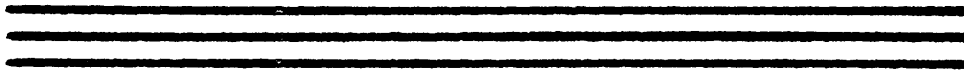


LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES

MAGAZINE AND NEWSLETTER



No. 2

Spring 1969

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EDITORIAL

The first issue of Local Population Studies was inevitably of an exploratory nature but from the response that greeted it we now feel more than ever convinced that it has a role to play, a role that cannot yet be precisely defined but which is already becoming clearer from the views and comments we have received from readers. These have crystallized the problems that have to be faced in future issues.

We have over four hundred subscribers, half of whom appear to be amateur historians. The remainder are either professional research workers in the field of historical demography or libraries and institutions in the United Kingdom and overseas. We have been both pleased and embarrassed by this response and few copies of the first issue remain unsold. The print order for this issue has therefore been increased substantially to meet the growing demand.

It is plain that many of the readers who have written to us have appreciated the problems that our mixed readership poses. Letters from two such readers, Mr. Leslie Bradley and Mr. David Durant, appear in the correspondence section of this issue. Mr. Bradley's plea for the amateur historian who finds himself bewildered by demographic techniques, involving apparently sophisticated mathematical procedures, has already been acted upon. We have decided to publish (we hope in our next issue) a glossary of technical and statistical terms which will make more comprehensible the jargon of the professional demographer and will assist the amateur in following and evaluating the growing literature in this field. Consequently we are collaborating with Mr. Bradley and his colleagues in the Matlock Local Population Study Group in the production of such a glossary. This alone, however, cannot solve all our problems of communication and we see it as our responsibility to ensure that all our contributors demonstrate clearly in their articles the methods they have employed.

Mr. Durant raises the question of the format and scope of our bibliographical section and we readily take his point that the details given in the first issue were inadequate. In future, therefore, we shall differentiate plainly between books and magazine articles, and provide a short commentary to help readers decide if the works listed are likely to be of use to them. We should also like our readers to keep us informed of publications in this field with which

they are associated, or have read and found useful, so that this section can be as comprehensive as possible.

Another suggestion that has been made to us, in a letter not intended for publication, calls for editorial comment to accompany each item in the bibliographical section, critically evaluating its place in the literature of local population studies for the benefit of the beginner who has a special need for advice and direction in choosing his starting point. For the moment we cannot undertake to do this. Instead we shall from time to time invite a specialist to contribute a bibliography on a chosen topic. The first of these, Mr. P.M. Tillott's "An Approach to Census Returns" appears in this issue. By means such as these we hope LPS will further the unique relationship between amateur and professional which CAMPOP has pioneered.

POPULATION, DRUGS AND MEDICINE IN THE 18th AND EARLY 19th CENTURIES - A RECENT CONFERENCE

Between 18th and 20th April, this Residential Conference was held at Sherwood Hall, Nottingham University, organised by the British Society for the History of Pharmacy and the University of Nottingham Department of Adult Education. Speakers were Professor J.D. Chambers, B.A., Ph.D., J.K. Crellin, B.Pharm., M.Sc., M.P.S., M.P. Earles, B. Pharm., M.Sc., Ph.D., F.P.S., P.E. Razzell, B.Soc.Sci. and J.H. Woodward, B.A.

With this title the conference inevitably followed the ground covered by McKeown and Brown⁽¹⁾ and some guidelines towards substantial reassessments of their pessimistic view of the role of medicine in its relationship to mortality in the 18th century were indicated, in particular by Mr. J.H. Woodward in his paper "Hospitals in the 18th Century". Historians present came to realise how unexplored was the realm of drugs, but it was made clear by the pharmacists that, although many drugs had undeniable ameliorative properties, the crucial issue was the circumstances in which they were applied, the dosage, and the medical practitioner's and apothecary's skill and understanding of their effects.

We must hope that the British Society for the History of Pharmacy will maintain its interest in this theme as it is crucial to a proper understanding of the mortality factor in 18th century population growth. Readers will be interested to refer to Mr. Razzell's contribution in this issue on the most controversial topic of the effect of smallpox.

- (1) T. McKeown and R.A. Brown - "Medical Evidence related to English Population Change in the Eighteenth Century" Population Studies, IX (1955), pp. 119-41.

MARRIAGE REGISTER SEARCH FEES

A circular (G.R.O. No. 5A/1968), relating to the fees for searchers in Marriage Registers was issued to the Clergy by the Registrar General in December 1968. It may give cause for serious concern to students who wish to use Marriage Registers. Under recent Orders, the search fee for specific entries has been abolished and the fee for issuing a certificate increased. The circular, however, suggests that the sort of "general" search with which we are mainly concerned in population studies is not covered by the statutory provision as to fees, and that it can be argued that incumbents may charge whatever fees they wish for such searches. The following are extracts from the circular.

"The Marriage Act 1949 gives the public the right to search the registers at all reasonable times and to obtain copies of specified entries. It seems clear, however, that this right only extends to searches resulting from personal attendance, and that the statutory fee does not cover handling postal enquiries. Thus, if an incumbent receives a postal application and is willing to deal with it, he is, it is felt, entitled to make a reasonable charge for his services This would, in effect, be a non-statutory fee."

"There remains the problem of the personal applicant who wishes to make a general search of the registers. In this connection it seems arguable that the statutory provision is intended to cover only searches made with a particular object in view (i.e. to trace one or more specific entries of which the searcher already has some knowledge) and does not extend to general requests to browse through the registers in case they contain something of interest. The dividing line is somewhat blurred, but you may find it helpful to know that superintendent registrars are being advised to regard the vaguer enquiries as requests for a general search for which a higher fee is payable. There is no statutory fee for a general search .. but there may be a case for charging a non-statutory fee. If the applicant insists on his right to search the registers in person, no fee is payable unless, in reliance upon the argument quoted above, a suitable charge is made for any necessary supervision."

The Registrar General makes it clear that the existing arrangements for baptism and burial registers are not affected, and says that the comments contained in his circular "should not be regarded as a definitive statement of the legal position, which is not entirely clear".

(The Editors wish to thank the subscriber who brought this circular to their attention.)

NEWS FROM THE CAMBRIDGE GROUP
FOR THE HISTORY OF POPULATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

From the 1st October 1968 the Cambridge Group has been financed entirely by a grant from the Social Science Research Council. Under the terms of this grant our existence is now assured until the end of September 1970. The grant has also enabled us to expand and we have been joined by Michael Prentice, a statistician, and Richard Wall, who has just completed a M.Phil in Urban History.

Research in Progress

1. Aggregative Analyses

We have received aggregative analyses of the monthly frequencies of christenings, marriages and burials for a further 50 parishes, bringing the total number of parishes for which we have aggregative analyses up to 450. These results are immediately punched on to paper tape and read into a computer to be stored in a more compact form on magnetic tape. We have found the task of punching and proofing an arduous one, but the massive size of this set of data and the numerous questions that we want to ask of it make computer analysis essential. Before we get on to the main demographical analysis, Michael Prentice is trying to see whether we can identify periods of under-registration from the patterns of monthly totals of christenings, marriages and burials. This is a particularly difficult task with small parishes where there may quite genuinely be very few or no events for periods of several months. Once we are reasonably confident about the quality of the data we hope that at an early stage we may be able to print it and make it generally available at a reasonable cost, possibly by dividing it up into regional volumes. We shall then begin to analyse the data in several stages, starting with fairly simple questions and proceeding to increasingly complicated ones.

2. Parish Characteristics

To help us in the analyses we have been collecting information for each parish under 23 standard heads. In many cases this has been sent in by local historians, and we are very grateful for their help. We shall try to see how far different aspects of the

population history of the parishes are associated with factors such as geographical region, dispersion of settlement, and concentration of land ownership. But we are also interested in discovering how far parish characteristics are associated amongst themselves: how far, for example, dispersion of settlement is related to different kinds of agricultural practice, or how far the proportion of parishes dominated by one or two land owners varies from region to region.

3. Illiteracy

Marriage register analyses of many more parishes have been returned during the past year, but several of the more remote parishes in the random sample remain unanalysed. One point has become quite clear from glancing through all the marriage register analyses, and this is that the course of male and female illiteracy during the 90 year period from 1754-1844 varied greatly from parish to parish. This wide variation makes any generalisation almost impossible. One of the most interesting discoveries has been that of the existence of a few parishes in East Norfolk and East Suffolk where the women were consistently better than the men in signing their names. In most parishes the men are very much better than the women. Marriage registers have proved disappointing so far as occupational information is concerned, for this seems rarely to have been given in the registers except in parts of the North of England. Occupational differences in the ability to sign can be studied from other sources such as depositions and wills. Work already done, using this material, has shown up some large differences as between different occupations, differences which have been echoed in the patterns of book ownership as shown in probate inventories. It is beginning to look as if there are not only differences in the ability to sign as between regions, communities, and occupations at any one time in the past, but also differences in the rate of progress of each group.

4. Static Analysis

Tables showing family and household structure have now been prepared for all 170 or so of the communities for which we have found pre-census listings of inhabitants. Peter Laslett has been at the Centre for Advanced Study in the Behavioural Sciences at Palo Alto in California during the past year, and while he was there he took advantage of their excellent facilities to submit the hundred best listings to a full scale computer analysis. This has produced some rather surprising results which will be published in the very near future.

5. Family Reconstitution

We have received a family reconstitution of Easingwold in Yorkshire, North Riding, from Mrs. B. Maltby. (1) The family reconstitution forms have been punched onto paper tape so that the calculation of nuptiality, fertility and mortality statistics can be performed by computer. This is now possible because we have almost finished testing a set of programmes which will enable a large number of demographic calculations to be derived from any set of family reconstitution forms. We have had fun testing these programmes by concocting a set of bogus families which experience an amazing sequence of unlikely demographic events. We are confident that if our programmes can cope with this they will be able to handle anything that genuine parish registers can provide. We are therefore looking forward to running these programmes on Mrs. Maltby's Easingwold family reconstitution forms in the near future. We shall be able to run them on family reconstitution forms for Hartland, a remote parish in North West Devon, at more or less the same time, and also on a very large set of family reconstitution forms for Quaker families prepared by Dr. Eversley and Professor Vann. All this will provide a welcome addition to our present scanty knowledge of such crucial population problems as age-specific fertility and mortality in the past.

Although these computer programmes speed up the process of deriving demographic calculations from the family reconstitution forms and thereby greatly extend the range of information that the forms can yield, the actual reconstitution of the parish register entries for the families remains a task which at present can only be done by hand. Fortunately a number of reconstitutions are already in progress, but for the future we are trying to develop a programme which will enable the computer to reconstitute parish register entries itself. This is proving to be a formidable task, largely because of the very varied quality of the information in English parish registers. In the meantime, we have been greatly helped in our search for registers which are suitable for family reconstitution by the many Parish Register Characteristics forms that have been returned to us.

We have also been helped by the kindness of the Reverend Alan Glendinning who has allowed us to microfilm the registers of 11 South East Norfolk parishes in his cure, and by the generous assistance both of the Reverend F.G.B. Folland, Secretary of the Bishop of Norwich's Committee for Books and Documents, and of Miss Jean Kennedy, County and Diocesan archivist, who together

have made this large undertaking possible. We hope that these registers will enable us both to measure the extent of local migration in the area, and also to extend the traditional forms of population study by developing a method of combining family reconstitution and an analysis of census returns in the nineteenth century.

Family reconstitution is also being combined with other local sources, with mutual benefit. Mr. Newman Brown, for example, by using overseers accounts and local surveys, can locate most families in their houses or plots of land in Aldenham, Hertfordshire, from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, and he can study how demographic events are reflected in changes in house and land holding.

We are sure that research of this kind, which combines historical demography based on parish registers with information drawn from other local sources, is one of the most promising developments in population studies, and we are following Mr. Newman Brown's progress with great interest. We ourselves have concentrated our efforts on completing the more traditional demographic projects we already have in hand, and we feel that we are now approaching the point at which substantial results should soon be available.

Peter Laslett

R.S. Schofield

E.A. Wrigley

NOTE

1. Mrs. Maltby writes on the marriage horizon in Easingwold in this issue.

THE ANALYSIS OF CENSUS-TYPE DOCUMENTS

Valerie Smith

Mrs. Smith was research assistant to the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure from 1966 to 1968, specializing in the analysis of early listings of inhabitants. She is now working with Dr. T. Aston on the History of the University of Oxford.

Local population studies usually centre on the parish register, which gives a running record of vital events. The register, however, cannot tell us either how many people were alive in the parish at any one time or how individuals lived together in families or household groups. To answer questions of this kind, for example, whether old people usually lived with their sons and daughters or in lonely isolation, we need a census of the population.

The first official census in England was taken in 1801. Before that date census-type lists were made principally by individuals for a specific purpose. The major exception to this is a collection of lists for the years 1695, 1696 and 1697, which were made as a direct result of an act of parliament imposing a levy on baptisms, marriages and burials and on bachelors and widowers. This act was an attempt to raise money to further the war against France. From the beginning, the act was difficult to administer, and insufficient thought seems to have been given to the machinery necessary for its enforcement; nevertheless, a considerable number of lists are extant and these comprise the largest single group of lists from pre-census times. (1) Although it is unlikely that new lists from this source will be found, since exhaustive enquiries for them have already been made, it is always possible that random lists drawn up by individuals for special purposes will be discovered.

There appear to have been many reasons for the drawing up of these so-called random lists. The majority of them seem to have been compiled by vicars, and all of them must have been compiled by members of the literate minority. It seems often to have been the case that a parish priest, being more than commonly conscientious, felt that it was important for the discharging of his duties to have some record of the souls in his care, and therefore to have listed his

parishioners. An example of such a list is that found in the rector's book for the parish of Clayworth (2) In England such lists as we have of this kind were the result of individual initiative and not of a general order, as was often the case in France. Occasionally a more specific reason for compiling a list is apparent, varying from precautionary measures in case of a feared French invasion of Ardleigh, in Essex, in 1790 to an attempt to ensure that all parishioners were provided with a Bible and Prayer Book.

