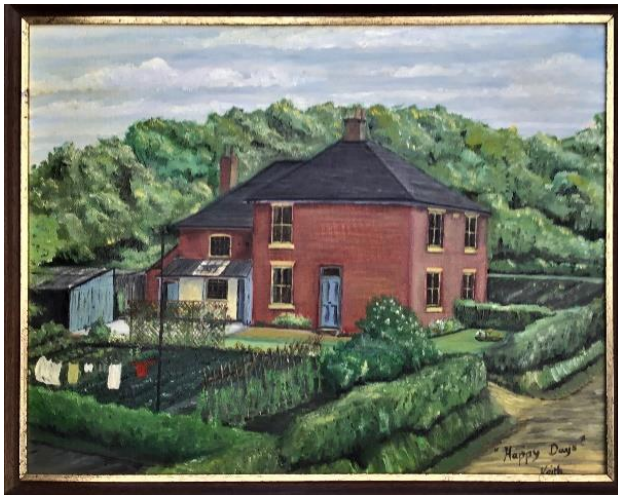


AT HOME IN THE 1940's AND 50's

A CASE STUDY

Reg and Winnie Upson and their two sons Alan (b. 1939) and Keith (b. 1942) resided in the village of Westend situated on the extreme eastern edge of the City of Southampton. Lying on the edge of attractively wooded hill country the village owed its existence to the service of landed country estates and wealthy entrepreneurs of the 18th and 19th Centuries and consequently housing consisted of substantial mansions and workers cottages with little in between. The Upsons lived in a small community of cottages at the foot of Chalk Hill separated from the 'designer' houses at the top of the hill by woodland. Not surprisingly the family understood its place in the world. For them the 1950's would be transformational.

No 1 Lilac Cottages was the oldest of four semi-detached cottages built sometime between



1870 and 1910. They occupied sizeable plots of land, the majority of which lay as gardens at the side of each property, so the houses were well spaced, and they were each of similar design. The front elevation comprised four symmetrically placed windows representing the two front rooms and bedrooms of each house. The front door was central to the side elevation and opened onto the staircase which separated the front room from the dining/living room. Similarly, at the head of the stairs

bedrooms opened on either side. At the rear of the building, set about 3 feet back, was a further extension which housed the scullery and a further bedroom above, and set against this as a lean-to was a wash house and outside toilet. A covered walkway or veranda ran alongside the recessed extension outside the scullery. The whole building was constructed of red brick and roofed with slates. There was also a garage of homemade construction with a sloping galvanised roof. The walls were built of a flexible material like wire netting sandwiched between thick roofing felt which was attached to a metal frame. There was also a shed built with heavy galvanised steel like those supplied for air-raid shelters.

The house was not large. The main living room was about 12 X 10 feet. The furniture of the day was relatively lumpy and space was at a premium. There was an easy chair in each of the alcoves either side of the fireplace, a large sideboard and a square draw-leaf table. There was no space for a settee and the children either sat at the table or played on the floor. The front room was of similar dimensions with 3 easy chairs, a piano and music cupboard, a pouffe and china cabinet, but it was seldom used. This room was kept for best and was only used on some Sundays, at Christmas and when visitors came. The scullery was about 12 feet by 9 feet and contained a stone sink with an electric water heater above, a gas cooker, a stand-alone cupboard / larder and a kitchen table and 4 chairs. The three bedrooms above were of exactly

the same dimensions and again, once space had been taken by beds, large wardrobes and Victorian-type dressing tables, offered little room to move around. There was no bathroom and no sewage system. The toilet was outside, and was a chemical toilet. Each week men would arrive to empty this by tipping the contents of the bucket into a hatch at the back of a small tanker lorry. Water from the sink drained into a bucket and was emptied into a 'dump-hole' down the garden. The wash house was used primarily to store coal though in the corner was a copper beneath which a fire could be lit to heat water for washing clothes. There was electricity in most of the house but not in the back bedroom or in the toilet so candles were used to



light the way. Only two rooms were ever heated – the living room and the front room. At first this was by open fire but around 1951-2 these were replaced by anthracite stoves which were more energy efficient and cheaper to run. However, windows were all of the sash type and notoriously draughty and heavy curtains were necessary at both windows and doors to help contain the warmth.

