LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES

MAGAZINE AND NEWSLETTER

No. 4.

Spring 1970

LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES
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Published twice yearly in association with
Nottingham University Department of Adult
Education

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The Annual Subscription to Local Population Studies is 10/- for U.K. readers. For other subscribers an additional postage charge has to be made.

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TORQUAY
DEVON

Cheques should be made payable to Local Population Studies Magazine

Individual copies available from the Subscription Secretary 7/6d each.

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EDITORIAL

PARISH REGISTERS: ACCESS AND PRESERVATION

In 1538 instructions were first given for the keeping of registers of births, marriages and deaths by English parishes. Towards the end of the sixteenth century it was ordered that these should be rewritten for at least as far back as Elizabeth's accession, and henceforward continued, in bound volumes to ensure their better preservation. In 1837 the state took over responsibility for the collection of vital statistics. Thus for a period of almost three hundred years the prime source of information for historians, working at either national or local level, interested in population history is to be found in the parish registers of the Church. Questions of access to these records, and the standards of care shown in preserving them, are therefore subjects of interest to readers of Local Population Studies.

Under the Parochial Register and Records Measure of 1929 the bishop of a diocese is empowered to give any directions necessary to ensure the proper preservation of all records in the custody of parochial authorities. The diocesan is also given authority under this measure to establish one or more diocesan record offices in which these records may be deposited. Once such an office has been set up all parish records are subject to inspection by an officer appointed by the bishop, and orders may be made for the transfer of records from parishes to the office. In addition the same measure provides that an incumbent, with the consent of his bishop and his parochial church council, may deposit church registers and certain other documents in the diocesan record office for safe keeping. There is now a record office for almost every diocese in England, normally in the relevant county record office, and many incumbents have taken advantage of the measure to deposit their registers. Such a course of action has obvious advantages; it ensures that the registers are properly preserved and that necessary repairs are carried out skilfully; it relieves the incumbent from supervising those people doing research in his parish registers and provides the research worker with proper working conditions and experienced advice when it is required. Often these record offices hold the bishop's transcripts. Thus for demographers and genealogists there is the additional attraction of easy comparison between these two sources. The general concensus of opinion seems to be that the deposit of parish registers in this way is desirable and worth encouraging.

The proportion of registers deposited in Diocesan Record Offices varies widely in different parts of the country: in some dioceses practically all the pre-1837 registers have been deposited, while in others very few registers are to be found in the Diocesan Record Office. Information gathered for fifteen counties, and dating from 1966-1969, illustrates this diversity.

% Parishes depositing registers	No. of counties
%	
0-9	1
10-9	-
20-9	5
30-9	4
40-9	1
50-9	2
:	
:	
:	
90-100	2
	15

The percentages of registers deposited by now in these fifteen counties will be higher than is shown in the table, because in many areas deposits are being made at an increasing rate. On the other hand, even now, only an insignificant percentage of registers have been deposited in several other counties which were not included in the table. There seems to be no clear regional pattern in these county differences. For example, as long ago as 1964-5, in Northamptonshire 7% of the registers had been deposited while in neighbouring Warwickshire the percentage of registers deposited was no less than 95%. The differences are probably the result of a variety of reasons. Prominent amongst these must rank the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities: in some areas the authorities are actively in favour of deposit, while in others they are apathetic or hostile. In some areas too, county archivists are active in persuading incumbents to deposit their registers, while in other areas they are not.

Individual attitudes also play a part. Many parishes are reluctant to see their registers, which are as much a part of the history of the parish as the monuments in the church, pass from their control. This is an understandable attitude, but where local pride and sentiment requires parish registers to be kept locally it is only right that they should be cared for in a way that is above criticism and ensures their survival.

In the absence of fireproof strongrooms registers are best kept in safes with proper ventilation. Safes which are easy to remove should themselves be kept in locked-up parts of the building. Strongly constructed and securely locked cupboards that are used for storing parish records must be at a safe distance from waterpipes, stoves and electric wires and installations, and should preferably be placed against an inside wall to avoid problems of damp or overflowing gutters. Proper ventilation is essential to prevent the growth of mould, and airtight containers must be avoided. Many registers have been lost because they have been kept in rectories, vicarages or even parishioners' houses. Private custody of this kind is highly dangerous. In Essex, for example, no less than twenty register volumes have disappeared without trace since the beginning of this century.

Where a parish keeps its registers in its own hands it is essential that the greatest care should be taken of them. We urge all of our readers who occupy positions of responsibility (or are able to influence persons occupying such positions) in parishes where the registers are still retained, to write to the Secretary of the Records Preservation Section, British Records Association at the Charterhouse, London E.C.1. for a copy of the B.R.A. Memorandum No. 17 English Parish Records which sets out a summary of the law and provides information on how to care for registers and other parish records.

One sensible recommendation which the B.R.A. Memorandum makes is that when registers are kept in parishes, every opportunity should be taken to microfilm the registers, for this provides the security of a second copy. Microfilming is also often convenient both for the population historian and for the incumbent for it is usually comparatively simple to arrange, and relieves the historian of the problem of access and the incumbent of the problem of providing adequate supervision over an extended period of time. Some dioceses, for example Norwich and Worcester, welcome offers to microfilm registers at the historian's expense, while other dioceses, for example Chichester, have refused to allow registers to be filmed.

If microfilming is not possible, the prolonged access to parish registers that population historians require is a matter that can prove troublesome. Most diocesan record offices offer proper facilities to researchers, and some are prepared to arrange to open outside their normal hours if they can get permission from their supervising authority. Most incumbents are helpful to research workers and go out of their way to assist them. A few of the clergy, however, are not helpful when they get a request for permission to make a general

search of their registers from someone working in the field of population studies. Often they are not prepared to grant access on the grounds that they do not have the time to supervise such a researcher or the inclination to find a responsible parish officer who will. There is in fact a legal obligation on the clergy to provide access at reasonable times for those wishing to search the registers in person. There is no definition of what are reasonable times, though a good argument can be made out for them being the hours of opening of the offices of superintendent registrars. On the other hand the point is perhaps an academic one as no reasonable person would expect an incumbent, in virtue of his status as an assistant registrar to provide the same service as the registrar's office. This is a matter on which individual clergy and researchers must come to agreement on their own. None the less the problem is a real one and the legal obligation to provide access at all reasonable hours is a point which should be considered carefully in deciding whether or not to deposit registers in the Diocesan Record Office.

There is also the question of fees. The genealogist expects to pay a fee for a certified copy of an entry in a parish register. The general search with which historians are concerned, however, is not covered by the statutory provision as to fees. County record offices do not normally charge fees for access to records in their keeping. Indeed the Parochial Registers and Records Measure of 1929 empowers the bishop to waive search fees for historical research. On the other hand it has recently been suggested by the Registrar General in a circular to clergy (GRO No. 5A/1968, issued in December of 1968) (see L.P.S. No. 2, 67) that incumbents may be entitled to charge a fee for providing supervision. We should be completely opposed to such charges, and indeed it is difficult to see how an incumbent can legally demand such a fee as there is no statutory provision for him to do so. Most clergy do not even think in this way, and are content to receive the freely given donation to church expenses which (in our experience) most research workers make. Again, we should be interested to hear from those who have experienced difficulties in this matter.

We hope that it will never be necessary for these matters to be resolved by legal processes. Goodwill and commonsense exist in abundance amongst the English clergy, most of whom are pleased to see their records used for historical purposes. After all, historical research is the only justification for preserving the parish registers which they and their predecessors (or most of them) have cared for so admirably over the centuries. But from reports received it is

apparent that some incumbents are unaware of the value of their registers and of their obligations to make them available for research and to preserve them for posterity.

PROFESSOR J.D. CHAMBERS

It is with great sorrow that we record the death of Professor J.D. Chambers. Characteristically he was from the beginning an enthusiastic supporter of this publication and we owe much to his advice and encouragement. His contribution to our last issue was to have been the first of a series. E.A. Wrigley writes "At his death David Chambers' academic reputation stood at a peak. He was was one of the most eminent pioneers of methods of attacking historical problems which have spread rapidly during the last fifteen years. His study of the economy of the Trent valley during the industrial revolution which appeared as a supplement to the Economic History Review in the 1950's showed most effectively that small scale studies of economic and social change are an essential complement to the more customary study of national aggregates. It also underlined the importance of population studies in this content, both because there is a comparative abundance of relevant source material, and because population change is so sensitive an index of economic and social change. In both respects Chambers' work in England paralleled (and slightly preceded) that of Goubert in France.

In the last few weeks before his death he was actively engaged in re-examining the evidence of parish registers for the view that in some of the most important northern industrial areas the 1690's marked a turning point dividing the depressions of the later seventeenth century from the renewed vigour of the very early eighteenth.

Chambers possessed a wide range of talents, at home both in theory and with the tangled intricacies of source materials, able to deal equally felicitously with agriculture and industry, with society as well as economy, with the family as well as the firm, and above all, able to use local materials with brilliant effectiveness without ever giving the impression that he had lost sight of the wood in his appreciation of the individual tree.

Most men grow set in their ways as the years pass by. Very few remain learners to the end, but amongst these are to be found some of the best historians. David Chambers never failed to help the

young and the inexperienced but, more than that, he was always ready to learn from them, in itself a most effective form of encouragement. The passing years increased his scope and excellence. He will be missed by a very wide range of historians from the most eminent to the part-time enthusiast, and missed more keenly than in his modesty he would have thought possible."

THE REPRINTING OF L.P.S. 1

For some time L.P.S. 1 has been out of print and from the offers made by certain subscribers wishing to purchase it, even in danger of becoming a collectors item. Encouraged by this continued demand, the decision has been taken to reprint L.P.S. 1 as soon as possible. The price per copy will depend to some extent on the size of the print order and cannot therefore be predicted accurately, but it is likely to be between 5/- and 7/6d. Orders should be placed with the Subscription Secretary.

David Avery
Colin Barham
Christopher Charlton
Roger Schofield

NEWS FROM THE CAMBRIDGE GROUP

FOR THE HISTORY OF POPULATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

As the last issue of L.P.S. was going to press we applied to the Social Science Research Council for an extension of our present grant which expires at the end of September 1970. We are now happy to be able to report that the SSRC have agreed to underwrite our research for a further 5 years.

High on our list of priorities will be the completion of the aggregative analysis of the monthly counts of baptisms, marriages and burials which local population historians have sent us for what is almost now a total of 500 parishes. We hope to say a little on how we are tackling the problem in the next issue of L.P.S., where we shall also give some examples of the kind of light that aggregative analysis can throw on population in the past. When so many registers are under consideration we occasionally come across one which records events with an unusual degree of detail and thoroughness. One such register is that of Hawkshead, the northernmost parish of Lancashire, situated between lakes Windermere and Coniston. In this issue we use the Hawkshead registers to describe two special kinds of study which can be made when registers contain an unusual wealth of detail. The first is perinatal mortality, in particular the study of stillbirths, and the second is accidental deaths and suicides.

Peter Laslett

R.S. Schofield

E.A. Wrigley

(1) The first of these topics appears again later in this issue: an example of a midwife's licence which bears on the problem of stillbirth registration is printed in the Miscellany section. The second, accidental deaths and suicides, is considered at length by Dr. Hair in an article which will appear in L.P.S. 5.

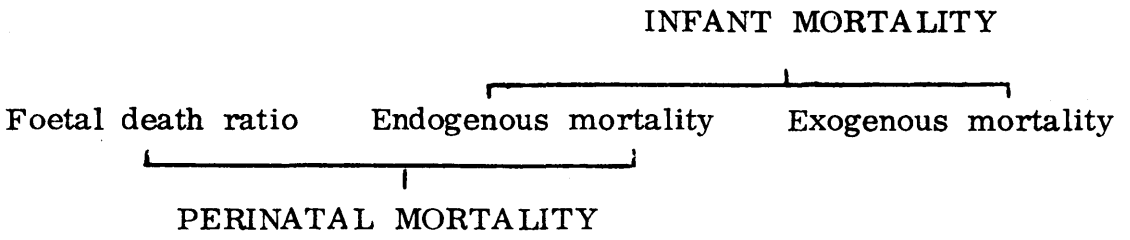
PERINATAL MORTALITY IN HAWKSHEAD, LANCASHIRE, 1581-1710

The study of the mortality of very young children is bedevilled by a number of technical terms. "Infant mortality" is probably the best known of these; it refers to the mortality of live-born children in the first year of life. Infant mortality is sometimes divided into endogenous mortality and exogenous mortality. Endogenous mortality comprises those deaths which occur shortly after childbirth as the result of hereditary defects or injuries sustained during delivery, while exogenous mortality comprises deaths from infection and accident, and which therefore occur from the moment of birth right through the infant's first year of life. It is often valuable to be able to distinguish between endogenous and exogenous mortality, because this provides a clue as to the relative importance of factors such as infection, nutrition, the level of obstetrical skill, or genetics, in determining the level of infant mortality. A simple technique has been devised for separating out the endogenous and exogenous elements of infant mortality, but unfortunately this requires knowledge of the exact age in days for infant deaths, which in turn requires either family reconstitution of the parish register, or a burial register which gives ages at death to a fine degree of accuracy. (1)

When information is lacking to calculate endogenous or exogenous mortality, a neonatal mortality rate is sometimes calculated, using deaths during the first 28 days after birth. The neonatal mortality rate will therefore be higher than the endogenous mortality rate, because of course a number of children will have died in this period from disease and other exogenous causes.

Sometimes, however, interest centres on the mortality associated with childbirth, or perinatal mortality. This includes both the endogenous infant mortality of live-born children already mentioned, and also foetal mortality, which is recorded in the registers in terms of the burial of still-born or dead-born children. Foetal mortality is difficult to measure accurately today, for example there are problems in knowing whether very young foetal deaths (miscarriages) have been registered or not, and for past populations few parish registers record burials of still-born or dead-born children consistently. This is perhaps not surprising given the distinctly unsentimental attitude to still-born children shown by the midwife's licence printed in the Miscellany section.

The following diagram summarises the relationship between the different measures of mortality which have been discussed.



The burial registers of the parish of Hawkshead are unusual in that they record the deaths of newly and abortively born babies consistently over a period of 130 years (1581-1710). From 1581 to about 1620 the registers are kept almost entirely in Latin and the death of the newly born is recorded with stark simplicity as 'Puer' (filius) or 'Puella' (filia) of ... the father's name. The child is given no name and the presumption is that it died soon after birth and before it could be baptised. Similarly the death of the abortive baby is recorded as 'Puer abortivus' or 'Puella abortiva' of ... the father's name; it is often abbreviated to 'abortivus' of ... father's name.

From 1620 onwards English phrases begin to creep in ('a child of'), although 'filius', 'filia' is still the usual form of entry. In the 1650s deliberate use of the vernacular seems to have been made; and, after a brief reversion to the Latin immediately after the Restoration, English was used increasingly and expansively with only an occasional lapse into Latin towards the end of the period. The registers now confirm our assumption that the un-named child was newly born: 'An unchrisnd child of ... which was base-begotten and dyed at Oxenfell' (1670); 'A liveinge child of Myles Stricland (1670): 'A child unchrisned of W. Sawreys' (1671); '2 sons of John Atkinsons who died unch(risned)' (1685); '2 children of James Braithwaite who dyed as soon as they was borne' (1688); 'A base childe of Margarett Peppers who dyed unchrisned' (1689); 'Robert Scale had a son buryed who was not baptised' (1696). The abortive children are occasionally referred to as 'ye dead borne child' (1679) or 'ye still borne child' (1710), but more usually as 'an abortive son, daughter or child of'... father's name.

The following table shows for each decade the number of baptisms and burials in Hawkshead, distinguishing separately the burials of un-named and abortive children.

DEATHS OF UNNAMED AND STILLBORN CHILDREN IN HAWKSHEAD, Lancs. 1581-1710

Dates	Baptisms (1)	Total Burials (2)	Burials of unnamed (3)	Burials of abortives (4)	Total 'live births' (1) + (3) (5)	Foetal death rate (4)/(5) X1000 (6)	'Live births' less burials (5) - (2) (7)
1581-90	334	394	39(7)	6(38)	373(341)	16(111)	- 21
1591-1600	404	481	44(8)	7(43)	448(412)	16(104)	- 33
1601-10	316	312	6	10	322	31	10
1611-20	444	383	8	18	452	40	69
1621-30	428	379	5	18	433	41	54
1631-40	481	412	2	30	483	62	71
1641-50	412	345	0	12	412	29	67
1651-60	315	386	1	14	316	44	- 70
1661-70	320	444	5	25	325	77	-119
1671-80	229	364	6	15	235	64	-129
1681-90	263	360	5	18	268	67	- 92
1691-1700	273	370	9	27	282	96	- 88
1701-1710	256	265	1	18	257	70	- 8
1581-1710	4,475	4,895	131	218	4,606	47	-289

1581-1710 Out of a total of 349 unnamed and abortives 12 were bastards and 14 twins (7 pairs)
3 mothers were recorded as having died in child birth

The burials of un-named children are somewhat problematical. Since baptism probably occurred shortly after birth at this period one might be tempted to use the deaths of un-named infants as a rough guide to neonatal, or even endogenous mortality, but this is a temptation which should be resisted, because we have no direct evidence as to how long the interval between baptism and burial was in Hawkshead during the 17th century. (2)

The number of burials of un-named children is rather large during the last two decades of the 16th century, and it may well be that they include some undisclosed abortive children. This may also be true for the remaining decades in the table, but here the uncertainty is less damaging, because the number of un-named children is considerably smaller. Apart from the first two decades, therefore, it will be assumed that the burials of un-named children refer to live-born children.

