The Housewife in Early Modern Rural England: Gender, Markets and Consumption

Background
This project examined patterns of consumption in the first half of the seventeenth century using a case study of one household: the Le Stranges of Hunstanton. It was based on an exceptionally detailed set of household account books kept by Lady Alice Le Strange. These accounts record not only purchases, but also the production and consumption of food by the household. Surprisingly, despite their obvious suitability, this has been the first study of early modern consumption to use household accounts as its main source. A reliance on information from probate inventories in consumption studies has encouraged a concentration on durable moveable goods owned at death in the existing literature (Weatherill 1988, Shammas 1990, Overton et al. 2004), while others have focused on luxurious and novel goods (Jardine 1996, Berg 2005, Peck 2005), and the mass production and marketing of cheap manufactured items (Thirsk 1978, Spufford 1984, de Vries 1994). The approach taken in this project was different. Household accounts allow consumption to be viewed as a process, as a series of activities as well as a collection of things (Douglas and Isherwood 1979); and allow a focus on routine or ordinary consumption (Gronow and Warde 2001), as well as on the novel and luxurious. It has been argued that a ‘consumer revolution’ occurred in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (McKendrick 1983): this study has demonstrated the complexity and sophistication of consumption patterns in a gentry household before that period of change.

Gender
The household accounts were kept by Lady Alice Le Strange, rather than by a salaried male steward, or by her husband Hamon, who also lived in the household but occupied himself with other interests. While other sets of accounts written by women are known, none of these relates to a woman who lived with her husband. This raised important issues about the gendering of household management and consumption activities, in particular the relationship between consumption and the early modern idea of ‘housewifery’ as the sphere and skills properly belonging to a married woman. The range of activities recorded in the Le Strange accounts corresponds closely to those listed in Gervase Markham’s advice manual of 1615, The English Housewife, and a comparison between Alice’s household accounts and Hamon Le Strange’s notebooks, demonstrated that it was Alice who took charge of these tasks. The existing literature on the housewife is overwhelmingly popular, often picture books (Hole 1953, Fussell and Fussell 1955, Davidson 1982, Sim 1996, Sambrooke and Brears 1996, Robertson 1997). The aim here was to integrate the ‘housewife’ into serious academic debate, giving due attention to the skills and responsibilities involved.

Gentry
The Le Stranges were members of Norfolk’s county gentry. They had an annual income of over £2000, in a period when perhaps £100 was enough to assert gentry status (Heal and Holmes: 6-19), and an agricultural wage labourer earned around £7 a year, thus their consumption patterns were certainly not typical of the population as a whole. Research on the gentry in early modern England has been concerned primarily with government, politics and religion. Aside from architectural studies of the country house, their consumption patterns have received relatively little attention. Gentry household
accounts are a well known source, and have been used piecemeal by many historians. Studies using such accounts as their main source are much more rare. There are some good examples for the late medieval period (Mertes 1988, Woolgar 1999, Swabey 1999), but no recent work of this type has been done on the seventeenth century (Thomson 1937). However, while the medieval studies have used accounts to illuminate the lifestyle of the gentry and nobility, this project took a different approach. It aimed to place the gentry household in the context of the wider economy.

**Economic development**

The typicality of the Le Strange household is in many ways irrelevant, as the project has used their household accounts to demonstrate what it was possible to do by way of consumption in this period. The approach taken in the project turns conventional economic history on its head: beginning not with production, but with consumption, and asked how were things acquired, and who determined what was made? This novel approach reveals much about the development of the market, but also encourages a focus on the workforce. Gentry household accounts record not only the purchase of goods, but the employment of labour providing a wide range of services: servants, professionals, labourers, and craftsmen. The Le Stranges employed more servants and day labourers than was typical of an entire Norfolk village. Gentry households were thus a significant element of the rural economy: their household accounts are a record not only of gentry lifestyles, but of ordinary people who depended on the gentry for a livelihood.

**Objectives**

Some of objectives of the project are behind schedule. This is because the lead applicant, who had primary responsibility for data analysis and writing up the publications from the project, had a period of maternity leave, and worked half-time for ten months due to child-care commitments during the project. Although the deadline of the project was put back by two months to compensate, the actual amount of time when the lead applicant was not at work during the project was eight and half months. Nonetheless, the main objectives of the project are well on the way to completion.

