Street* (now George Street) and had at least one small piece of land in *Byggen* (now Angel Street) where he would have been able to fatten cattle before bringing them into market for slaughter.²² On an area of land between the Butchery on the east and the Guildhall on the west was the Bull Ring, where cattle were baited by dogs before slaughter to raise their adrenalin, as it was a long-held belief that this made beef more

palatable in taste and texture.²³

Although other properties belonging to the market are mentioned as receiving repairs, such as the Corn Cross, Ram Inn and the Gaol, there is no indication about maintenance of the Butchery. Unspecified gutters in Market Place are referred to as having been mended, but there is no indication of waste disposal methods despite the fact that many urban authorities set aside designated areas for the disposal of rubbish and, in particular, often sited butchers near to ditches or water sources so that their waste products could be flushed away.²⁴ In London, for example, butchers used a pier extending into the river Fleet to dispose of entrails which then flowed into the river Thames, and later constructed a dedicated *Bochersbrigge* from which to dump their rubbish directly into the Thames.²⁵ In Newmarket, butchers' shops and stalls were confined to a designated row known as *le Bocherie*, although the slaughter of animals probably took place in the adjacent Bullyard: both of these meat-producing areas were bordered to the north by the *Dundich*, a stream into which animal waste could be disposed.²⁶ Despite provisions such as these, butchers were often fined for disposing of offal inappropriately so that in Newmarket, for example, William Bocher was amerced 3d in the leet court of 1409 for causing a nuisance by disposing of intestines in the king's road.²⁷ In Hadleigh, the whole market area is on the very slightest slope to the south, with the Butchery situated in the north-east corner and slightly higher than the main trading area, but there is no water source close by. Hadleigh's butchers might have been under compulsion to dispose of unwanted products from their slaughtering and butchering by some other method, perhaps by carting it to Toppesfield Bridge and dumping it into the river Brett. Alternatively, 'knackers', who worked in the disposal of animal carcasses, possibly serviced the Butchery by removing any unwanted matter, having already negotiated with butchers to purchase the more valuable hides and skins of cattle, pigs and sheep, from which the flesh had been removed. It was not until the seventeenth century, when Hadleigh was a borough, that two ordinances relating to keeping streets clean were enforced, together with a scale of fines for non-compliance. Although these rules concerned pigs wandering streets without a driver, and dunghills and muckhills being made, both directives specifically mention Market Place. These are the only instances in extant documents where there appears to have been a concern for the appearance and safety within a well-ordered market.²⁸

In 1595 James Howes, butcher, is recorded as being a supplier to the parish workhouse, which accommodated up to one hundred people in the former Guildhall. The diet of the workhouse inmates included meat, fish, dairy products, cereals and vegetables and although exact amounts were not often recorded, just over one hundred sheep and cattle heads were purchased for the boiling pot that year by the master John Allen. Butchered mutton was delivered as crowns, legs, necks, quarters, racks and sides, beef as hands and quarters, and veal as legs, quarters, racks and shoulders. The largest amount of meat in weight ordered from Howes on any one occasion was 100lb (45.35kg) of beef costing £1 3s 4d, which was purchased to last for sixteen days from Sunday before Christmas until Twelfth Night (22 December to 6 January).²⁹ At the turn of the seventeenth century, the workhouse master's contract was amended to include maintenance by him of all butchers' shops. This might have meant the Butchery or perhaps only shops in Market Hall, if they still existed, as towards the end of the sixteenth century, the former Guildhall had been joined to Market Hall at this point (Fig. 225).³⁰

THE BUTCHERY AND THE BOROUGH

Throughout the country, the first half of the seventeenth century was a period when partnerships between magistrates and ministers attempted to elevate moral standards by way of 'a reformation of manners'.³¹ A charter of incorporation issued by James I in 1618 granted