1

The quantity of information given in such lists varies as greatly as the reasons for their compilation, though the two factors are not related in any obvious way. The quality is influenced considerably by the method of compilation used. Obviously, there was no question of sending forms to each householder to be filled in, since both the administrative complexity of such an operation and the high level of general illiteracy made this impracticable. A person wishing to list all the inhabitants of a particular village had three possible courses of action open to him. He could rely on his memory and compile the list without stirring from his study; he could assemble all the inhabitants in one place and question them; or he could go round from house to house asking questions. Neither of the first two methods could be expected to give particularly reliable results. If he were to rely on memory he would have no way of checking the accuracy of his list, and would probably either forget some households completely or make mistakes in the detailed composition of households, particularly as regards servants since they were very mobile. To assemble everyone would be difficult and time consuming, and would perhaps give rise to unhelpful resentment, if not to deliberate absenteeism, moreover the sick and the infirm would probably be omitted. The third method, that of house to house questioning would be the most promising. Its most serious drawback would be that it is most unlikely that the operation could be completed in one day, and in a large parish it might take several weeks. This means that the resulting list is not, strictly speaking, a census, since change would have taken place between the beginning and the end of its writing. A list drawn up by this last method is, however, most likely to be of value to the historian, since it is less likely to be biased in its omissions. A list drawn up by the recall method may be biased by including all the prominent households which would be brought to mind easily, and concentrating its exclusions among the obscure. On the other hand, a list which

results from assembling the inhabitants may be biased in favour of those the compiler felt free to command, and may omit the families of high social status. It must be borne in mind that omission of particular households may be deliberate. For reasons which are not clear, some lists deliberately excluded the gentry or gave fewer details about their households. A list of inhabitants of Puddletown, Dorset, omits both the Manor House and the Vicarage; whilst that of Cardington, Bedfordshire, gives minute details of the cottage households but only the most sketchy information about more substantial households. This list has been well analysed by Tranter in Population Studies, and gives a good indication of some of the information which can be recovered from a list of high quality.

One of the most difficult of all problems confronting the historian wishing to analyse a pre-census list is that of deciding whether the list is real or ideal in construction. All the censuses proper are 'real'. A real list includes everyone present when it was taken and omits everyone not present irrespective of whether they were normally resident in that particular place or not. Thus a real list would exclude a servant who was away at market on the day in question and would include a person visiting a relative in the village who normally lived elsewhere. An ideal census describes the population as it normally is; that is, it omits temporary visitors and includes residents who were temporarily absent. It is not usually possible to decide which class a given list falls in absolutely certainly, one can only say which seems more likely. The problem is particularly important if a comparison with a true census is desired, or a comparison between two lists the nature of one of which is known beyond doubt, but it should not be ignored when only one isolated list is being considered.

Some types of list do not even pretend to include the whole population. Of these, the communicants lists, and particularly the Compton census, are important. As their name implies, these list communicant members of the population only. It is just about possible to treat these as modified census type documents for some purposes, but in order to do so two questions have to be answered; one is the age at which a person was normally admitted to Communion. The other is the proportion of persons above this age to those below to be expected in the population as a whole. Since both these questions are complicated, particularly the latter, it is wiser to treat communicant lists like hearth tax returns as a class apart and a specialist study in their own right. (3)

True census type listings are of less value for most purposes if they are known to be, or strongly suspected of being, incomplete, since an incomplete list is not representative. A complete list which does not contain information of high quality can, nevertheless, be of value if used in comparison with other lists. An incomplete list is not capable of comparison with other lists; it follows that it will repay study only if the information it gives is in itself of high quality.

Pre-census lists are rare and their survival is due to accident. It is therefore not possible to think in terms of representative samples (or any type of samples at all), nor is it possible to be over fussy in deciding how good a list must be before it can be used. Even so, it is important that detectable bias be avoided. An incomplete list cannot but be biased if its incompleteness is due to deliberate omission. If it is used, its bias should be clearly declared and its uselessness for comparative purposes acknowledged.

2

The quality of a list is judged by the amount of information which it is capable of yielding. In general, the more information a list gives the more rewarding it is to work. Since there is immense variation in the style and content of each individual list, it is not possible to classify all types of information exhaustively. A few general principles can, however, be stated. Since a list of inhabitants is the only type of document which gives a picture of the social organisation of a particular community at a particular time, all judgement and all analysis should be in terms of the advantages and limitations of this particular quality. In particular, a list should not be judged by its ability to yield such dynamic information as can best be derived from other sources.

The first major division of types comes between those lists which give information in household units and those which do not. It is never possible to do any work on the structure of the household unless each household is unambiguously identified as a unit. It is very tempting to believe that household divisions can be made by the researcher, and when the list is otherwise promising the temptation becomes almost irresistible. Nevertheless, it must be resisted. To insert household divisions invalidates all work done on the structure of the household since it introduces a circular argument. The following is an (invented) example to illustrate this:

John Marshall
Elizabeth Marshall
Susan Marshall
James Marshall
William Marshall
Ann Jenkins
Robert Scott
Richard Jones
Mary Jones
Rebecca Jones

Such a situation is quite possible on a list which does not give household divisions. In attempting to insert such divisions, it is necessary to have recourse to probability. It is probable that all the Marshalls belong to one household and that a new household begins with Richard Jones. It is, however, only probable. It is by no means impossible that John Marshall is living alone and that Elizabeth Marshall is the widowed head of a new household. The two names, Ann Jenkins and Robert Scott, do not obviously belong anywhere. There are many possibilities e.g. they are both servants of John Marshall, they both live alone, Ann Jenkins is Elizabeth Marshall's Mother who lives with her son-in-law and Robert Scott is either a servant or a solitary or even head of a household in which the Jones family are lodgers. These are only some of the possibilities.

It is theoretically possible to work out a statistical balance of probabilities to assist in placing household divisions. In practice, it is doubtful if there is a sufficient body of data available from such lists as have been analysed to make this feasible. Even if it were possible, it would not be possible to use these imposed household divisions to support or contest any theory without circularity. If an analysis on the usual lines, that is an analysis which aims to discover the social structure of the community by using as its basic unit the household and its organisation, is envisaged, these lists must be left severely alone. They can, however, yield a certain amount of very restricted information; they can reveal the sex balance of the community and occasionally, very rarely, the age structure.

When household divisions are clearly given, the next major dividing line comes between those lists which name every individual and those that do not. It is quite common for a list to give only the name of the householder and the number of persons living in the house, sometimes subdivided into various categories. Such a list may read as follows.

	Males	Females	Total
Henry Coles	2	3	5
Emma Finch	1	2	3
John Roberts	1	0	1

A list such as this will yield household size, sex balance, and in some cases, occupational detail. It is possible for a list to give considerably more information than this without naming individuals.

The most detailed lists are always those which name every individual, and these are more interesting in their own right apart from their comparative value. Unfortunately, they also seem to have been less common than the more abbreviated form.

One further important distinction must be recognised. Some lists will state the relationship of each member of the household to the head, whilst others will not. The first type, which may be of the form

Peter Cooper	Husbandman
Ann Cooper	his Wife
Mary Cooper	
Jane Cooper	children
William Cooper	
Thomas Masters	nephew
Ellen Rhodes	servant maid
James Andrews	servant

poses no problems and can be analysed in detail easily. The case where the relationship is not stated is more complicated. In order to exploit the full potential of a list which is of the type

William Simmons	Blacksmith
Jane Simmons	
John Simmons	
Jane Simmons	
Edward Simmons	
Peter Smith	
Elizabeth Matthews	

certain presumptions must be made. A presumption is not the same thing as a guess and it should only be made when it has the status of a near certainty. In the case above, it is possible to presume that William and Jane Simmons are married and that they have three

children living with them. It is mere speculation to suggest that Peter Smith is a relation of William Simmons. In such a case the use of a parish register will help enormously in removing persons from the category of 'unknown' and in confirming or disproving previously made presumptions.

3

In the rare event of the register being of sufficiently high quality, a full reconstitution should be considered. This however should not be undertaken lightly, since it is an immensely time consuming process. The register should be tested stringently for its suitability for reconstitution (4). Since both lists of inhabitants and registers good enough for family reconstitution are rare in England, the chances of the two coinciding are minimal. If the register is not suitable for reconstitution this does not mean that it cannot yield valuable information in confirming or denying presumptions.

If an inferior register is to be used in this way the researcher will probably find it necessary to make out his own transcript of the list, onto which additional information can be entered and which can then be used as a working copy. Double sheets of lined foolscap are most convenient for this. At this stage it is helpful to give each person a number for ease of cross reference. This should consist of the number of his household on the list and the number of his position in that household. For example, the person whose name came third in the list of members of the twelfth household from the beginning of the list would be numbered 12:3.

When the list has been transcribed, the next stage is to make out a separate card for each person on the list (5 x 3 index cards are recommended). These cards should contain the person's number and name and any other information stated on the list. Presumed information should not be entered. Typical cards might read:

8:1 James Green
Weaver

8:2 Margaret Green

Even if it appears obvious that Margaret is the wife of James she is not so described on her card.

The dual process of transcription should not be neglected: contrary

to appearance it does in the long run save time. It is most valuable to have a working copy which can be written on freely. The cards serve a dual purpose. They are used for consulting the register, and later they can be sorted into groups and counted. This tends to greater accuracy than scanning the list to record all the members of a particular class such as widows. The gain in accuracy can be so great in the case of a large (over 1,500) list that the compilation of cards should be considered even if there is no question of consulting the register.

In consulting the register the procedure is first to arrange the cards in alphabetical order and then to work back through the register from the date of the list checking each entry against the cards. If the name is identical, the information is copied (in full) from the register on to the card. At this stage no attempt is made to resolve ambiguities of identification, therefore, particularly if the name is a common one, each card may carry more than one possible date of baptism.

It is usual to work back for a period of about seventy years from the date of the list. It is always the case that far more information is recovered from the years immediately before the list than for the earlier years. This is partly the result of migration and also partly the result of the fact that women change their name on marriage, which means that it is impossible to relate a baptism entry to a married or widowed woman unless the marriage is also recorded in the register. It is also true that in many cases the earlier entries are more ambiguous in their application. This being so, it is rarely possible to recover from a parish register sufficient detail about the age structure of a community to make this analysable, since the chance of discovering an age is so much greater for the young than for the old.

When all the information from a register has been copied onto the index cards, the next stage is to resolve as many ambiguities as possible and to discard information which remains ambiguous. An example will best illustrate how this is done. This example has been contrived so as to illustrate as much as possible: it is most rare for so much information to be recovered for any one household in practice.

Suppose that one household in a list made in 1770 contained the following members:

8:1	James Green	Weaver
8:2	Margaret Green	
8:3	James Green	
8:4	Thomasine Green	
8:5	Mary Anderson	
8:6	John Cartwright	

the first working copy might read

8:1	James Green	Weaver
8:2	Margaret Green	Presumed Wife
8:3	James Green	Presumed child
8:4	Thomasine Green	Presumed child
8:5	Mary Anderson	Possibly servant or lodger
8:6	John Cartwright	Possibly servant, apprentice or lodger

after the register had been consulted the cards might read

8:1	James Green	Weaver
	married 6.8.1766	Margaret Anderson
	married 21.4.1759	Jane Smith
	Baptised 5.3.1735	son of John and Susan
	Baptised 3.9.1732	son of Henry and Mary
8:2	Margaret Green	
	married 6.8.1766	James Green nee Anderson
	Baptised 2.2.1740	d. of Charles and Mary
	Baptised 8.5.1715	d. of James and Mary
8:3	James Green	
	Baptised 9.12.1763	son of James
8:4	Thomasine Green	
	Baptised 12.10.1769	d. of James
	buried 7.11.1768	d. of James and Margaret
	baptised 24.5.1767	d. of James
8:5	Mary Anderson	
	Husband William buried 1.6.1767	
8:6	John Cartwright	
	Baptised 17.11.1755	Son of Robert and Susan

It is clear that James Green has married twice. Although no burial

is recorded for Jane it is certain that she was dead by 1766, since divorce was unknown. James Green junior must be Jane's son. The entries for Thomasine make it clear that, in fact, two children are here involved. A child Thomasine was born in 1767 and died in 1768, another daughter was born in 1769 and given the same name. This second Thomasine is the child entered on the list, the daughter of James and Margaret. Mary Anderson is very probably a relative of Margaret Green, whose maiden name was Anderson. The strongest presumption is that she is her mother. The fact that she is known to be a widow strengthens the probability that she would be living in her son-in-law's household. Of John Cartwright it is only known that there are no grounds for presuming him to be related to the family. This leaves the original presumption unaltered. His age strengthens the probability of his being a servant or apprentice. The question of the date of baptism of James Green is not capable of resolution, both possible dates must therefore be discarded. The baptism of Margaret can be dated. If the first date is correct she would be thirty years old at the time of the list and twenty nine years old at the birth of her daughter Thomasine. If the second date is correct she would be fifty five years old at the date of the list, and fifty four at Thomasine's birth. On physiological grounds, therefore, the second date can be rejected and therefore the first date accepted. It should be noted that this implies that if Mary Anderson is her mother she must have married at least twice, since the name of Margaret's father is not that of her recently buried husband. It would therefore be safer to go no further than presuming her to be relative without postulating the actual relationship.

The use of the parish register has two further possible advantages. If the list does not give occupational information, it is possible in some cases to recover this from the register. The register can also be used to date the list more accurately than the date given. If, for example, the list is dated 1660 and it is important for the researcher's purpose to know the month in which it was drawn up, then the register for 1660 should be consulted with the aim of discovering the latest baptism before the date of the list and the earliest burial after it. The date of the list must fall between the dates of these events. For example, if John Miles was baptised on 27th April and is included in the list, and Ann Jones, baptised on 5th June is not included, and if moreover, Joanna Roberts buried 1st May is not on the list but William Cooper buried 8th June is included, then the list must have been compiled after 1st May but before 5th June. More accurate dating is rarely possible since a

certain number of days or weeks were taken up in the preparation of the list, and the list is inconsistent during that period.

This completes the preliminaries and the actual analysis can now be begun with the assurance that a firm foundation has been laid.

4

Whatever the quality of a list the aims and methods of analysis remain the same; only the extent of the analysis varies.