Still-births or foetal deaths, are conventionally expressed as a ratio: the foetal death ratio being the number of foetal deaths, or stillbirths or abortive births, per 1,000 live births. In Hawkshead, or any other parish where stillbirths are meticulously recorded, this ratio can easily be calculated as follows. First, assuming that the un-named children being buried were live-born rather than still-born, the number of 'live births' in each decade is estimated by adding the numbers of burials of un-named children (column 3) to the number of baptisms (column 1). The foetal death ratio is then estimated for each decade as the number of recorded abortive births (column 4) per 1,000 estimated 'live births' (column 5). The foetal death ratios are given in column 6 of the table. They vary from 16 per 1,000 'live births' in the late 16th century to 96 per 1,000 'live births' in the 1690s. The number of 'live births' in each decade and the relative rarity of foetal deaths taken together mean that some of the differences between the decadal ratios may be accounted for entirely by chance, but there would appear nonetheless to be three distinct periods each with a rather different level of foetal mortality. The first period comprises the last two decades of the 16th century when the foetal death ratio (16) is almost as low as it is in England and Wales today.(3) This figure however has been based only on the declared abortive children, and as has already been mentioned there may be more of these hidden amongst the burials of the un-named children. If we look at the next two decades, 1601-10 and 1611-20, we find that the number of burials of un-named children as a proportion of baptisms is just under 2%. If we now somewhat

arbitrarily assume that the same proportion also obtained during the last two decades of the 16th century, we would expect only 7 and 8 un-named burials respectively leaving 38 and 43, "surplus" un-named burials as presumptive undisclosed abortive births. Inflating the number of abortive births and recalculating the estimated total 'live-births', as given by the figures in brackets in the table, we find very much higher foetal death ratios for these decades of 111 and 104 respectively. The first period therefore exchanges very low foetal death ratios for very high ones. Ratios of this magnitude are higher than are recorded for any part of the world today, which may cast doubt on the usefulness of our arbitrary reallocation of the burials of un-named children.(4) On the other hand, the general level of record keeping in Hawkshead in the later 16th century was probably superior to that obtaining today in parts of the world where high foetal death rates occur, so we should perhaps not altogether doubt the genuineness of historical rates so high as these. The second period runs from 1601-1660, and here the foetal death ratios are much lower, ranging between 29 and 44, with the ratio for the decade 1631-40 being rather higher at 62. Yet the level of the ratios in this period is considerably higher than that found in Europe today (10-20), and is nearer the level obtaining in some parts of Africa and the Caribbean. The third period runs from 1661 to 1710, with foetal death ratios considerably higher, ranging between 64 and 77. The 1690s were an outstandingly bad decade, more or less up to the arbitrarily corrected level of the last two decades of the 16th century. Again these late seventeenth ratios are above those usually recorded for the developing world today. The question of the causes of these high ratios in Hawkshead in the seventeenth century, and the problem of how far the recorded still births may include the victims of induced abortion or even infanticide cannot at present be answered. The later seventeenth century seems generally to have been a period of high mortality, and Hawkshead was probably no exception as the consistent surplus of burials over "live births" from 1651 testifies. If Hawkshead is any guide, foetal mortality may be associated with general mortality, for with two exceptions the decades with burial surpluses were also those with high foetal death ratios.

The problems of disentangling the elements of perinatal and infant mortality in Hawkshead are challenging, and we hope to reconstitute the parish registers for the period so that we can analyse it in somewhat more meaningful detail. Nonetheless foetal death ratios themselves are of intrinsic interest, and are not difficult to calculate providing a parish register can be found which apparently records the death of still-born or abortive children carefully. The registers

of Hawkshead are the best that we have found to date in this respect, but we should be interested to hear of any other registers which appear to be suitable for this kind of study, or of any other comparable rates which have already been calculated for other parishes.

R.S. Schofield

NOTES

1. See R. Pressat, L'Analyse Demographique (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1969), pp. 134-9.

2. An article on the very variable intervals between birth and baptism in a number of parishes in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries will shortly be published by B.M. Berry and R.S. Schofield.

3. In 1967 the foetal death ratio in England and Wales was 15.1 per 1,000 live births. United Nations Demographic Yearbook (1968), Table 15.

4. An alternative assumption might be that the proportion of baptisms comprised by un-named children in the later sixteenth century was 3.3%, as obtained in the decade 1691-1700 when the foetal death ratio was also very high. This assumption would yield somewhat lower ratios of 102 and 67 for the decades of 1581-90 and 1591-1600.

DEATHS BY SUICIDE, DROWNING AND MISADVENTURE IN HAWKSHEAD, 1620-1700

During the eighty years 1620-1700 the registers of the parish of Hawkshead were kept with much care and in great detail. 31 deaths by suicide, drowning and misadventure were recorded, about 1% of the total of 3,060 burials recorded in the register for that period.

Five of these deaths were undoubted suicides - by hanging - four men and one woman. Three had the grace to hang themselves in their own houses, one in his employer's stable and one "in a hollinge" (holly tree - it must have been a very stout one). These events took place in 1633, 1645, 1667, 1674 and 1699; three at the end of the winter (February and April), one in July and one in October. In none of these cases does the register state where the corpse was buried.

H.S. Cowper, the late Victorian transcriber of the registers, thinks it "very probable" that some of the large number of deaths by drowning (16) "were also suicides". But before we decide to agree with this conclusion it will be as well to look at the map. The very large parish with its three sub-divisions of Hawkshead, Satterthwaite and Colton is bordered on the East and South by Lake Windermere and the river Leven, on the West by the Crake, Coniston Lake and the Yewdale Beck, and on the North by the Brathay flowing through Elter Water into Lake Windermere. Apart from the largish lake of Esthwaite and Eeswater, a number of tarns and pools are dotted about the parish into which and through which rush countless becks and gills on their precipitate way down the mountain side to join the big rivers Brathay, Crake and Leven. Plenty of water, therefore, in which to drown, especially when the rivers are in spate after winter snow or summer rain.

When we come to look a little more closely at these 16 cases of drowning, we find that three were children: a girl drowned in the beck linking Near and Far Sawrey, "a poor childe, drowned in Consey Forge", and a boy drowned "by a boat in Windermere Water". There are three further drownings in Windermere: one "hard beneath Ambleside and found at Windermere Waterhead", one found at Consey Nabb, drowned in Windermere Water", and one 'James Braithwaite who did goe to the water foote for a boate load of limestones and was drowned in Windermere".

Windermere is, of course, notorious for its sudden storms, but curiously enough there is no mention in the Hawkshead register of a spectacular storm in October 1635 when "the Great Boat (the public ferry boat) sunk about sunsetting, when was drowned fforty seaven persons and eleaven hourses", all returning (by tradition) from a wedding party at Hawkshead Church.

In 1664 there is a lurid description of a stranger found in Thurston Water, "who had layde soe long in the sayd water untill the hair was comd of his head and his face was sore eaten and disvigered with fishes". He was "buried in his Close (or what remained of them) in the Church=yard att the north syde of the Steeple".

The remaining drownings (only one was a woman) were in the local becks, gills, pools or stongs. There is nothing in the more or less detailed descriptions to suggest that any of them were suicides. It should be noted that out of 16 drownings, 11 took place in the first four months of the year when the rivers and becks were most likely to be in flood, obliterating fords and stepping stones. Indeed, there are clear indications in the register entries that this was so. Of these 11, "Charles Satterthwaite of Coulthouse drowned in the Pool (the beck running into Esthwaite) as he was going home from Hawkshead and was buried in the Church" on the 25th of January 1666. "William Braithwaite of Skellwith departed from his own house in Skellwith the 5th of Aprill (1654) and was found drowned in the water att Arthur Benson field foote neare the Dubb-ings: and was brought to be buried at Hauxheade on Friday the 28th of the present Aprill 1654". It would seem unlikely that either of these two drownings were considered to be suicides at the time.

If we now look at the ten deaths by accident or misadventure we find that the causes were explicitly stated, with one exception, that of "Uxor Robert Braithwaite, slayne in her own house - buried in the Church". There remain five cases where the cause of death is not given, two of which, that of a "wench found at the Braikenthwaite" in 1624 and that of "Charles Wilson of Arneside found dead at Elterwater Park" in 1669, are thought by H.S. Cowper to be deaths from plague, though it is not clear why he should think so: neither 1624 nor 1669 were years of high mortality in Hawkshead, nor were they years of high plague mortality generally. The third case was that of "a poor young child who died by the wayside in his mother's arms"; the fourth, that of "Agnes Rownson, uxor William found dead at Esthwaite and buried in ye Church"; which leaves the "wife of John Robinson found dead betwixt Graythwaite and Dalepke" as the only possible suicide.

It would seem, therefore, that for the period 1621-1700 at most three or four possible suicides should be added to the five definite ones. But the registers give no hint or indication that any of those drowned had deliberately sought a watery grave. We would do well, therefore, to confine our tally of suicides to those five who had undoubtedly taken their own lives by hanging.

If we now try to relate the number of suicides and deaths by misadventure to the size of the population at risk, we shall be able to get some rough idea of how the suicide and misadventure rates in Hawkshead in the seventeenth century compare with those found by Dr. Hair for Nottinghamshire in the early sixteenth century and reported later in this issue. The comparison can only be a very rough one; the numbers involved are small and we can only guess at the population of Hawkshead at this period.

The Muster of 1608 lists 353 persons. If we assume that these represent the men of the parish between the ages of 16 and 60, we should expect them to comprise about 25% of the population so that the number of inhabitants will have been about 1400. This figure is reasonably consistent with the number of baptisms and marriages being recorded in the register at the beginning of the century, giving a baptism rate of 30 per 1000 and a marriage rate of 8 per 1000. These rates are perhaps a little low. If, alternatively, we assume that relatively high baptism and marriage rates prevailed, say, 40 per 1000 and 11 per 1000 respectively, we should infer a much smaller population of about 1000. We shall, therefore, present two rates for suicide and misadventure: a high rate on a population estimated at about 1000 and a low rate based on a population estimated at about 1400. In both cases the rates have been rounded to the nearest ten. The following table places Hawkshead in the context of the information supplied by Mr. Hair.

Rates per million alive per annum

	Hawkshead 1620-1700	Nottinghamshire 1530-58	England & Wales 1860s	England & Wales 1960s
Suicide	40-60	40	65	120
Misadventure	230-320	152	540	230
Suicide & Misadventure	270-380	192	600	350

Suicide in Hawkshead in the seventeenth century appears to have occurred at a rate somewhere between that found for Nottinghamshire a century earlier and the rate for England and Wales in the 1860s. Suicide was apparently considerably less frequent than it is today. Deaths from misadventure in Hawkshead, on the other hand, occurred at about the same frequency as they do today, but more frequently than in the early sixteenth century and considerably less frequently than in the 1860s. But perhaps not too much weight should be put on these comparisons for, although Hawkshead registers record deaths of unusual character in extraordinary detail, the numbers involved are very small. And how meaningful is a comparison between the inhabitants of a rural parish, a county, and the whole country,

ENVOI

Not included in this group of 26 deaths by misadventure is "Thomas Lancaster who (in 1672) for poysonninge (the eight members) of his owne family was Adjudg't att the Assizes att Lancaster to bee carried backe to his own house att Hye-wrey where hee liv'd; and was there hang'd before his owne doore till hee was dead, for that very facte then was brought with a horse and a carr into the Coulthouse meadows and forthwith hunge upp in iron Chaynes on a Gibbet which was sett for that very purpose on the south-side of Sawrey Case near unto the Pooll-stand: and there continued untill such times as hee rotted everye bone from other ..." There would appear to be no record in the registers of the deaths of his eight unfortunate victims.

Neither, to conclude on a splendidly anecdotal note, is there included the case of Bernard Swainson. On December 16, 1689 "Bernard Swainson who was Edward Braithwaite Apprentice went with William Stamper a great while within nighte into William Braithwaite Shopp in Haukeshead for to beare him Company a little, and att there meeteinge these three younge youths were all very sober and in good health: and About twelve of the Clocke o'the nighte; they made a Bett: that if this Bernard Swainson could drinke of nyne noggins of brandy: then William Braithwaite and William Stamper was to pay for them; but if Bernard fayld and Coulde not drinke of nyne noggins of brandy then hee was to of his owne Charges for that hee drunke: now this Bernard drunke of those nyne noggins of brandy quickly: and shortly after that fell downe upon the floore: and was straightway carried to his bed where hee layde two and Twenty houres: dureinge which tyme hee could never speake: noe nor never did knowe anybody though many Came to see him and soe hee dyed".

Karla Oosterveen

AN ENQUIRY INTO SEASONALITY IN BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES AND BURIALS

Part One: Introduction Methodology and Marriages

L. Bradley

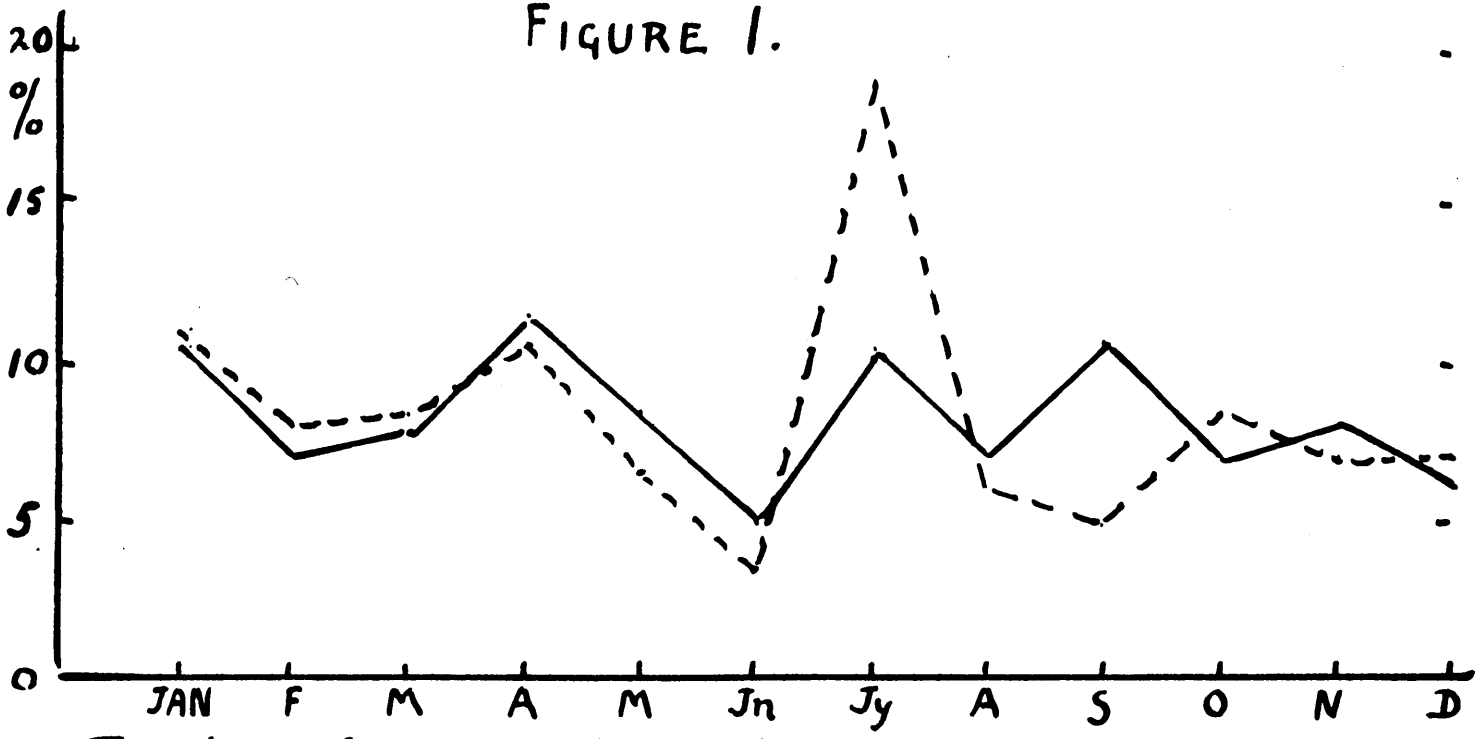
Leslie Bradley is a member of the 'Matlock Population Study Group', an extra mural class that has now been at work for a number of years. A mathematician by training, he now spends most of his spare time in historical demographic enquiries and in particular the methodology of such enquiries. He is the author of the Glossary described elsewhere in this issue.

When parish registers are used for local population studies, attention is usually concentrated upon annual totals of baptisms, marriages and burials, and on the calculations which can be made from them and which have obvious implications for population change. It is not always realised that there is a great deal to be learned from a study of seasonality, that is of the fluctuations from month to month within the year. We might ask, for example, how the monthly distribution of marriages was affected by the seasonal nature of employment; how far the 'prohibited periods' for marriage, which the canons of the church still imposed in the 16th century, were actually effective and when they fell into disuse; whether the long hours of winter darkness affected the distribution of conceptions, and so of baptisms; whether a comparison of the distribution of marriages and of baptisms suggests that a high proportion of brides were pregnant; whether the seasonal distribution of burials throws any light on the main causes of death. These and many other such questions can be attacked, though not necessarily answered, by an investigation into seasonality.

As a first hypothesis we might suppose that seasonal factors affecting baptism, marriage and burial fell into three groups.