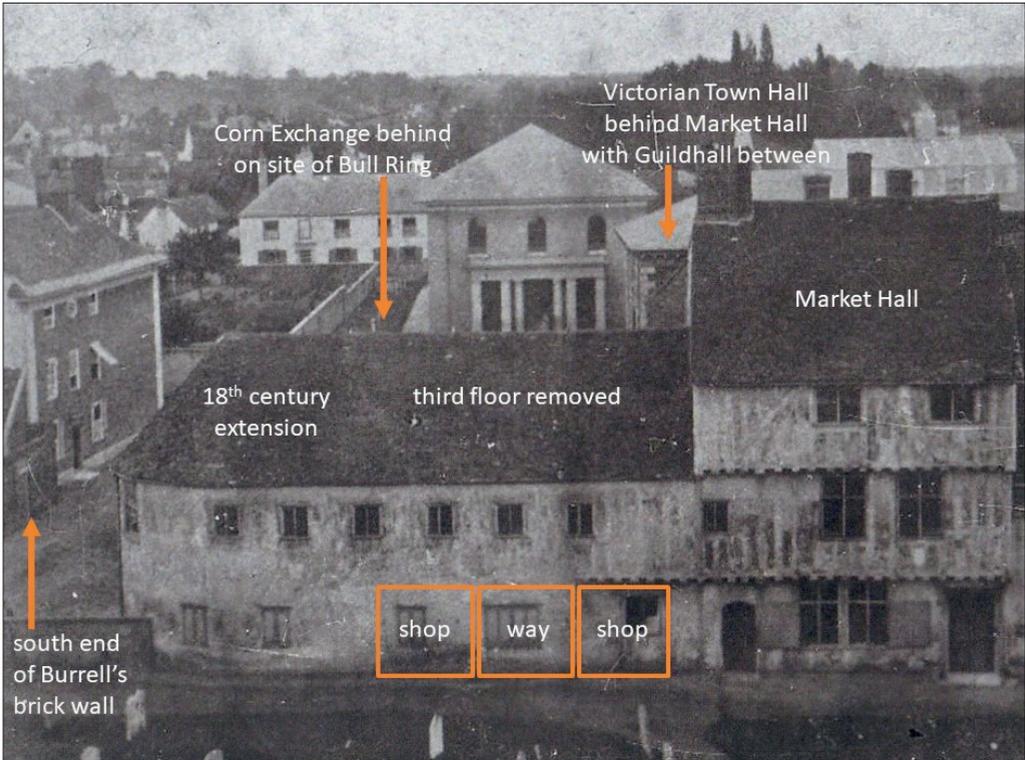


FIG. 225 – Looking south from the roof of St Mary’s parish church across the graveyard to the market buildings. This view is one of the oldest photographs of Hadleigh taken when the exterior of the church was being restored in the mid-1850s. At this time the two-storey Market House was still in existence to the right of Market Hall. The former position of shops either side of an open passageway are indicated. Part of the former site of the Butchery is on the left of the picture where John Burrell’s mid-eighteenth-century wall butts up against what was later addressed as 8 Market Place. (photo: Colin Bull collection).

Hadleigh its borough status and gave governance within the borough by a council of eight alderman (from whom a mayor was elected on an annual basis) and sixteen chief burgesses. This created an island of independence for the town’s ruling elite and this level of self-government allowed enforcement of law and justice.³² Despite their different attitudes towards celebration of church liturgy, the town aldermen and the rector, who held the title dean of Bocking, were able to exercise social control through a combination of temporal and spiritual sanctions meted out in their respective courts.³³ Economic order was determined through the corporation’s control of the market, with the mayor designated as its clerk. Tradesmen were offered the opportunity to become free burgesses of the borough in order that they could be ‘known and distinguished from strangers and foreigners and therefore better prevent fraud and deceit’.³⁴ Men of a particular occupation grouped together to purchase their freedoms — barbers, shearmen, shoemakers, smiths and tailors — but the butchers did not form a collective group, and their identification is further hindered by the fact that the book in which the freedoms were registered, the *Liber Computorum Thesauriorum*, gave occupations for only a few individuals. However, at the first chance in 1619, when those selected to become aldermen had each paid £20, butcher James Howes, together with his son of the same name,

paid 11s each for their status as free burgesses.³⁵ In this way, access to trading in the town by free burgesses of the borough was protected and outsiders were penalised. This approach is further demonstrated by a memorandum erroneously written into the corporation oath book concerning a warning given to William Baker, a stranger in Hadleigh, who was discovered using skills of a knacker, that is, he was removing animal carcasses not wanted for human consumption and rendering them into bone meal, fats, gelatine, glue, tallow or other such by-products. As he was not a free burgess, Baker was cautioned against practising this trade in the town and was threatened with an arbitrary fine.³⁶

The charter of incorporation issued by King James in 1618 extended marketing facilities within Hadleigh since it not only confirmed Hadleigh's ancient fair at Michaelmas and its Monday market, but also granted an additional yearly fair on Monday and Tuesday in Whitsun week. The aldermen also took the opportunity to alter the hours allotted for market trading so that the market opened at ten o'clock in the morning and continued until four in the afternoon. Between these hours, sellers could set out their stands or stalls and open their shops. Those traders found to have forestalled, *i.e.* buying up goods before the market formally opened with the expectation of selling later in the day at a higher price, were penalised by having their goods confiscated, or by paying a 6d fine. However, those traders with victuals did not have to wait until the opening market bell and were able to begin trading on arrival. When Very Revd George Meriton (rector 1599–1618) departed Hadleigh to become dean of York, he left £5 annually for five years to be expended upon 'the minister's diet', a meal to be taken after deliverance of the already established market sermon. Whether trading was suspended for juration of preaching goes unrecorded. In 1620 a new set of avoirdupois weights was provided for the market in order to settle disputes between buyers and sellers and dry measures were also made available.³⁷