The information recoverable from a list of inhabitants is static; that is, it is a state of affairs at a particular time, unlike most types of demographic information recoverable from local historical sources which involve the changes of various phenomena over a period of time. The process of analysis consists of counting heads in categories. In choosing the most interesting categories, two considerations have been taken into account; these are first the inherent limitations of the nature of the material which effectively rules out specifically demographic information and demands that the researcher concentrates on what may be loosely termed social structural information. Secondly the importance of the household as a unit in pre-industrial times is a deciding factor. The household unit was the labour unit (5). This being so, it is common sense to concentrate on the household, its composition and its variations; and to use the individual as a unit somewhat rarely.

The heads under which analysis is carried out are listed below in approximate order of the probability of the information concerned being recoverable.

1. Distribution of household size.
2. Sex and marital status of household heads.
3. Sex and marital status of total population.
4. Proportion of children in households and in population, distinguishing where possible offspring of conjugal family from other children.
5. Proportion of households containing less than, or more than, two generations.
6. Proportion of servants in population, and size and composition of servant groups in households.

7. Proportion of kin (outside the conjugal family resident in households).
8. Occupational structure of the community.
9. Variations of household size by occupational class.
10. Variations in numbers of dependent children, servants, and resident kin by occupational class.
11. Proportion and distribution of widows and orphans in the community.
12. Age structure of the community.
13. Effect of age and marital status of head of household on size of household.
14. Effect of age of mother on number of resident offspring.
15. Age structure of servant group.
16. Proportion and distribution of lodgers in the population.

For an ideal list all these would be recoverable. In practice, however, it is virtually never possible to recover information on lodgers for lists outside London and out of a total of well over two hundred lists analysed in Cambridge less than ten have given information about the age structure of the community.

To present such information requires the use of some form of table. A general rule is that the simplest table is the best, providing that no information is wasted. It is not practicable to try to squeeze all the information under each head on to one table. The Cambridge group is now using a set of fifty tables, some of which are subdivided. Each table should examine only one variable, lest differences or similarities be masked. Category thirteen therefore would require three tables each using the same breakdown of ages into groups, and each dealing with married, widowed and single heads respectively, the two latter categories being further subdivided by sex. Detailed information about the best type of tables to use has been given by Laslett (6).

The filling in of the tables is by far the simplest part of the whole operation. If cards are used these can be sorted into piles and counted for all tables which involve individuals, such as category three. For tables which do not involve individuals, or for all tables if cards are not being used, the list is scanned and an entry made in the appropriate box of the table. In the first category of information, the list is scanned and a mark for each household entered in the box corresponding to the number of persons in that household.

One of the most important things to remember in this, as in any other area of original work, is that it is never enough for the researcher to be perfectly clear about what he has done and why he has done it. It is most important that the reader also should be aware of exactly what has been done and why. Therefore it cannot be emphasised too strongly that all presumptions should be clearly stated, even those which seem most obvious.

The analysis of lists of inhabitants is a rewarding field of study. It takes comparatively little time, and, if sufficient care is taken, it can yield most interesting results.

NOTES

1. For example: London (see D.V. Glass London Inhabitants within the Walls 1695- London Record Society, 1966); Shrewsbury; Southampton; Kent, Wingham Division.
2. Peter Laslett and John Harrison, 'Clayworth and Cogenhoe' in H.E. Bell and R.L. Ollard, Historical Essays 1600 -1750 presented to David Ogg (London 1963).
3. A thorough study of the Compton Census is being undertaken by Miss Ann Whiteman of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
4. E.A. Wrigley, Editor. Introduction to English Historical Demography (1966), chapter 4, discusses tests for suitability and the reconstitution process itself.
5. P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost (1965), chapter 1.
6. E.A. Wrigley Editor, Introduction to English Historical Demography (1966) Chapter 5.

AN APPROACH TO CENSUS RETURNS

P.M. Tillott

Formerly editor of the Victoria County History of York, Hull and the East Riding and now Deputy Director of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Sheffield. At present working on mid-nineteenth century social history from the 1851 Census Enumerators' books.

This is the first of a series of articles describing work on the 19th century censuses. It is intended primarily to be helpful to those who have no previous experience in using this source.

Material derived from the censuses of the 19th century may be found in two forms; in the Reports printed and published by the census authorities after each census; and in the mass of original material derived from the answers to census questions given by the householders at the time. Both are often loosely referred to as Census Returns, but should be distinguished as Census Reports and Census Enumerators' Books. The Census Reports are not, generally speaking, the subject of treatment here but are mentioned briefly below.

Census-taking of the period has been described by Professor M.W. Beresford in:

'The unprinted Census Returns of 1841, 1851, 1861 for England and Wales', Amateur Historian, v, (1963), 266.

and in:

The Unprinted Census Returns for 1841, 1851 and 1861, (Phillimore Handbooks No. 6) 1966.

Either article will provide an adequate preliminary description. More recently, Dr. W.A. Armstrong has included some description of the process in an account of his work on York in:

E.A. Wrigley (ed.) An Introduction to English Historical Demography (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966)

Briefly, forms known as schedules were delivered to each householder in the week before the census night requiring him to record certain personal information about himself and everyone resident in his household on census night.

These forms were collected by the enumerators and shortly afterwards copied into books, provided for the purpose by the Census Office, and reproducing the form of the householders' schedules. Each household was then copied into the book consecutively, the divisions between households being marked by conventional signs. The books were then checked by the registrars who had oversight of the enumerators and forwarded, with the schedules, to the Census Office. The schedules were subsequently destroyed. The best description of this process is in the 1851 Report itself:

Census of Great Britain 1851, Population Tables, Part 1:
vol. 1, Report, Numbers of Inhabitants etc., H.C.
1852-3 (1631) LXXXV, pp. ix-xxiv.

The enumerators' books for the English and Welsh censuses of 1841, 1851 and 1861 are kept in the Public Record Office. The books for the Scottish censuses are kept in Edinburgh under somewhat different conditions of access; those for Ireland are said to have very largely been destroyed. The present remarks will refer only to the Censuses for England and Wales.

The censuses of 1801 - 31 were not conducted in this way and the printed Reports are all that remains of the process. The new method, based on Registration Districts and using official enumerators, was first adopted in 1841. The householders' schedules for that year asked for the name and address of each person, his age (to the nearest quinquennium), his occupation and the county of his birth. From 1851 onwards the precise age, the relationship of each person to the head of the household, and the actual place of birth were also required. The censal questions are best described in:

Interdepartmental Committee on Social and Economic
Research, Guides to Official Sources, No. 2,
Census Reports of Great Britain, 1801-1931
(H.M.S.O., 1951)

This publication also described the Reports though hardly in sufficient detail for many purposes; there is as yet no detailed commentary on the Reports. A general account of census taking and of the use of the published material will be found in an articles by Professor

A.J. Taylor:

'The Taking of the Census, 1801-1951', in the
British Medical Journal, April 7 1951, pp. 715-20.

Census material as presented in the Reports has, of course, been widely used by social and economic historians; a notable example is:

A. Redford, Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850
(1st edn. 1926, revised and edited W.H. Chaloner,
Manchester University Press, 1964)

The information in the Reports is entirely anonymous; in the enumerators' books the personal particulars of every individual in the land at that date are recorded and, naturally, such information will only be supplied in confidence. The limit of confidentiality, however, is deemed to be 100 years and the enumerators' books are now available for public inspection.

The books thus enable the enquirer to re-fashion the raw material used for the Census Reports according to whatever requirements he may have. In particular, he may investigate an area smaller or differently composed from that used in the Reports (which was usually the Registration District), or he may investigate topics that the census office did not tabulate or analyse. The range of possible topics includes occupational structure, age and birthplace structure, education, the employment of children, and family and household structure. Some of these topics have been investigated in a variety of publications, some of which are listed by Armstrong in the book edited by Wrigley cited above. Further listings will be found in the footnotes to the chapters by Armstrong and Dr. H.J. Dyos in:

H.J. Dyos (ed.) The Study of Urban History (Edward Arnold, 1968) which also contains (in Dyos' chapter) references to work on American censuses.

A good deal of work is at present in hand on the enumerators' books and much has been done that has not been published. Some of this work is listed in:

P.M. Tillot (ed.) Census Newsletter, University of Sheffield, Department of Extramural Studies (occasional typescript).

Persons working on towns in the 19th century (for which the enumerators' books are an important source) may be found listed in

H.J. Dyos (ed.) Urban History Newsletter, University of Leicester, Department of Economic History, (typescript, two issues each year).

Additionally, a book sponsored by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure is at present in hand. This will contain chapters on many aspects of the use of census material with special reference to the enumerators' books. The book is planned as a guide to techniques rather than a report of substantive work. It is hoped that it will be published about the end of this year.

Persons who are thinking of working on the enumerators' books for the first time would be well advised to read the works cited before they begin. The way in which they may obtain copies of the census material from the Public Record Office was described in the last issue of this publication Local Population Studies No. 1. The three available methods of analysis - by computer, by punch card machine, or by hand - will be commented on in a subsequent issue but an account of each method may be found in: Armstrong's chapter in An Introduction to English Historical Demography (punch cards and computer); manual methods are described in

P.M. Tillot, 'The Analysis of Census Returns', The Local Historian, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 2-10 (National Council of Social Service, 1968).

PROGRESS REPORTS

MALE OCCUPATIONS IN A RURAL MIDDLESEX PARISH

(1574 - 92)

David Avery

The author of this article is a member of the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, which has three research teams working on the population history of the parishes of Edmonton Hundred.

For the pre-census periods little work, if any at all, has been done on the occupation structure of this country or specific areas within it. The research now being undertaken by many local historians in the field of population studies provides opportunities both for throwing light on this important aspect of the history of their own communities and for contributing information that, in aggregate, will be of great importance to the economic historian working at a national level.

For example, an analysis of occupations in a parish or town at different periods will illustrate changes in the economy of the district and perhaps the area around; and a number of analyses will provide information on such matters as how many millers or blacksmiths or bakers etc. there were per head of the population as a whole. The local historian is uniquely placed to do this research, for he is normally able to provide, from his specialist knowledge of his locality, an interpretation of the statistics which is essential if they are not to be misused or misunderstood by others. This article is an attempt by a local historian to explain how he thinks this work can be attempted.

An essential requirement is the existence of a parish register that gives, as a matter of routine, the occupations of adult males who figure in its entries. Since most adult males will occur in a register on a number of occasions in the role of husband, and of father of children being baptised and buried, and also on the occasion of their own burial, it is not essential that the occupation be given in every entry, provided that a high percentage of men can be definitely identified from at least one entry as following a specific occupation.

The research can be done either as part of the family reconstitution work, which many local historians are doing in association with CAMPOP, or else simply by going through a register for a period of years sufficient to ensure that a large number of individuals are included, making a note of every adult male named and the occupation ascribed to him. Where males are recorded and no occupation can be allocated, they must be included in any final set of statistics so that the validity of the figures can be assessed. Normally it will be found easier to use simply a burial register rather than to wade through all three registers. Very few adult males could avoid a reference in a burial register in some capacity, whereas it was possible for a large number to escape marriage registers by marrying in the bride's parish if she was not a local girl, and even baptismal registers if a wife returned to her mother for the birth of her children, a practise of which there is specific evidence in the registers of at least one parish known to the author.

A point that has to be borne in mind when using a burial register in this way is that it will not give a good indication of the actual spread of occupations if it so happens that some jobs were more lethal or dangerous than others. This consideration does not seem to apply to the occupations considered in this article. In the cases of occupations where there was a greater chance of death, there would be over-representation in the figures obtained from the burials' registers, unless the years providing the information contained enough general mortality crises to swamp any normal mortality differential there may have been.

From 1574 to 1649 the entries in the burial registers of the Middlesex parish of Tottenham High Cross, corresponding with the modern civil parishes of Tottenham and Wood Green, five miles to the north of London, invariably give familial relationships of buried persons to adult males and in turn the latter are always described by their occupations and social statuses, save in the case of a very small proportion of strangers. Non-parishioners are also clearly differentiated from parishioners. It therefore seemed to the author of this essay that it should be possible to use these burial registers, which are now in the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Records) and have been the subject of study by members of the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, to make an analysis of male occupations for the parish that would be reasonably accurate.

For the purpose of this study the burial registers covering the years 1574 to 1592 were used. The choice of commencement date has

already been explained. The termination date of 1592 was selected simply because up to and including that year it is possible for the author to allocate persons described in the registers by status terms (knights, gentlemen and yeomen), to occupational categories in farming, commerce and the professions from his knowledge of local wills; and it seems more meaningful to describe, for example, the ten men described as knights or gentlemen as six farmers, two London merchants, a schoolmaster and a confectioner, than to lump them all together under the heading of gentry. Similarly with the term yeoman, which in the Tottenham area at least did not always signify a farmer.

In the two tables contained in this article, all non-parishioners have been excluded, leaving a total of 178 male heads of families recorded for the parish in the burial registers for the years 1574-92.

Table 1: Male occupations and trades

labourers	76	millers	2
husbandmen	23	London merchants	2
yeoman farmers	14	weaver	1
household servants	12	bricklayer	1
moniers	9	sawyer	1
tailors	8	inn-holder	1
blacksmiths	6	vicar	1
gentry farmers	6	schoolmaster	1
carpenters	5	sexton	1
shoemakers	3	confectioner	1
butchers	3	hundred bailiff	1

These 178 males occur in 852 entries in the burial registers, most of them (115) being referred to three or more times within the 18 years covered by this study.

The servants were married heads of families living in their masters' houses. It is possible therefore that the total number of male servants in the parish is under-recorded, as this occupational group more than any other was likely to include unmarried males remaining in the parish for only a short time and thus escaping notice in the registers.

The figure of 178 heads of families in these years seems reasonable in the light of a manorial survey made in 1619, for which the field-book and the map show 119 houses in Tottenham Cross parish. (See note).

Both the London merchants, Robert Aske, goldsmith and John Etheridge, grocer, were from Tottenham families, and though they and their wives were buried in the parish none of their children specified in their wills was born, or rather baptised, there, which suggests that at the time of their deaths the merchants had returned from London to Tottenham to live in semi-retirement. One man classified as a miller in table 1 occurs in the registers as 'miller and basketmaker'. The 1619 survey shows that the lord of the manor's osier beds on the marshes next to the river Lea were let at that time to one of the parish's two millers.