(a) The fundamental factors, persistent over considerable periods and common to the whole nation, or at any rate to large regions. These would include church law, such as prohibited periods for marriage; widespread and lasting occupational factors such as the long hours of work in harvest in rural areas; possibly

FIGURE 1.



The dotted line shows the monthly distribution of baptisms for ASHOVER, 1781-90. The full line shows the distribution of the total baptisms for five parishes, including Ashover, for the same decade. Note how this has eliminated the significant July peak in Ashover.

PARISH: WIRKSWORTH

County: DERBYSHIRE

YEARS: 1621-40

BAPTISMS

P.E.F. I

Conceptions

YEAR	MONTH OF CONCEPTION: Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Baptisms by Civil Year (totals)	Conceptions by Harvest Year: Jan.-Apr.	May-Dec.	(totals)	Bastards	Comments
	MONTH OF BAPTISM: Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.						
1621	13	11	9	7	6	6	5	8	2	4	4	3	78					
2	4	6	8	6	5	7	4	2	12	3	6	9	72					
3	3	5	7	9	5	9	4	6	6	5	3	5	64					
4	11	11	15	2	4	5	6	6	12	7	7	5	91					
5	9	4	11	8	7	8	7	8	4	4	5	6	81					
6	9	6	11	14	11	4	5	5	7	5	10	5	92					
7	7	4	10	2	7	6	6	7	9	8	5	9	80					
8	2	5	10	12	9	6	3	8	6	4	9	8	90					
9	6	6	8	13	1	9	6	6	4	7	4	8	78					
1630	11	8	9	9	9	6	3	8	10	10	4	11	98					
1	8	6	6	4	11	4	2	5	7	5	9	2	69					
2	7	5	7	6	13	2	4	3	9	5	9	8	78					
3	13	7	9	11	9	5	6	6	9	8	8	3	94					
4	8	11	11	6	6	8	6	11	5	8	7	12	99					
5	9	12	9	10	10	4	2	6	9	4	13	3	91					
6	11	9	11	11	5	6	7	6	7	6	3	12	94					
7	12	8	12	8	8	5	5	4	1	7	4	5	79					
8	8	10	7	9	4	8	5	7	6	6	8	12	90					
9	15	7	8	9	1	5	5	13	12	5	6	10	96					
1640	8	5	16	8	8	5	6	6	12	7	7	8	96					
TOTAL	174	146	202	161	139	118	97	131	149	118	131	144	1710					

biological factors which may conceivably affect human mating and reproduction as they do those of animals.

(b) More localised, but still fairly persistent factors such as might be expected to cause significant local modifications of the fundamental pattern. In hill sheep-farming areas, for example, lambing might have a local effect similar to the more usual harvest effect in arable areas. Local customs, too, as will be seen later, can affect seasonality.

(c) Almost accidental factors. A 'slump' in marriages in May and June in the 1770s in Much Binding may mean no more than that the incumbent of the time habitually spent those months away from his parish. (1) The local historian will be interested in identifying and explaining these anomalies, but they will usually have little or no demographic significance.

The professional demographers have, until recently, concerned themselves almost entirely with the first group, which they have investigated by lumping together the statistics from a large number of parishes, often averaged over quite lengthy periods. This procedure is necessary if local and short-term factors are to be eliminated (Figure 1), but it has serious dangers if the investigation stops at this point. It may be obscuring some of the very factors which actually determine the pattern of demographic events and which are important if we wish to understand the detailed mechanism of population change. Recent work has shown considerable regional differences in demographic pattern which it is important to understand, and there are similar differences even within the regions. Even in a large-scale enquiry, then, there is a place for local studies. Those of us whose main interest is in local history or local demography must, of course be concerned with the fundamental factors, but we are especially concerned with the local modifications and with unravelling the interactions between local seasonality and local historical, social and economic circumstances.

What follows, then, is an attempt to see how far a quite simple method can be used to investigate and compare seasonality <u>in individual</u> parishes and to uncover the difficulties which such an enquiry will meet. It is in no sense a complete investigation, even for a single parish, and it will raise, rather than answer, questions - questions which, perhaps, other readers of L.P.S. will help to answer.

METHOD

I had available, on the Cambridge Group aggregation forms (Table 1), the monthly figures of baptisms, marriages and burials taken from the registers of six Derbyshire and six Nottinghamshire parishes (2). The parishes are varied in character, including a small market town, rural parishes of different sizes and parishes which, by the end of the 18th century, were becoming industrialised. The period covered is 1570 to 1840, though not all parishes provided figures for the entire period.

It was first necessary to decide on a time unit. The significant patterns for which we are looking are subject, in any year, to quite accidental variations which tend to obscure the pattern. We can reduce the effect of these accidental variations if we work in units of several years. But the time-unit must not be too long. Just as averaging the figures for several parishes may, as shown above, eliminate significant local differences, so averaging for too long a period may eliminate significant differences within the period. In the parish of GEDLING, for example, a significant feature of the marriage pattern is that December is an unpopular month for marriage until 1740, after which it becomes a popular month. If we average the results over two hundred years, 1630-1830 as is shown in figure 2, this feature is lost.

After some experiment, the decade appeared to be a suitable unit.

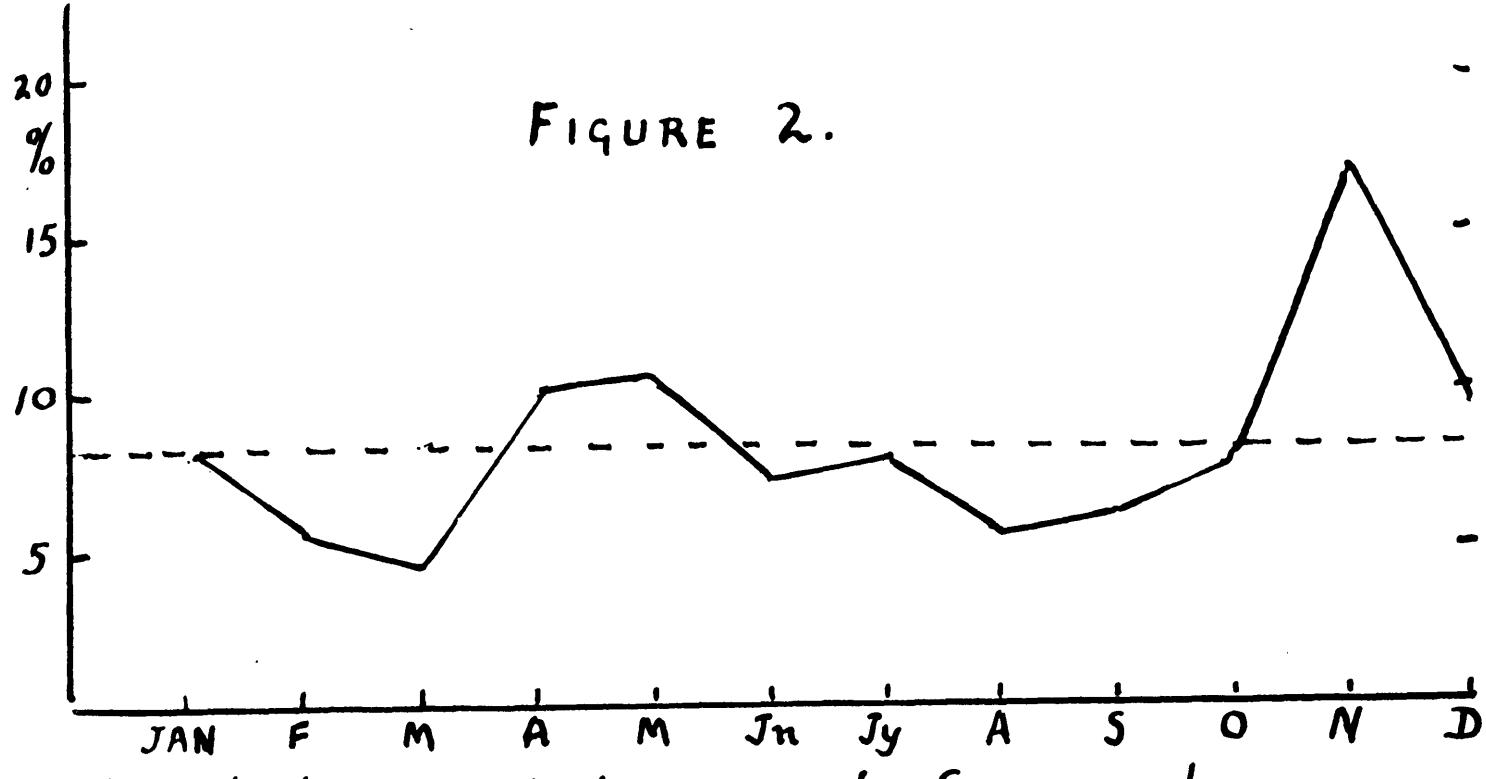
The following procedure was carried out for each separate parish:

(1) From the aggregation forms, decadal totals of baptisms were calculated for each month of the year, and each month's total was reduced to a percentage of the total number of baptisms for the decade (Table 2). In subsequent pages I have called each square of the decadal table a 'cell' - e.g. the March cell for 1631-40.

(2) Most people find it easier to appreciate statistical relationships from a graph than from a lengthy table of figures. Accordingly, the monthly percentages were displayed in two series of graphs:

> Series A. A separate graph was drawn for each decade, showing how the baptisms for that decade were distributed over the calendar months (Figure 3). The number at the right of each graph is the total number of baptisms for that decade.

FIGURE 2.



Distribution of total of marriages for GEDLING: 1631-1830.

TABLE 2

Wirksworth - Baptisms

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apl	May	June	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
1621-30													
Number	75	66	106	79	64	66	49	64	72	57	57	69	824
%	9.1	8.0	12.9	9.6	7.8	8.0	6.0	7.8	8.7	6.9	6.9	8.4	
1631-40													
Number	99	80	96	82	75	52	48	67	77	61	74	75	886
%	11.2	9.1	10.8	9.3	8.5	5.9	5.5	7.6	8.7	6.9	8.4	8.5	
1641-50													
Number	69	64	84	76	54	72	53	53	56	64	56	57	758
%	9.1	8.5	11.1	10.1	7.2	9.6	7.0	7.0	7.4	8.5	7.4	7.6	

etc.

FIGURE 3.

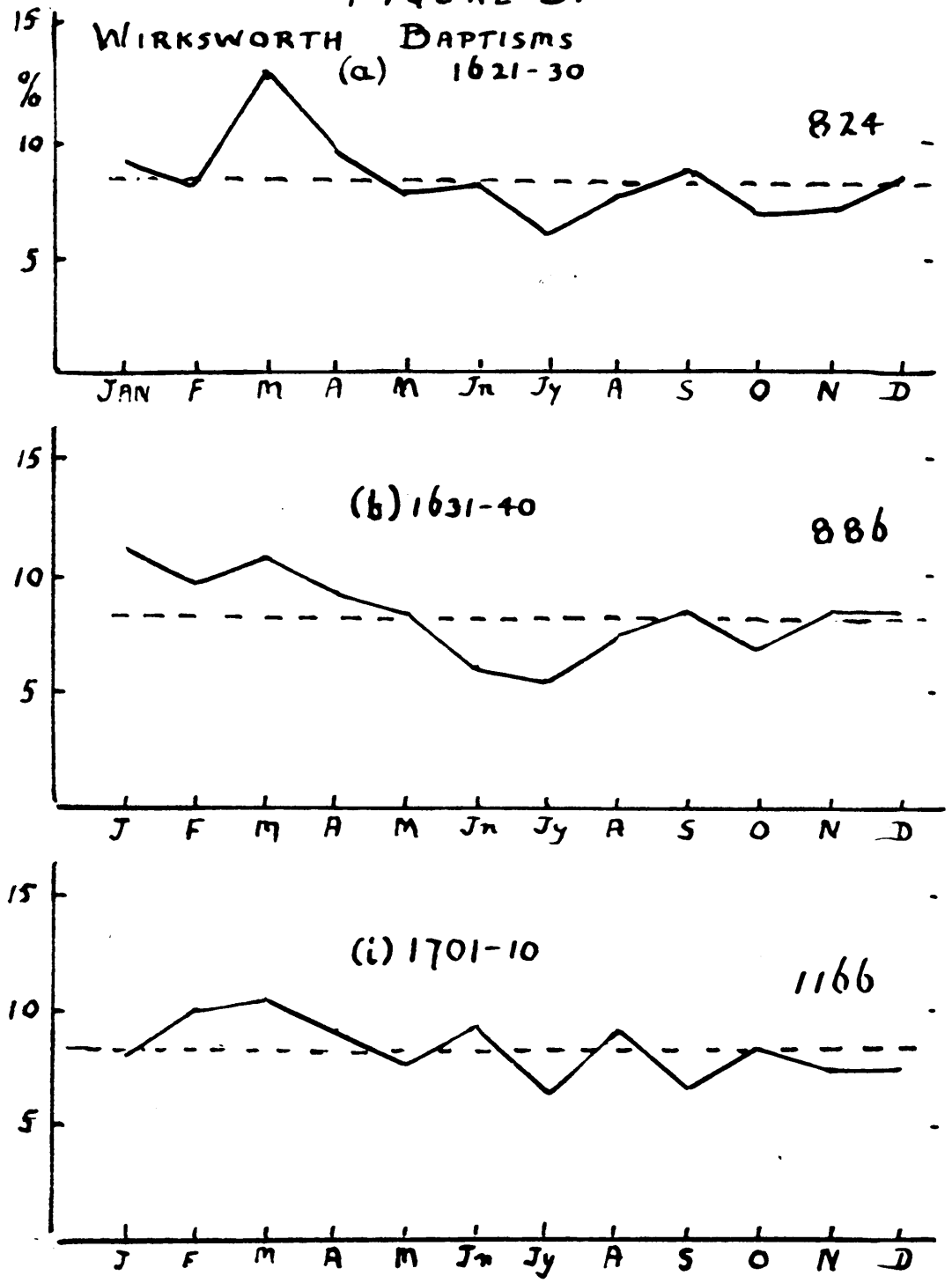
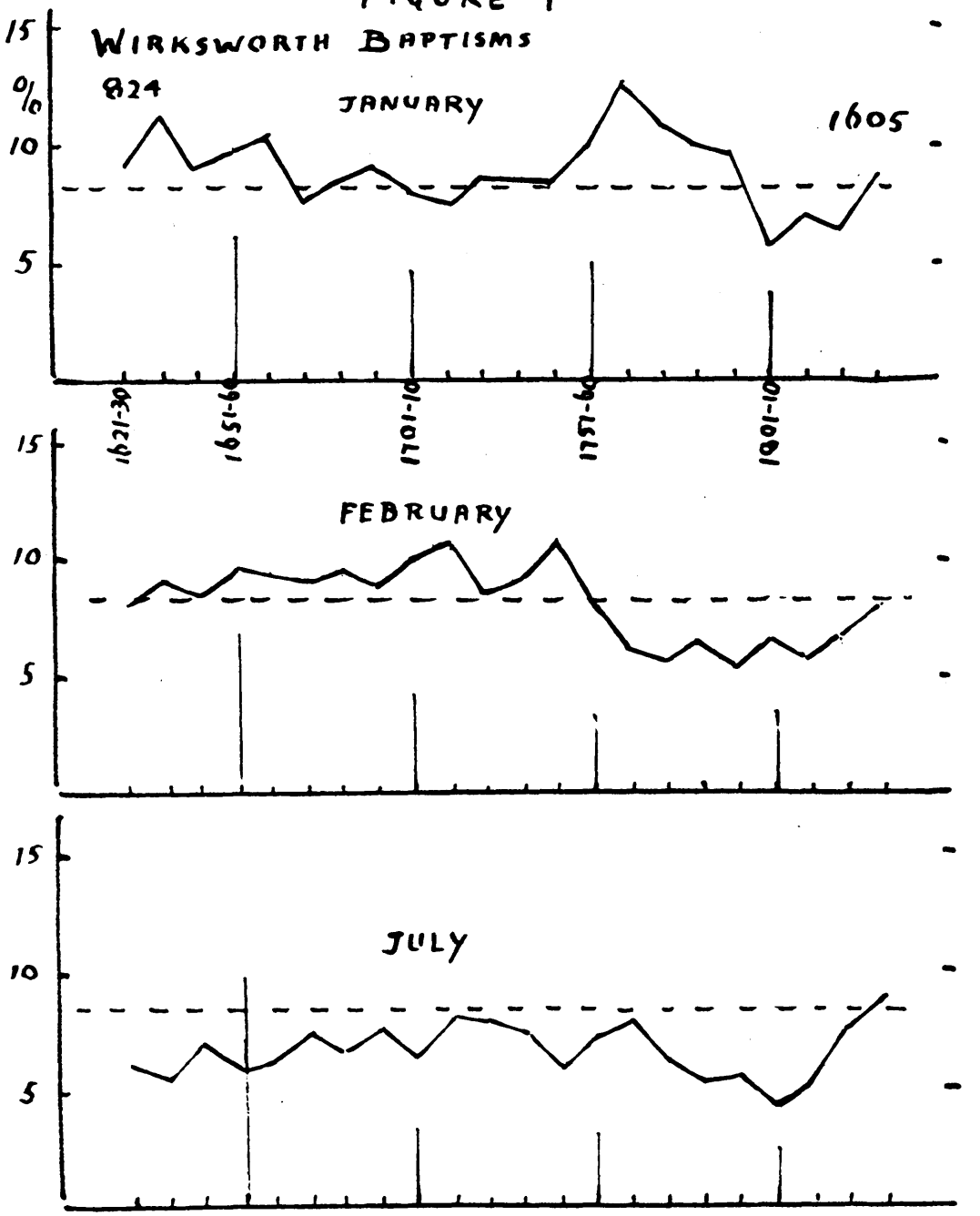

WIRKSWORTH BAPTISMS
(a) 1621-30
824
15
%
10
5
JAN F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D
(b) 1631-40
886
15
10
5
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D
(i) 1701-10
1166
15
10
5
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D

FIGURE 4


WIRKSWORTH BAPTISMS
824
JANUARY
1605
%
15
10
5
1621-30
1651-60
1701-10
1751-60
1901-10
FEBRUARY
JULY

Series B. A separate graph was drawn for each calendar month, showing how the percentage of baptisms attributable to that calendar month varied with the passage of the decades (Figure 4). The numbers at the left and right are the total number of baptisms in the initial and final decades.