The projects aims and objectives were grouped under five headings:

‘1. To significantly further the knowledge of women’s work, the process of consumption, the household economy of the gentry, and the impact of commercialisation on consumption and work patterns, in early modern England. This will offer a contrast to later periods, dispelling existing assumptions (a) that married women’s work within the home is unimportant to the wider economy and processes of economic change and (b) that pre-industrial consumption patterns were simply and unsophisticated.’

This has been achieved, and is evident in the book arising from the project.

‘2. To develop a methodology of entering historic household accounts into a database, in such a way as to both preserve the original text and spelling as found in the document, and to allow easy and comprehensive analysis. To write an article on this methodology to share this expertise with other historical researchers.’

The methodology was developed early on in the project and has to a large extent proved successful. The article will be written as soon as the book is completed.
REFERENCE No. RES-143-25-0014

‘3. To create a database (using Access) containing the contents of the household account books of Alice Le Strange 1610-1653, in an easy to use form with the necessary documentation, for deposit with the History Data Service.’

The database has been created. The original plan to enter all of the accounts into the database had to be abandoned as it proved too time-consuming (we estimate it would have taken 7 years). Instead a sample of the accounts, adequate for the completion of the other aims and objectives of the project, was taken. These comprise the disbursement accounts from 1606 to 1626, receipts from 1606-1613 and 1619-21, and kitchen accounts from 1619-21: a total of 18,000 entries from the original accounts.

‘4. To analyse the household account database and collect supporting material from the archive at NRO to create a detailed case study of the household economy. This study will be related to wider economic trends to bring out the full implications of the results, and disseminated to the wider academic audience of historians and social scientists in the form of 3 papers presented at conferences or research seminars, a joint authored book of around 300 pages, and an interdisciplinary journal article.’

The database has been analysed and supporting material collected. More than three research papers publicising the findings have been presented (ten in total). The book has been planned in detail and is in the process of being written. A publication contract for the book has been secured with OUP, and the book is due for completion in September 2008. The interdisciplinary article on historical changes in the nature of consumption presenting some of the project’s main conclusions, will be written after the completion of the book and article on methodology.

‘5. To publicise the existence of the household accounts, the database and the book to the wider interested public via ‘Virtual Norfolk’ (for school teachers and students), and the Norfolk Family History Society (for local and family historians), and to preserve the original documents from over-use by having them microfilmed.’

Unfortunately the development of the ‘Virtual Norfolk’ project, which this project has hoped to add to, has been discontinued and they are not accepting new materials. An index of names has been sent to the Norfolk Family History Society along with information about how to access the database.

All the accounts and some supporting materials, such as a notebook of Hamon Le Strange, and a seventeenth-century catalogue of the Le Stranges’ library, have been microfilmed.

Methods

The project consists of a detailed case study of the Le Strange household accounts dating from 1606-1653. These include three types of accounts: disbursement accounts recording payments, receipt accounts recording income, and kitchen accounts, recording the production and consumption of food. Samples of these accounts have been entered onto a database to allow detailed study. The project concentrated in most detail on this early period, up to 1625, although microfilm copies of all the accounts have been made to allow reference to the wider period where appropriate. Other supporting materials were microfilmed and/or transcribed including a notebook kept by Hamon Le Strange, a late seventeenth century catalogue of the Le Strange library, lists of tenants from the estate records, local parish registers, and Le Strange family wills and inventories.

The book which presents the main findings of the project is structured in such a way as to emphasise both the richness of detail from the household accounts and broader theoretical issues and debates. Seven consumption-related themes are explored: each using detailed findings from the study and comparing them to the wider historical
and theoretical literature, and finishing with a reappraisal of a particular debate or approach.

Results
The results of the project are best demonstrated through the structure of the book which is the project’s main output. The book, titled *Consumption and Gender in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household: The World of Alice Le Strange* comprises nine chapters, each split into four or five sub-themes. See annex 3 and 4 for tables and figures referred to in this section.

Chapter One. Consumption: Some Themes and Issues
Chapter one provides an introduction to the book by exploring the key themes: consumption and everyday life; gender and the household; markets and the economy; the gentry; and the Le Strange family and north-west Norfolk.