Two men recorded as labourers in table 1 were noted as such at the time of their deaths, but had earlier been recorded as husbandmen:

Erasmus Moise, husbandman in 1582/85/87, labourer in 1592; Thomas Holmes, husbandman in 1584 and labourer in 1589. One man, John Bever, moved in the opposite direction from labourer (1583/85) to husbandman (1588/91) and is entered under the latter category in table 1.

The trade of blacksmith had a tendency to run in families, partly perhaps because it required some capital outlay. Thus Henry Henwa recorded in this occupation five times between 1574 and 1591, and his son Thomas in the same job in 1576 and 1590. Hugh Embricke, with four entries between 1579 and 1590, was followed as blacksmith by his son Hugh in 1592. There was work in the parish for no fewer than four blacksmiths at one time: apart from the Hens and the Embrickes others in the same trade were John Segrave (1574/75/78), Nicholas Maynard (1578/85/92) and Henry Peake (1587).

The trade of carpenter passed from father to son in one family: William Blundell carpenter, the subject of five entries between 1564-87, who had followed the trade of his father John Blundell (died 1560), had a son William in the same occupation between 1582 and 1590.

The large number of moniers poses a problem. These men were mainly from local families with fathers or brothers recorded as labourers, though in one case a man described in earlier entries in the registers as a yeoman ended his life as monier and bequeathed his house for the parish school. In the case of these men the word monier would seem to have two possible interpretations: either moneylender or else token or coin maker. It is hard to believe that 5% of the adult male population (see table 2) were engaged in money-lending as their principal occupation, unless they were providing loans to Londoners and operating in Tottenham because this was the nearest

they could get to the city without coming under the control of the London authorities, who by their charters were entitled to restrict such activities within a limit of five miles of the city. Even then the social origins of the majority of the Tottenham moniers would seem to indicate they were unlikely to acquire the capital necessary to begin such operations.

Equally it is hard to believe that these men were coin makers at the London mint which was just too far away to make daily travel a practical proposition, and in any case such a concentration of mint employees in one parish would itself be difficult of explanation.

The possibility that these men were token makers working in the parish seems more probable, especially since in the neighbouring parish of Edmonton, to the north, the evidence of the parish registers and wills shows that there were a number of bell makers. A light metal industry in one country parish suggests the possibility of a similar industry in other rural parishes. On the other hand there are apparently no known Tottenham tokens for this period, which may be an argument against this interpretation. Whatever the solution may be, and further research will probably suggest an answer, the problem itself is a good example of the kind that the local historian is likely to encounter, which is of interest outside his own area of activity, and the solution to which he is probably best placed to provide.

In the burial statistics the markedly agricultural character of the parish emerges, as is to be expected for the date. But an arrangement of the various occupation into trade categories (table 2) shows a surprisingly large number of non-agricultural workers.

Under farming in table 2 are included labourers, husbandmen and the gentry and yeomen farmers who seem to have derived their income directly and principally from crop cultivation, market gardening or the rearing of livestock. There is evidence in the Tottenham manor rolls that seven persons, included in categories other than farming in table 2, had small holdings as tenants of the manor, but since they described themselves as following specific trades (e.g. butcher, monier, inn-keeper) they have been allocated to non-farming categories.

In the clothing trade category are the tailors and the shoemakers. Rural trades consists of the millers, the blacksmiths and the sawyer. Industrial/money lending covers the moniers on the assumption that they were coin or token makers or moneylenders. The buildings trade category consists of the carpenters and the bricklayers. At

Table 2: Trade categories

		% (+ 0.5)
farming	119	67
household service	12	7
clothing trade	11	6
rural trades	9	5
industrial/ money lending	9	5
building trades	6	5
food and drink trades	4	2
professional men	3	2
London traders	3	2
textile trade	1	1
sexton	1	1

this time carpenters, though they would have made furniture, were still largely occupied in building, which at that time in Tottenham was still mainly done by the traditional method of erecting wooden timbers infilled with mud and plaster. Food and drink trades include the butchers and the inn-holder. Professional men consists of the vicar, the schoolmaster and the hundred bailiff. The solitary weaver is classified under the textile trade. The London merchants are the goldsmith and the grocer, plus Balthazar Zanches, the comfit-maker of Philip the second of Spain who came to England when Philip married Queen Mary the first, and stayed on under Elizabeth the first and established the first English confectionery business. The sexton has been classified separately.

While table 2 indicates that farming still provided most of the work to be found in the parish in Queen Elizabeth's time, it also suggests that there was a larger commercial and possibly industrial element in the parish than local historians of the area had previously realised, and which undoubtedly reflects the extent to which the local economy was based on the provision of services to the metropolis.

The occupational statistics derived from the Tottenham burial registers, interesting though they are to the local historian of that parish, would be more interesting still if they could be set against those of parishes in other parts of England.

Note: The field book for the 1619 survey of the manors of Tottenham is in the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Records), ref: 695/9. The map of the survey is printed in W. Robinson, History and Antiquities of Tottenham, 1840. The manor coincided with the parish, save for six tenements lying in the neighbouring parish of Edmonton which have been excluded from the calculation of houses in the parish.

EASINGWOLD MARRIAGE HORIZONS

Bessie Maltby

Mrs. Maltby, a housewife, was one of the earliest CAMPOP volunteers, and in this capacity has undertaken aggregative analyses, literacy counts and the Easingwold reconstitution.

The problem of how mobile people were in the past is of interest in many contexts, yet it remains a difficult one to solve, largely because there is so little direct evidence. One indirect approach is to study the distance over which people found their marriage partners, or as it is rather quaintly known in technical language: the marriage horizon. The marriage registers are used to discover the residence of the marriage partners, though of course it is chiefly the husbands from other parishes who can be traced from one register, as it appears to have been the custom for the wedding to take place in the bride's parish. This kind of analysis can emerge as a useful by-product of family reconstitution, as with the present study of the Easingwold register.

Easingwold, a small town in the North Riding of Yorkshire, situated in the ancient Forest of Galtres, near the Howardian Hills, is a parish for which family reconstitution has recently been completed. It is a parish with only one main centre of population - Easingwold itself. Raskelf, an extra-parochial chapel lies to the southwest, and has always been a comparatively small community. None of the adjoining parishes possesses a town of the size of Easingwold. The nearest large settlement is York, thirteen miles away, and there are traces of a considerable number of Easingwold girls marrying in parishes in that city.

The first note of parish of residence in the Easingwold register is in 1644, and thereafter where one partner or both came from outside the parish this appears to be stated. However, from 1669 to 1685, when with a different clerk the information is in Latin, there are only two references to other parishes. Thereafter the register reverts to its original form. The words "of this parish" are not consistently used until 1713 but the family reconstitution already done bears out the belief that where no place of origin is given the parties are from Easingwold.

In the following table the distances have been calculated from Easingwold itself. Apart from a long, narrow tail to the South, Easingwold stands very approximately in the middle of the parish. In calculating the percentages, 63 marriages from the period 1669-1685, when residence is not recorded in the register, have been excluded.

Marriage Horizon: Easingwold (1644 - 1812)

	No. of marriages	Proportion of all marriages (\pm 0.5%)
Partner from up to 10 miles away	241	23%
Partner from over 10 and up to 20 miles away	68	7%
Partner from over 20 miles away.	32	3%
TOTAL:		
Partner from another parish (65 of these were women)	341	33%

The analysis confirms the generally accepted view that, while many partners were found from outside the parish, they mostly came from within a radius of ten miles. In Easingwold, approximately 10% took their partners from more than ten miles away, and this suggests a slightly wider movement than Dr. Eversley states to be the general conclusion from studies so far made (1). However Dr. Eversley's calculations were based on a fifteen mile radius, and this extra five miles might well account for about two-thirds of the 68 marriages in the 11-20 miles distance group, making the number of marriages over fifteen miles about 5% of all marriages at Easingwold. There is no indication of more marriages involving distant partners between 1683 and 1746 than later - if by distant is meant from more than 10 miles away. At Bickenhill, a village a few miles to the south-east of Birmingham, there were many more marriages involving partners from a distance during the period 1683-1746 than was the case later in the eighteenth century, when such marriages became very rare (2).

There is no indication of such a pattern at Easingwold, for even when

the 'irregular' marriages are taken into account (i.e. marriages where both partners came from outside the parish) the proportion of marriages involving a distant partner (taken here to mean from more than 10 miles away) remains roughly constant from 1683 to 1810.

<u>Period</u>	<u>Marriages with 'distant' partner</u>	
	No.	% of all marriages
1683-1796	38	10
1747-1810	67	12

There were of course more 'outsiders' married in Easingwold before the 1754 Hardwick Act than later, but most of them were from adjoining parishes, with smaller settlements.

The first marriage partner from outside the County is noted in 1729, a man from Horncastle (Lincolnshire); the next from Hamsterley (Co. Durham) in 1761, and Calverton (Nottinghamshire) in 1771. There were bridegrooms from London in 1773, 1782 and 1812. Darlington (1784), Sunderland (1806) and Scawby (Lincolnshire) complete the spouses recorded from other counties, but some of the Yorkshire partners from the West and East Ridings came from as long distances, for example, Bridlington (1710), Scarborough (1783), Hull (1786), Huddersfield (1792) and Sheffield (1803).

That Easingwold has since Roman times been on the route from London to Newcastle and had coach transport from 1734 to London and from 1706 between York and Easingwold does not seem to be reflected in the marriage partners chosen by the women of Easingwold. It would be interesting to know whether the men of Easingwold went any further afield for their wives. The probable origins of a few (the parish of their fathers) can be traced from details in the baptismal and burial registers - Keswick, Glasgow, Ridgley (Staffs), Newcastle, Derby, Bristol, Warwick, London, Cleethorpes (Lincs.), Carlisle and Whitby. A number of these were, however, married to men whose fathers also came from distant places. How long the husbands had been in Easingwold it is often not possible to discover. Indeed, there is some indication from occupations of some of them that their stay in Easingwold was likely to be temporary, e.g. itinerant preacher, waterman and postboy.

Although choice of marriage partner is only one aspect of mobility, and in a centre with such good communications as Easingwold possibly

a minor one, it does give us an indirect insight into mobility in the past. At Easingwold most marriages took place between people who were resident in the parish, and marriage partners from outside the parish came from a relatively short distance away. It would be interesting to know whether other parishes show the same pattern.

NOTES

1. D.E.C. Eversley. 'Population History and Local History' in An Introduction to English Historical Demography (edited by E.A. Wrigley (London 1966).), 21-2.
2. Eversley, op.cit., n.22.

ENQUIRIES AND PROBLEMS

Dear Sir,

Population change in Moreton Say

Mr. Jones warned his readers at the beginning of his article (L.P.S. No. 1) that the statistical bases of several of the tables he used were of an inadequate size (page 7). Indeed some of his statistics are based on absurdly small samples, e.g. the mean age at first marriage of farmers married during 1701-1720 is based on one case. If however, one confines one's attention to findings based on more or less adequate samples (say 50 or more) the following conclusions emerge:-

- (1) The mean completed family size of farmers for the whole period 1681-1820 was about 5.1 (Total number 59), while that of labourers was about 4.7 (Total number 118).
- (2) The average age at first marriage of farmer's wives was somewhat lower than that of labourers for the whole period 1701-1840 - a mean of 26.49 (total number 70) as against 28.10 (total number 105.)
- (3) The mean age at first marriage of all women rose from 27.2 during 1701-1780 (total number 60) to 27.8 in 1781-1840 (total number 115).
- (4) The mean age at first marriage of labourers' wives fell from 28.7 in 1701-1800 (total number 53) to 28.0 in 1801-1840 (total number 52).
- (5) Child mortality had fallen from 168/1,000 in 1701-1720 (total number 196) to 86/1,000 in 1801-1820 (total number 256).
- (6) The child mortality rate amongst farmers' families was significantly higher than that amongst labourers for the whole period 1691-1831, namely 171/1,000 as against 128/1,000.

If one were asked to generalise about the demographic history of the parish of Moreton Say during the eighteenth century on the

basis of these findings one might conclude as follows:-

- (a) The differences in fertility and marriage partners between farmers and labourers were relatively insignificant, and the differences which do occur are in the direction of higher fertility amongst farmers.
- (b) There was no significant change in the mean age at marriage of women during the eighteenth century.
- (c) Inasmuch as fertility of labourers' families was lower than that of farmers, the social structural growth of labourers as a proportion of the total population would tend to reduce fertility (the same argument applies to labourers' wives higher mean age at first marriage).
- (d) Child mortality fell very significantly during the eighteenth century, which directly contradicts Jones's conclusion that "the burial rate ... seems to have been less important in the overall demographic context".
- (e) Child mortality amongst farmers' families was significantly higher than that amongst labourers, contradicting the Malthusian assumption that economic factors must influence mortality by raising it under conditions of relative poverty.

Smallpox in Winchester

With reference to Mr. W.H. Boorman's article on 'Smallpox in Eighteenth Century Winchester', there are just one or two particular points that I would like to make. I have somewhat modified my view about the possibility of inoculation spreading smallpox since I wrote the Economic History Review article (1); my new position will be expounded at some length in a forthcoming book. I now believe that inoculation did occasionally spread smallpox, but only on very rare occasions when the inoculation was a very severe one producing effects similar to natural smallpox. I have always accepted that contemporaries unanimously believed that inoculation spread smallpox, but have argued that this was because they believed it to be a form of natural smallpox rather than because of observations they made about the spread of smallpox from inoculation (evidence on the actual rarity of inoculation spreading smallpox will be found in my book).