The dotted line on each graph represents the average monthly percentage of baptisms, i.e. 100/12, or 8.1/3 %.

Although these two series of graphs convey essentially the same information, it was found useful to have both available.

(3) The process was repeated for marriages and for burials.

An expected difficulty soon emerged. The distribution of vital events over the month is, in any decade, the total result of both the seasonal factors discussed in the introduction and of pure chance. There will, for example, in any decade be marriages whose timing is dictated by the seasonal factors, but there are likely to be some few whose timing is a matter of purely personal and unpredictable choice. The fewer the total number of marriages in the decade, the greater is likely to be the effect of the purely personal element and the more difficult it will be to disentangle the seasonal elements. In the parish of BRADBOURNE, the 22 marriages in the decade 1711-20 were distributed as follows:

Month	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jy	A	S	O	N	D
Number	2	3	0	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	3	3
%	9.1	13.6	0	4.5	13.6	9.1	9.1	4.5	4.5	4.5	13.6	13.6

Had one marriage taken place in March instead of February, one in April instead of May and one in October instead of November, the distribution would have been:

Month	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jy	A	S	O	N	D
Number	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	3
%	9.1	9.1	4.5	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	4.5	4.5	9.1	9.1	13.6

Which, as Figure 5 shows, is a substantially different pattern. But if the same shift of marriages had happened in WIRKSWORTH (1721-30), where the actual distribution of 114 marriages was:

FIGURE 5.

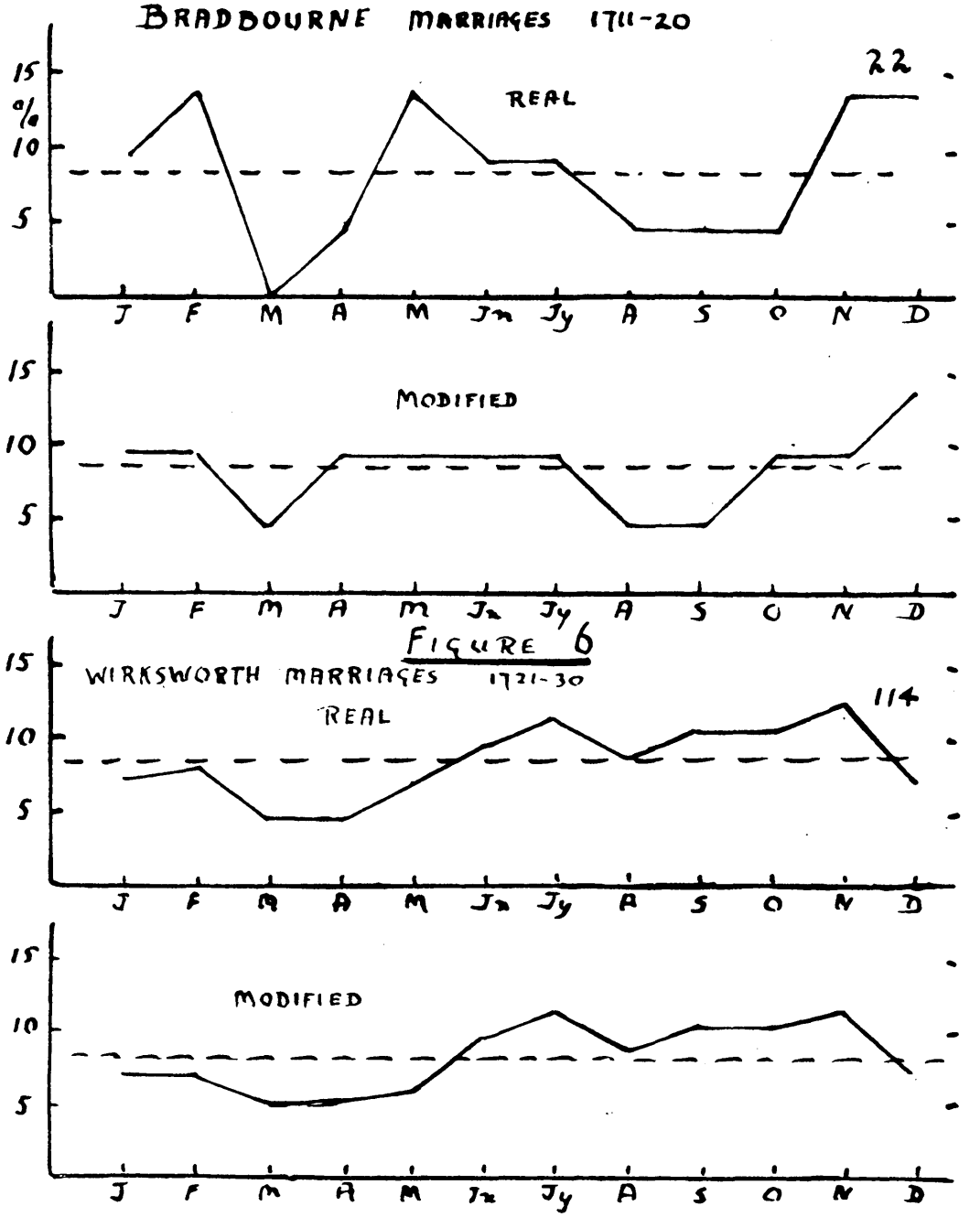


FIGURE 6

Month	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jy	A	S	O	N	D
Number	8	9	5	5	8	11	13	10	12	11	14	8
%	7.0	7.9	4.4	4.4	7.0	9.7	11.4	8.8	10.5	9.7	12.3	7.0

we would have arrived at:

Month	J	F	M	A	M	Jn	Jy	A	S	O	N	D
Number	8	8	6	6	7	11	13	10	12	12	13	8
%	7.0	7.0	5.3	5.3	6.1	9.7	11.4	8.8	10.5	10.5	11.4	7.0

which makes little difference to the pattern (Figure 6).

Where the number of events is small, then, the element of chance may distort the whole picture. Figure 7 shows the marriage graphs for BRASSINGTON (1721-30). It is difficult to see any consistent pattern. This may either be because seasonal factors did not operate in this village, or it may be due to the effect of chance on the small decadal totals. Since the baptism graphs for the same village in the same period do not show this erratic behaviour, and the decadal totals of baptisms are much larger (of the order of 170), the likelihood is that the cause is the small number of marriages per decade.

This lack of consistent pattern from decade to decade is, then, common where the decadal totals are small, though there are parishes where the seasonal pattern is so dominant that even small numbers give consistent patterns. It follows that great care must be taken in interpreting the seasonal graphs whenever the decadal totals are small. This is especially likely to affect the marriage graphs, since marriage totals tend to be of the order of a quarter of the baptisms or burial totals. This is, of course, the reason for indicating the decadal totals on the graphs.

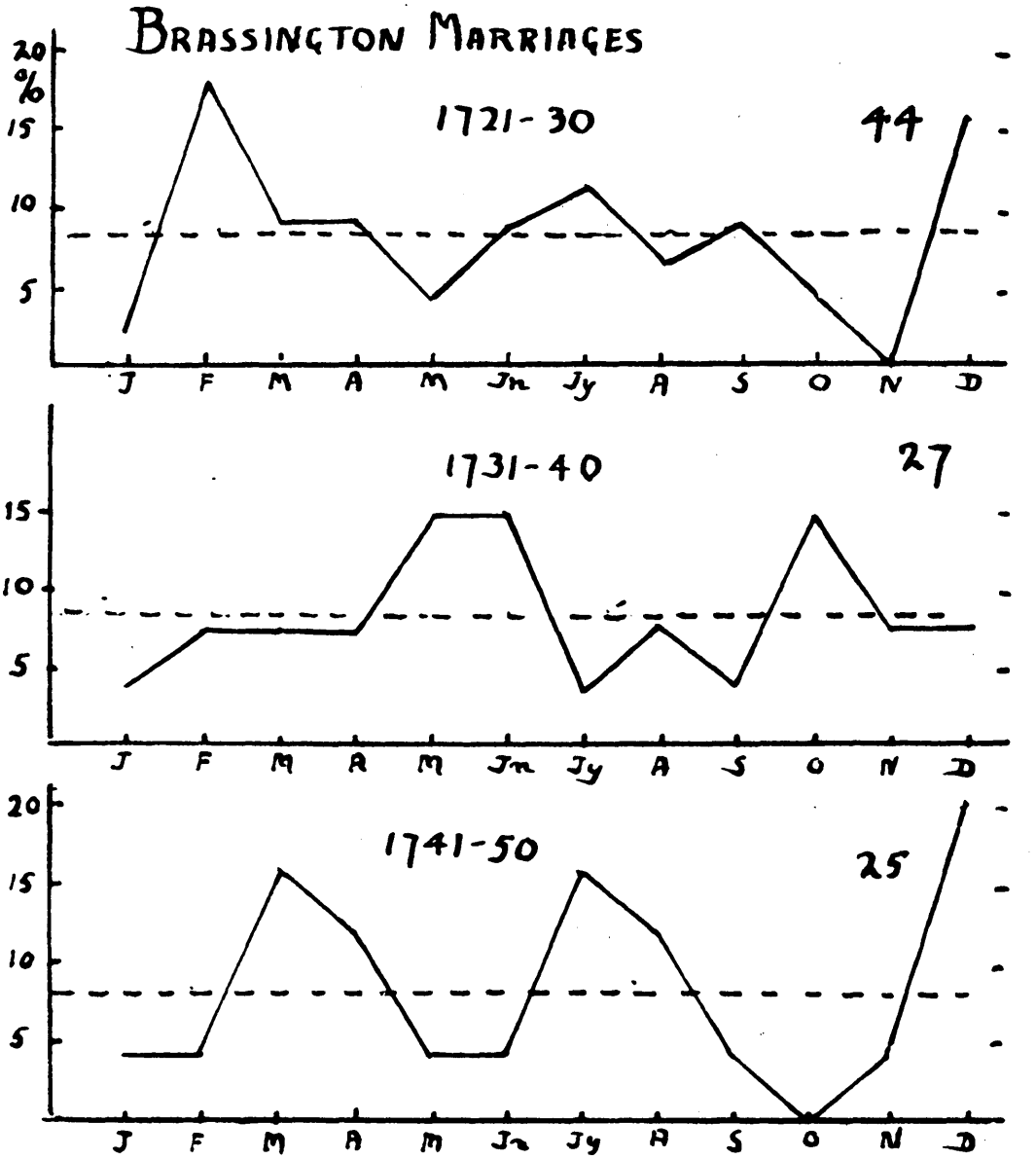
As a rough, but purely empirical rule, I have found it necessary to exercise great care in interpretation when decadal totals are less than 60, and I feel much happier if they are over 100.

MARRIAGE SEASONALITY

The marriage graphs of two parishes were, for reasons discussed above, so irregular as to defy analysis. The following discussion is, therefore, based on the graphs of the remaining ten parishes.

The only 'fundamental' factor for the existence of which there is concrete evidence is the ecclesiastical 'prohibited periods'. If

FIGURE 7


BRASSINGTON MARRIAGES
20
%
15
10
5
1721-30
44
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D
1731-40
27
15
10
5
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D
20
15
10
5
1741-50
25
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D

the effect of this factor is considered first, we shall then be able to look for further seasonal marriage phenomena and, possibly, make hypotheses about the underlying factors.

The 'prohibited periods' - though one gathers that the church discouraged, rather than prohibited, marriage in these periods - were:

Septuagesima to Low Sunday
Rogation to Trinity
Advent to Hilary

How far were they observed and what was their effect?

Although the date of Easter can vary by about a month, the addition of data by decades gives the effect of Easter varying by only about a week in the course of the decades (3), so that the timing of the prohibited periods is not, for our purpose, seriously affected.

The first prohibited period would affect marriages in roughly three weeks in February, the whole of March and two weeks of April. The graphs show that March marriages fell well below the average in every parish but one (See Figure 8 for an example). March was, indeed, by far the least popular month for marriages in the whole year throughout the period. Of a possible 234 March 'cells' over the ten parishes, the March percentage reached the average of 8.1/3% in only 32. Of these 32, 12 came in the 19th century, right at the end of the period. Of the 20 cells in the 17th and 18th centuries, 6 were barely above average. Of the remaining 14, 4 lie between 1641 and 1670, and 6 between 1731 and 1770. February marriages are distinctly below average in 6 parishes and above average in only one. April marriages are much more variable, being above average in five parishes and below in two. In both February and April, the percentage of marriages rose towards the end of the period.

It is impossible, in a short article, to present all the evidence, but I am left with the impression that this prohibited period was shortened at both ends, but that a reduced period, possibly from the beginning of Lent until Easter, was observed in most of the parishes, though with decreasing fidelity, until at any rate the second decade of the 19th century.

The second prohibited period would affect about two weeks in May. May marriages were above average in five parishes and oscillated about the average in five more. May, indeed, ranked high in

FIGURE 8

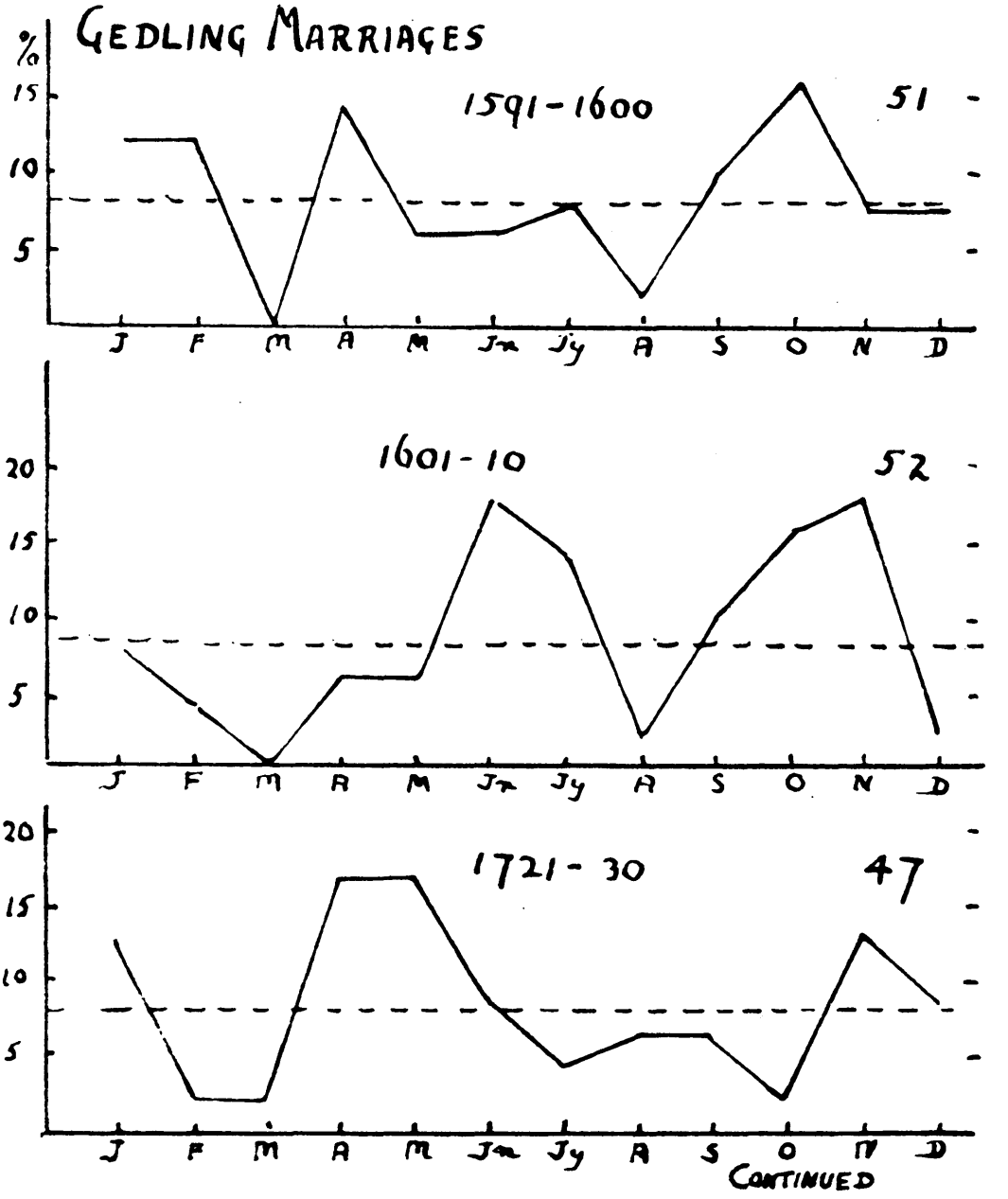
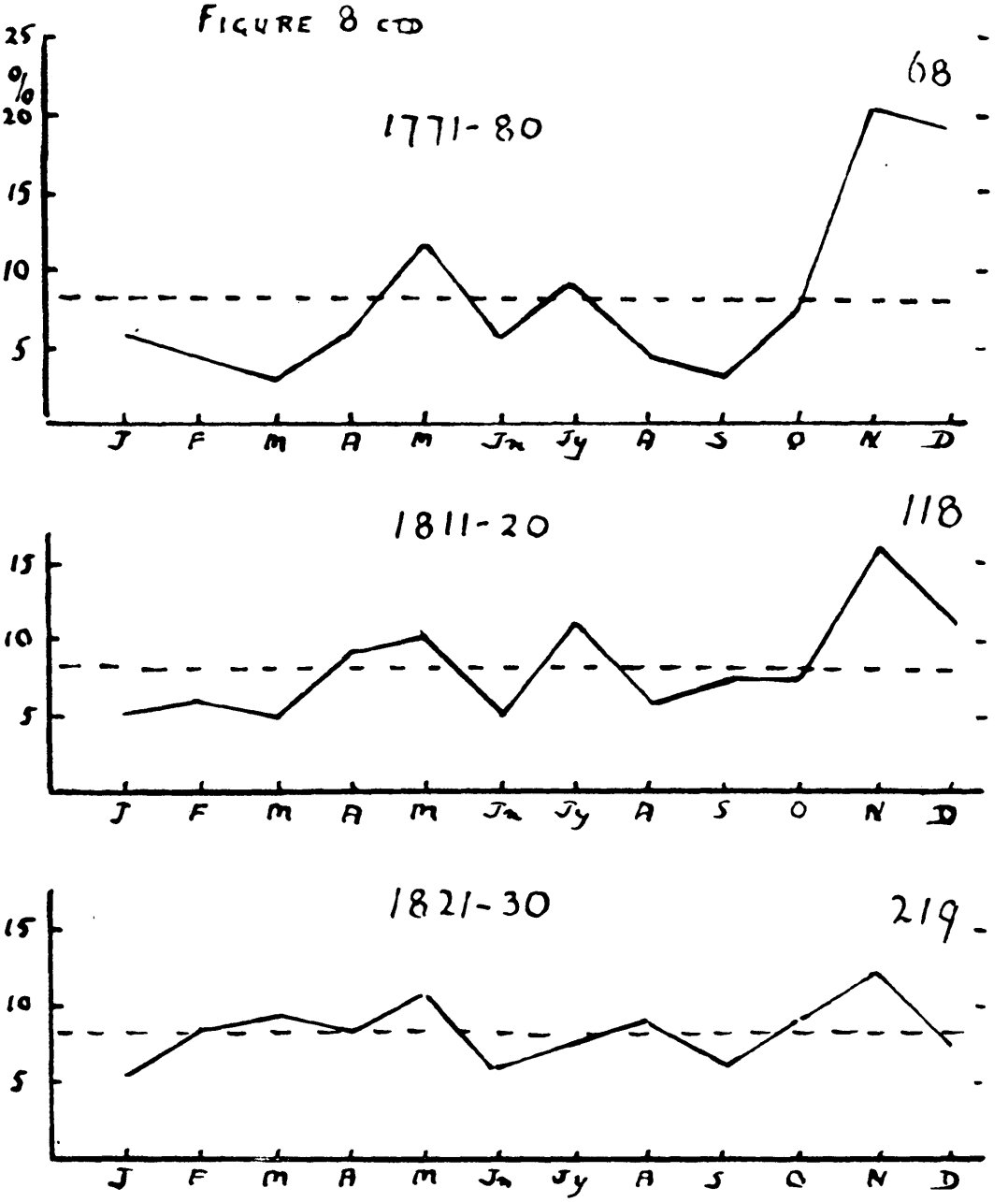