Reg Upton was a Brass Fitter and Turner by trade but, like most of his generation, he fell victim to the 'slump' of the late 20's and 30's. He eventually found employment with the railways and became a crane driver on the quayside of Southampton Docks. At the outbreak of war, at the age of 37, the job was classified as a protected occupation and he avoided conscription. As the war progressed, however, demand for his skills rose and he returned to his trade at Harland and Wolf on the dockside engineering all manner of spares for ships. Post-war as reconstruction and economic expansion got underway he was much in demand and worked long hours. His income reflected his skill and effort and was above the average wage, if not excessively so, but it did provide latitude to maintain a comfortable living and a few luxuries. By 1950 Winnie too was earning. Whilst it was usual for housewives and mothers to stay at home, once the boys were ensconced in School she took the opportunity for some part-time work cleaning, first for a local Professor, then the local Bakery and later an aged millionairess at the top of the hill for whom she became a companion. Her earnings added further to the growing income. Consequently, in 1953 they were able to purchase their rented cottage from the landlord for the staggering sum of £350. The house had been connected to the main sewer in 1952 and subsequently, with the aid of a home improvement grant in 1955, they were able to employ a local builder to demolish the wash-house and outside toilet and to build a bathroom and inside loo. At the same time the kitchen was modernised with a built in larder, a Raeburn solid fuel stove and the latest in plastic topped sink units with hot and cold running water. An airing cupboard was also added to the back bedroom to complete the hot water system and finally an electric light was installed. In the space of three years,



therefore, the house was lifted from the 19th Century into the 20th, creating a massive change in life style.

There were other additions that had real impact. In 1945 Reg bought a car. A vehicle for private use was then like hen's teeth – very rare. However, he acquired a 1932 Standard 10 which he carefully nursed through its dotage for the next 8 years. With petrol heavily rationed it spent more time garaged than on the road, but it did afford the occasional trip to the seaside or visit to relations, and provided some convenience for in-town shopping and more local use. Reg, however, continued to use the bus for work as a more reliable option. At this time car ownership was rare amongst the working class. New cars were expensive and could take months to be delivered and second hand cars seldom came up for sale. However, after 1948 the production of cars increased rapidly, availability improved and prices fell. As a consequence, Reg updated the car in 1952 to a 5-year-old Ford Prefect and again in 1957 to an even newer Ford Anglia. As his confidence in each vehicle grew so did his mileage, though since he spent so much time at work it was never prolific.



Other expensive acquisitions included a new stylish Murphy Radio in 1950 and a television in 1954. Too expensive to buy outright the television was rented from Radio Rentals- one of many firms cashing in on one of the eras most must-have items. It was a large square box-shaped object manufactured by Pye with a 14 inch screen. There was one channel (BBC) in black and white with limited daily viewing hours and pictures much upset by passing cars and aeroplanes. ITV was added in 1956 bringing an invasion of adverts into the heart of the home. Few people then realised the huge impact it would have particularly on the lifestyle of the adult population.



The routines of the household varied little. Before the improvements one did not tarry long in the morning. In winter especially it was a mad dash to activity. The bedrooms, never heated, were very cold. It was not uncommon to wake to intricate ice patterns on the inside of the windows. Soft feather beds were covered in sheets, several blankets and a thick

elderdown to provide cosy warmth with a hot water bottle to make the cold seem less of a shock in the evening. Downstairs was not much warmer. The first task was to put the kettle on and wrap your hands around a hot cup of tea or coffee, plug in an electric fire or kindle the fire. Prior to the installation of an electric 'over the sink' water heater in 1951, hot water was only available via the kettle so more usually morning ablutions started with a bracing cold water douche at the kitchen sink. Just as bracing was a trip to the toilet. Outside, 'round the back' was the privy. In the depths of Winter it was a forbidding place. With a latched door with generous gaps at top and bottom, it was well ventilated and with no light it was not a place to sit and ponder. Fortunately, the dampness did not affect the shiny Izal toilet paper. It was not a welcome journey in wet and stormy weather and it was certainly not a journey to be taken in the middle of the night. Nocturnal relief was therefore achieved by the use of chamber pots in each bedroom providing yet another not so pleasant task at the beginning of each day. Life was altogether more civilised once the bathroom and Raeburn had been installed. There was warmth, comfort and convenience.

Monday was wash day. Before 1951 this was made possible either by heating water in saucepans on the gas stove or by lighting a fire under a copper in the wash-house to boil clothes. Either way scrubbing boards, scrubbing brushes, soap and elbow grease were the order of the day. There was no Bio washing powders to lift stains or ingrained dirt so cuffs and collars needed to be scrubbed clean. The rest was washed in soap flakes and rinsed using blue bags to achieve maximum whiteness. The clothes were then fed through a wringer to squeeze out as much water as possible before being hung out to dry, either outside on the washing line or indoors beside the fire on a 'clothes horse'.