Ironically the contemporary belief that inoculation spread smallpox was largely responsible for the 'general' inoculations (i.e. inoculations which covered all the vulnerable population) as they were worried that just a few people inoculated would infect the rest. It was for this reason that the local magistrates proposed fines and imprisonment for those inoculating after April 30th, 1774 in Winchester, and such prohibitions were specifically linked with the idea that all the vulnerable population must be inoculated within a short period - this was part of Dimsdale's plan of 'general' inoculation which was widely carried out at about this time (2). It appears that the mass inoculation carried out in Winchester in 1774 was fairly 'general' seeing that about 900 people were inoculated - this is something that Mr. Boorman could have discussed, by estimating the size of the vulnerable population (starting with estimated total population, then examining whether smallpox was a child's disease in Winchester or not, etc.). When Mr. Boorman states that there was 'an increasing lack of interest (in inoculation) in Winchester' he is probably right, for there was an increasing lack of interest in all places - when there was no threat of an epidemic (the same was true of vaccination during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is still true today). When Mr. Boorman writes that the cost of inoculation 'must have restricted the widespread use of the technique to the families and services of the affluent' he is contradicted by his own evidence: among the inoculated were 'nearly four hundred poor persons'. The payment for the inoculation of the poor by the parish became universal in England, and this was not because of any particular humane treatment of the poor, but because of the very high economic cost of the alternative: payment for food, fuel and nursing of the poor when they caught the natural disease, as well as for their burial if they died (see, for example, W.A. Barron, 'Gleanings from Sussex Archives: Brighton and the Smallpox', The Sussex County Magazine, 26 (1952).) Mr. Boorman's suggestion that the policy of 'isolation' may have been responsible for the apparent decline in smallpox mortality can be tested as follows: if isolation were responsible for the reduction in smallpox mortality, then any smallpox deaths which did occur should be amongst a more or less random section of the population as far as age is concerned, whereas if inoculation were responsible any subsequent smallpox deaths should occur amongst those who had not yet been inoculated, that is mainly amongst young children. I would predict that if Mr. Boorman were to look at the smallpox burials entered for the year 1779 in the Winchester registers he would find that they were mainly of children. As for a possible decline in the virulence of smallpox, all the evidence known to me suggests the

opposite - in particular, the 6 volumes of evidence published by the Royal Commission on Vaccination during the late 1880's and early 1890's. In the last resort, it is difficult to understand why Mr. Boorman rejects the idea that inoculation reduced smallpox mortality, when on his own evidence nearly 900 people were inoculated in the small town of Winchester in just one year, all of whom seemed to have done well (although Mr. Boorman only hints at that.)

Local case studies of smallpox are valuable for an understanding of eighteenth century English demography, and local historians are pre-eminently qualified to carry out this task. In particular, more detailed evidence about mass inoculations taken from newspapers and other local sources would be very welcome, and one hopes that Mr. Boorman will write a further article using this material to describe the mass inoculation in Winchester in 1774.

Yours etc.,

P.E. Razzell,
174 Ashley Gardens,
London, S.W.1.

NOTES

1. P.E. Razzell. 'Population Change in Eighteenth Century England; A Re-interpretation Economic History Review, 2nd series XVIII No. 2. pp. 312-332. (Aug. 1965) pp. 312-32.
2. Thomas Dimsdale, a fashionable doctor, who inoculated Catherine the Great of Russia, wrote several works on inoculation which were published between 1767 and 1781. (Editor's Note)

LITERACY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND: A CAVEAT

Victor E. Neuburg

Mr. Neuburg has been engaged for many years in research in the History of Education. He is the general Editor of the Woburn Press series of reprints 'The Social History of Education and the author of 'Popular Education in Eighteenth Century England'. He is at present a lecturer in the School of Librarianship of the North-Western Polytechnic, London.

The problem of the extent of literacy amongst the eighteenth century poor is both important and complex; I suspect, moreover, that undue reliance upon parish registers may lead us seriously astray in our assessment of it unless certain factors are borne in mind.

The first of these concerns the term 'literacy' itself, and here I would like to stress the fact that contemporary writers drew a clear distinction between the two arts of reading and writing. The Rev. James Talbott, whose manual The Christian School-Master was popular throughout the century, held that writing should be taught only when children could read 'competently well': and Isaac Watts - no enemy to the spread of elementary instruction amongst the poor - felt that children in rural districts should learn to read, but could have no need to be able to write. Indeed, an examination of the writings of those who contributed to the theory of eighteenth century popular education leaves one in no doubt at all that the teaching of reading was regarded as very much more important than that of writing, and that some skill in the former was very much more widely mastered.

Secondly, once elementary teaching in reading had been given, encouragement to remain proficient in this skill existed in several forms, while for the poorer classes opportunities to make use of any ability to write could have been few. The principle objective of those who advocated popular education had been to spread the ability to read the Scriptures; but in fact a widely diffused cheap popular literature, of both a secular and a religious nature, became increasingly available throughout the century. There was, moreover, in eighteenth century England a steadily developing background of the printed word in everyday life, taking the form of flysheets and tradesmen's announcements, verse epitaphs carved upon tombstones.

posy rings, sundial mottoes, and the increasing use of wrapping papers by shop-keepers and merchants, which often incorporated a name, address, trade mark, and occasionally something more in words. Each of these, in its different way, brought ordinary men and women into contact with print, and an inability to cope with it could set a person very much at an economic or social disadvantage.

If, then, we are to rely in even the most superficial manner upon signatures and marks in marriage registers from 1754, we shall gain only a fragmentary answer to the question: How widespread was the ability to read amongst the eighteenth century poor? Clearly we are presented here with an opportunity to accept what Peter Laslett has rightly called "a challenge to the historical and literary imagination". The process of counting signatures and marks will yield a statistical answer; and if we look in some detail at the secular and religious popular literature of the eighteenth century, and the rapid development of this popular literature during that period, which argues, I believe, for an increase in the size of the reading public, we shall arrive, not of course at a further statistical answer, but at the conclusion with some certainty that there were more readers than writers.

There is another point: What precisely do we mean, within an historical context, by the ability to read or to write? So far as reading is concerned, I would suggest that what is meant is simply the ability to cope in a reasonably satisfactory manner with a simple passage in the Scriptures, a catechism, one of the cheap evangelical works such as Osterwald's History of the Abridgement of the Bible, or a chapbook. Examples of such publications would have been readily available - they were in fact designed primarily to be read by the poor; while a further and very worthwhile means of establishing some yardstick in this connection is a consideration of the way in which reading was taught, and the textbooks used.

The meaning which we attach to proficiency in writing is very much more intractable, and certainly there are limitations inherent in the process of counting signatures and marks in marriage registers. What are we to deduce from the ability to sign one's name? As Roger Schofield has said, "It is not even clear whether the ability to write the few letters of one's name is invariably accompanied by the ability to read, and still less by the ability to write anything else.

If, therefore, we are to gauge the extent of literacy amongst the

eighteenth century poor, the present statistical approach appears to promise the uncovering of one facet only of the problem. Upon these results, and side by side with them, we can build much wider evidence - although the facts available to us do not readily lend themselves to the statistical approach. There is, however, one source - hitherto overlooked, so far as I am aware - which can offer a slender thread of statistical evidence regarding the extent of the reading public. The chance discovery in Islington, London, of three MS volumes of a return called Annual Register of the Parish Poor Children Until they are Apprenticed Out, covering the period between 1767 and 1810, showed that one column was provided for indication as to whether the child was a reader or not. If such a record were kept elsewhere and has survived (although a random search has so far drawn a blank), then we have a valuable piece of evidence. A survey of this particular parish shows that approximately 75% of the boys and girls under its care during the period mentioned were listed as "readers". Two questions arise: What was the criterion of readership? How typical was this parish? I have already indicated what the answer may have been to the former; but to the latter query no answer is possible unless careful comparisons are made - and even then chance survival in one area and not in another may produce a distorted picture. In any case, for the years before 1767 the qualities of insight and imagination will, if used with knowledge, play a complementary part, and I believe a more effective part, in a reconstruction of eighteenth century literacy than the counting of signatures.

THE EFFECTIVE FAMILY

Derek Turner

Derek Turner is Head of the History Department of Christs Hospital, Horsham. His research interests lie in the general field of Tudor and Stuart population studies.

In the Enquiries and Problems section of the first issue, Dr. Schofield mentioned some of the rates that could usefully be calculated from 'raw' parish register totals. Amongst those he mentioned was a fertility rate obtained by dividing marriages into baptisms. As Dr. Schofield pointed out, such rates can often be more significant than the traditional birth and death rates based on estimates of the total population. It is possible to make a refinement to this fertility rate that arguably increases its significance. This involves calculating what I have called the 'Effective Family', that is the number of children per family who themselves married. The effective family can be discovered by multiplying the number of children per marriage at any particular date by the proportion of those children who subsequently married. For example, if each family in 1600 produced four children, and half of these subsequently married, the effective family is 2. In this case the population would be exactly reproducing itself. Such a calculation is, of course, a crude one and ignores a number of important factors such as movement in and out of the parish, and infertile marriages. Nevertheless, I have found in practice that to calculate the Effective Family does give interesting and significant results.

My Tables and Graphs suggest that up till the mid eighteenth century the Effective Family remains small and relatively stable in size. Nevertheless, there are periods when the size of total families increases, but these are soon counteracted by a reduction in the proportion of children marrying. Without a more detailed analysis of the registers, it is impossible to say whether this reduction was the result of higher child mortality or rather of an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters. In either case the effect was the same. A kind of Malthusian law operated by which the fertility rate of any given community remained essentially static over long periods of time, changes in the size of the family being compensated by variations in the marriage rate. Only in the mid eighteenth

century - and possibly in the late sixteenth century - do both the size of family and proportion marrying rise or fall together.

To find the size of the family for, say, 1700 (see Column 5 in the Table) it is only necessary to divide the total number of baptisms for 1691-1710 by the total number of marriages for 1686-1705, on the assumption that the mid-point of a family came about five years after the marriage. The proportion of children marrying (Column 8) is similarly discovered by dividing the total of married people (i.e. double the number of marriages), 1716-1735, by the total baptisms for 1691-1710. Here the assumption is that the mean age of marriage was 25. The Effective Family is now obtained by multiplying the original family size by the proportion of children marrying (1). The use of twenty-year totals is recommended as it has the effect of 'smoothing' the figures and minimising the effect of chance fluctuations that occur in small parishes. For large parishes, ten-year totals should prove adequate.

It must be stressed again that this is a crude calculation, and the resulting figures must not be taken too literally. An Effective Family of less than 2, for instance, probably does not mean that the population was actually decreasing, but that many of those baptised in the parish left it to marry elsewhere. Nevertheless, the calculation of family size, proportion marrying and Effective Family at twenty-year intervals does reveal significant trends: and although it requires more time to work out than do Dr. Schofield's crude fertility rates, it is probably worth the extra effort involved. Below, in Table and Graph form are the results of such calculations made for three Sussex Parishes:

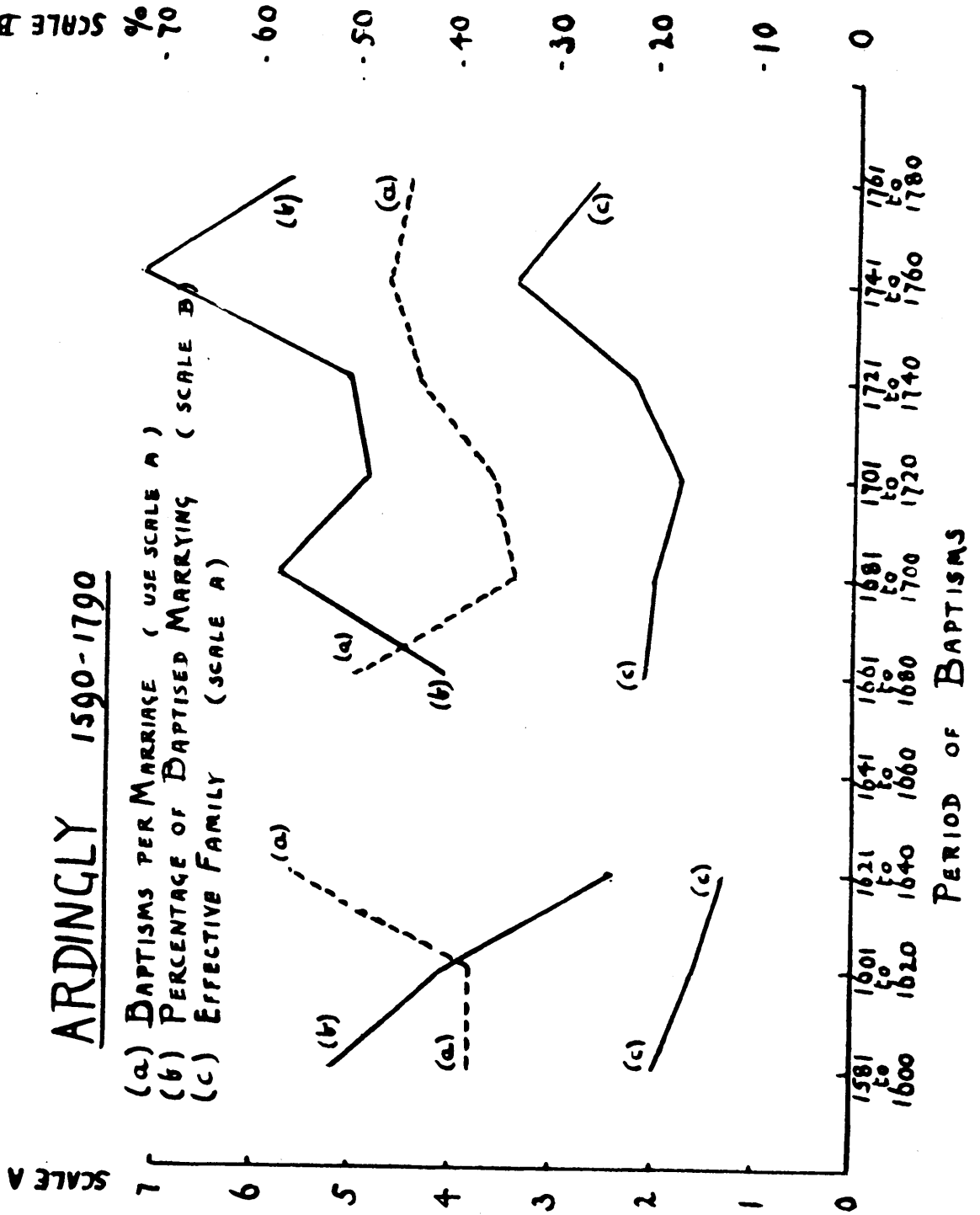
1. Ardingley, a small parish between the Weald and the South Downs. The figures for 1650 are conjectural because of faults in the register.
2. East Grinstead, a market town of between 1500 and 2000 people during the period studied.
3. Worth, a large but thinly populated parish consisting of a small village and hamlets scattered in the forest. The figures for 1690 are conjectural because of faults in the register.