GEDLING MARRIAGES
%
15
10
5
1591-1600
51
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D
20
15
10
5
1601-10
52
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D
20
15
10
5
1721-30
47
J F M A M Jn Jy A S O N D
CONTINUED

FIGURE 8 cont'd



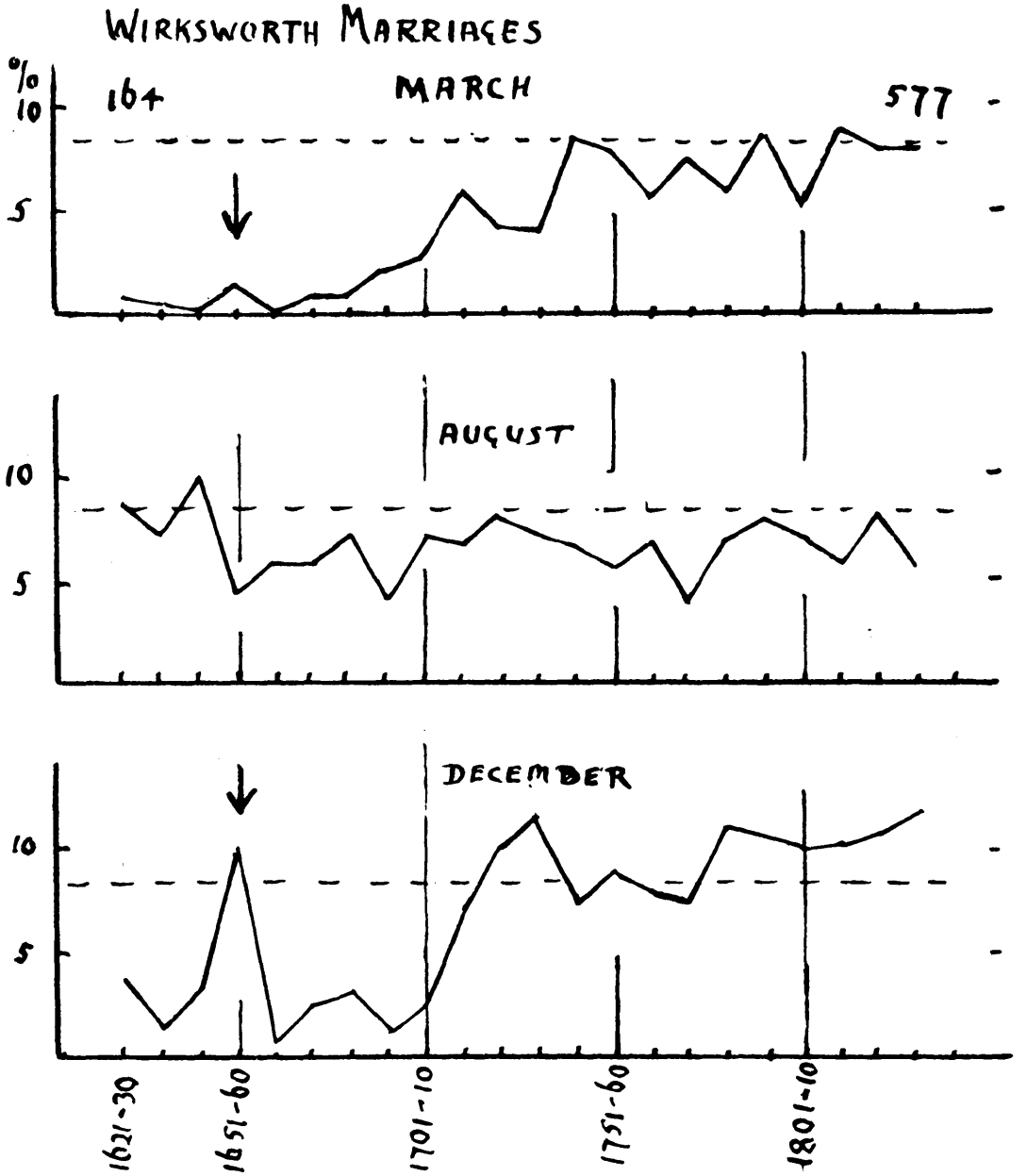
popularity, and it seems clear that this second prohibited period was not extensively observed in these parishes.

The third period would cover almost the whole of December and about two weeks of January. In the 17th and early 18th century, December marriages were distinctly below average in all ten parishes, but rose to the average at some date between 1720 and 1770 (varying from parish to parish) and then exceeded the average, sometimes by a considerable amount (Figure 8). There were only 10 'cells' in the 17th century out of 79 when the December percentage rose above the average, 8 of them between 1630 and 1660. December was, in fact, the second least popular month for marriage in the 17th century, but was amongst the most popular months by the end of the 18th century. January marriages showed great variation, but oscillated about the average, and certainly did not show the deficit which would arise from two weeks prohibition. The impression left is that the Advent prohibition was observed, though decreasingly, in most parishes until varying dates in the 18th century, except for lapses in the Commonwealth period which are discussed below. The extension to Hilary does not appear to have been regularly observed.

The persistence of the effect of prohibited periods until at least the early part of the 18th century and, in the case of Lent, until the early 19th century is in contrast to Miss Cowgill's suggestion (4) that their effect declined from the early 17th century. Unfortunately Miss Cowgill's graphs are in terms of the monthly number of marriages in successive periods of 50 years, whereas only a comparison of percentages will enable us to compare periods adequately.

It is interesting to note that there were distinct peaks in the marriage graphs in several parishes both in March and December in the Commonwealth period when, of course, the canons of the Anglican church were not officially observed. Peaks of this nature are indicated by the arrows in Figure 9. In most parishes the peak was for one decade only, but not the same decade for every parish, the peak sometimes occurring in 1641-50, sometimes in 1651-60, sometimes even in 1661-70. It would be interesting to discuss the size and dating of these peaks in the light of what is known of the religious history of each parish in the Commonwealth period, and especially of the shade of opinion of the incumbent and his patron. In parishes for which figures for the late 16th century are available, similar peaks are noticeable at that time when, according to Tate (5), unsuccesful attempts were made to have the prohibited periods abolished.

FIGURE 9


WIRKSWORTH MARRIAGES
%
10
5
164
MARCH
577
AUGUST
10
5
DECEMBER
10
5
1621-30
1651-60
1701-10
1751-60
1801-10

Throughout the period, the graphs show a summer trough which has no connection with the prohibited periods. In every one of the ten parishes, August is an unpopular month for marriage, exceeded in unpopularity only by March and December in the 17th century, and by March only in the 18th. September marriages are below average in every parish in the 17th century and in every parish except MATLOCK and WIRKSWORTH (for which see below) in the 18th. In the 17th century the trough included July in three parishes and October in five others. In the 18th century the trough was wider, sometimes covering four or five months. This may in part be due to the decreasing effect of the prohibited periods, for if the percentags of marriages are increasing in some months, they must be decreasing in others.

It is usually assumed that the factor underlying the summer marriage trough is occupational and connected with the harvest, the suggestion being that long hours of harvest work left no time for planning marriage. This sounds feasible - but is there any direct evidence? It is noticeable that August, at any rate, is just as unpopular in the less rural parishes.

Far and away the most popular month for marriage in these ten parishes (and, according to Cowgill, for York) was November. It is true that most other months are affected to some extent by either the prohibited periods or the summer trough, but was there any more direct factor operating in favour of November?

There do not appear to be any other marriage phenomena which are both common to all parishes and persistent over very long periods - what I have earlier called fundamental phenomena. We can now look for examples of the second group, prominent and fairly persistent, but peculiar to a specific parish. The graphs show a number of these, and I shall take one as an example. The WIRKSWORTH marriage graphs show a peak for September commencing in the 1731-40 decade and persisting throughout the rest of the century, September marriages sometimes rising as high as 16% of the decadal total. MATLOCK shows a similar September peak. As this phenomenon is even more strikingly visible on the baptisms graphs, further discussion will be left until part two of this article.

Finally, there is a marked tendency for the graphs to flatten out (i.e. for marriages to be distributed more evenly throughout the year) in the early 19th century (Figure 8). This means that the seasonal

influences of all kinds were losing their influence towards the end of our period.

NOTES

1. See, for example 'Parson Woodforde's Diary'

2. I am indebted for my statistics to the following:-

Derbyshire parishes

For Ashover, Brassington and Bradbourne to Mr. David Hool.
For Brailsford to Mr. Christopher Charlton.
For Matlock and Wirksworth to the Matlock Population Study Group.

Nottinghamshire parishes

For Arnold, Cropwell Bishop, Edwinstowe, Gedling and Oxton to Mrs. Janet Young.
For Burton Joyce to the Burton Joyce Population Study Group.

3. Cheney: Handbook of Historical Dates

4. 'The People of York: 1538-1812' by U.M. Cowgill in Scientific American, January 1970.

5. W.E. Tate: The Parish Chest - C.U.P. - Chapter 1.

POPULATION MOVEMENT IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

Peter Spufford

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At some time about the middle of the seventeenth century London overtook Paris and Naples to become the largest city in Europe. In the 1690's the contemporary statistician Gregory King, working on information supplied to him by the Hearth Tax Office, estimated the population of the city at about 530,000,[1] and indeed the latest historian to work on the growth of London, Dr. E.A. Wrigley, of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, has estimated the population of London in 1700 as 575,000. Dr. Wrigley has estimated that the population of the city in 1600 was only 200,000.[2] London, therefore, nearly trebled in size in the course of the century, and this despite the plagues which struck the city from time to time. In 1603, over 33,000 people died from the plague, in 1625 over 41,000 people died from it, and in the greatest plague year of all, 1665, nearly 69,000 people died from it, besides nearly 29,000 who died from other causes.[3] Apart from these years of exceptional mortality, the crude death rate in London, was substantially higher than the crude birth rate, and is thought to have exceeded it by not less than 10 per 1000 per annum.[4] Rapid growth under these circumstances could only come about by an enormous excess of immigrants to London over emigrants from it. The most significant single population movement in seventeenth century England was this enormous flow of people into London.

The growth in size of London affected many parts of England. Professor Fisher has written that by 1640 "The corn growers of Cambridgeshire, south-east Essex and north-east Kent, the dairy farmers of Suffolk, the graziers of the south Midlands all looked to the London market as the hub of their economic universe".[5] Beyond this, London exerted an enormous influence all along the east coast of England, importing vast quantities of malt from Norfolk, butter from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, through Boston and Whitby, and, of course, increasingly large quantities of "sea-coale" from Tyneside and Wearside. These had already reached 325,000 tons by 1650. By the end of the century the further growth of London meant that the demands of its people for food and fuel absorbed the products of an even wider area. Although research has been done on the

sources of food and fuel for London, little work has been done on the origins of the Londoners themselves.

It has been estimated that, on an average, about 8,000 more people came to London every year than left it in the period 1650-1700 to bring about the marked increase of population against the effects of the very high death rate.(6) I would guess that the same average figure applied to the first half of the seventeenth century, because, although the rate of growth of the population of London was then much greater than in the second half of the century, the numbers normally required to counterbalance the deaths were of course smaller.(7) There is some indication that, after plague had reduced the population of a city violently, there was often an extensive immigration of people in the immediately following years. This certainly seems to have been the case in seventeenth century London. John Graunt, writing in 1662, said of the plagues of 1603 and 1625 that in two years "The City hath been repeopled, let the mortality do what it will."(8) We have as yet no means of telling even the scale of actual immigration to and emigration from London, only that the one exceeded the other by an average of about 8,000 a year. This could mean 10,000 in and 2,000 out, or it could mean 28,000 in and 20,000 out, or any other combination of figures with the same difference between them. This 8,000 a year, Dr. Wrigley suggests, was the natural increase in the provinces, at 5 per 1,000 per annum, or two and a half millions of England's five million people. Half the natural increase of the population of provincial England was absorbed by London.

Under these circumstances, it would be reasonable to assume that the immigrants must have come from every part of the country and not merely the south-east. There are, however, very few means of discovering whether this assumption is true. The possibilities of tracing individual newcomers to London to their places of origin are very few. When writing this paper I explored one such source, the wills of Londoners proved in the Commissary Court of the Bishops of London. I examined the first hundred wills in the register for 1679-82.(9) Of these, only thirteen gave clues to an origin outside London. These clues are of three kinds, legacies to the poor of provincial parishes, legacies to named relatives in provincial England, and legacies of land in the provinces.

The will of Anne Pursloe, widow, is very explicit. She not only left forty shillings to the poor of the parish of Farndon in the county of Northampton but added "where I was borne". The will of Mary Beale, widow, is a trifle less explicit. She left money to the poor of

Steeple Bumpstead in Essex. It seems likely that this was her parish of origin, since she desired that her legacy "be distributed by my kinsman James Relynett". John Sharpe, Citizen and Leatherseller, was even less explicit. He merely left twenty shillings to the ringers of Wymondham in Norfolk without further explanation, but it would be surprising if he had not had some close connection with the place.

It is surely rare to leave a legacy to a parent, but Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Wellings, did just that. She made a bequest to her father John Lovell, whom she describes as "of Great Alford, Essex". The widows' wills suggest the possible places of origin of their late husbands. Amy, widow of Stephen Faro, made a bequest to her husband's brother, Bennett Faro of Exeter, and Thomasin, widow of Edward Todd, to her "brother" Thomas Todd of Eye in Suffolk. This may suggest that Stephen Faro and Edward Todd came from Exeter and Eye respectively, but, in view of the high degree of population mobility in seventeenth century England, it may be that Bennett Faro and Thomas Todd moved to Exeter and Eye from yet other places when their respective brothers moved to London. Vaguer clues are provided by the legacies of John Barker, starchmaker, to poor relations at Peterborough, or of Ann, widow of William Basing, to "my cozen John Lathan of the county of Lancaster".