Ironing then followed, using an electric iron, though in many houses still equipped with ranges this was achieved by heating irons on the hotplate. The whole procedure was a whole day's work and more, depending on the weather. Under these circumstances people did not change clothes as frequently as they do now. For many clothing consisted of everyday wear and Sunday best – just two sets of garments. Shirts and underwear were worn for several days, often up to a week, to lessen the burden of washing. Generally too clothes were thicker and more robust, made predominantly of natural fibres capable of taking the pounding of primitive washing methods. Things changed greatly as the 1950's progressed. The technology of washing machines advanced quickly and became affordable for the majority of families, and man-made fibres with drip-dry and non-iron qualities lessened the drudgery further. The

Upson's acquired a Hoover washing machine in 1951 which simplified at least some of the process. An upright tub of about 15 inches square, the machine was equipped with a water heater, an oscillator in the side to create a circular flow of water, a built in wringer and a pump and hose to empty the water. It was then a great labour saving advance. Such was the pace of development, however, that it was quickly overtaken by machines with the capacity to spin dry, and in 1956 it was superseded by a Rolls Rapide – one of the first in a generation of 'Twin Tub' machines. This, of course had the ability to curtail some of the lengthy drying process. The consequences for the housewife were



unexpected and profound. By the end of the 50's the institution of Wash Day had all but vanished. Gathering affluence, availability of clothing in ever more easily laundered man made fabrics, and the rise of fashion, trend and competition, especially amongst the young, together with the automation of laundering meant that a huge chore had been lifted from the housewife. It was yet another large step towards the demise of housewifery and the liberation of women.



Household chores were eased by the use of a small, cylindrical vacuum cleaner. Apart from the kitchen, which had a brick floor and was swept, the only other area of the house which was beyond the ability of the vacuum to reach was the staircase. This was cleaned by dustpan and brush. The furniture was routinely brought to a shine with the use of wax polish and elbow grease. Perhaps the main event of the day, however, was



clearing, cleaning and relaying of the fire. This not only entailed the removal of ash but also the washing of the hearth and the fire surround, a dirty business where it was difficult to contain the dust and grime. The coal fire therefore necessitated the biggest cleaning event of the year – Spring Cleaning. This was a ritual common to all households at the time where every room in the house was completely turned over. Curtains and paintwork were washed, carpets and rugs lifted and taken outside for a good beating, cupboards were emptied and scrubbed and furniture given a thorough polishing. This was also the time for redecorating and repainting. It was a task reserved for the better weather of April and May. With reliance upon solid fuel heating and the absence of central heating, little changed during the 50's and Spring Cleaning continued for some years.

Shopping for provisions was a daily event. With no fridges or freezers there was no ability to store or keep food fresh so meat and vegetables were bought when needed from the local shop. There were no Supermarkets and few cars so everything had to be carried by hand or delivered by local shopkeepers. Indeed, delivery services were very much part of the retailing scene then, and any business worth its salt plied a delivery van. The Upson's rations were registered with the local grocers and butchers shop about 300 yards away at the foot of the hill. Service here, as everywhere, was personal and the shop assistant collected and packed every article for you. Rationing created the need to weigh a good many items and very little was pre-packed. With meat especially, choice was often limited, and you could only have what was available at the time. Bread was obtained from one of two local village bakeries a short distance away and milk continues to arrive on the doorstep. In 1955 Winnie bought a fridge. They became commonplace by the end of the decade. The ability to store food negated the need for daily shopping and habits changed. Weekly, bulk buying became more usual. Also as rationing ended and the economy gained pace, shopping became more normalised with a much greater range of food products on offer, all now increasingly packaged in alluring and colourful wrappings. By the end of the decade the first self-service mini-markets arrived and

with them a new era of allure, temptation and freedom of choice. This, along with the end of rationing ushered in a new era of competition and many independent grocers fell victim to large national companies and ever larger shopping outlets.