Chapter Two. Household Management
Household management was central to consumption. It involved keeping track of income and expenditure, directing employees, and responding to needs of household members. In gentry households it was a complex enterprise. This chapter begins by examining Alice Le Strange’s methods of keeping accounts, and discussing the degree to which account keeping was gendered in this period. Second, it examines the division of labour in the management of the household, between family members and senior household servants. Third, comparisons are drawn with other gentry households in this period. Previous research by Elizabeth Griffiths allows a detailed comparison to be made with the Hobarts of Blickling, Norfolk. The Hobarts spent much of their time in London, creating a very different system of management for the Norfolk house and estate, and a different role for Lady Hobart. The concluding section to the chapter draws on two early seventeenth century books, which provided advice on the running of a large rural household, *The Country Farm* (which the Le Stranges owned) and *The English Housewife*. The activities in the Le Strange household conformed surprisingly closely to those in these books. The chapter concludes by considering the degree to which the Le Stranges, and Alice in particular, consciously aimed to create a particular style of household management.

Chapter Three. The Acquisition of Goods
Goods entered the household by main three routes: they were purchased, produced at home, or given to the household as gifts (table 1). The section on purchases considers the range of items that were acquired ready-made, examining both where they were purchased, and where they were originally produced. Some sellers came to the door, other purchases required occasional trips to King’s Lynn, the nearest town, or were ordered from Norwich or London. Interestingly, men did most of the actual shopping for the household, although Alice clearly played a role in ordering items. The Le Stranges produced much of their own food on a home farm, the details of which are recorded in the kitchen accounts. The kitchen accounts also record a surprising number of gifts of food. These gifts were presented to the household by the Le Stranges’ tenants, workers, tradesmen and clients of various kinds, all their social inferiors. They consisted primarily of poultry, wild birds, fish and fruit: the products of the local economy, a number of which never appear as purchases. Gifts were often rewarded with a ‘tip’ which was less than the value of the gift, but too large to be a payment for delivery. This practice of gift giving is considered in the light of anthropological studies of the ‘gift’ and the Le Stranges’ relationship to the other inhabitants of the locality, a theme resumed in chapter
eight. The conclusion to the chapter considers what the Le Stranges’ acquisition of goods reveals about the development of the market in this period, for instance the degree to which limited markets and poor communications constrained their pattern of consumption. It also considers the skills involved in acquiring necessary and appropriate goods in a period before convenience shopping.

Chapter Four. Household Routines

Chapters four and five look at the periodicity of consumption in the household. Chapter four concentrates on daily and seasonal routines. The range of items produced by the household is considered in chapter three: here the seasonal routine of production and storage is considered, as well as the average quantities produced and consumed by the household on a weekly and yearly basis (figure 1). The second section examines seasonal variations in consumption. There was some seasonality caused by the availability of different foodstuffs which affected prices but had little effect on the household’s diet (figure 2), unlike medieval households. More noticeable are the effects of the religious calendar, with Christmas feasts followed by a Protestant form of Lent in February and March (table 2). A prolonged stay in London, in 1620 also allows us to examine what the Le Stranges’ servants ate in their absence, or the effect of status on food consumption, with some interesting findings (table 3). Section three, on household technologies, is inspired by Ruth S. Cowan’s *More Work for Mother*, and focuses on neglected aspects of early modern household: the provision of cleaning, heat and light. Cleaning was an exclusively female task in this period, while heat and light presented a number of challenges. The final section of the chapter weighs up the value of exploring the relatively neglected patterns of ‘ordinary consumption’, concluding that routine consumption is of particular relevance to market development and division of labour due to the sheer quantity of goods and time involved; but also that everyday patterns reveal a surprising amount about social relations and the importance of status within the household.