NOTE. (1) If the Effective Family only is required, it can, of course, be obtained more simply by dividing double the number of marriages, 1716-1735, by the number of marriages 1686-1705, but this method does not produce the original family size and the proportion of children marrying.

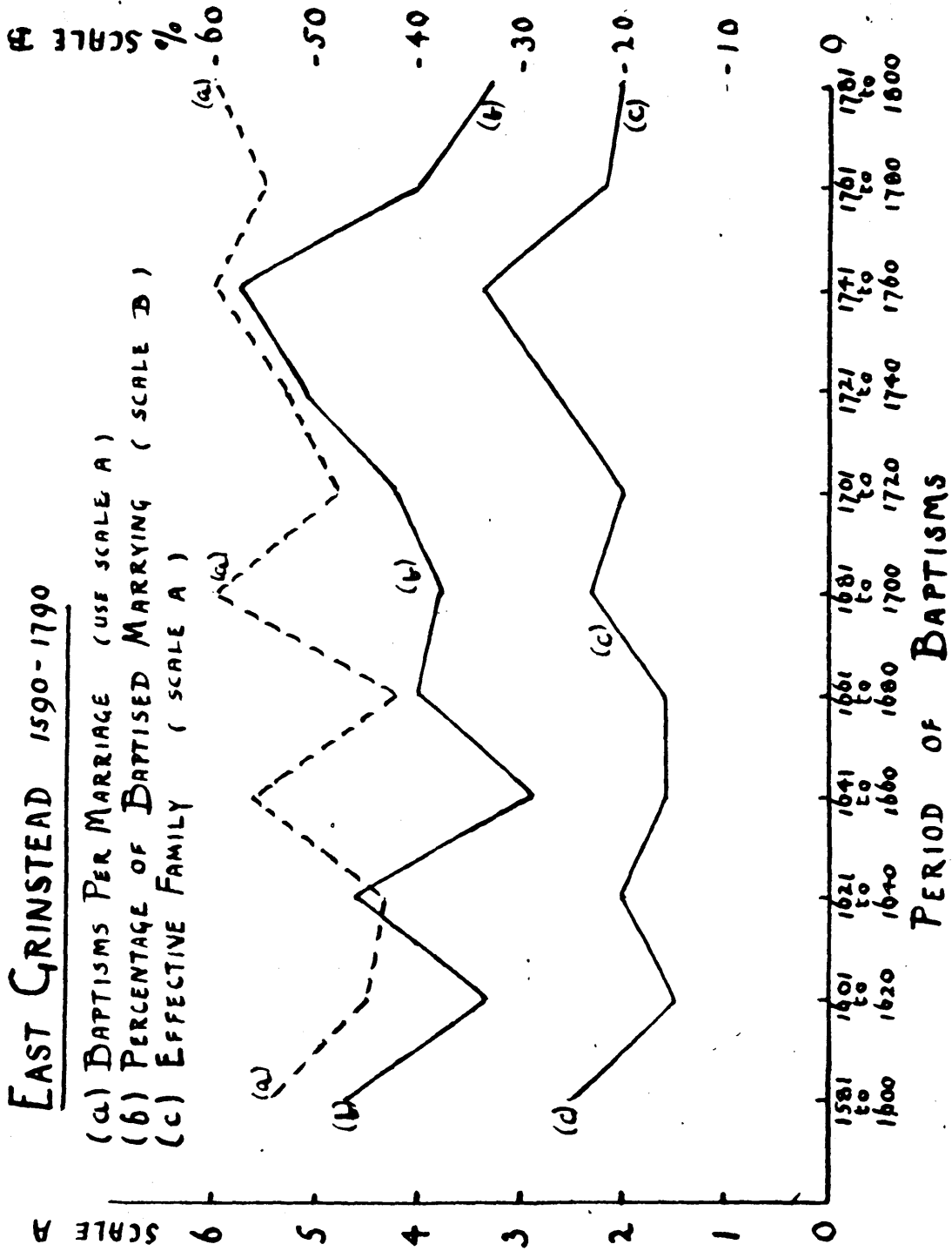
SIZE OF EFFECTIVE FAMILY IN THREE SUSSEX PARISHES

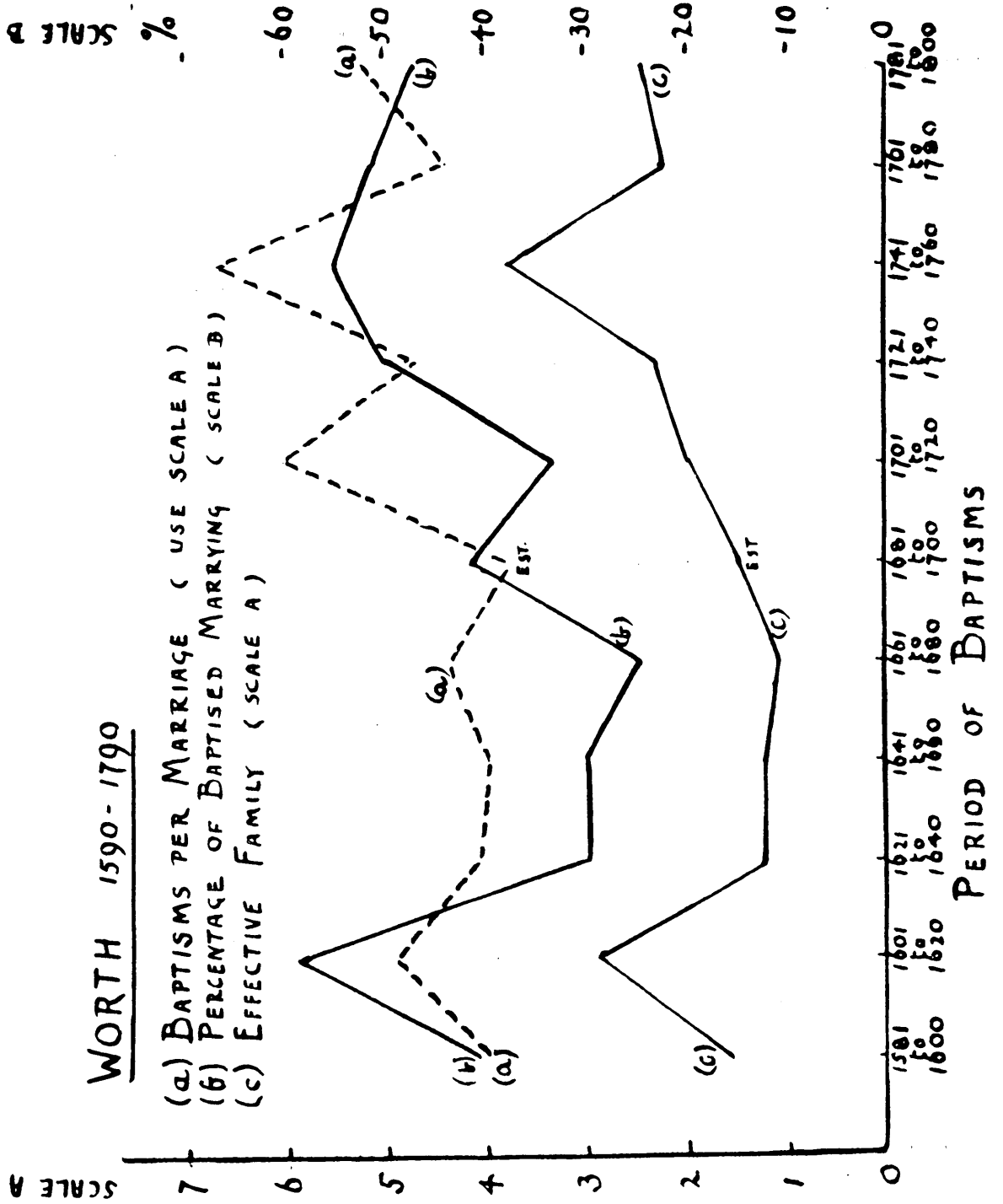
(1) Period of Baptisms	(2) Total Baptisms	(3) SIZE OF FAMILY		(4) Total Marriages	(5) Av. Bapt. per marriage (2) ÷ (4)	(6) PROPORTION MARRYING		(7) Total Marriages	(8) % marrying 2 x (7) x 100 (2)	(9) EFFECTIVE FAMILY Av. No. of children per marriage who marry (5) x (8) ÷ 100
		Period of Marriages	Period of Marriages			Period of Marriages	Period of Marriages			
<u>Parish of Ardingley</u>										
1581-1600	186	1576-1595	49	1606-1625	3.8	48	52	2.0		
1601-1620	172	1596-1615	45	1626-1645	3.8	35	41	1.6		
1621-1640	243	1616-1635	43	1646-1665	5.6	24	24	1.3		
1641-1660	?	1636-1655	24	1666-1685	?	55	?	?		
1661-1680	174	1656-1675	35	1686-1705	5.0	36	41	2.1		
1681-1700	173	1676-1695	51	1706-1725	3.4	50	58	2.0		
1701-1720	177	1696-1715	49	1726-1745	3.6	43	49	1.8		
1721-1740	209	1716-1735	47	1746-1765	4.4	53	51	2.2		
1741-1760	184	1736-1755	39	1766-1785	4.7	66	72	3.4		
1761-1780	272	1756-1775	60	1786-1805	4.5	78	57	2.6		
1781-1800	389	1776-1795	77	1806-1825	5.0	?	?	?		
<u>Parish of East Grinstead</u>										
1581-1600	1019	1576-1595	189	1606-1625	5.4	238	47	2.5		
1601-1620	1051	1596-1615	231	1626-1645	4.5	181	33	1.5		
1621-1640	1039	1616-1635	230	1646-1665	4.3	237	46	2.0		
1641-1660	1059	1636-1655	188	1666-1685	5.6	151	29	1.6		
1661-1680	926	1656-1675	223	1686-1705	4.2	185	40	1.6		
1681-1700	892	1676-1695	150	1706-1725	6.0	165	38	2.3		
1701-1720	768	1696-1715	160	1726-1745	4.8	163	42	2.0		
1721-1740	988	1716-1735	186	1746-1765	5.3	251	51	2.7		
1741-1760	1048	1736-1755	176	1766-1785	6.0	298	57	3.4		
1761-1780	1468	1756-1775	270	1786-1805	5.5	296	40	2.2		
1781-1800	1829	1776-1795	306	1806-1825	6.0	301	33	2.0		
<u>Parish of Worth</u>										
1585-1600	560	1576-1595	141	1606-1625	4.0	115	41	1.6		
1601-1620	497	1596-1615	101	1626-1645	4.9	147	59	2.9		
1621-1640	515	1616-1635	126	1646-1665	4.1	77	30	1.2		
1641-1660	477	1636-1655	119	1666-1685	4.0	72	30	1.2		
1661-1680	442	1656-1675	100	1686-1705	4.4	55	25	1.1		
1681-1700	462	1676-1695	122(est)	1706-1725	3.8	94	41	1.5(est)		
1701-1720	477	1696-1715	79	1726-1745	6.0	79	33	2.0		
1721-1740	443	1716-1735	94	1746-1765	4.7	111	50	2.3		
1741-1760	512	1736-1755	76	1766-1785	6.7	141	55	3.7		
1761-1780	603	1756-1775	150	1786-1805	4.4	169	51	2.2		
1781-1800	766	1776-1795	148	1806-1825	5.2	182	47	2.4		

ARDINGLY 1590-1790



EAST GRINSTEAD 1590-1790





PRE-1841 CENSUS ENUMERATORS' SCHEDULES

Professor Maurice Beresford has suggested to us that it would be useful to have a central register of the schedules of households which were drawn up for the early nineteenth century censuses. The enumerators' schedules for the census of 1841 and for subsequent censuses have been preserved at the Public Record Office, but the normally less detailed schedules for the censuses of 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831 have only survived locally if they have survived at all. We hope to publish a preliminary list of the whereabouts of these schedules in our next issue. The Cambridge Group knows of the existence of some documents of this kind, but there must be many more known to LPS readers, and we should be grateful if they could help us to compile a register of this kind by sending us details of date, parish and county, and present whereabouts of the documents.

ENUMERATORS' SCHEDULES KNOWN TO CAMPOP

1801

<u>County</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Whereabouts of original</u>
Berks.	Binfield	C.R.O.
Dorset	Melbury Osmond (1800)	C.R.O.
Hants.	Exton	P.C. (Par.Reg.)
Herts.	Barkway & Reed (& 1803)	C.R.O.
Herts.	Hitchin (& 1807)	C.R.O.
Norfolk	Thorpe next Norwich	?
Somerset	Radstock (1803)	P.C.
Surrey	Oxted	C.R.O.

ENUMERATORS' SCHEDULES KNOWN TO CAMPOP

1811

<u>County</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Whereabouts of original</u>
Derbys.	Littleover	P.C. (end of Par. Reg.)
Derbys.	Mickleover	-ditto-
Essex	Ardleigh	C.R.O.
Essex	Horndon-on-the-Hill	-ditto-
Hants.	Exton	P.C. (Par. Reg.)
Norfolk	Gt. Bircham	P.C. (Loose paper)
Surrey	Oxted	C.R.O.
Yorks. W.R.	Midgley	?

1821

Dorset	Horton	C.R.O.
-ditto-	Marnhill	-ditto-
-ditto-	Shaftesbury	-ditto-
-ditto-	Sturminster Newton	-ditto-
-ditto-	Woodlands (1821 ?)	-ditto-
Essex	Ardleigh	C.R.O.
-ditto-	Braintree	-ditto-
-ditto-	Horndon-on-the-Hill	-ditto-
Hants.	Exton	P.C. (Par. Reg.)
Surrey	Oxted	C.R.O.

1831

Essex	Horndon-on-the-Hill	C.R.O.
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Key C.R.O. = County Record Office
P.C. = Parish Chest

PLAGUE MONUMENTS

A survey of plague monuments is being made by Dr. H. Avery, a medical historian. Readers who know of any that exist (or existed) in this country or abroad are asked to send details to

David Avery,
11a, Kingly Street,
London, W.1.

MISCELLANY

FROM THE EAST MIDLANDS

Compiled by A.J.M. Henstock and D. Hool

BIZARRE DEATHS

"George Deconsomme, an householder about 27 years of age, fallinge out with Thomas Heifield at the boules, was by the said Thomas stricken upon the head with two boules in a bagge on Saturday, September 9th, at night, whereby, having his braine pan broken, as was suppose, dyed on Munday in the night, September 11th, and was buried the day followinge, 1592."