In the immediate post-war period and in the early 50s the range of food available was extremely limited. Virtually nothing which could be described as exotic was being imported and meals depended upon what meat could be obtained on ration and what vegetables were in season. The Dig for Victory campaign instigated during the war was still taken very seriously as a means of increasing the quantity of food available to the family. Most village people therefore enthusiastically tilled their vegetable plots and some kept chickens and geese. The Upson's were no exception. Reg worked diligently to provide a supply of vegetables and with 3 apple trees, a cherry tree and cultivated currents, raspberries and gooseberries did well in bolstering supplies during the season. Although some potatoes and apples were stored, out of season, during the winter, things were more problematic. The variety of available vegetables narrowed dramatically. Under these circumstances, and within the constraints of rationing, it was difficult for anyone to be creative and the food Winnie served tended to be basic, unfussy and vegetable-heavy (in modern terms very healthy!).



The main meal of the week was Sunday roast – a predominantly family occasion. Lamb and beef were the cheapest and most readily available meats to be had. Poultry was particularly expensive and was reserved for high days and holidays. They were almost always sold in carcass form and had to be plucked and drawn to prepare them for the oven. Monday was ‘bubble and squeak’ day when all the left over vegetables were mixed together and fried. Throughout the rest of the week Winnie laboured to prepare and cook the staples - meat pies and puddings, liver, sausages, herrings, steamed cod or perhaps boiled bacon, and of course, salads in season. All would be eaten with boiled potatoes or mash. Cooking oil was a rarity, so too therefore were chips.



After the main course there was always a pudding – jam and treacle tarts, fruit pies with custard, spotted dick, stewed fruit, to name but a few – all were home- made. The chore of preparing and cooking, often for two sittings since Reg was often not home from work until 7pm, dominated Winnie's day. There was precious little time for relaxation. There was some relief in the early days when the boys were at Primary school and had school dinners. Winnie then provided a sandwich tea with dripping, fish paste, jam or spam and homemade cake, but this did not last and the sandwiches shifted to lunch with a main meal served about 5-30pm each day. Breakfasts were easier. Cereal or, in winter, porridge were the order of the day, but as rationing eased, a fried breakfast of egg, bacon and

fried bread was not unusual.

Shopping for clothes and shoes was relatively rare and entailed a journey by bus to Southampton. At this time the preferred outlet was the Co-op. Apart from the fact that it was one of the only Department Stores left standing at the end of the war, it also had a reputation amongst the working class for honest trading especially since membership of the Co-operative Society provided dividends on purchases based upon the amount spent. Clothing was, of course, subject to rationing by coupons so most new clothes were bought for the elder boy, Alan. Keith, the younger was clothed in hand-me-downs. Shoes, Sunday best and home knitted socks, jumpers and balaclava hats were the only new items he received in his primary years. There was no concept of fashion and no must-have items. Clothing for children was purely plain and functional. Only in the mid 50s did specific fashion to satisfy teenage individualism and expression emerge, notably associated with the 'Teddy Boy' culture and the



Rock and Roll beat movement. It heralded the emancipation of the young who, with increasing affluence, became the fashionistas of the age promoting a huge growth in the rag-trade and an explosion in the music and media industries. Reg and Winnies two boys were not, however, seduced. Clothes were clothes and they saw little need to compete. Vanity was a luxury the family did not recognise. They were more concerned with improving their prospects.

The weekend was special. Saturday was a day of leisure and treats, if they could be described as such! Usually after a morning of gardening and catching up on all the minor jobs the family would often go to Southampton. Reg and one of the boys would make for the Dell to watch Southampton play football whilst Winnie and the other would browse the shops and stop for a cup of tea and a cake at the Lyons Tea House, which, in the late 40s was about the only building left standing in the lower part of the High Street. This was also the time when the sweet coupons were spent and something special was bought for tea, like crumpets, tea cakes, shrimps, watercress or celery. Back at home the open fire would be drawn sufficiently to toast the crumpets over the open flame whilst Reg would settle to the football results on the wireless to check his football pools in the vain hope of winning the fortune that always eluded him. Then it was bath time. A small oval tin bath would be fetched into the living room and filled



with just about enough hot water to cover the vitals to bath the boys. It would then be carried into the scullery and topped up for the adults. The family then relaxed in front of the radio, played games or cards until bed time. As the 50s progressed, of course, the routines changed. With the addition of a bathroom and a copious flow of hot water on tap, the rite of bath-night disappeared and, television overtook the radio elbowing aside all other family activities and most conversation.