Legacies of land are more ambiguous. The land could have been purchased as well as inherited, but it seems unlikely that William Watton, who described himself as "servant", would have been in a position to purchase a house and land in Rosleston, Derbyshire. This must surely have been acquired by inheritance. There is a presumption of inheritance, although perhaps not so strong in the cases of Robert Jones who bequeathed copyhold land at Leytonstone in Essex, or John Kemble who left freehold land at Aldermaston in Berkshire, but the case of William Bright may turn out to be different. Bright described himself as "Dr. of Physikes" and had both freehold and copyhold lands at Barton and Tostock in Suffolk and further freehold lands at Cockfield in Suffolk. Was this a suffolk man who had come to London to make good? Or was it a successful Londoner who had invested the rewards of his profession in the purchase of lands in Suffolk? It is impossible to say without going further into the particular case.

What is clear, even from my superficial reading of these hundred wills is that it is possible, from wills, to discover the probable origins of some of the many thousands of immigrants to London, and that these immigrants took their origin not only in counties which lie relatively

close to London like Hertfordshire or Berkshire, but also in those which lie rather farther afield, such as Norfolk, Northamptonshire or Derbyshire, and even in distant counties like Devon or Lancashire. This would tend to confirm the assumption that the immigrants came from every part of the country and not merely from the south-east, although, on the other hand, I must say that, in my very small sample, the clues provided by the wills point to three out of the thirteen testators having their origins in Essex on London's very doorstep.

Other clues to the birthplaces of selected Londoners are provided by the records of apprenticeships in the archives of City Companies. The great majority of these are deposited at Guildhall Library. They nearly always show the place of origin of the apprentice. However, I know of no systematic attempt to work on either wills or apprenticeship records to discuss the scale of migration into London from the various parts of provincial England, and, in the absence of such statistical research any impression must be purely subjective.

I myself feel that the frequency with which migrants to London came from a considerable distance was in distinct contrast to the normal pattern of population movement in seventeenth century England, which was over relatively short distances. Dr. Buckatzsch, from his study of the records of the Cutlers Company at Sheffield, has shown that nearly two-thirds of the migrants into Sheffield in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, who became cutlery workers, came from less than twenty miles away. In the last quarter of the century only one ninth of the migrants came from further away than twenty miles.(10) This is rather different from London, some of whose migrants came from two hundred miles away or more.

Between 1693 and 1698, William Lloyd Bishop of Lichfield compiled a survey of the parish of Eccleshall in Staffordshire, in which his favourite official residence, Eccleshall Castle, was situated. In this he commented at length on the individual inhabitants of the parish, giving details of their private lives, including in many cases notes on their places of origin, places in which they had previously lived, and places in which members of their families now lived. This is a document which has not been available to historians until now since Bishop Lloyd and his chaplain compiled it in shorthand. The shorthand has recently been extended by Mr. Norman Tildesley and I have been privileged to be allowed to work from the typescript of the text which he is preparing for publication.(11) This reveals an immense amount of movement of people, a great deal of it within the parish from one hamlet to another. Eccleshall parish extended over twenty thousand

acres and some parts of it were seven miles away from the small market town of Eccleshall at its centre. Much of this movement, which at Eccleshall appears as internal migration within the parish, would appear in other parts of the country as movement to neighbouring parishes. Beyond this internal movement I have gathered sixty-eight references from the survey to specific places outside the parish from which Eccleshall men came or to which Eccleshall men went. For these purposes I have ignored the migration of women, on marriage.[12] No less than ten of these sixty-eight references are to London, a hundred and forty miles away, far more than to any other place, even the neighbouring market town of Stone, six miles away. Apart from London, the only other references to places more than twenty miles from Eccleshall are to Limerick in Ireland, where two sons of Thomas Henn were to be found; to Stoke Prior, nearly forty miles away in Worcestershire, where Skrimsher, the Eccleshall plumber, was born; and to Cleobury Mortimer, some thirty miles away in Shropshire, where Henry Wetmore, an Eccleshall labourer, was born. Beyond the sixty-eight references to specific places there are four vaguer references to "Cheshire" and "Shropshire" which may or may not indicate migrations of more than twenty miles, and two references to "Worcestershire" and "Essex" which certainly do so.

Taken together, these references from the Eccleshall survey confirm both Dr. Buckatzsch's statistics from Sheffield which showed extensive migration, largely within a distance of twenty miles, and my own previous impression that migration to London was the startling exception to this general rule of short distance migration. Evidence of this sort about the distance that people moved is very scanty, but something on the distance travelled could be discovered for the late seventeenth century from settlement papers.

The evidence of the scale of population movement is much better known. Peter Laslett and John Harrison, working on listings of inhabitants at Clayworth in Nottinghamshire and Cogenhoe in Northamptonshire, were able to show the extent of population movement very clearly. At Clayworth, in the twelve years from 1676 to 1688, 60% of the population changed, and at Cogenhoe, from 1618 to 1628, 50% of the population changed. Of this change, only about a third was accounted for by births and deaths and the remainder by migration.[13] The evidence then from these two places alone might suggest that as much as a third of the population moved in any ten year period in the seventeenth century. How typical or atypical were they?

Much cruder as a method of assessment than the comparison of

individuals in full lists of inhabitants is the comparison of surnames over a period of time. In 1951, Dr. Buckatzsch gathered together a number of examples of comparisons which had been made. (14) One of these showed that in Nottinghamshire it was normal for only between 10% and 20% of the surnames in the tax assessments of 1544 to survive in the same place to 1641, just under a hundred years later. Another showed that in Bedfordshire it was normal for half the surnames to survive for the period of forty-four years from 1627 to 1671, but that it was not normal for as many as half the surnames to survive for a longer period. This is approximately the same rate of survival as in Nottinghamshire. Analysis of surnames in the parish registers at Horringer in Suffolk and Shap in Westmorland produced totally different results. At Horringer, of sixty-three surnames found in the period 1600-1624 only two were to be found in the period 1700-1724. At Shap, of eighty-four surnames found in the period 1600-1624 as many as twenty-eight were to be found a century later. The families who formed the population of Horringer almost totally changed in the course of the seventeenth century. At Shap, a third of the population at the beginning of the eighteenth century was made up of members of families which had been there a century before. People were moving in and out of seventeenth century Horringer rather more rapidly than was normal in Bedfordshire and Nottinghamshire, but were moving in and out of Shap rather more slowly.

Since Buckatzsch gathered these examples together in 1951, Professor Chambers has made a study of sixty parishes in the vale of Trent in which he found that between forty and fifty per cent of names in the baptism registers did not recur in the burial registers.(15) This is equivalent to the figures for population mobility previously derived from Bedfordshire and Nottinghamshire, but expressed in a rather different and more human form. Nearly half the people died in a different parish from that in which they were born. More recently, a research student of mine, Mrs. Lorna Weatherill, working on the early history of the north Staffordshire potteries, has shown that in Burslem sixty-two out of a hundred and nine surnames survived in the parish registers for three quarters of a century from 1660-84 to 1735-59. (16) This shows an even greater lack of mobility in population than Shap. My wife's work on the rural parish of Willingham in Cambridgeshire has shown that among the tenants who were named in a survey of the 1720's only 22 out of 90, or 24%, bore the same surnames as those who had been named in a survey of 1575. This also shows a greater lack of mobility in population than Shap, although not so much so as in Burslem. (17)

How do the results from Clayworth and Cogenhoe look against this background? They suggest a degree of mobility even greater than that to be deduced from the parish registers of Horringer. Were they then atypical? Or do they contain an element which does not appear in lists of tenants or taxpayers and which hardly features in parish registers? It would seem that they did. In 1695 Gregory King estimated that there were 560,000 in-servants among the population. In other words, at the end of the seventeenth century one person in ten was a servant, a single person living in the household of someone else. This category of course contains not only domestic servants, but also servants in husbandry, or, as we would call them, farm labourers. The lists of inhabitants at Clayworth and Cogenhoe contain such people whilst the other evidence for population mobility does not. Closer inspection of the Clayworth and Cogenhoe lists revealed that servants were the most mobile section of the community. Of the sixty-seven servants at Clayworth in 1688 only one had been a servant there in 1676 and had then been in a different household. Of the twenty-six servants at Cogenhoe in 1628, only one had been among the thirty-one servants there in 1618, and a listing of inhabitants in 1621 reveals that even this one individual had gone away and later returned to Cogenhoe. Of the remainder, almost all had moved elsewhere after one or two years service in the place, but a handful, like Ralph Meers at Clayworth, had married and settled down on the spot as more permanent inhabitants. (18)

Bishop Lloyd's survey of Eccleshall does not include servants, but it does mention quite a large number of ex-servants who had settled there. The Bishop sometimes went into considerable, although not always very clear, detail about their background movements. When Bishop Lloyd made his notes, Richard Wood, a dyer, and his wife had been living, as yet without children, in a cottage at Great Sugnall in Eccleshall parish for about four years. He was born in Stoke-on-Trent, some dozen miles away and at the earliest stage of his career known to the bishop spent half a year at Newport in Shropshire, followed by one year at Eccleshall, followed by two years at Aston in Shropshire where he was hired for one year and served for two years. He then moved back to Bucknall in the parish of Stoke and then finally back to Eccleshall where he served John Addison at the fulling mill for one year. He then settled down. Perhaps significantly his wife, Bridget, is described as the daughter of Widow Addison. Without the bishop's notes one could have no idea that this man did anything more than move once from Stoke to Eccleshall. The bishop records no less than five moves, all within a limited area, before he settled.

John Shelley, a labourer of about thirty years old when the bishop made his notes, was living in a cottage at Podmore in Eccleshall with his wife and two daughters, the elder of whom was seven years old. Before settling, he had been in service for five years at Standon, Chorlton, Standon again, Sandon and Swinnerton, all places within ten miles. By birth he came from Podmore itself, where his father John Shelley senior is to be found in the bishop's list as "a poor honest harmless man working at Bromley Hall". Perhaps no other document would reveal that John Shelley junior had ever lived away from Eccleshall.

James Tag appears in the bishop's list at another Eccleshall hamlet, Coldmeece, with his wife and two year old daughter. He was born at Sandon, about eight miles away, and had come to the parish seven or eight years earlier, and served four different masters within Eccleshall parish for a year before settling down. The bishop noted that his father William Tag had been a copyholder at Coldmeece and had sold his copy and moved to Sandon. Comparison of surnames in a list of tax-payers or tenants might have shown the Tags as static, but in fact the bishop reveals that they had spent a generation elsewhere. In the light of this sort of information it is not surprising that the listings of inhabitants at Clayworth and Cogenhoe show a much greater degree of mobility than the other evidence on population movement.

We may conclude, therefore, not only that nearly half the people in seventeenth century England died in different parishes from those in which they were born, but also that a very large proportion of them, including many who died in the same parish in which they were born, lived for parts of their lives in yet other parishes. At Clayworth and Cogenhoe a third of the whole population moved within a decade. In the longer run, we can see that it was rare for any family to live in one place for more than three generations or a hundred years. On the other hand, all the evidence so far accumulated seems to suggest that apart from the great flow of people to London, all this intense movement was restricted to a very limited distance.

Some nuances ought perhaps to be brought into these generalizations. There is some indication that mobility was greater in the earlier part of the century than in the later part, when the settlement laws were beginning to have an effect. There is also some indication that mobility may have been less in particular places in the country, as the instances of Shap in Westmorland, Willingham in Cambridgeshire and Burslem in Staffordshire suggest, although why this should be so is not clear. Even in such places as these, two thirds of the families

changed in the course of a century. There is also the obvious point that the ownership or long tenancy of land tended to have a stabilizing effect on certain families. The disappearance of many of the class of husbandmen from the category of tenant farmers in the earlier part of the century meant that by the end of it only the yeomanry and the gentry were kept in one place by their land. Finally, it now appears that the years in an ordinary man's life in which he was most mobile were those from fifteen or so onwards until marriage, when he was hired annually as a living-in servant, often in a different place each year. Gregory King suggested that at any one time one person in ten was such an in-servant, but it is apparent that a far higher proportion of the population spent a part of their lives as such. My present guess is that probably between a quarter and a half of the population were servants at one time or another.

NOTES

1. F.P. Wilson, The Plague in Shakespeare's London (Oxford, 1927), p. 213.

2. E.A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy 1650-1750", Past and Present, XXVII (July, 1967), 44.

3. Charles Creighton, A History of Epidemics in Britain (Cambridge, 1894, reprinted with additional material, London, 1965), Vol.1, p.660.

4. Wrigley, art, cit., p. 46.

5. F.J. Fisher, "The Development of the London Food Market 1540-1640", Economic History Review, v (1934-5), 57.

6. E.A. Wrigley, art.cit., p.46.

7. Between 1600 and 1650 London's population rose from approximately 200,000 to approximately 400,000. To counter the normal excess of deaths over births of 10 per 1000 a net immigration was needed of 2,000 a year rising to 4,000 a year to maintain the population. The plagues of 1603 and 1625 demanded a net immigration of 75,000 people to restore the population. Finally, a new immigration of 200,000 over the half century was also needed to account for the growth in population. Altogether this suggests that there was an average net annual immigration in the region of 8,500 between 1600 and 1625.

8. N.G. Brett James, The Growth of Stuart London (London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1935), p. 498.

9. Guildhall Library MS 9171/37.

10. E.J. Buckatzsch, "Places of Origin of a Group of Immigrants into Sheffield 1624-1799", Economic History Review, 2nd ser., ii (1950) 303-6.

11. A Survey of the Parish of Eccleshall compiled by William Lloyd Bishop of Lichfield between 1693 and 1698 now in the Lichfield Joint Record Office, transcribed by Norman W. Tildesley (Typescript, 1969).

12. Migration on Marriage is discussed in Bessie Maltby, 'Easingwold marriage horizons', L.P.S. No. 2, 36-9. In Easingwold about 90% of marriage partners, who came from outside the parish, came from less than 20 miles away.

13. Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe", Historical Essays 1600-1750 presented to David Ogg, ed. H.E. Bell and R.L. Ollard (London, 1963), pp. 156-184.

14. E.J. Buckatzsch, "The Constancy of Local Populations and Migration in England before 1800", Population Studies, v (1951), 62-69.

15. J.D. Chambers, The Vale of Trent 1670-1800 (Economic History Review Supplements no. 3, 1957), p. 22.

16. Lorna Weatherill, The Pottery Trade and North Staffordshire 1660-1760 (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Keele, 1968.) This thesis is to be published shortly by the Manchester University Press.

17. Margaret Spufford, forthcoming book on rural Cambridgeshire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

18. Laslett and Harrison, art.cit., pp. 178-9.

POPULAR EDUCATION AND LITERACY

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Literacy and Education in England 1640-1900 by Lawrence Stone "Past and Present" Number 42 February 1969, pp. 69 - 139.

Evangelical Religion and Popular Education by John McLeish. Methuen 1969.

Both of these authors make important contributions to the history of education where it is concerned with the problem of mass literacy. Their approaches are very different, and the purpose of this note is simply to draw attention to their work and comment briefly upon what each has to say.

Professor Stone disarms criticism at the outset by his statement "that it is impossible to provide more than tentative and provisional answers to the many problems involved." Despite this disclaimer, he has in the event produced a rigorously argued and well documented account of the development of literacy in England over two hundred and sixty years. He concludes that between 1530 and 1680 there was an expansion of education at all levels; between 1680 and 1780, "there was a marked slowing down of the growth in basic literacy due to a fear among the upper classes that popular education was a contributory factor in causing the revolutionary activity of the 1640's and 50's". After 1780, popular education increased rapidly once more. This is a summary of Professor Stone's argument; as he himself says, "a great deal more research is needed to qualify this highly tentative, provisional even speculative outline of the story".

Such a bald summary does scant justice to the subtlety and skill with which the argument is presented, and one of the most valuable features of this essay is the concept of educational levels which were geared to the needs and aspirations of different social classes.

The lowest level, namely that concerned with basic literacy - the ability to read and possibly to sign one's name - is in many ways the most complex of all and certainly the hardest to assess within a historical or a social context.

Until fairly recently historians of education - A.E. Dolobs was, of course, a notable exception - have been mainly concerned with the provision of education for the poor and with the Parliamentary Commissions which usually preceded the tentative steps taken by successive governments to provide a series of educational palliatives which were forced to be a compromise between the demands of opposing religious factions whose zeal for education was outweighed by the zeal they exhibited when fighting each other in the name of orthodoxy.

Stone's approach is far removed from this, and he rightly sees the relationship between society and education in very different terms. As he points out, a two-way process is at work here. What I think he does perhaps disregard is the inner tension within the process of popular education itself, between the formal and informal. The former represented both theory and practice of a scheme of instruction which was designed to perpetuate existing social differences and ensure the continuance of a society in which the poor would feel obliged to be grateful to their betters, frugal, thrifty, honest, pious and hardworking. By informal education is meant the kind of literature which was available to them, and upon which they were able to practise the skill of reading - in the 18th century chapbooks, in the 19th century street ballads, penny dreadfuls, radical and chartist journals etc. The connections between these two elements in education were, I suspect, abrasive - on the one hand there was a type of learning imposed upon the poor by "their betters", and on the other an escapist and a propagandist literature both of whose worlds were in sharp and even violent contrast with the ideals of theorists who saw education either as an act of charity or as the result of benevolent intercession by church or government to make the wheel of industrial society tick over more smoothly.

What Professor Stone has done admirably is to provide a basis for further discussion and analysis of popular education. He has set an example to us all.