Of the thirty-eight ordinances that regulated the borough, two referred specifically to the meat trade. In common with many other urban authorities, the borough was particularly concerned to ensure that meat sold within the market was healthy since sub-quality or putrid meat could be damaging to health.³⁸ As a consequence, one ordinance stated that:

For the better viewing of such flesh as shall be sold by officers sworn for that purpose that it is good and wholesome for mans body and for furnishing and maintenance of the common shambles in the Market Place no butcher inhabitant or foreigner is to keep an open shop hang out or keep flesh only in the common and open shambles or stall in the Market Place on market day or any other day of the week.

The other regulation stated that 'no butcher or shopkeeper or using trade to have an open shop or sell or serve flesh or wares on Sundays' with a 2s fine for failure to comply.³⁹ Similar regulations had already been made by the borough council at Sudbury in Suffolk, which included butchers not selling 'rotten mutton, measled pork, morryn flesh or unwholesome meate of any sorte' or any of their wares on Sundays 'upon pain of imprisonment'.⁴⁰

Together with one of the longest serving aldermen, the mayor of Hadleigh was to act as justice of the peace for his term of office and the year following.⁴¹ He was responsible for law and order by investigating accusations of crime and by judging felonies. When sheep were stolen from James Howes senior in 1622, his recourse to law was through the borough's Sessions of the Peace, where judgement was made on two accused labourers.⁴² Men ignoring the borough ordinances and general rules of market trading also found themselves in court: Robert Cullen, Richard Heckford and William Turner were prosecuted for carrying on as butchers without having served apprenticeships in the trade. Turner was in further trouble for regrating as he had bought a dead calf's carcass in the market and later that same day

attempted its resale for profit on three occasions.⁴³

In 1619 a group of nine men including butchers John Bardwell and John Wortham erected 'a jakes or house of office' over the common watercourse running near Toppesfield Bridge. As their construction obstructed the flow of water, the miscreants were ordered to demolish the annoyance, scour and clean the river, and restore everything as before. Nevertheless, it was reported a year later that nothing had been done and that trees and pigsties also added to the hazard. In 1621 Charles and Katherine Veysey, tenants at Toppesfield Hall, were ordered to mend the bridge, which they undertook in 1624 and placed a plaque on the southern parapet marking their efforts.⁴⁴ The following court book for the Sessions has not survived, which leaves this story unresolved as far as we are concerned: presumably, Bardwell, Wortham and their fellow privy builders had eventually cleared away the encumbrances before the bridge was repaired.

Games of chance were very much frowned upon at this time as they detained people from pursuing their legitimate business and encouraged gambling away the rewards of hard work. In 1623 justices heard the case of tinker Thomas Simpson, who had unjustly incited butcher's apprentice Robert Makin to leave his service in order to play illicit games of cards and lose 37s of his master's money. The master was James Howes (whether senior or junior is not stated), who would have contracted with his apprentice to teach him the art and mystery of butchery for seven years. In return, Makin would have agreed to serve his master's secrets and keep his lawful commands: to take part only in lawful actions with permission; to keep himself away from taverns, inns and alehouses; not to play cards, dice, tables or any other such activities that involved gambling; and to abstain from fornication and matrimony.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, as it was the tinker who was before the bench, there is no record of whether the foolish apprentice was dismissed.

Strict religious observance was maintained for the forty days of Lent. Not only were butchers obliged to swear an oath not to trade during that period, but other sellers of food in the town, including innholders and alehouse keepers who served meals, and bakers and sellers of ready-made food, had to make Lenten recognizances by pledging 'not to kill, dress or suffer to be eaten in his house any manner of flesh in time of Lent and any days forbidden to eat flesh contrary to the laws of the realm'. A bond for £10 had to be guaranteed by two named sureties at £5 each. In 1619, before a justice of the peace, widow Alice Brackett, tenant of the Ram Inn and a server of dishes containing meat, made her bond with John Clifford and Thomas Kirke standing surety for her. Both men were butchers with premises somewhere in Market Place and were possibly regular customers round the corner at the Ram. They too were obliged to undertake annual Lenten recognizances.⁴⁶

