HOUSE REPOPULATION FROM THE CENSUS RETURNS
OF 1841 and 1851
Adrian Henstock

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Introduction (1)
The census enumerators' returns of 1841 and 1851 are a well-known source of population statistics, but their greatly enhanced usefulness when used in conjunction with another well-known basic historical source - the tithe apportionments and maps of the 1830's, '40's, and '50's - is often overlooked. A new dimension can be given to census studies by correlating the details of each census household in a given community with the house in which it lived as shown on the tithe map, in fact to 'repopulate' the houses with the families who lived in them. Such projects have been carried out by a number of individual local historians for different purposes, but it is felt that their potential which is theoretically capable of universal application throughout England and Wales, is not as widely recognised as they merit. This article will deal with the value, feasibility, and methods of carrying out such projects, for which the name 'house repopulation' is suggested, and which lends itself particularly well to group work. The author's experience has been with an adult education class but any similar group, including classes in secondary schools, could master the techniques involved.

The sources

The two sources are so well known that a brief description of them will suffice here. The Census returns, which cover the entire country, list each person living on a specific evening of the years 1841 and 1851, household by household and also provide valuable additional information of ages, relationships, occupations, and places of birth of the person listed (although the 1841 Census is slightly less detailed). The returns are arranged by parish or township, and subdivided into 'enumeration districts' (2). The tithe apportionments (often known as 'awards') and their accompanying maps, for which nearly 12,000 were drawn up for townships in England and Wales in the fifty years following the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, were created as a means of apportioning money payments in lieu of
tithes on each unit of property within a township. The apportionments consist of surveys or schedules describing each unit either by its field-name or by its function, e.g. 'house and garden', 'public house, stables, and offices', 'malthouse and outbuildings', etc., and these features are identified on the detailed map attached to each apportionment by a series of numbers. In addition the names of the owners and occupants of each property unit, the area, the land use if agricultural, and the tithe rent-charge are also stated. Most tithe apportionments were drawn in the twenty years following the 1836 Act, but, as pointed out below, a great many parishes and townships did not need to adopt the Act and consequently apportionments were never made. (3)

Value of house repopulation

Providing a high degree of correlation can be achieved between the two sources, the value of undertaking a house repopulation project for a particular community is considerable. Any census study will achieve a whole new perspective and meaning when the households can be linked with buildings on a map, especially in small towns and rural areas where many of the actual buildings still exist, and this can be of value to historians, geographers, demographers, and architectural historians alike. The value of the project to the demographer or local historian working on a sociological analysis of the 1841 or 1851 census returns will be discussed here. (4)

The most important attribute of a house repopulation project is that it gives a geographical and spatial basis to census analysis. Once each household is linked with a particular building, distribution maps can be drawn to illustrate a wide variety of different topics, plotted onto tracings or photocopies of the tithe map. Much significant demographic information can be mapped in this fashion, such as the distribution of households or families of any given size, related to the types of buildings in which they lived. The distribution and density of population within different areas of a town is an essential study which cannot be carried out with any degree of reasonable precision without the cartographic basis provided by a house repopulation project. This enables comparisons to be made between, the numbers of persons living on the main streets, the side streets, and in terraced yards behind the main streets of towns; also the numbers living in tenement blocks or in overcrowded courts can be ascertained, though this may be difficult. The geographical distribution of population within certain age groups can also reveal
areas populated predominantly by members of one group. Other maps can be compiled to show the distribution of retail shops for food, clothing, and other goods, of public houses, and of industrial premises. One of the most revealing exercises in a town is to plot the distribution of persons at the upper and lower ends of the social spectrum respectively; a map of the houses occupied by the gentry, clergy, professional men, persons of private means and those households with more than two resident servants, for example, may well provide a telling picture of social polarization expressed in a topographical sense.⁵ Equally illuminating may be a distribution map of, say, labourers, charwomen, paupers, (female) domestic textile outworkers, lodging houses and persons born in Ireland. A map depicting the distribution of the latter categories compiled by the author’s group for the small market town of Ashbourne in Derbyshire in 1851 illustrated that the categories complemented each other in a remarkable manner and hardly any examples were found outside a handful of specific streets and yards. The distribution of households employing one, two, three or more resident domestic servants is a useful indication of wealth and social status, and the distribution of persons engaged in any number of specific trades or professions can provide significant economic conclusions. For example it can be instructive to plot the homes of domestic lace workers and framework-knitters in appropriate communities in the East Midlands, and a map marking the homes of cotton-spinners, cotton doublers, and millhands etc., in textile factory villages may reveal the existence of rows of workers’ cottages which the tithe apportionment may confirm as being owned by the factory master. It is not claimed that all such maps will reveal significant facts, but a great proportion will do so.