An entry written by the Rev. Robert Lebard in the parish register of Rolleston with Fiskerton, Nottinghamshire.

"William Bagshaw Stevens was Headmaster of Repton School in Derbyshire, and Domestic Chaplain to the Burdetts at Foremark. On the morning of 26 May 1800 he rode down Repton High Street and opposite Walton's house stopped to watch an Italian and his monkey. Their antics were so ridiculous that he was seized with a 'fit of immoderate laughter'; so violent was its effect that he turned for home, and one there was overcome by dizziness and took to his bed. A short time later he became unconscious and died on the 28th."

A description by Georgiana Galbraith in her introduction to the Journal of the Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens (O.U.P. 1965).

CLANDESTINE MARRIAGES

On 30 July 1601 John Stanaland of Warsop admitted that "he was married unto the said Joane in a barne at Warsop in the nighte tyme by candle lighte by the Vicar of Elmton in Darbishier, there beinge present Peter Goodwin and George Needham of Worsop ..."

On 20 February 1601/2 Richard Needham of Nottingham admitted that "he and the said Isabell Dob were married together by one Francis Marples, a minister as he thinketh, in a Meadowe in the parishe of Sandiacre in the countie of Derby' upon a Saturday in the morning about three weeks since before sune rising, in the presence of

John Shawe and John Espinall ..."

From the Act Books of the Nottingham Archdeaconry Court.

A PROPOSAL OF MARRIAGE

The Rev. Vincent Wharton, rector of Wilford, Nottinghamshire, heard a case of misconduct in his capacity as surrogate for the Official of the Nottingham Archdeaconry Court, and, taking advantage of the situation, it was reported that he had proposed to the female defendant, and "had talked to the defendant in secret in divers places and had made love to her, and had not only expressed his desire to marry her, but had actually said to her 'I am a sole man, I paye for my diet and lodgings at Mistress Widdowson £10 by the yere, which I am put to for wante of a wief, and I have the parsonage of Wilford, a sufficient livinge to mayntene and keepe you and mee well, and so wheedled her (eamque ita pellexit) that he contracted a betrothal with her ..." 26 April 1605.

A DISPUTE OVER PRECEDENCE IN CHURCH

A who-sits-where dispute in the parish church of Greasley, Nottinghamshire, was resolved by the vicar and churchwardens, who decided that "the wife of William Kirke shall sitt in the upper end of the said seat ... the servant of Francis Roberts (himself beeing noe married nor like to bee) shall sitt next in order in the same seat, except that (there) bee any other married wife that doe Challenge openly in the said seat, which is more than wee doe yet knowe.... the servants of ould John Tayler (his house beeing but a Cottage) shall sitt in the last seat" 13 February 1638/9.

SMALLPOX VISITATIONS

"The latter part of this month this country was visited with the small-pox. They first broke out at Kinder, when 2 young men, sons of Francis Gee, were carried off by them. Shortly after, John B....., his wife and child died of that disease. A little after the family of John Frogatt, of Park Hall, was visited, and his eldest son John (a youth of great hopes) died, and about 30 others in and about Hayfield; most of the families that were afflicted by them were broken. The smallpox was generally of ye confluent kind, and more malignant than

any I had seen before, accompanied by purple spots and nauseous smell."

Recorded by Dr. James Clegg, doctor and nonconformist minister of Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire, in his diary in September, 1721.

"As healthful as Nottingham is, there mostly happens once in five Years some Distemperature in the Air, which either brings along with it some Epidemical Fever (tho' seldom very Mortal) or renders the Small-Pox more dangerous than at other Times: of this last, the Year 1736, was a fatal Instance, for from the latter End of May to the beginning of September, this Distemper swept away a great Number of Souls (but mostly Children) and in the single Month of May, there were buried in St. Mary's Church and Church-yard only, 104: in short, the Burials exceeded that Year the Births by above 380, whereas otherwise there is communibus annis, and increase of about 65: a Mortality, the like I have not been able to discover in looking back into the Church Registers for above 30 years, and I much question whether there has been the like since the Plague, which visited this Town in 1667"

Dr. Charles Deering, doctor and local historian, in his Nottinghamia Vetus et Nova in the 1740's.

VERSES ON SMALLPOX INNOCULATION

An Infant Killed by the Smallpox

O Parents all, who love your children well
and wish to keep them from untimely graves
Thank Heaven for Cow Pock to the world made known
which, rightly managed, lives past numb'ring saves.

From Verses for Gravestones 2nd Edition, Cambridge, probably written by the Rev. Samuel Partridge of Boston, Lincolnshire, 1814.

EXTRACTS FROM COMMENTS IN THE PARISH REGISTERS OF MORLEY AND SMALLEY, DERBYSHIRE, 1777 to 1801.

Morley, with its dependent chapelry of Smalley, is situated on the fringe of the East Derbyshire and West Nottinghamshire industrial belt. The Rector of the parish between 1777 and 1801 was one Robert Wilmot.

From his comments he often appears smug, bigoted and reactionary. Nevertheless he took a keen interest in the demography of his parish. He made annual comments on the state of affairs of his parish in the Parish Registers, appending to each pronouncement his signature and office, Robert Wilmot, Rector. He also compiled three listings of the parish between 1787 and 1801, and calculated baptism and burial rates and so on. He added, when he thought fit, cryptic comments on parishioners. For instance he appended to the burial entry for Thomas Hibbert Stanley in 1788 "too fond of ale". His views on Non-Conformity were of a similar nature. In 1786 when the 7 children (the eldest of whom was 14) of Thomas and Lotty Smith, Paupers, were baptised en bloc, he wrote "the parents have been Methodists (sic) which occasioned their not having been baptized sooner".

The selections below have been taken from a manuscript copy of the Registers made by the Rev. Charles Kerry. Now in the possession of the Derby Borough Library.

"In the last year the smallpox went almost throughout the parish. In Morley 30 persons had it, but only two died. In Smalley 43 persons had it. Twelve died that were buried there, and great numbers of the children of Methodists (1) who had never been baptized were taken to Hallam (2) to be buried. In Morley they were kept clean, which I suppose was the reason that so few died. In Smalley the case was different a proof that cleanliness is the preventative in this distemper".

Morley 1779. Robert Wilmot, Rector

"During the year last past the ague was very general everywhere - supposed to be owing to the badness of every kind of corn got in the year 1782, as the crop of potatoes - which when corn is dear as it was this year are much used as a substitute for bread. From the cheapness and plenty of some years before, the poor lived well and now a scarcity and dearness with a bad quality obliged them to reduce too much for health.

Morley 1783. Robert Wilmot, Rector

"The highways in this parish are nearly all put in good repair. When I came to be Rector in the year 1777, the byroads were almost all of them impassable in the winter for carts or waggons. Now there is not in the whole township more than 200 yards of road that a chaise cannot pass on at any time of the year.

The present state of Europe engages the attention of everyman. A very short time will in all probability witness a material change in the New fangled French Constitution of Government. Not withstanding the anarchy prevailing in that country there are many persons in the kingdom desirous of creating the same confusion here by attempting to subvert the present Government and convert it into a Republic. In no part of the kingdom have they more disaffected persons than in the town and neighbourhood of Derby from coherence they have actually sent two persons to the National Convention of France to invite the French over to this country to create the same anarchy here which is there triumphant. The seditious books and papers which are now published and industriously circulated among the lower orders of the people for the purpose of raising dissatisfaction and preparing them for rebellion are innumerable and unless very effectual steps are taken by the well disposed to prevent it the nation may very soon be involved in a Civil War."

Morley 1792. Robert Wilmot, Rector.

"The History of Europe is now truly important. The National Covention of France has caused the King and Queen of France to be beheaded with circumstances of horrid crudity never before known to be practised in any civilized country and it is expected that their unfortunate children will meet as hapless a fate. By the exertions of the disaffected this part of the kingdom is brought into a state nearly bordering on rebellion but the provident measures taken by men of better minds will, it is to be hoped, put a stop to the growing spirit of Republicanism or rather disorder.

In my own parish I know but one man (whose name is Alsop) that has ever shown the least wish to overturn the present system of Government. That man has endeavoured to instil into the minds of those with whom he is connected principles of the most diabolical tendency - such as total insubordination of all ranks and orders of men, and ideas of the justice of a perfect equality of property. Hitherto his influence has had little effect, and I trust it will shortly be properly understood by those he would mislead

Morley 1793. Robert Wilmot, Rector

"I am sorry to say that in the township of Smalley the Dissenters have gained ground considerably. The General Baptists as they call themselves have erected a handsome building for their meeting and by making many of the principal farmers trustees for the building, they have created in their minds an idea of consequence which they are proud of possessing, and are led to consider it their interest to promote separation from the Church. One circumstance however I cannot help noting of these pretenders to more than ordinary sanctity - that with the exception of a few of them, they have always been considered by me as the most worthless characters in my Parish. And as I have never yet witnessed a change in their conduct to have been attendant on their religious profession I own I cannot divest myself of the opinion that their schism has more hypocrisy, than religious zeal for its basis."

Morley 1800. Robert Wilmot, Rector

The Smalley registers have similar comments. In August 1798 while compiling his third census of the parish Wilmot noted: "In the year 1785 I had an account of the Parish which then stood 98 houses with 507 inhabitants. I am at a loss to account with certainty for the increase of 60 inhabitants, but I rather think it is chiefly amongst the Framework Knitters, who from the trade being remarkably good a few years since took large numbers of Apprentices as well as kept their children to the trade.

With regard to the Baptisms and Burials I can only ascertain those of the Established Church but from having taken two periods of ten years each before the Dissenters were so numerous upon a comparison of them with the last period, I am inclined to believe that about one third of the children born are not baptized. For this circumstance I believe we are indebted to the works of the infamous Paine which have eradicated the principles of religion from the minds of the lower orders of the people: who not having leisure to study what they read are caught by the sound of words, and not by their reasoning. Many however of the inhabitants are become Dissenters from the Established Church under the Designation of General Baptists for whom I know no method of obtaining any account of Births and Burials. Though no schoolmaster is mentioned there is one, a Bachelor at the Free School. And one of the Widows likewise teaches school.

For Smalley in 1801 Wilmot comments: "There is not any record of

the Baptisms and Burials for the year 1780. The average of Baptisms and Burials is not in proportion to the increased Population of the Township. I have in some measure accounted for this circumstance in my observations upon taking an acc^t of the inhabitants in the year 1798. I do not however, think that a total indifference to Religion increases. Tis more from disaffection to the Established Government that induces the lower order of the people to separate themselves from the church which they consider as part of that Government than from any real difference of opinion on the effect of religion. No marriage entries for the years 1754 and 1755. It has long been customary for the inhabitants of Smalley to be married at the Parish Church of Morley which accounts for the small number of marriages entered in the Chapel Register. Another circumstance now prevails: servants and apprentices get Banns published in the churches of the populous and extensive parishes and get married privately there, when they could not be married at home from the opposition that their friends make to it: for extraordinary as it may appear, there is frequently more unreasonable objections made to the marriage of their children by persons who have nothing to give them and who must therefore always works for their support, than by those persons who have the fortunes of their families at stake".

He also notes for 1801 that the "number of houses are considerably increased since the Enclosure of 1785".

NOTES

1. In fact probably Baptists. A Baptist Chapel was erected soon afterwards, and there is no further mention of Methodism in his subsequent comments.
2. Apparently in unhallowed (by the Church of England) ground in the fields.

CORRESPONDENCE

L.P.S. No. 1

Dear Sir,

May I congratulate you and the editorial board on producing Local Population Studies. There is much worthwhile in it.

I would suggest that in future editions the interesting details of "Recent Publications" carries more detail, for example it is not clear from the details given if the publications mentioned are books or magazines, to take one example "La population de l'Angleterre du pays de Galles (1789-1815)". I have now discovered that this in fact an article published in Annales de demographie historique for 1965, this is not at all clear from the details you give, quite apart from this and no fault of yours it is proving impossible to get hold of the publication. Whilst, no doubt, it would be quite clear to an historian, that Population 1967 is a magazine it is not at all clear to one who has never heard of the publication before. The World We Have Lost, we all know to be a book and available from any library, but there is nothing to distinguish this from say, Past & Present 1967.

Would it also be possible to include some fuller commentary on the publications mentioned so that one can decide if it is worthwhile getting a photo-copy of some of the more remote articles.

Yours faithfully,

David N. Durant,
The Old House,
Bleasby,
Nottingham

Dear Sir,

Congratulations on the first number of Local Population Studies Magazine and Newsletter, which I have read with great interest. I wonder whether you would be interested in a few thoughts which occurred to me as I read.

I can well imagine that the wide range of your readers, from the experienced academics to the amateur like myself, keenly interested, but not in command of the more sophisticated techniques such as Dr. Wrigley uses, will present difficulties. I would put in a plea for the amateur! The more sophisticated demographers are not lacking in appropriate publications, and I would hope that Local Population Studies, whilst giving an opportunity for printing good, well-based population studies, would take care to see that they are such as can be made by the careful and diligent amateur and can be understood by him, and do not call for recondite mathematical treatment. It seems to me that, since an important part of your readership will be people who are learning demographic techniques, articles should either clearly expose the techniques used or should be accompanied by comments which do so. I wonder whether authors would welcome questions and discussion of their articles, including criticism of their techniques. Only so, it seems to me, can we improve our methods.

Readers like myself will mainly be interested in the light which demographic studies can cast on the history of their own locality. At the same time I think that most would welcome brief "progress reports" from Cambridge indicating the directions which their work is taking.

Yours sincerely,

L. Bradley,
Sheldon Cottage,
Elton,
Matlock, Derbyshire

Population Research in Colleges of Education

Dear Sir,

I and my students are most interested in the first issue of the magazine as we are at present working on the enumerators' books for this area and one of the group has been working for some time on the registers for a local parish.

If there are other college tutors working on similar lines, I would be very pleased if they would contact me.

Yours sincerely,

T.G. Thompson,
Senior Lecturer,
Chorley College of Education,
Union Street,
Chorley, Lancs.

M For?