Chapter Five. The Family Life-Cycle

This chapter examines expenditure related to the family life-cycle, tracing developments from the creation of Alice and Hamon Le Strange’s household on their marriage in 1602 to Hamon’s death in 1654 when the accounts end. The first section explores changes in the size of the household, in terms of both family members and resident servants, and relates this to annual income and expenditure. The second section discusses how births and deaths were recorded in the accounts, using Hunstanton parish register for comparison, and examines the medical care associated with these events and more generally. The catalogue of the Le Strange library reveals that Hamon Le Strange owned fifteen identifiable medical books published before 1630: the types of care advocated in these works is related to the medicines and medical care recorded in the accounts. The third section focuses on the childhood and education of the first generation of Le Strange children. Alice was quite systematic in recording the items she purchased for each child, so a comparison can be drawn between the boys and girls, and the books, clothes and toys they enjoyed. She appears to have taught all the children to read and write, but while the boys progressed to tutors, Eton and Cambridge, Elizabeth, the only daughter to survive to adulthood, was educated entirely at home. Section four compares the expenditure related to the marriage settlements and celebrations of Nicholas Le Strange in 1630, with that of his sister Elizabeth in 1636, and compares the overall expenditure on the sons and daughter who survived to adulthood. The most noticeable contrast is that the sons continued to receive yearly allowances throughout their father’s life, while the daughter received a £3500 marriage settlement, but nothing thereafter.

Following the work of Philippe Aries, research on childhood in early modern England
has focused overwhelmingly on the degree of affection felt by parents for their children. The conclusion to this chapter considers the extent to which expenditure patterns recorded in the accounts not only fluctuated with the family life-cycle, but also reveal the nature of relationships within family, such as parental attitudes to children, and the different values attached to sons and daughters. It argues that accounts are a surprisingly rich and underutilized source for family history.

Chapter Six. Material Culture
Chapter six explores those items that furnished the person and the house. Durable material culture has conventionally formed the main focus of studies of consumption in early modern England, in part because probate inventories, which survive in thousands for the period, list durable goods owned at the time of death. These are also the types of goods most often mentioned in wills: bequests in wills have the added interest of suggesting personal and family values attached to particular goods. Wills often mention clothing, but inventories rarely give details of a person’s apparel. Interestingly expenditure on textiles remained quite stable and did not increase in line with Le Strange’s increased income and overall expenditure (table 5). Hamon’s father died when his son was nine years old. Alice noted later in her accounts that when she and Hamon married and took back the estate from wardship, ‘my husband was left neither household stuffe and his chief house half built…’. The accounts and Hamon’s notebooks thus record the process of both enlarging the house (discussed in chapter seven), and furnishing it. The Le Strange accounts therefore record in detail items that did not appear in other accounts because they were inherited rather than purchased. Durable items consisted not only of furniture such as beds and tables, but smaller items such as plates and glasses, pots and pans. The two final sections of the chapter make a more explicit comparison between the type of information provided in household accounts, and that found in wills and inventories. First, the surviving wills of the Le Strange family, particularly those of Alice and Hamon are examined in detail, together with an inventory of the household made in 1670 on the death of their grandson and direct heir Nicholas Le Strange. Second, in the conclusion to the chapter, the different images of consumption presented by wills, inventories and household accounts, in this study and elsewhere, are discussed and compared.

Chapter Seven. Elite Identity
A great deal has been written in modern studies about the relationship between consumption patterns and the creation of identity. Historians of the gentry take it as given that certain forms of behaviour were not only characteristic of the gentry as a group, but central to what made them gentry. This chapter brings these ideas together by looking at those expenses and pastimes were restricted to the upper classes or elite of English society. A comparison of Hamon’s notebooks and Alice’s accounts reveal that in the Le Strange household, these activities were very largely the interests of Hamon Le Strange, rather than Alice, indicating they not only reflected elite identity, but masculine identity within the elite. All the subjects discussed in this chapter are well rehearsed in existing studies: the aim of the chapter therefore is not to break new ground, but to set these forms of behaviour in the context of the other expenses and activities within the household. A section on leadership and power looks at expenses arising out of
involvement in politics, legal cases, the militia, and charity. Hamon was a JP and MP, was involved in many law suits, organised the local militia, and fought as a Royalist in the Civil War (Ketton-Cremer 1969). The accounts are scattered with charitable donations of various kinds, while Hamon's will also includes a number of significant donations. Hamon Le Strange was a learned man with a wide range of interests and a large library. A brief analysis of the range of books in his library, from the surviving seventeenth-century catalogue, is compared with purchases such as musical instruments and performances, paintings, scientific instruments, and books themselves. The accounts also reveal the more light-hearted side of his personality; he frequently lost money playing bowls and cards, kept hawks and dogs for hunting, took a detailed interest in his coaches and horses, and frequently visited friends and neighbours. His main contribution to the running of the household was to plan and oversee building work that substantially enlarged the house, as well as organising other improvements to the estate and its buildings (figure 4). The final section of the chapter draws together these observations with manifestations of elite status discussed earlier in the book such as diet, to describe what was distinctively elite about the Le Stranges’ consumption pattern, and the degree to which they consciously expressed their identity through consumption.