In that instance Thomas Kirke had conformed, but he was a persistent offender against religious laws. In December 1639, two months after he first appeared at the Deanery Court in defence of his daughter's reputation against accusations that defamed her character, he was making further declarations upon oath during a three-hour session held at the Parsonage House before Very Revd Dr Robert Cottesford (rector 1638–43) and in the presence of public notary Edward Webster, who was acting as clerk and witness.⁴⁷ As a butcher, Kirke had sworn an oath to follow the rules of the market by not killing or selling meat on prohibited days knowing that failure to conform to this requirement would mean that he would not have been able to hire a place in the Butchery.⁴⁸ Now Kirke was defending himself against allegations that he and his servants had for the past three years killed and sold meat on holy days and before divine service on Sundays, contrary to the regulations of the market and laws of the church. Kirke also found himself reprimanded concerning his attendance at services, his reason being that this was not through contempt, but through occasions of negligence. He declared that when he did attend, his indecent and disorderly behaviour — not standing for

the Creed or readings from the Holy Gospels, not kneeling for the confession or Lord's Prayer, not bowing at the name of Jesus — was not through wilful contempt but ignorance and forgetfulness. Kirke promised by the grace of God to amend his faults and to perform a penance. It is possible that these were actions not of an ignorant or forgetful man, but of a parishioner showing his displeasure at rituals being performed during services by high churchman Cottesford. Seven months later in July 1640, Kirke's widow appeared at the Deanery Court to report that her husband's goods had been valued at £34, an amount that put administration out of this court's probate jurisdiction.⁴⁹

For the year 1620, fifteen butchers made Lenten recognizances including the two James Howes.⁵⁰ As eight more butchers took oaths than could be accommodated in the Butchery and in the Market Hall shops (if they were still available at this time), it must be assumed that those swearing were not just master butchers, but also members of their workforces. Alternatively, if they were all masters, some other locations around Market Place must have been made available to them. A butcher's shop has been identified as being on the south-east corner of the trading area (site now 1 Market Place) rented in 1688 by a James Howes and then by Joseph Howes until 1707.⁵¹

Documentary sources relating to Hadleigh confirm that the Howes family were butchers in the town from the late sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries and that various members of the family held small pieces of land either within the town's built-up area or on its outskirts. In 1644, for example, James Howes occupied fifty acres of land at Benton Street Farm (later Priory Farm) on the western side of the road towards the southern end of town, where he was followed as tenant until 1748 by his son, Thomas Howes, and then by his grandson of the same name.⁵² From the 1680s until his death in 1697, Thomas senior lived at the northern end of town near Hadleigh Bridge (now 4 Bridge Street), where his property included meadows running along the river at that point.⁵³ In the early years of the eighteenth century, his son Thomas was renting Clobbs Croft (now Toppesfield Close), a parcel of land of two and a quarter acres (0.91ha) just a short distance from Market Place where, in 1715, he was listed (as Thomas House) as one of the last butchers using the Butchery.⁵⁴ The last mention of a Howes family member as a butcher so far found is dated 1739 when Thomas' name appears on deeds as a trustee of the Independent Meeting House (now 9 High Street).⁵⁵ There are other records of the Howes family renting small areas of land at various locations. It is not known whether these men who gave their occupation as butcher were raising livestock themselves, or using these lands as holding grounds after taking delivery of 'meat on the hoof' to be fattened for their butchery businesses.

DEMISE AND DEMOLITION

For the year 1680–1, four butchers were named as having places in the Butchery, each man paying a year's rent of 4s.⁵⁶ These tenants appear in other documents, for example, Thomas Hartly had his home assessed for tax at four hearths in 1674 and died of smallpox in 1686.⁵⁷ Only three parts of the Butchery were hired out in 1688–9 at 4s each the year, and a similar rent of 12s was paid in 1715 for three places, when the other two shops were entered into the market bailiff's account as being empty.⁵⁸ This is exactly the annual rent per letting that was paid in 1547, which would suggest that feoffees were not properly maintaining the Butchery and so, by the early years of the eighteenth century, the premises were in such a condition that decent rents could not be obtained.

After 1715 there are no extant references to hirings for the Butchery, the butchers then being Abraham Abbot, Richard Hatch and Thomas Howes.⁵⁹ Abbot was renting various small pieces of land from the forerunner of today's Hadleigh Grand Feoffment Charities: Maundy Lands

on Gallows Hill (now part of the Hadleigh bypass), Pale Croft (now part of Ann Beaumont Way), Alms Meadow, off Lady Lane, and Stonehouse Farm (now Canterbury Gardens), whilst the farmhouse in George Street was his home. Abraham Abbot senior was buried in 1778 aged ninety.⁶⁰