Sunday was altogether a different kind of day. With most shops closed and most publicly organised events outside of religious gatherings banned, it was a quiet and contemplative day. There were strict limits on what could be sold and the opening hours of small shopkeepers were severely restricted. Even Pub opening hours were reduced from the usual 11-30am to 3pm and 5-30pm to 10pm during week days to 12-30pm to 2-30pm and 7pm to 10pm on Sunday. With little to do it was, perforce, a family day. Reg and Winnies two boys were despatched to Sunday School at a local Mission Hall for an hour or so in the morning but this was soon usurped in the 50s by membership of the local church choir. This required attendance at 3 services each Sunday – Sung Eucharist 9-30am; Matins 11am and Evensong at 6-30pm. Reg was, more often than not, at work on Sundays, but when home he revelled in the opportunity for a rest and caught up with the Archers on radio, amused himself at the piano and in later years relaxed in front of the television. After family dinner, usually served to the accompaniment of Two-Way Family Favourites on the radio, the family settled to relaxation often in the front room. In the evening Reg, a competent pianist, would often play and accompany a sing song around the piano. The arrival of the television also saw the demise of this practice. Being lulled along by TV programmes was so much more relaxing and much less bother and seemed to amuse everybody. The need to keep quiet even quelled the boys.

There were other significant days during the year protected as Bank Holidays which were reserved for religious observance, then more widely respected. Good Friday was the quietest day of all with nothing open, closely followed by Easter Day, Whitsun and, of course Christmas. The public expression of grief on Remembrance Day and Remembrance Sunday was also significant. The 2 minutes silence brought traffic to a standstill and in every town and village in the land there were huge processions from Church to Cenotaph for services honouring the dead. The sad and reflective occasions were, however, offset by happier more celebratory ones, both national and local. By far the most notable in the 50's was the Coronation. The Upson's, like their neighbours, put out the bunting, decked the front window with fairy lights and listened avidly to the radioed descriptions of events in London. The boys received celebratory mugs from the Parish Council and many celebrated with street parties, dances and concerts. Other celebratory days were more localised like May Day, Carnival Days or Village Fete Days and Bon-fire Night etc. but, of course the big one was Christmas. Even in the age of extreme austerity in the late 40's people saved coupons and money to ensure some appropriate feasting and merry-making. In the Upson household preparations began weeks beforehand with the making of a Christmas cake and Christmas pudding, the writing of cards, the purchase of nuts and a few sweets and the surreptitious knitting of garments for presents, whilst the boys were ceremoniously taken to see Father Christmas at the Co-op Department Store. However, the season did not really begin at home until a day or two before Christmas when the tree was dug up from the garden and erected in the front room and adorned with

tinsel and lights. On Christmas Eve the goose or chicken was plucked and prepared, and in the evening the whole family came together to raise decorations in swathes across the living rooms bringing the level of expectation and excitement to a crescendo. As everywhere, the discovery of stockings and sacks at the foot of the children's beds set the celebrations in motion. The delight in finding an orange, a few nuts, a chocolate Father Christmas, along with some novelties like colouring books and crayons and, perhaps, a toy, puzzle or book was exciting enough. But this was not all. Awaiting beneath the Christmas tree were the 'big' presents from Mum and Dad and the more immediate relations to be opened after tea. In the late 40's these did not go beyond home-made clothes and toys and things like Comic-Book Annuals, a Bible, torch, and personal items like hairbrushes and Brylcreem but as the purse strings loosened during the 50's Father Christmas began to expand his generosity to include a Train Set for the boys and even a new bicycle! By today's standards the boys received very little, but their expectations were lower still so they were delighted with the presents they received. Beyond present-giving, the Christmas rites revolved around food, drink and family gatherings. It was a time of exception and excess when the rare and usually unaffordable fare was brought to the table and relished. Poultry, hams, pickles and sauces, desserts, chocolate, sweets, nuts, and alcohol, especially Port, Sherry and a liqueur were all extraordinary and were shared and enjoyed to the full at this time. Not surprisingly Boxing Day was reserved more particularly with relaxation and recovery since everybody was back to work the next day and normality was quickly restored.

There were other events in the family's calendar, most notable birthdays, outings and holidays. During the boys primary years the birthday was an eagerly awaited event. Treats of any description were uncommon in the years of austerity, the birthday, with presents, party and attention was special indeed. The gathering of friends and relatives for birthday tea and games was the pinnacle of the day. Jelly, trifle and especially fancy cakes were mouth-watering rarities and games like Pass the Parcel, Blind Man's Buff, Ring-a-ring-a Roses, and hunt the thimble were exciting and fun. But the boys also benefitted from an extra treat. Reg owned a hand-operated cine projector and a Magic Lantern which was only ever aired at birthday time. He would hire silent movies featuring the antics of Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton which invoked hoots of laughter and brought the parties to a hilarious end.