Chapter Eight. The Acquisition of Services

Consumption involves not only the acquisition of goods, but also services. Yet services have many different implications: they are transitory rather than permanent purchases, and they involve a social relationship with another person. Services can be purchased not only to get a job done, but to enhance your power and status, or as an act of charity. The Le Stranges seem to have employed people for all these reasons. The fact that many products were made at home or to order, made the direct purchase of labour a far more important element of the household economy than in modern societies, and gave Alice, as manager of that economy, a role directing men’s labour as well as women’s. The Le Stranges were the largest employer in the locality, and thus an important element of the local economy. This chapter explores three types of worker in turn. The Le Stranges employed around fifteen servants at any one time, a quarter of whom were women. Other studies have found that servants normally worked in one household for a single year, before moving on to gain experience elsewhere, while Vickery’s 1998 study of the eighteenth-century gentry found servants were often unwilling to stay for that length of time. In contrast, an initial survey of the Le Stranges’ servants in the period 1610-1618 found that they stayed for an average of three years (table 6). Many only left when they married, and subsequently maintained their relationship with the household, working as day labourers or wet-nurses. Day labourers were employed to carrying out general building work or farm work (table 7). A case study of 1619 found they worked 1,461 days for the Le Stranges’ in that year (figure 5), but that women carried out only six of these days worked. Comparison between the list of workers employed and lists of the Le Stranges’ tenants, together with other entries in the database, enables a rounded picture of these workers’ relationship to the Le Stranges to be reconstructed. The final category of workers are specialist craftsmen, such as joiners, thatchers and tailors, and professionals such as apothecaries, tutors and musicians, who made a living out of their skills in one field of work. Some of these people came from further afield: specialist services, like specialist goods, were not always available in the locality (table 8). The range of trades that the household relied on, and the degree to which these workers depended on the Le Strange’s patronage will be explored. In conclusion the chapter discusses the extent to which the Le Strange household offered financial and other means of support to the local community and the motivations behind that support. It serves as a reminder
of the degree to which production and consumption, and consumption and work, were intertwined in the early modern household.

Conclusion
In conclusion to the book three main strands are discussed, returning to the themes raised in chapter one. The discussion weighs up the value of the different approaches to consumption history explored in this book and elsewhere, considering them in the light of our rather amorphous understanding of the concept of ‘consumption’. The gendered nature of household work, including the management of consumption is considered and summarised. Finally the place of the early seventeenth century, coming after the Renaissance, but before the ‘consumer revolution’ and emergence of modern consumption patterns, is discussed and analysed. It is argued that although pre-modern consumption was different to that found in modern society in a number of important ways, it could nonetheless be complex and sophisticated.

Activities
Two conference sessions have been organised by the lead applicant, both of which have included papers from this project: ‘women and accounting’ at the Economic History Society Annual Conference 2005, at which a paper was presented on ‘The management of household and estate: the accounts of Alice Le Strange, 1610-1654’; and ‘textiles in early modern England’ at the Economic History Society Annual Conference 2007, at which a paper was presented on ‘purchasing textiles and constructing clothing in the early seventeenth-century: a consumer’s viewpoint’.

Invitations from the British Sociological Association’s Food Network allowed papers on ‘The consumption of food in early seventeenth-century England,’ and ‘Food and gender in an early seventeenth-century household,’ to be presented at the Universities of Westminster and Warwick in May and June 2006. A paper on ‘Food production in the early modern home’, was also presented to a workshop on ‘Restless Interiors’, at the V&A Museum in November 2005, while a paper on ‘The housewife and the home in early modern rural England’ was given at a conference on ‘Gender and Built Space’, also in November 2005.

The following papers have also been presented to conferences and seminar series:
‘Gender, work and consumption: Lady Alice le Strange of Hunstanton and her accounts, 1610-1653,’ at Cambridge University, November 2004; ‘Children and consumption in a seventeenth century household,’ Cultures of Consumption Annual Conference, Strathclyde University, September 2005; ‘Market development and social relationships: the acquisition of food in a seventeenth century household,’ Economic History Society Annual Conference, Easter 2006; and ‘A Family Management Team: the Le Stranges at Hunstanton, 1600-1650,’ British Agricultural History Society Winter Conference, December 2006.