Hadleigh had lost its status as a borough in 1685 and this loss of civic authority seems to have coincided with butchers preferring to buy or rent premises outside the market for their shops, often with attached slaughterhouses, rather than rent holdings within the Butchery.⁶¹ For example, in 1695 Thomas White, butcher, was tenant of a shop in Hadleigh Bridge Street (now part of 62–66 High Street) and like his fellows in Market Place, White also held land suitable for keeping livestock in the form of seventeen and a half acres (7.08ha) in Great and Little Bradfield (now housing addressed as Bradfield and Pykenham Way). He lived in Church Street, just across the way from his shop in the High Street.⁶² This diversity away from Market Place might also be reflected in four public houses known to have existed in Hadleigh, which had names suggestive of some connection with the meat trade, with two called 'Butchers' Arms' and two called 'Shoulder of Mutton'.⁶³

In 1743 the solicitor, John Burrell, purchased the Butchers' Arms in Church Street which overlooked the eastern side of the southern churchyard.⁶⁴ Six years later, he agreed a twenty-year lease with Hadleigh Market Feoffment Charity at 14d *per annum* for a piece of ground between the end of the 'market shops' (the then name of the former Butchery) and the palisades of the churchyard. He then proceeded to erect a fence between this land and the churchyard and to rebuild the brick wall beside the pathway that marked the edge of the market ground at this point.⁶⁵ By 1756 Burrell was also owner of what subsequently became 8 Market Place.⁶⁶ In the following year he agreed a new lease with the feoffees, this time for ninety-nine years at a cost of 10s *per annum* for the site of the 'market shops', which then linked the gardens of his Church Street and Market Place properties.⁶⁷ The conditions of the lease involved him demolishing the shops, which were in a ruinous state having stood unlet for some forty years and no longer in use. He was then directed to clear away bricks, tiles and other rubbish from the 12ft (3.65m) wide strip, and to erect and keep in good repair a brick wall on its western boundary which was to be 63ft long, 8ft high and 9in thick (19.20m by 2.43m by 0.22m). He was also obliged to draw up the lease without any charge. Burrell duly had a red-brick wall erected in Flemish bond with semicircular capstones, but he failed to draw up the document.⁶⁸ The width of the site and the length of the wall suggest that each of the five shops in the Butchery had been approximately 144ft² (13.38m²) in plan. Together, they had probably formed a row of one-storey brick-built lock-ups, probably with tiled roofs.

This demolition of the former Butchery can be dated to within a few years; it is known to have existed in June 1754, but it had gone by November 1756, when the site was described as 'a piece of ground where lately stood certain shops belonging to the Market Place'.⁶⁹

THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE SITE

After John Burrell died in 1789, his properties were sold to different owners who put up a dividing fence between their respective gardens.⁷⁰ However, in 1792, when new feoffees were appointed for the market rents, 'shops called the Butchery' were still being listed among the assets.⁷¹ On that same occasion, new agreements were drawn up in which the site was to be shared equally so leases for ninety-nine years with yearly rents of 5s each were issued to corn merchant Abraham Reeve, owner of the Church Street property, and draper Robert Terry in Market Place, where pedestrian access had already been made through the wall. Also noted was a large doorway created through the brick wall, which allowed access westwards from the house previously occupied by Elizabeth Hicks (now 6 Market Place), across the site of the

former Butchery and on to the pathway at this point in Market Place (now called Church Walk).⁷² In 1836 two properties in High Street (now 51 and 53) were each paying 2s 6d annually for similar vehicular access (see Fig. 226).⁷³

The timber-framed Butchers' Arms was demolished in 1827 and a pair of semi-detached villas in white brick were erected on the site.⁷⁴ The western of these two properties (now 11 Church Street) had a chaise house erected on the northern end of the former Butchery site and in 1896, the lease of this plot of land was renewed by trustees of the Hadleigh Market Feoffment Charity for ninety-nine years from 1891 at an annual rent of 7s 6d.⁷⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century, the dimensions of this plot of land were given as 13ft 9in by 11ft 6in (4.19m by 3.5m), with a boundary wall abutting the churchyard in part.⁷⁶

In 1970 the Hadleigh Market Feoffment Charity agreed to sell the plot to the owner of 11 Church Street and it is now the site of that property's garage; nothing remains at this location of Burrell's brick wall.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, records have not survived to tell this later story for the other four properties that currently access Market Place over the site of the former Butchery. Presumably, the appropriate pieces of leasehold land were purchased at some time as no annual rents are currently paid.⁷⁸

Although nothing survives from John Burrell's brick wall at 11 Church Street, some parts of the wall can still be viewed between openings giving access into Church Walk at the back of properties in High Street and Market Place. Incorporated into these sections of the wall are two short stretches of recently repointed walling rising from ground level for five to eight courses at the southern end (Fig. 227). These have been identified as pre-dating the brick built Grade I listed Deanery Tower which is traditionally taken as being built in c.1495.⁷⁹ Therefore, these portions of the existing fragmentary wall probably survive from the Butchery's original build first referred to in 1435, and which were not cleared away by Burrell, but reused as part



FIG. 226 – View from St Mary's churchyard looking south-east at the remains in 2023 of John Burrell's brick wall that marked the position of the western side of the former Butchery. At this point, the backs of five properties are accessed from Church Walk by crossing the former site of the Butchery (photo: David Coleman).