John McLeish has approached the subject from a very different point of view. As the title of his book suggests, he is concerned with popular education and the ways in which evangelical religion influenced it. In particular he discusses the work of Griffith Jones and

Hannah More. Each in a different way, though certainly with identical religious motivation, was concerned with offering the children of the poor a limited and rigidly controlled experience of basic evangelical and literary instruction.

Where the author is wrong is to talk of an 18th century "campaign for the elimination of mass illiteracy." There was nothing of the kind. The discussion of such issues was of the most desultory kind and provision of schools, though widely spread, was to say the least, uneven in quality. It might be argued that the efforts of the S.P.C.K. to initiate charity schools represented perhaps a rudimentary campaign, but neither Griffith Jones nor Hannah More worked within the framework.

Of the two, Griffith Jones was the less appealing. Both of them shared a rigid and narrow orthodoxy from which sprang a kind of piety which could chill the act of charity. In her 'Cheap Repository Tracts', however, Hannah More displayed a charm that not even her own overweening evangelism could entirely efface. The achievements of the two reformers are well sketched in this book; there is a reliance upon secondary sources, but this in no way invalidates the general theme of the earlier chapters which are historical. With regard to points of emphasis, I would argue that Hannah More's publishing activities were more important in educational terms than her work in starting schools, but in general the first half of this book makes a very useful contribution to the somewhat sparse contemporary discussion of eighteenth century popular education.

The kernel of this book, and the part of it to which its author is obviously more committed, deals with the interpretation of evangelical educational reform in the light of contemporary social thought. We are offered an economic, an anthropological, a psychological and a sociological evaluation. All are expertly done, and indicate clearly fresh points of departure for the historian of education. Within my present frame of reference, however, a development of this theme is scarcely relevant. What I wish to urge is that studies in literacy must take into account not only how and why the poor were taught to read, but also what in fact they did read: here certainly new interpretations are urgently needed. More precisely, we need to know at what point in history it begins to be possible to talk in terms of mass literacy - a potent factor indeed in society. What were some of the more important implications for society at large, of such a phenomenon?

Both Professor Stone and Professor McLeish have done much to make

it possible to formulate some of these questions. They have provided both fresh concepts and new ideas; and for this we must be grateful to them. Viewed in the light of their work, the counting of signatures in a parish register as a means of assessing literacy appears less satisfactory, despite its obvious attractions for those who like historical evidence plotted on a graph. Because the problems of popular education and literacy will lead us far beyond the search in parish registers, I append a select list of references to some relevant material, much of which, it is to be hoped, will provide further background knowledge for a continuing debate about the history of literacy.

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A MIDWIFE'S CERTIFICATE

A true Copy of my Bror.; Leo: wifes License, whose Name before he married her was Ellen Perkins.

Henry by ye Divine permission Bishop of London, to our well beloved in Christ Ellen Perkins the wife of Richard Perkinsof ye parrish of St. Martins in ye fields, in ye County of Middlesex, & of our Diocess & juridiction of London, sends greeting in our Lord God everlasting.

Whereas by due Examination of divers honest & discreet women, we have found you the said Ellen Perkins, apt, able, & expert, to use & exercise the office business & function of a Midwife, Wee therefore by our authority Ordinary & Epall, do admit yu thereunto and give unto you full power & License to occupie & exercise ye sd office, business & function of a Midwife within ye City, Diocess, & jurisdiction of London with ye best judgment, Care & diligence that yu may or can, in that behalfe both to poor & Rich, Streightly willing & charging you to and for me, & accomplish all things in and about the same according to your Oath thereupon Made and Given as followeth, viz.

Ffirst, you shall be Diligent, faithful and ready to help every woman travilling wth. Child, as well the poor as ye Rich, and shall not then forsake the poor woman and leave her, to go to the Rich.

Item, you shall neither cause nor suffer, (as far as in you lies) any woman to Name, or put any other father to the child, but only him who is the true father thereof indeed.

Item, you shall not suffer any woman to pretend, feigne, or surmise herselfe to be delivered of child, where not so indeed, nor to claim any other womans Child for her own.

Item, you shall not suffer any Child to be murthered, Maimed, or otherwise hurt as much as you may, & so often as you shall perceive any danger, or jeoperdy like to be, or ensue, either in ye woman, or in ye Child, in such wise as yu shall be in doubt what may happen thereon, You shall then forthwith in due time, send fcr other midwifes, & women expert in that faculty, & use their advice and Counsel in that behalfe.

Item, you shall not in anywise use or exercise any Manner of Witchcraft, Charm, Sorcery invocation, or other prayers, then such as may stand with Gods Laws, and the Kings.

Item, you shall not give Counsel, nor Minister any herb, Medicine, potion, or any other thing to any woman being wth Child, thereby to destroy or cast out what she goeth withall before her time.

Item, You shall not enforce any woman by pains or by any other ungodly ways, or means, to give you any more for your pains, or Labour in bringin her to bed, then other wise she would doe.

Item, you shall not consent, agree, give or keep Counsel that any woman be delivered secretly of that she goeth with, but in ye presence of two or three honest women, and that there be always two, or three lights ready if they may be had.

Item, you shall be secret, and not open any matter appertaining to yr. office, in ye presence of any man, unless necessity, or very urgant occasion do constrain you so to doe.

Item, if any child be dead borne, you yourselfe shall see it buried in such secret place, as neither Hog, Dog, nor any other beast may come unto it, & in such sort that it be not found or perceived as much as yu. may, and shall not suffer any such child to be cast in the jakes, or into any other inconvenient place.

Item, if yu shall know any Midwife using or doing any thing contrary to any of the said premises, or any other ways then shall be seemly & Convenient, you shall forthwith detect and open ye same to us our Chancellour, or ye Ordinary for ye time being.

Item, you shall use & demeane yrselfe in civil & modest behaviour unto other women Lawfully admitted into the Roome & office of a Midwife in all things relating thereto.

Item, you shall present to us our Chancellour or yr ordinary for ye time being, all such women as you shall know from time to time to occupie, or exercise the place, or function of a Midwife within our diocess, or jurisdiction aforesaid, without our License and jurisdiction to the same.

Item, you shall not make, or assign any Deputy, or Deputies to exercise under you, or in your absence the office or Room of a Midwife, but only such as yu. shall perfectly know to be right honest & discreet women, and also apt and able having sufficient knowledge & experience to use & exercise the said place, function, and office.

Item, you shall not be privy or give consent that any priest, or other party shall in yr. absence, or in your company, or of your knowledge or sufferance, baptize any child by any Mass, latin service, or prayers, other than such as are appointed by the Laws of ye Church of England, neither shall yu consent yt. any Child born of any woman who shall be deliveredby yu, shall be carried away without being baptized in ye parishby ye Ordinary Minister where ye said Child was borne, unless it be in Case of necessitybaptized privately according to ye book of common prayer, but in every such case, or cases you

shall forthwith upon understanding thereof give knowledge of the same either to us the Bishop aforesaid, or our Chancellour or your Ordinary for the time being, In Witness whereof we have caused the seal of our Chancellour (which is used in this behalfe) to be set to these prets. Dated ye 14day of August in the year 1686 and in ye Eleventh year of our Translation etc.

Derbyshire Record Office(Matlock) D.253
Memorandum Book of Titus Wheatcroft,
first Schoolmaster of Ashover (1722)

Contributed by Christopher Charlton,
by kind permission of the Rev. P.G. Norman
of Ashover

CORRESPONDENCE

The Lordless Village

Dear Sir,

The Reverend Patrick Rowley, in describing the social history of Ampleforth, outlines many of the classic features of the lordless village. Fairly extensive work of a similar kind in the East Midlands has led me to suggest a fourfold classification of landownership. This can be summarised very briefly as follows:

Open or lordless	(1.	Peasant villages - Usually 40 or more proprietors.
	(2.	Divided villages - Typically dozen to 20 proprietors.
Closed or landlord villages	(3.	Absentee landlord - Two thirds owned by one or two proprietors.
	(4.	Estate villages. At least half (and generally very much more) owned by resident squire.

Ampleforth clearly fell in the first category, not only in terms of landownership, but also in relation to the many characteristics that went with a large number of small proprietors. These include its religious life, which ran to a well developed nonconformity, speculative building, slack enforcement of the Settlement Laws ('undesirables' allowed in); and in the wide range of economic activities.

The peasant village will prove to be a very important type in relation to industrial development, as economic historians and historical sociologists gather together many local investigations into the period of industrialisation. For example, the framework knitting villages of the Midlands and the textile villages of the West Riding frequently fell into this category. In agricultural areas, such as the Vale of Evesham, Bedfordshire and the Fens, the present character of farming owes a great deal to this heritage.

Readers may find the following references useful:

Ashby, M.K. Joseph Ashby of Tysoe, 1961 (Northants).

Chambers, J.D. Nottinghamshire in the 18th century, 1932, Frank Cass reprint, 1966.

Havinden, M.A. Estate villages, 1966 (Berkshire).

Hoskins, W.G. The Midland peasant, 1957 (Leicestershire).

Mills, D.R. 'The development of rural settlement around Lincoln', East Midland Geographer, No. 11, June 1959

'English villages in the 18th and 19th centuries; a sociological approach' Amateur Historian (now Local Historian), VI, 1965 and VII, 1966.

'The geographical effects of the laws of Settlement in Nottinghamshire', East Midland Geographer, special number, 1970 (in the press).

Mortimore, M.J. 'Landownership and urban growth in Bradford and its environs', Trans. Inst. Brit. Geogrs. 46 (1969).

Rogers, A. (ed.) Stability and change: some aspects of North and South Rauceby in the 19th century, published by University of Nottingham available from J.W. Brown, Wood Lodge, South Rauceby, Sleaford, Lincs. 1969. 7/6.

Sheppard, J.A. East Yorkshire's labour force in the mid 19th century; Agricultural History Review, IX, 1961, 43-54.

Springall, L.M. Labouring life in Norfolk villages 1834-1914, 1936.

Spufford, M. A Cambridgeshire Community: Chippenham from settlement to enclosure, University of Leicester, 1965.

Wrigley, E.A.(ed.) Rural history and population change, provisional title, in the press (Weidenfeld and Nicolson expected 1971).

There are, of course, many other marginal but very useful references, but the majority of these are accessible through the titles I have given above.

Yours sincerely,

Dennis Mills,
Ilkley College of Education,
Wells Road,
Ilkley,
Yorkshire

Poll Tax

Dear Sir,

A useful basis upon which family reconstitution can be made would appear to be the Poll Tax of Charles II (1660-61), but while I have seen many references to the Hearth Taxes of this period I have not encountered references to the former. In the Poll Tax returns the names of parents are given as are those of their children over sixteen years of age. Coupled with a study of the parish registers of the period they fill out and help verify confusing relationships.
Dr. Tupling in his Economic History of Rossendale exploits these returns in their economic implications, though in Rossendale the returns give the location of the several families whilst those for North-East Lancashire do not. Was this return suspect, or does it not exist for the whole country? The Public Record Office has located all those for North-East Lancashire which I have requested without any difficulty.

Wilfred Spencer,
130 Keighley Road,
Colne,
Lancs.

R.S. Schofield comments:

The Poll Tax returns certainly deserve to be better known. Poll Taxes were levied frequently between 1660 and 1700. The returns vary in quality, but many specify everyone in a community over the age at which they became liable for the tax (usually 16). The returns for the Poll Tax of 1666 seem to have been compiled particularly carefully. Potentially therefore the Poll Tax returns are of great interest to local population historians, though the absence of children under the age of 16 limits their usefulness as 'censuses', particularly for the purpose of controlling family reconstitution of parish register entries. The snag, however, is that the survival of these splendid documents has been very uneven. The Public Record Office holds a large number of them for the period 1660-1689. Mr. Spencer has been lucky with North-East Lancashire: readers living in other areas may not be so fortunate. Should a search at the Public Record Office prove fruitless, it is often worthwhile enquiring whether copies of the returns have been preserved locally. Indeed this is the only hope of finding returns to the Poll Taxes levied after 1689, because a change in tax accounting procedure at that date meant that detailed returns

were no longer sent to the Exchequer to finish up at the Public Record Office.

Welsh Bookbuyers in the 1760s

Dear Sir,

Through the courtesy of Mr. H. Gordon Tibbutt, who drew my attention to an article in the Bedforfordshire Magazine (Vol. 10 No. 76, Spring 1966), I am enabled to add a note to the discussion initiated by Peter Laslett in a recent issue of Local Population Studies on bookbuying in the eighteenth century.

The article in question, "Bunyan's popularity in eighteenth century Wales" by Paul Kaufman, includes a list of subscribers to a 6d edition in Welsh of Bunyan's The doctrine of law and grace unfolded, published by James Ross of Carmarthen in 1767. Leaving aside any consideration of Ross as a printer - his Welsh Bible sold more than eight and a half thousand copies - the subscription list is an interesting one, and suggests strongly that the circulating charity schools of Wales did much to create an increasing literacy and consequent demand for books printed in the Welsh language.

Twenty-six subscribers are listed: eight Ministers take a total of 132 copies, and three bookbinders take 42; a breeches maker takes 50 copies, and four schoolmasters take 37; a shopkeeper has 6, a carpenter 12, and six men of whom no occupations are given are shown as having 66 copies; while two itinerant booksellers take 250 copies altogether - one having 200 and the other 50.

What are we to make of the carpenter? Or the breeches maker? Were they leading lights in local religious communities, selling or giving books to their fellow believers? There is of course no way of telling; but what the list does tell us is that the ability to read Welsh may well have been widespread, and that the distribution of books was a more complex business than might be supposed. At all events it is one more fragment of evidence both for the purchase and for the reading of books in the eighteenth century. The list, too, does throw an interesting, if oblique, light upon the popularity of John Bunyan.

Victor E. Neuburg,
13 Linden Road,
Muswell Hill,
London, N. 10

Dear Sirs,

In connection with Mr. Peter Laslett's suggestion that 18th century book subscription lists might throw light on the reading habits of contemporary craftsmen and "operatives", I wonder if his attention or that of his colleagues in the Cambridge Group has been drawn to the interest shown by English Weavers of the period in Natural History and in Geometrical studies. There might be a parallel line of inquiry into the surviving evidence concerning these men.

A correspondence on the subject took place in Notes and Queries in 1850, prompted (No. 31, p.8) by one of England's leading Geometricians, Prof. Davies, in a letter signed "Pen and Ink". The Professor claimed that Geometry "in its purest form" had been prosecuted "with extraordinary ardour and success" by "operatives of the humblest class, and these chiefly weavers." Although he expects that not one in a thousand of his readers has ever heard of these men, the Professor declares that their labours would have gladdened the hearts of Euclid, Apollonius and Archimedes and would have been thought worthy of record had they worked in Ancient Greece "instead of in modern England, contemporarily with the Hargreaves, the Peels and the Arkwrights."

Remarking that the Weavers both of Spitalfields and Lancashire had shown the same ardent devotion to Natural History, and particularly stressing the "intellectual" nature of the work done by Manchester Weavers on English wildflowers, Professor Davies asks for suggestions as to the means by which such interests had been aroused and propagated among a class of men "placed in a position the most unpropitious that can be conceived for the study."

A reply under the signature of T.T. Wilkinson of Burnley, appeared in No. 34, p. 57. It includes references to a number of geometrical works, some of them translations to which such readers had access in the 18th century; conceivably, one or another of these might contain descriptive subscription lists similar to that discovered by Mr. Laslett. The chief credit for the spread of geometrical knowledge among Weavers, however, is assigned to the foundation of Mathematical Societies, such as that at Oldham, of which the Spitalfields Society was apparently the inspiration, and to a number of mathematical periodicals or mathematical sections of periodicals, which offered prizes for the solution of problems in geometry.

In a later letter (No. 57, p.437), the original inquirer,

Professor Davies, speaking of the effect of emulation in fostering geometrical studies among circles of competitors, says that the prize offered to the winners "half a dozen or a dozen copies of the work itself" was "not less an object of triumph than a Copley or a Royal medal is in our own time amongst the philosophers of the Royal Society."

As to the question why geometrical speculation took root among Weavers, the Professor thought that it was peculiarly suited to their occupation; since the hands were occupied they could not write, and this precluded a preoccupation with algebra, but a diagram could be studied while they worked and the memory trained so that the Weaver, performing mechanically at his loom, acquired the power of seeing mentally the "constituent parts of figures which have never been exhibited to the eye."

Mr. Wilkinson in his letter quoted a speaker at the York Meeting of the British Association in 1831 as saying that, thanks to these ardent inquirers, "subjects confined among the ancients to the very greatest minds (became) familiar to men whose condition in life was, to say the least, most unpropitious for the successful prosecution of such elevated and profound pursuits."

Taken together, the letters suggest another possible line of inquiry into the reading habits of 18th century crafts men and operatives. The correspondence may have continued into 1851, but the relevant volume of Notes and Queries is not available to me here.

As for the surviving evidence, Professor Davies himself admits the difficulty of assembling it. A collection made by him of 18th century mathematical periodicals, gathered, he tells us with "great pains", was not even approximately complete and he doubted whether, in 1850, a complete set existed. It might, however, still be worth a search through surviving copies of some of those he or Mr. Wilkinson mentions, e.g. the Lady's Diary, the Gentleman's Diary, Burrows Diary, the Mathematical Companion, the Mathematical Repository, the Liverpool Student, the Enquirer, the Leeds Correspondent, the York Courant, the Mathematician, the Mathematical Exercises, and Carnan's Diary.

Professor Davies also refers to the records of the Mathematical Society of London (then in the archives of the Royal Astronomical Society) as a list of members and visitors attending meetings was "carefully preserved". These lists might reveal links

between London Weaver- geometricians and their Northern colleagues.