Outputs
1. The ‘Alice’ database containing 18,000 entries from the account books of Alice Le Strange, for deposit with the Data Archive.
3. Two articles, one on the methodology used for the project, and one on the historical development of consumption, will be written and published once the book is complete.

Impacts
Interest in the project has largely come from other specialist researchers with interests in particular aspects of consumption such as the history of dress, book ownership, and the history of medicine. The evidence on food and diet has been of wider interest to those working on food-related issues, and Jane Whittle will be doing a presentation to members of the Food Standards Agency in September 2007.

Future Research Priorities
1. To produce an edition of the accounts in their entirety available as a resource for teaching and research. The most sensible way of doing this, given their size, would be online, with parallel photographic reproductions of the accounts and a ‘word-searchable’ transcription.
2. To write a series of specialist articles arising from the project on: textile consumption, food consumption, debt and credit amongst the gentry, children and consumption, masculinity and consumption, and the comparison between probate inventories, wills and household accounts.
3. A small research project on dairy management and output, comparing the unparalleled data from Alice Le Strange’s accounts with more limited evidence from one or two other gentry households. Dairying was women’s work in this period and has been badly neglected as an element of the rural economy.

Jane Whittle, University of Exeter
Annex 1: Bibliography of works mentioned in the report


Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750* (Routledge, 2004).


Alison Sim, *The Tudor Housewife* (Sutton, 1996).


Annex 2: Tables

Table 1: Food received as gifts or as gifts with rewards given, compared to purchases and rent payments of the same items.

(a) poultry

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<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plovers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redshanks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small birds</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stints</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wigeon</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Fruit and veg.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gift</th>
<th>reward</th>
<th>purchase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apples</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>six times</td>
<td>once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bullyes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>once</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damsons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>twice</td>
<td>once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>once</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peaches</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>once</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pears</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>twice</td>
<td>twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peas</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>five times</td>
<td>twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quinces</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>twice</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarragon roots</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wardens</td>
<td>once</td>
<td>twice</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Miscellaneous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gift</th>
<th>reward</th>
<th>purchase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eggs</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamb</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbits</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 loaves</td>
<td>93 lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wine</td>
<td>11 pints</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>371.5 pints</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCE No. RES-143-25-0014

Table 2: Weeks including feasts, compared to average weekly food consumption, April 1619 to April 1620

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average Weekly Consumption</th>
<th>Week ending 17 July</th>
<th>Week ending 16 October</th>
<th>Week ending 25 December</th>
<th>Week ending 1 January</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manchet Bread</td>
<td>36 casts</td>
<td>74 casts</td>
<td>58 casts</td>
<td>90 casts</td>
<td>102 casts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer</td>
<td>3.1 hogs'd</td>
<td>4.5 hogs'd</td>
<td>4.0 hogs'd</td>
<td>5.0 hogs'd</td>
<td>5.5 hogs'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh butter</td>
<td>7.5 pints</td>
<td>26 pints</td>
<td>15.5 pints</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hens &amp; Ducks</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbits</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef (pieces)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muttons</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swine</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geese</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkeys</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Average weekly consumption during a nine week period when Le Strange family away from home mid January to mid March 1620/1, compared with consumption at same time of year in 1619/20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Manchet bread</th>
<th>Cheat bread</th>
<th>Household bread</th>
<th>Buttery beer</th>
<th>Cheese</th>
<th>Butter</th>
<th>Muttons</th>
<th>Swine</th>
<th>Geese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1619/20</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620/1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Turkeys</th>
<th>Hens and ducks</th>
<th>Rabbits</th>
<th>Beef (in shillings)</th>
<th>Eggs (s.)</th>
<th>Currants etc. (s.)</th>
<th>Fresh fish (s.)</th>
<th>Saltfish</th>
<th>Ling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1619/20</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>18.0s.</td>
<td>2.4s.</td>
<td>2.4s.</td>
<td>1.6s.</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620/1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7s.</td>
<td>0.1s.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Clothing accessories purchased, 1610-1625.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family member purchased for</th>
<th>Shoes (average)</th>
<th>Boots (average)</th>
<th>Hose (average)</th>
<th>Stockings (average)</th>
<th>Gloves (average)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified 1610-25</td>
<td>56 (3.5)</td>
<td>50 (3.1)</td>
<td>37 (2.3)</td>
<td>52 (3.3)</td>
<td>90 (5.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Strange 1610-1625</td>
<td>7 (0.4)</td>
<td>12 (0.8)</td>
<td>7 (0.4)</td>
<td>10 (0.6)</td>
<td>31 (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick 1610-1625</td>
<td>52 (3.3)</td>
<td>14 (0.9)</td>
<td>24 (1.5)</td>
<td>20 (1.3)</td>
<td>41 (2.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham 1610-1625</td>
<td>56 (3.5)</td>
<td>5 (0.3)</td>
<td>15 (0.9)</td>
<td>22 (1.4)</td>
<td>36 (2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane 1611-1620</td>
<td>35 (4.4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21 (2.6)</td>
<td>7 (0.9)</td>
<td>27 (3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bess 1613-1625</td>
<td>51 (4.3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13 (1.1)</td>
<td>10 (0.8)</td>
<td>34 (2.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger 1616-1625</td>
<td>40 (4.4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19 (2.1)</td>
<td>7 (0.8)</td>
<td>24 (2.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>297 (18.6)</td>
<td>81 (5.1)</td>
<td>136 (8.5)</td>
<td>121 (7.6)</td>
<td>283 (17.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: figure in brackets shows average number purchased per person aged over 1 year old, per year.