FIG. 227 – Church Walk looking northwards towards the parish church of St Mary. On the left is the Corn Exchange on the site of the Bull Ring and on the right in 8 Market Place with 11 Church Street in the background. Between these two properties runs Burrell’s mid-eighteenth-century brick wall, at the foot of which are two areas of much earlier brickwork (arrowed), thought to be part of the original Butchery
(photo: David Coleman).

of the foundations for his mid-eighteenth-century wall.⁸⁰

After 1685, when borough status was withdrawn from Hadleigh, butchers were no longer under any obligation to trade from the Butchery. Decline in its use and demolition in the mid-eighteenth century was not a reflection of the market as a whole. In 1813, the Corn Exchange was erected at an outlay of £660 and the free-standing two-storeyed Corn Cross, which had become a traffic hazard, was eventually removed in 1833.⁸¹ The market thrived until 1945 when a slow falling off in trade began, which continued until 1958, the year the market ceased to be held.⁸² In 2016 Babergh District Council, owner of Market Place and market rights since 1974, revived the market as an experiment on Friday mornings. This continues today and includes a very popular meat stall.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to Dr Joanne Sear for her guidance and comments on an earlier draft; to Dr Anthony Springall for making available his work on Hadleigh’s sixteenth-century tax assessments; to Sally Looker, volunteer at Hadleigh Archive, for leading me to a relevant point that I had missed; to Roger Kennell, master member of the Guild of Bricklayers, for sharing his expertise on brickwork with me; to former owners of property for lending me their title deeds; to Jane Richardson for sharing her father’s collection of photographs; and David Coleman for his photographs.

NOTES

- 1 Davis 2012, 179.
- 2 Davis 2012, 187; Carr 2008.
- 3 Thoms (ed.) 1842, 128.
- 4 The word 'shamble(s)' comes from the Old English *sceamel*, itself from the Latin *scamellum* and could mean footstool, bench, or stall or table, K. Briggs, pers. comm.
- 5 HA, 003/G/01, Common Council, 1619, no.27.
- 6 May 1975, 273; Sear 2022, 349; Davis and Sear 2023, xxxiii.
- 7 HA, 001/A/01, *Inspeximus* Henry VI, 1432. For an overview of Suffolk's medieval markets, see Bailey 2007, 116–5 and 264–9.
- 8 HA, 001/B/01, market rights conveyance, 1438.
- 9 Toppesfield Bridge is a Grade II* listed building and a Scheduled Ancient Monument.
- 10 HA, 001/B/01.
- 11 HA, 001/B/01. The trust is now Hadleigh Market Feoffment Charity with Hadleigh Town Council as its trustee. Market House was severely damaged by a gale in 1884 and subsequently demolished, *Bury and Norwich Post*, 29 January 1884, 8.
- 12 SA, E3/2/3, conveyance of land in Hadleigh, 1449.
- 13 SA, HD11/1/4191/8.13 (part), confirmation of land in Hadleigh, 1451. Both the Market Hall and the Guildhall are Grade I listed.
- 14 SA, HD11/1/4191/8.13 (part), confirmation of land in Hadleigh, 1496. At some time, the wall received support from buttresses and in the twentieth century was breached at three points. It is Grade II listed.
- 15 SA, HD11/1/4191/8.13 (part), allegation regarding the break up of closes, etc. at Hadleigh, 1501.
- 16 Danyell was evidently a wealthy man since the Bank of England's inflation calculator suggests that his £40 bequest would now be worth £42,737.85, see <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk>; TNA, PROB 11/15/536 (Danyell).
- 17 In 1497 Archdeacon William Pykenham founded twelve almshouses for twenty-four inmates in George Street beside an existing chapel dedicated to St Mary Magdalene and St Catherine of Sienna. Now called Row Chapel, it is Grade II listed; HA, 025/E/01 (Pykenham) (will copy dated 1504).
- 18 HA, 004/A/01, *passim*, book of Market Feoffment, 1534–1625. For further details of Hadleigh market in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Andrews and Springall, 2005, 62–5 and 248–50.
- 19 HA, 004/A/01, 397–9.
- 20 Accounts of market bailiffs, HA, 021/A/01 (part), 1547–8. Accounts of market collectors, HA, 023/25, 16801; HA, 025/33, 1688–9; HA, 025/38–9 & 41, 1691–4; HA, 025/46, 1696–8; HA, 023/N/04, 1715–6; HA, 023/P/03, 1730–1; HA, 023/68–9, 1751–2.
- 21 HA, 021/A/01 (part).
- 22 Hervey 1910, 153–7; TNA, PROB 11/34/261 (Freman); TNA, E179/181/230, rot.1, lay subsidy assessment for Cosford Hundred, 1543.
- 23 Erected in 1813 on the disused Bull Ring, the Corn Exchange is listed Grade II; Jones 1977, 107, this is the only reference so far found for the Bull Ring's site, but as the book does not include references, it is not known from where this information was obtained.
- 24 HA, 004/G/01, Hadleigh Market Charity Book, 1707–1839 (unpaginated); Davis 2012, 187.
- 25 Carr 2008, 452–3.
- 26 Davis and Sear 2023, xxxiv; J. Sear, pers. comm.
- 27 Carr, 2008, *passim*; Davis and Sear 2023, 131.
- 28 HA, 084/A/01, section J, Hadleigh borough charter, 1618 (copy c.1685).
- 29 HA, 021/A/04, charges of the hospital [workhouse], 1595.
- 30 The exact date when these two buildings were linked is not known, but was probably after the former Guildhall had been acquired by the 'chief inhabitants' in 1573 to serve as the parish workhouse; HA, 005/P/01, arbitration award for the Guildhall, 1573; the shops might have continued, not necessarily rented by butchers, until 1792, when part of the top storey of Market Hall collapsed and was removed. The lower two floors were extended to create an east wing. For an analysis of the timber-framed buildings on the site, see Walker 2004, *passim*.
- 31 Ingram 1996, 47–88.
- 32 HA, 084/A/01, J.
- 33 HA, 004/D/01, *Liber Sessionae Pacis*, 1619–24, translated by W. Jones; Anon 1913, 16–44.
- 34 HA, 084/A/01, J.
- 35 HA, 003/E/01, 1–2, *Liber Computorum Thesauriorum*, 1619–69.