Organised outings were also a feature of these years. Local Clubs and Societies of all descriptions organised coach trips to sea-side resorts during the summer which were cheap and convenient. For many families with no means of transport it was the only way to provide such an experience. And what an experience it was, from the excitement of the children's first view of the sea to the inevitable sing-song on the way home they were memorable social events. With a car of their own the Upton family were fortunate in having the means to have other outings, though, once again, since Reg often worked 6 days a week, they were not commonplace. Nevertheless, in the better weather of summer there were afternoon sprints to the nearest seaside venues along with longer journeys to visit distant relatives, so the boy's view of the world was somewhat larger than many of their contemporaries. The car particularly came into its own, however, at annual holiday time. Proper Hotel holidays were never within the scope of the Upton's budget. They settled instead for cheap Bed and Breakfast accommodation, caravan hire or even camping, or, simply 'going out for days'. In

the 50's with a whole range of domestic labour-saving devices becoming affordable to the masses the choice between spending money on home and life-style improvement or expensive holidays was stark. For most families there was not room for both and generally people sought recreation locally and did not travel far from home.

The Village was the playground of the children. With acres of woodland and fields on the doorstep, little traffic on the roads, and no fear of molestation they roamed freely. They climbed trees, built dens, created endless imaginative adventures, often inspired by the fashion for Western Movies or Comic Book heroes, all supported with home-made bows and arrows and sticks for swords and guns. Their experimentations widened their knowledge of both themselves and the natural world in which they lived, with all its bounty. The same enquiring and imaginative instincts underpinned their amusements at home. With few toys of any sophistication they directed their energies into creating things with the simplest of materials. Buttons, bricks, boxes and paper were used alongside Meccano, toy animals and tin soldiers to create all manner of things including layouts for the few Dinky cars they possessed. The most expensive toy the boys shared was a Trix-Twin Electric Train Set bought and added to across several Christmases. This occupied many hours of inventive play as new and ever more complicated lay-outs were built and dismantled on the living room floor.

In the immediate post-war years the village community was a recognisable entity brought closer together for mutual support during the war. Everybody knew everybody and there was much socialising together within a framework of Clubs, Pubs, Church, Chapel and Schools. The Village sported active Scout and Guide troops, a Boy's Club, Football and Cricket teams, a Tennis Club, 6 Pubs, a lively Am-Dram group, a Choral Society, a Library, not to mention political and other groups. All then organised social events to raise funds and provide amusement for the villagers in either Church or Parish Halls. These events included Whist Drives, Beetle Drives, Bridge evenings, Concerts, Plays, Old Time Dances, Bazaars and Summer Fairs and especially 'Socials'. The Social was a popular event in the pre-television age. It comprised a mix of Ballroom, Old-Time and what they would now call Barn Dancing with a variety of hilarious Team games. Whilst much depended upon the Master of Ceremonies to organise and maintain pace these were fun evenings. The games and progressive dances, like the Gay Gordons, Valetta and St Bernard's Waltz forced people of all ages to mix and produced the common experiences upon which social cohesion is based. So popular were they as forms of entertainment that most organisations ran them, sometimes several times a year.

In time, as rationing lapsed and food became more plentiful, fashion changed and the Social gave way to the 'American Supper' where party food was donated on a bring and share basis and the focus began to shift towards social eating. Also as the first post-war generation of teenagers began to express themselves through the medium of rock and roll, and television took hold in the mid to late 50's, social events began to segregate according to age. For the young the 'hop' began to dominate the social scene. Adults had great difficulty in understanding the new emerging pop culture and with the lure of the television their interest in and attendance at social events began to decline sharply. As the 50's progressed with the addition of several large Council and Private Housing Estates, the village population

exploded. The sense of community and cohesiveness which thrived where everybody knew everybody and where the gossips kept alive interest in each others affairs ebbed away. In its place began to develop the culture of modern suburbia giving precedence to family privacy and the acquisition of material things. Over time home-grown entertainment became stifled increasingly by television and the lure of Cinemas, Theatres, Night Clubs and the amenities of the big City now affordable and easily accessible a short car ride away. Within the space of 15 years the village had become absorbed by the City. It had become a different place.

The life of the Upson family had utterly transformed by the end of the 1950's. Not only had the boys grown to manhood with all that that entailed, but there had been a total transformation in their living conditions and lifestyle. Life had become more comfortable and secure on many fronts. It had moved from scraping a living to enjoying a living!