Table 5: Average annual expenditure on textiles and clothing compared to overall expenditure, for five year periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1610-1614</th>
<th>1615-1619</th>
<th>1620-1624</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average total yearly expenditure</td>
<td>£757.4</td>
<td>£1170.5</td>
<td>£2068.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average yearly expenditure on textiles and clothing</td>
<td>£121.0</td>
<td>£139.5</td>
<td>£110.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average yearly proportion of expenditure on textiles and clothing</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6: The servants employed in 1617

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Wage</th>
<th>Total years employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steward Trench (Christopher Townshend)</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>£3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Reeve</td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>£5</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos Ketwood</td>
<td>Hamon’s ‘old servant and butler’</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>16+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Oldman</td>
<td>Coachman</td>
<td>£2 10s</td>
<td>7+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Lane</td>
<td>Horsekeeper</td>
<td>£3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Anguish</td>
<td>Bailiff</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Nightingale</td>
<td>Scullion</td>
<td>£1 16s</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge</td>
<td>Servant in husbandry</td>
<td>£1 14s</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bullward</td>
<td>Servant in husbandry</td>
<td>£1 14s</td>
<td>6+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Bower</td>
<td>Dairy maid</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne Willson</td>
<td>Backhouse maid</td>
<td>£1 10s</td>
<td>9 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Bride</td>
<td>Wash maid</td>
<td>£1 10s</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret Lawes</td>
<td>Chamber maid</td>
<td>£2 10s</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margery Siborne</td>
<td>Chamber maid</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>7+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rob Brasenets</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tash</td>
<td>Assistant clerk</td>
<td>5s</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7: Day labourers employed in 1611

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Days worked</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>107.5</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horne</td>
<td>105.5</td>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biden</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Agri. &amp; General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stibard</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horne</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Mason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadhead</td>
<td>67.5</td>
<td>Joiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feery</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murton</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Agri. &amp; General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wix</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Thatcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolles</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibson</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Agricultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siffe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godly</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varden</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curson</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyard</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deane</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>General</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: The tailors employed by the Le Stranges 1606-1625

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Times mentioned</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Clarke</td>
<td>Poss. Lynn</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1619-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Davison</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1610-1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dye</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwarde</td>
<td>Holme</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gascoine</td>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1610-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fothergay</td>
<td>Lynn</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Goldman</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Lock</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1606-1624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence Michael</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1616-1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peirt</td>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Powle</td>
<td>Ringstead</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1606-1616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1617-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>Norwich</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomson</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1612-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willson</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1618-22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex 3: Figures

Figure 1

Cheese Production and Consumption 1619

Figure 2

The price of beef 1619-20
Figure 3

Building Projects and Repairs 1621-53

Expenditure in pounds

Year

Figure 4

Days worked by adult male day labourers

Weeks

Days