- 36 HA, 004/B/01, 25, book of corporation oaths, 1618–39.
- 37 HA, 004/B/01.
- 38 Davis 2012, 221.
- 39 HA, 003/G/01, nos. 27–8, this is the first extant mention of the Butchery as shambles.
- 40 Hodson 1892, 17; Stokes and Redstone 1909, 275.
- 41 HA, 084/A/01, J.
- 42 HA, 004/D/01.
- 43 HA, 004/D/01.
- 44 HA, 004/D/01 and 083/G/01; Bettley and Pevsner 2015, 281.
- 45 HA 004/D/01 and 083/G/01.
- 46 HA, 004/C/01, book of Lent recognizances, 1618–32.
- 47 Anon 1913, 33–4; until 1838 Hadleigh was an archiepiscopal peculiar under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury. The rector of Hadleigh was co-dean with the rector of Bocking in Essex and had powers equivalent to an archdeacon acting under the direct authority of Canterbury in order to exercise rights over the group of parishes in Suffolk and Essex that formed the deanery of Bocking.
- 48 HA, 004/C/01.
- 49 Anon 1913, 33–5.
- 50 HA, 004/C/01.
- 51 HA, 023/25; SA, K2/4/1 (part). Hadleigh's street were not numbered until the first decade of the twentieth century.
- 52 LTAH, T/Hel/30/5 and 1707, T/Hel/36/2, combined rentals of the manor of Toppesfield Hall, Cosford Hall and Pond Hall, 1686; SA, E3/3/1.5, rental of the manor of Hadleigh Hall, 1748.
- 53 TNA, PROB 11/449/378 (Howes); SA, E3/3/1.2, rental of the manor of Hadleigh Hall, 1685.
- 54 HA, 023/N/04.
- 55 SA, FK3 508/4/19–20, deeds of the Meeting House, 1739.
- 56 HA, 023/I/03; SA, K2/4/1 (part).
- 57 HA, 023/G/04; Hervey 1910, 128; SFHS 2009, *Suffolk Burial Index, 1538–1900*, BU1/2.
- 58 HA, 023/N/04.
- 59 HA, 023/N/04.
- 60 HA, 002/I/02, market rents, feoffment (copy), 1767; SFHS, BU1/2.
- 61 Barter Snow 1955; HA, 100/C/01, 290–3.
- 62 TNA, PROB 11/430/273 (Scarlett); SA, E3/3/1.4, rental of the manor of Hadleigh Hall, 1701.
- 63 Deeds in private ownership, Butchers' Arms site, now 9–11 Church Street; deeds in private ownership, Butchers' Arms, now 63 Benton Street; SA, FB81/C3/1, account of Dr Tanner's tithes, c.1745–50 refers to Shoulder of Mutton unknown site in Pound Lane; SA, E3/3/1.4, Shoulder of Mutton now 124–6 High Street; ERO, D/APb R1/22 (Johnson).
- 64 Deed in private ownership, 51 High Street, 1827. This Butchers' Arms is shown in Thomas Gainsborough's painting entitled *St Mary's Church, Hadleigh, Suffolk* (1746–7); see Belsey 2002, 36.
- 65 HA, 004/G/01.
- 66 HA, 095/K/09–11, deeds, 8 Market Place, 1756.
- 67 HA, 004/G/01.
- 68 HA, 004/G/01.
- 69 HA, 004//G/01; HA, 095/K/07, 9–11.
- 70 HA, 095/I/09 and TNA, PROB 11/1192/277 (Burrell).
- 71 HA, 004/G/01.
- 72 SA, K2/4/1 (part), feoffment, market rents, 1792.
- 73 HA, 004/G/01.
- 74 Deed in private ownership, 51 High Street, 1827.
- 75 *Ipswich Journal*, 14 September 1839; deed in private ownership, 11 Church Street, 1896.
- 76 Deed in private ownership, 11 Church Street, 1900.
- 77 Deed in private ownership, 11 Church Street, 1970.
- 78 Robert Stevens (when Hadleigh Town Clerk), pers. comm.