Dear Sir,

Your correspondent, Mr. David Pam, has noted that the letter "M" has been written in the margin of the burial registers of Tottenham High Cross, Middlesex, against a number of entries from the first half of the 17th century. He asks for a possible interpretation of this. May I suggest that "M" includes the payment of mortuary fee.

A rapid survey of the burial registers of Eckington, Derbyshire, has produced a list of thirteen entries against each of which there is the note "Mortuary paid 10d." The first entry which I was able to find is dated 15th January 1719 and the latest 17th October 1756. There are no references to the payment of mortuary during the years 1734-1751 inclusive, but the year 1752 has no fewer than four such references. A thorough examination of the registers (which are in good condition and date from 1558) may reveal further instances. Does the fact that the mortuary fee appears to have been noted as '10d paid' against the names of such substantial parishioners as e.g. George Sitwell Esq. (1722) or Gervase Newton Esq. (1728) indicate

that 10d was a higher rate than normally paid or that payment was locally expected only from the estates of the wealthy deceased?

The Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. 'Mortuary', has a number of literary references to this ecclesiastical fee from the time of Wyclif to the nineteenth century. Some sources indicate that the incumbent was entitled to the best of a dead man's goods; others that he claimed the second best. Inevitably, from a lay standpoint, mortuary fee appears to have been an unpopular source of clerical revenue. This would suggest another explanation why in only a minority of instances does a burial register indicate the payment of mortuary fee to the incumbent. Clerical difficulties in extracting tithe from reluctant landowners would afford a parallel.

Yours faithfully,

J.O. Drackley, (The Rev.),
Tansley Rectory,
Matlock, Derbyshire

Dear Sir,

Although there are difficulties, it seems likely that the marginal "M" against 20% of entries in the Tottenham High Cross Burial Register in the early 17th Century stands for "Mortuary (paid)". By an act of 1529, strangers, non-residents and non-householders were not liable for mortuaries. Two explanations are possible. (1) The parson illegally exacted mortuaries for strangers, children etc. Although I have encountered a case of a mortuary being exacted for a stranger, I have never come across a similar exaction for a child and would therefore favour (2). That the term "mortuary" was loosely used as synonymous with "burial dues", the two perhaps having frequently become totally confused. The figure of 20% does not, of course, imply that "mortuaries" were not paid for the remaining 80%. It merely suggests that this percentage of relatives paid up by the time the burial was registered. I would be interested to learn if any reader has come across any evidence to suggest that "mortuary" might have been used with this meaning.

Yours faithfully,

D.J. Steel,
Editor, National Index of Parish Registers,
3 Crescent Road, Wokingham, Berks.

On another source of clerical revenues, Miss Bertha K. Barnardiston writes:-

(In Bromley). Having had a baby, it was customary to be churched and to pay a shilling. In 1714 an absolutely furious clerk records that the Rev. Mr. Bagshaw, for reasons best known to himself, had possessed himself of the whole shilling instead of sharing it equally with the clerk as had been done from time immemorial. He went on doing it, too. And the clerk recorded every enormity as it occurred. The Rev. Mr. Bagshaw held out for over forty churchings, but seems to have capitulated after doing a lady suitably named Goodeal.

Marriage Seasonality

Dear Sir,

It is often asserted by folklorists that May was traditionally an unpropitious month for marriages and therefore avoided. The Folklore Society's British Calendar Customs (1938) ii p. 271 states, "Marriages in May are unlucky", and says that this belief has been recorded in eleven English counties. Miss Christina Hole, in 'English Customs and Usage' (1950) p. 77 says "It is still generally considered unlucky to be married in May", and discusses possible Roman and mediaeval roots of the belief. Older sources e.g. Brand's Popular Antiquities (1849 Bohn edn.) ii p. 151 seem to specify the belief as Scottish. Henderson's Folklore of the Northern Counties (1879) p. 34 gives some significant statistics for Glasgow marriages in that decade.

A report by the East London Population Study Group on Stepney 1606-10 reveals May as a significantly popular and sometimes even a peak month for marriages (1608 and 1610). Dr. Wrigley has informed me that the Stepney situation is not at all unusual. It would seem that either the folklorists' assertion of a general disinclination to marry in May is unfounded or (one may hazard) that this disinclination did not manifest itself until relatively recent times. I would value the comments of other researchers on these suggestions.

Yours truly,

A.W. Smith,
The Coopers' Company's School,
Tredegar Square,
London, E.3.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

We continue our descriptive bibliography of books and articles which touch on Local Population Studies. We would remind our readers that we depend on them to draw our attention to studies which they think would be of interest to others.

Readers may be interested to know that, theoretically, they should be able to obtain copies of recent issues of periodicals - but not books from

The National Lending Library,
Boston Spa,
Wetherby,
Yorks.

The N.L.L. tries to achieve a world coverage of scientific literature and, recently, a world coverage of periodical literature, but not books, in the Social Sciences. Economic and Social History has just been declared officially to be a 'Social Science', so theoretically the N.L.L. should have copies of any recent articles on the history of population. Articles can be borrowed from the N.L.L. through affiliated libraries scattered through the country. The best procedure is to write to the N.L.L. asking them which is your nearest affiliated library. Alternatively, if you want a permanent copy of the article, you can order photocopies directly from the N.L.L., providing you can give them a full reference. The procedure is to write and purchase, in advance, vouchers which can be exchanged for 10 Xerox openings. These vouchers cost 5s 0d, which makes the average article page (2 to an opening) cost roughly 3d. Theoretically, an article of 2 openings requires 3 vouchers, but in practice extra openings over the 10 are often overlooked. Details of this scheme are available from the N.L.L. on request.

Books

Ziegler, Philip The Black Death Collins (1969) 36s.

A description of the 14th century plague on the Continent and in England. summarising both the established facts and the matters still hotly disputed by historians.

Cipolla, Carlo M

Literacy and the development of the West
Pelican (1969).

This Pelican brings together much useful information in a brief general survey of illiteracy in Europe from classical times to the present day.

Goody, Jack (Ed.)

Literacy in traditional societies
Cambridge University Press (1968).

A collection of papers written mainly by anthropologists, who report on literacy in Africa and Asia today. Three chapters are possibly more directly of interest to readers. Jack Goody, in his 'Introduction' and in a chapter entitled 'The consequences of literacy', explores the general cultural differences between literate and illiterate groups. R.S. Schofield, in 'The measurement of literacy in pre-industrial England', argues the need for a statistical approach to complement the traditional qualitative studies of literacy, and surveys the sources available for such a study in pre-industrial England.

Articles

Howson, W.G.

'Plague, poverty and population in parts of Northwest England, 1580-1720'
Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Vol. 112 (1960).

This article has been made available in a separate offprint.

Knodel, J. and van der Walle, E.

'Breast feeding, fertility and infant mortality'
Population Studies, XXI No. 2 (Sept. 1967)
pp. 109-131.

Knodel, J. 'Infant mortality and fertility in three Bavarian villages'. Population Studies, XXII No. 3 (Nov. 1968) pp. 297-318.

These two articles explore statistically whether breast feeding was a universal custom in nineteenth century Germany, and whether it was related to fertility and infant mortality.

Küchemann, C. and others

'A demographic and genetic study of a group of Oxfordshire villages'. Human Biology, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Sept. 1967) pp. 251-276.

This article, written by physical anthropologists looking for an isolated community with inbreeding, uses parish registers and census returns, mainly for Charlton-on-Otmoor, to calculate population size, birth rates, birth intervals, family size, age at marriage, marriage horizons and infant mortality.

Stone, L. 'Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900' Past and Present, No. 42 (Feb. 1969) pp. 69-139.

This long article examines various factors which the author believes may have influenced the growth or decay of education and literacy between 1640 and 1900. An attempt is made to provide some statistical evidence, and the history of English education is compared to that of Scottish and French education.

Tillott, P.M. 'The analysis of census returns' Local Historian, VIII, No. 1 (1968) pp. 2-10.

A description of the analysis of census and enumerators' books by manual methods in local history groups or classes.

LOCAL RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

The following lists (continued from our last issue) contain information about work on local population history that is known to the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. We publish it here in the hope that it will be of interest to subscribers. We should be grateful to receive information of any other research in progress.

+ Denotes analysis completed

COUNTY	PARISH	NAME	ADDRESSES
<u>CHESHIRE</u>			
<u>Aggregative</u>			
	Bunbury +	Mrs. J. Cowley	15 Manor Road, Cuddington, nr. Northwich, Cheshire.
	Cheadle	R.W. Trubridge and students	Manchester Training College, Long Mill- gate, Manchester 3.
	Chester, Holy Trinity+	G. Lea	Elmslea, Aldsworth Ave., Goring-by-sea, Sussex.
	Frodsham+	G.M.R. Davies	St. John's Vicarage, Higher Walton, nr. Warrington, Lancs.
	Gawsworth+	Dr. Stella Davies	Ridge End, Langley Rd., Sutton, Macclesfield, Cheshire.
	Nantwich+	Miss S. Ratcliffe	75 Wirral Gardens, Bebington, Cheshire
	Great Neston+	Mrs. E. McIntyre	23 Pulford Ave., Prenton, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
	Prestbury	Dr. Stella Davies	

CHESHIRE (cont'd)Aggregative

Sandbach+	Miss E. Reader	Cheshire Training College, Crewe, Cheshire
Wilmslow	F. S. Stancliffe & Mrs. E. Welby	Dunlewy, 21 Holly Road, Wilmslow, Cheshire
Wybunbury	R. Speake	123 Slyne Road, Bolton-le-Sands, Carborth, Lancs.

Literacy	Tarporley	G. Lea
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	Tarvin	G. Lea
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Listings	Chester+	1629 & 1645
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ReconstitutionCORNWALLAggregative

Camborne	L. H. Woodcock	39 Aneray Rd., Rosewarne
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Fowey	Mrs. Teresa Goodman	38 Lambolle Road, London, N.W.3.
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Literacy	Budock+	R. S. Schofield	Cambridge Group
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Davidstow+	Mrs. J. Cooper	Woodley Cottage, Bunny's Hill, Cardingham, Bodmin
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Michaelstow+	Mrs. J. Cooper	
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St. Sithney+	R. S. Schofield	
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Listings

Reconstitution

CUMBS

Aggregative

Arthuret+	J. R. Howe	Glenburn House, Fenton, How Mill, Carlisle, Cumbs.
Bridekirk+	Mrs. J. Fox	11 St. Margaret's Close, Cottenham, Yorks. E. R.
Crosthwaite+	Miss J. B. Martin	17 Gayton Road., London, N. W. 3.
Dalston+	J. R. Howe	Glenburn House, Fenton, How Mill, Carlisle, Cumbs.
Greystoke+	J. R. Howe	
Hayton	J. R. Howe	
Holme Cultram	J. R. Howe	
Wigton+	J. R. Howe	

Literacy Hayton J. R. Howe

Listings Maryport 1765 & 1792+
St. Bees (with Whitehaven) 1685+

Reconstitution -----

DERBYSHIRE

Aggregative

Ashbourne	C. Charlton	Dept. of Adult Education Univ. of Nottingham, Tawney House, Matlock, Derbys.
Ashover+	D. Hool	Matlock Local Population Study Group, c/o Tawney House, Matlock
Bradbourne+	D. Hool	

DERBYSHIRE (Cont'd)

Brailsford+	C. Charlton	Brailsford W. E. A. Group, c/o Tawney House, Matlock
Brassington+	D. Hool	
Denby	A. Guest	Derby & Dist. College of Technology, Kedleston Rd., Derby.
Dronfield+	Mrs. P. J. Bunker	Gorse-side, Cartledge Lane, Holmesfield, nr. Sheffield
Elton	L. Bradley	Matlock Local Population Study Group c/o Tawney House
Matlock	Mrs. Eley	Matlock Local Population Study Group
Repton	Mrs. T. Melen	Springwood Cottage, Staunton Harold, nr. Melbourne, Derbys.
Whitwell	Miss J. M. Drabble	Flat 142, Park Farm Centre, Allestree, Derby
Winstar	L. Bradley	
Wirksworth+	L. Bradley	
<u>Literacy</u>		
Ashover +	D. Hool	
Bradbourne+	D. Hool	
Brailsford +	C. Charlton	
Brassington +	D. Hool	
Dronfield	Miss S. Bowen	Homerton College, Cambridge

DERBYSHIRE (cont'd)

Littleover Miss C. Ashton Homerton College,
Cambridge

Matlock Mrs. Eley

Listings

Barlborough 1792

Littleover
(chapelry of Mickleover) 1811+

Mickleover 1811+

Morley & Smalley 1774, 1787 & 1801

Tissington circa 1792

Reconstitution -----

DEVON

Aggregative

Blackawton Mrs. P. Baker Townstall House Hotel,
Dartmouth, Devon

Branscombe+ E. A. Wrigley Cambridge Group

Chardstock+ A. H. Noble 1 Vale Court, London W. 9

Colyton+ E. A. Wrigley

Hartland+ E. A. Wrigley &
Miss S. Ault

Hawkchurch+ A. H. Noble

Hemycock+ I. I. Jeffries Rosemary Cottage,
Rosemary Lane,
Cullompton

Offwell+ M. Robson Stonewick, Offwell,
Honiton, Devon

DEVON (cont'd)

Ottery St. Mary+ E.A. Wrigley

Modbury+ Rev. L. B. Hutchings, The Vicarage,
& Modbury Local History Society Modbury, Ivybridge,
Devon

Paignton+ Mr. J. T. Hopkins 43 Osney Crescent,
Paignton, Devon

Topsham + Mrs. I. M. Woods Dunstone Cottage,
Widecombe-in-the-Moor,
Newton Abbot, Devon.

Widecombe-in-the-Moor+ Mrs. I. M. Woods

Literacy

Dunkeswell+ R. S. Schofield Cambridge Group

Eggesford R. S. Schofield

Exeter, St. Paul+ R. S. Schofield

Holcumbe-Burnell+ R. S. Schofield

Holne+ Mrs. I. Woods

Kentisbeare+ R. S. Schofield

Ottery St. Mary+ R. S. Schofield

Plymstock+ R. S. Schofield

Rockbeare+ R. S. Schofield

Wembury+ R. S. Schofield

Talaton+ R. S. Schofield

Widecombe-in-the Moor+ Mrs. I. Woods

Listings

Buckfastleigh 1698+

Ringmoe 1698+

Wembworthy 1690+

(to be continued)