In view of the emphasis placed on Spitalfields as a pioneering centre, one wonders if existing Huguenot records might contain useful clues.

Specific articles in the Philosophical Magazine (September 1850), the Mechanics' Magazine (n.d.) and the address by Harvey to the British Association in 1831 are referred to for confirmation of statements made in Notes and Queries.

A similar investigation into 18th century periodicals and books dealing with botany or natural history might lead to the rediscovery of weavers and other craftsmen whose interests and reading led them in that direction.

Following a somewhat different and more limited trail, there still exists, I believe, a little evidence of the studious habits of certain 18th and early 19th century shepherds, who used their solitude to study astronomy, and even, in the case of keen Bible readers, to teach themselves Greek and Latin. Examples will obviously be rare, but they are on record. Perhaps, specialists in Sussex, Wiltshire, the Pennines and the Cheviots could recover some interesting facts from the fragmentary memoirs in local periodicals or from Ms. material.

The length of this note may not be justified by the rather meagre promise of results, but perhaps Mr. Laslett and his colleagues in the Cambridge Group may think the hint worth a place in the "in tray".

Yours sincerely,

V. Duckworth-Barker
Riant - Lac
Prangins
Vaud
Switzerland

Dear Sir,

Smallpox

It certainly looks as though Mr. Boorman ('Smallpox in Eighteenth Century, Winchester L.P.S. 1) has some interesting material on hand. But explanations based upon a change in virulence of the virus should only be made in the last resort since, as an untestable hypothesis, it is not useful. Apart from the two sorts of virus (Variola major and Variola minor) I don't think there is any good evidence that the virus changes but it is well established that the same virus can give disease of very different severity in different individuals. I should have thought that differing incidences of the disease in different years more likely to be due to:-

1 Introduction of a case of smallpox into the district.
2 Variation in the population of susceptibles.
3 Change in social circumstances leading to closer contact of individuals, although smallpox is so infectious I doubt if this would really be significant.

Presumably from the Winchester records one could look into the second possibility. It does not seem from his figures that the outbreaks came in regular cycles which might correspond to build-up of susceptibles. On balance, I should think variations in smallpox incidence from year to year probably depended on the chance introduction of cases which started an epidemic. The sort of information I would have liked from the Winchester records, for <u>each</u> year, is (a) total births, (b) total deaths (non smallpox) with age at death (c) total smallpox deaths with ages.

I don't think I agree with Mr. Razzell's remark that isolation would result in smallpox deaths at all ages, while inoculation would result in deaths mainly amongst the very young who had not yet been inoculated (L.P.S.2. p.42 at bottom). Wouldn't one find the majority of smallpox cases in the very young anyway?

Yours sincerely

Derek Foster,
King's College Hospital Medical School (University of London),
Denmark Hill, London, S.E.5.

<u>Editor's Note</u>:
A large number of letters await publication. We hope that most of them will appear in the next issue.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATION

Books

Flinn, M.W.

British Population Growth 1700-1850
Studies in Economic History, Macmillan Student Editions, 1970, 5s.
An examination of the statistical sources and methods on which past and recent interpretations of population growth have been based and a critical review of the explanations that have been put forward. Many L.P.S. readers will find this pamphlet of great value. We hope to discuss its contents in some detail in a later issue.

Greven, Philip, J. Jnr.

Four generations: population, land and family in colonial Andover, Massachussets. Cornell University Press, 1970, £5 19s 0d.
Uses genealogies, vital records, probate records and deeds to reconstruct the demography, settlement patterns and family relationships of the first four generations of settlers. Some interesting contrasts with contemporary English parishes emerge particularly in mortality and property transmission.

Shrewsbury, J.F.D.

A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles. Cambridge University Press, 1970, £8.
A detailed account by an eminent bacteriologist of the bubonic plague in the British Isles from 1348 until the later seventeenth century. The publishers claim that this is an exhaustive study is unfortunately not entirely borne out by the contents. However, perhaps in a volume that contains more than a hundred pages of references and bibliography such a boast is excusable! A detailed assessment of this book will appear in a later issue.

Articles

Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations (Nov - Dec. 1969 published from 20, rue de La Baume, Paris. VIIIe.
Is devoted to 'Biological History and Society'. Articles include: Customs and blood group distribution; Towards an historical study of disease, Plague in the high middle ages; Plague-induced amenorrhea; Contraception marriage and sexual relations in the Christian West; Growing old in the Quattrocento; Provence visions of death and of the Beyond. There are sections on diet and disease, and a number of reports, including a report on an International Conference organised by the Cambridge Group in September 1969 on the History of the family.

Annales de Demographie Historique (1968) Published by the Societe de Demographie Historique, 17 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris Ve.
Includes articles on: Psychosociology of famine; Nineteenth century population theory; The limits of statistical methods in medieval demography; Turnover of population in France and England in the Eighteenth Century. (by Peter Laslett)

Annales de Demographie Historique (1969).
This issue is entirely devoted to local population studies: 4 in the Paris region, 3 in Normandy, and others in Alsace, Brittany the Touraine, and Dijon.

Julian Cornwall — English Population in the early Sixteenth Century. Economic History Review (April 1970).
Estimates the size of the population, both nationally and separately for several counties on the basis of the 1524 and 1525 tax returns.

P.E.H. Hair

Bridal pregnancy in earlier rural England further examined. Population Studies (March 1970). Elaborates on an earlier article in Population Studies (1966), noticed in L.P.S. No. 1.

James P. Huzel

Malthus, the poor law and population in early Nineteenth Century England, Economic History Review (December 1969).
Argues that the poor law allowance system did not lead to increased birth or marriage rates in the early Nineteenth Century as Malthus believed, and possibly reduced infant mortality rates, but not enough to affect the general death rate or increase noticeably the rate of population growth.

Peter Laslett

'Size and Structure of the Household in England over Three Centuries', Part I: Mean household size in England since the Sixteenth Century, Population Studies (July 1969).
Argues on the basis of the 100 fullest listings of inhabitants at present available that the mean household size has remained fairly constant at about 4.75 persons until recently. Examines some determinants of household size (e.g. presence of kin, servants, and social and occupational status of head of household).

C.M. Law

'Local censuses in the Eighteenth Century', Population Studies (March 1969).
Describes the location and contents of 125 local censuses, most of which are in print.

Joseph Lee

'Marriage and Population in pre-famine Ireland', Economic History Review (August 1968).
Evaluates evidence on age at marriage in the 1841 Census and the Poor Inquiry of 1836.

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
HERTS (continued)			
Literacy			
	Aldenham*	W. Newman Brown	
	Bayford*	Mrs. B. Goldie	Manor House, Church Lane, Wormley, Nr. Broxbourne, Herts.
	Broxbourne*	Mrs. B. Goldie	
	Cheshunt*	Mrs. B. Goldie	
Listings			
	Barkway, Reed 1801, 1805*		
	Hitchin 1801, 1807*		
Reconstitution			
	Aldenham	W. Newman Brown	
	- - -	- - - - - - -	
HUNTS			
Aggregative			
	St. Ives	Miss J. Grove	Beechurst Flat, Commercial Rd., Dereham, Norfolk

Literacy

- - - - - - - - - -

Listings

- - - - - - - -

Reconstitution

- - - - - - - -

KENT

Aggregative

Ashford*	Miss J.M.Potter	33 Alder Road, Folkestone, Kent
Benenden*	Lt.Col.P.White	The Paper Mill, Hawkhurst, Kent
Biddenden*	Lt.Col.P.White	
Bromley*	Miss B.B.Barnardistone 20 Graham Terrace, London, S.W.1. and	
	F.W. Popham	44 Crofton Lane, Orpington, Kent
Chiselhurst*	G.E.Hewlett	30 Russell Close, Bexley Heath, Kent
Cranbrook*	Lt.Col.P.White	
Eastry*	J. Bones	Wells Farm, Eastry, Sandwich, Kent
Eltham*	Mrs.B.Ludlow	3 Nethercombe House, Ruthin Rd, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.
Folkestone	C.Forrester	Business Operations Research, 165/177 The Broadway, London, S.W.19.
Goudhurst*	Miss B.K.Barnardistone & Messrs. Quiddington & Pierce	Azalea Cottage, Goudhurst, Kent
Gravesend St. George	(the late) G.A. Tatchell	

KENT (contd.)

Hawkhurst	Lt. Col. P. White	
Herne*	H. E. Gough	Librarian, County Branch Library, High St., Herne Bay, Kent
Hythe*	Mrs. K. M. Gow	1 Holmesdale Terr. Folkestone, Kent
Lenham*	Rev. L. E. C. Evans	The Burnt House, Lenham Heath, Maidstone, Kent
Milton-next Gravesend	J. Benson & Miss Birch & Miss Brind	33 St. James' Avenue, Gravesend, Kent
Newenden*	Miss W. L. Davis	Quinneys, Dixter Rd., Northiam, Sussex
Reculver*	H. E. Gough	
Sevenoaks*	Mrs. J. E. Jones	33 Quarry Hill, Tonbridge, Kent

Aggregative

Sittingbourne *	H. P. Mills	76 Bell Road, Sittingbourne, Kent
Speldhurst*	Miss B. K. Barnardistone	
Staplehurst *	Mr & Mrs. F. T. Jackson	Illesden Frith Cottage, The Moor, Hawkhurst, Kent
Sundridge *	Dr. A. R. H. Baker	Dept. of Geography, Downing Site, Downing Street, Cambridge
Tenterden *	Lt. Col. P. White	
Tonbridge *	Mrs. J. E. Jones	
Westerham *	Dr. A. R. H. Baker	

KENT (contd.)

Wye *	A. Purvis	13 The Green, Wye, Ashford, Kent
Yalding*	W.S.B. Bowring	Bow Hill House, Yalding, Nr. Maidstone, Kent

Literacy

Benenden *	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Bexley*	G.G. Hewlett	30 Russell Close, Bexley Heath, Kent
Brenzette*	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Crayford*	G.G. Hewlett	
Crundale	Rev. Dr. Brade-Birks	The Vicarage, Godmarsham, Canterbury, Kent
Faversham*	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Frindsbury *	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Godmarsham	Rev. Dr. Brade-Birks	
Goodnestone-next Wingham	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Goudhurst *	Mrs. C. Malcolm	Whites Farm, Goudhurst, Kent
Hackington*	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Herne*	H.E. Gough	34 St. Annes Drive, Herne Bay, Kent
High Halden*	G.E.C. Barham Lt. Col. P.F. White	Sutton Cottage, East Sutton, Kent
Ickham *	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Kingston*	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Nursted *	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Reculver*	H.E. Gough	
Sandwich St. Clements*	Lt. Col. P.F. White	
Sevenoaks *	Mrs. J.E. Jones	33 Quarry Hill Rd., Tonbridge, Kent

KENT (contd.)

Sittingbourne*	H. P. Mills	76 Bell Road, Sittingbourne, Kent
Whitstable*	H. E. Gough	
Wittersham*	Lt. Col. P. F. White	

Listings

Adisham 1705*

Ash 1705*

Ash (overland) 1705*

Barfristone 1705*

Betshanger and Ham 1705*

Bocton 1676*

Buckland 1705*

Chillendon and Knowlton 1705*

Denton 1705*

Easholeborough 1705*

Eastry 1705*

Elmstone 1705*

Ewell 1705*

Frogham Borough 1705*

Goodnestone 1676*

Gorton 1705*

Hackington or St. Stephens 1676*

Hugham 1705*

Ickham 1705*

Littlebourne 1705*

Little Mongham and Ashley Borough 1705*

Monkton 1705*

New Romney 1696, 1697, 1700*

Nonnington 1705*

KENT (contd.)

Preston 1705*

Ripple 1705*

River 1705*

St. Lawrence*

St. Nicholas, Wade 1705*

Shepherdswell 1705*

Stadmarsh 1705*

Stonard 1705*

Sutton 1705*

Tilnestone 1705*

Tunstall 1757*

Waldershire 1705*

Westcliff 1705*

West London 1705*

Westfield 1705*

Womenswold 1705*

Woodnesborough 1705*

Wottom 1705*

Word 1705*

Reconstitution

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LANCASHIRE

Aggregative

Ashton-under-Lyme	Peter Laslett & John Harrison	Cambridge Group
Cartmel*	Dr. R. Dickinson	The Lawns, Rainhill, Liverpool
Caton*	Dr. W. Giles Howson	20 Castle Park, Lancaster, Lancs.

LANCS. (contd.)

Chorley*	R. Sharpe France	County Archivist, Lancashire Record Office, Sessions House, Lancaster Rd., Preston, Lancs.
Croston*	J. N. Banister	Rollestone, 15Malden St., Leyland, Lancs.
Culcheth*	D. R. Morris	Culcheth, New Hall, Nr. Warrington, Lancs.
Deane*	J. Charnock	Mayfield, 32 Hughes Avenue, Horwich, Bolton, Lancs.
Eccles*	R. W. Trubridge and students	Manchester Training College, Long Millgate, Manchester
Eccleston*	J. N. Banister	
Farnworth	Mrs. S. Stephenson	36 Sutton Avenue, Culcheth, Nr. Warrington, Lancs.
Hawkshead*	Miss K. Oosterveen and Mrs. K. Leonard	Cambridge Group and Kate's Cottage, Roger Ground, Hawkshead, Ambleside, Westmorland
Lancaster*	Dr. W. Giles Howson	
Leyland*	J. N. Banister	
Middleton*	R. W. Trubridge and students	
North Meols*	Dr. W. Giles Howson	
Prescot	J. Charnock	Mayfield, 32 Hughes Avenue, Horwich, Bolton, Lancs.
Radcliffe*	R. W. Trubridge and students	

LANCS. (contd.)

Rochdale*	M. Potter	155 Mitchell Hey, College Bank, Rochdale & Tree Tops, Hall Road, Cromer, Norfolk
Sephton*	R.G. Chorlton	Norwood, 685 Burnage Lane, Manchester 19
Standish*	J.N. Banister	
Tunstall*	Dr.W. Giles Howson	
Warrington	R.W. Trubridge and students	
Burton Wood Chapel*	Mrs. S. Stephenson	
Warton*	Col. Julia M. Cowper	4 Hillside, Lancaster, Lancs.
Whalley, Colne Chapel	J. Noon	St. Theodore's R.C. Boys' Secondary School, Ormerod Rd, Burnley, Lancs.
Whittington*	Dr.W. Giles Howson	

Literacy

Caton*	R.S. Schofield	Cambridge Group
Haslingden*	Miss M. Gray	Manchester College of Education, Long Millgate, Manchester 3.
Overton*	R.S. Schofield	
Pennington*	R.S. Schofield	
St. Michael-on-Wyre*	R.S. Schofield	
Hawkshead*	Mrs. K. Leonard	
Warton*	R. Speake	123 Slyne Rd., Bolton-le-Sands, Carnforth, Lancs.

Listings

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Reconstitution

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LEICESTERSHIRE

Aggregative

Asford*	R.T.H. Pearse	The Rectory, 1 Main St., Asfordby, Melton Mowbray, Leics.
Ashby-de-la-Zouche*	Miss W. Herrington	77 Regent Road, Leicester
Great Bowden*	Mrs. P. Moll	93 St. Peter's Road, Leicester
Little Bowden*	Mrs. P. Moll	
Breedon*	W. Batty Smith	6 Chesterfield Road, Leicester
Castle Donnington	Mrs. P. Moll	
Coleorton*	Mrs. P. Moll	
Desford*	Mrs. P. Moll	
Enderby*	Miss W. Herrington	
Glenfield*	J.E.O. Wilshere	Green Ways, 7 Gullet Lane, Kirkby Muxloe, Leics.
Hinckley*	Miss W. Herrington	
Husbands Bosworth	Miss W. Herrington	
Kirkby Mallory*	W.Batty Smith	
Kirkby Muxloe*	W.Batty Smith	
Kibworth Beauchamp	Mrs. P. Moll	
Long Clawson	Mrs. P. Moll	
Loughborough*	Mrs. P. Moll	

LEICS. (contd.)

Market Harborough*	Mrs. P. Moll	
Medbourne*	Miss W. Herrington	
Melton Mowbray*	W. Batty Smith	
Prestwold*	Mrs. P. Moll	
Saddington*	Miss W. Herrington	
Shepshed*	Mrs. P. Moll	
Syston*	D. Mills	9 Greenbanks, Melbourn, Nr. Royston, Herts.
Wigston Magna*	Miss W. Herrington	
Whitwick*	Mrs. P. Moll	
Wymondham*	Miss W. Herrington	

Literacy

Aylestone*	W. Batty Smith	
Blaby*	W. Batty Smith	
Beeby*	Miss W. Herrington	
Bruntingthorpe*	Miss W. Herrington	
Desford*	W. Batty Smith	
Enderby*	W. Batty Smith	
Earl Shilton*	W. Batty Smith	
Ilston on the Hill*	Miss W. Herrington	
Kirkby Muxloe*	W. Batty Smith	
Kirkby Mallory*	W. Batty Smith	
Leicester, St. Martin*	Miss J. Hobson	Homerton College, Cambridge
Leicester, St. Mary de Castro*	W. Batty Smith	
Misterton*	W. Batty Smith	
Nailstone*	Miss W. Herrington	
Peathing Magna*	W. Batty Smith	

LEICESTER (contd.)

Peckleton*	W. Batty Smith
Thurlaston*	W. Batty Smith
Whetstone*	W. Batty Smith

Listings

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Reconstitution

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