- 79 'Brick walling at Church Walk, Hadleigh' by R. Kennell, 2023, pers. comm.; Bettley suggests a date some ten years earlier for this Grade I listed building, Bettley and Pevsner 2015, 276.
- 80 HA, 001/B/01.
- 81 HA, 004/G/01.
- 82 Jones 1975–6, 167.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andrews, S. and Springall, T., 2005. *Hadleigh and the Alabaster Family: the story of a Suffolk town during the Tudor and Stuart periods*. Bildeston.
- Anon, 1913. 'Hadleigh deanery and its court', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 15, 16–44.
- Bailey, M., 2007. *Medieval Suffolk: an economic and social history, 1200–1500*. Woodbridge.
- Barter Snow, D.M., 1955. 'Hadleigh church, Suffolk, from the Reformation to the 19th century'. Unpublished B.Litt thesis, University of Oxford.
- Belsey, H., 2002. *Thomas Gainsborough: a country life*. Munich.
- Bettley, J. and Pevsner, N., 2015. *The Buildings of England – Suffolk: West*. New Haven and London.
- Carr, D., 1997. 'From pollution to prostitution: supervising the citizens of fifteenth-century Salisbury', *Southern History*, 19, 24–41.
- Carr, D., 2008. 'Controlling the butchers in late medieval English towns', *The Historian*, 70 (3), 450–61.
- Davis, J., 2012. *Medieval Market Morality. Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200–1500*. Cambridge.
- Davis, J. and Sear, J. (eds), 2023. *Records of Medieval Newmarket: manor court rolls 1399–1413 and manor account rolls 1403–1483*. Woodbridge.
- Hervey, S.H.A. (ed.), 1905. *Suffolk in 1674: being the Hearth Tax returns*. Suffolk Green Books, 11. Woodbridge.
- Hervey, S.H.A. (ed.), 1910. *Suffolk in 1524: being the return for a subsidy granted in 1523*. Suffolk Green Books 10. Woodbridge.
- Hodson, W., 1892. 'Election of the mayor at Sudbury in 1665', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 8, 9–20.
- Ingram, M., 1996. 'Reformation of manners in Early Modern England' in P. Griffiths, A. Fox and S. Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*, 47–88. Basingstoke.
- Jones, W., 1975–6. 'Hadleigh market', *Suffolk Review*, 4 (4), 167–9.
- Jones, W., 1977. *Hadleigh Through The Ages*. Ipswich.
- May, P., 1975. 'Newmarket 500 Years Ago', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 33, 253–74.
- Sear, J., 2022. 'Late medieval Newmarket, a virtual excursion on Zoom', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 45, 347–51.
- Stokes, E. and Redstone, L., 1909. 'Calendar of the muniments of the borough of Sudbury', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.*, 13, 259–310b.
- Thoms, W.J. (ed.), *A Survey of London, Written in the Year 1598. By John Stow*. London.
- Walker, J., 2004. *A Guide to the Architecture and Layout of Hadleigh Guildhall*. Layham.

ABBREVIATIONS

ERO	Essex Record Office
HA	Hadleigh Archive
LTAH	Lord Tollemache Archive, Helmingham
SA	Suffolk Archives
SFHS	Suffolk Family History Society
TNA	The National Archives