A secondary use of a house repopulation project is that it can provide supplementary information on those elusive qualities, the personal wealth and social status of the persons described in the census returns. The problems of classifying persons into functional or social groups are well-known ⁶ and arise partly from inadequacies in the occupational descriptions given by the enumerators (is a 'maltster' or a 'cotton-spinner' a master or a workman?); but once households are linked with the houses in which they lived, then another valuable yardstick for measuring their wealth and social status becomes available. The 'maltster' in his substantial house on the main-street of a market town becomes immediately distinguishable from the 'maltster' living in the terraced cottage in the yard behind. Even if the houses do not survive to the present day, often their
size and position as shown on the map will provide a clue as to the type of property it would have been.

A further indication of wealth is provided by the ownership columns of the tithe apportionments, as it becomes possible to discover whether the head of the Census household is the owner or the occupier of the house in which he lives, and also whether he owns any other property in the township or parish.

For work in classes and groups the immediate visual appeal of a house repopulation project is of tremendous value, and can provide an effective antidote to the tedium of compiling the no-less important statistical evidence from the census returns alone. Even at its lowest level, merely to identify the family who lived in a particular house 120 years ago will satisfy the basic antiquarian curiosity of many less-advanced students and perhaps prompt them into further enquiry.

Limitations of the sources

House repopulation unfortunately cannot be carried out for all places, as much depends on the availability of the basic sources and the amount of detail they reveal.

The census returns provide a comprehensive coverage of the whole country and are arranged in a standard format, but variation can be found in the details of the addresses of each household, which can crucially affect the success of a house repopulation project. The returns may state street numbers in cities or large towns, but for smaller towns and rural areas it is rare to find such details. Occasionally an enumerator would describe the address of everyone in Weston simply as 'Weston', but fortunately this is exceptional, outside very small townships or village centres. The names of outlying farms or prominent residences will almost certainly be stated, but difficulties begin when trying to identify the houses of families living along the main village street or the populous but un-numbered street in a small town.

The viability of the whole project depends on the arrangement of the households in the census sheets reflecting the route taken by the enumerator on the night of the census as he walked from house to house collecting the individual forms completed by the head of each household. In towns or village streets it is highly probable that he walked up one side of a street and then down the other, or possibly
up one side only, turning the corner and down one side of the next street, leaving the other sides to other enumerators. Each enumeration district of the census is, however, preceded by a detailed description of the area covered, usually indicating which sides of streets are included. But if the enumerator has not followed his instructions and has arranged his households in some other fashion, then the project will probably be difficult, though it is unlikely to be totally impossible for the whole enumeration district.

The tithe records present more serious problems. To begin with, there will be no tithe award or map for many parishes, especially the ones which had ince only held part of monastic estates and were consequently tithe-free, or those where tithes were converted into real estate under the provisions of one of the innumerable local Parliamentary enclosure acts of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It is a useful general rule to bear in mind that if an enclosure award exists there will usually be no tithe apportionment, and vice versa, although there are notable exceptions. In counties where the common field system either did not exist or was subjected to early enclosure, such as Cornwall, Devon, Kent, or Shropshire, something like a 100% coverage by tithe apportionment may be possible, but in the East Midland counties where Parliamentary enclosure was the rule, tithe apportionments are somewhat rarer. Northamptonshire has only a 23\% coverage by tithe apportionments, together with a 52\% coverage by enclosure awards. In Leicestershire the equivalent figures are 31\% and 38\%.(7) Some parishes may have tithe apportionments which for various reasons do not cover the whole parish, sometimes only relating to one or two fields; perhaps the most infuriating are those which are almost complete but leave a number of neat blank shapes scattered over the map indicating small pockets of tithe-free property not subject to the apportionment. However, it is well worth remembering that even where a tithe apportionment is deficient, any similarly detailed survey and map from estate, parish, or other sources would be of use.

Where an appropriate tithe or similar map and survey does exist, the second major factor to be taken into consideration is its date, i.e. how close it is to census years of 1841 and 1851. The essential details of the tithe survey necessary for correlation are the names of the occupants of each property, and consequently the nearer are the dates of the two records the higher is the chance of exact correlation. Generally however, in villages and small towns, probably few changes in occupancy will have taken place between, say, 1846 and 1841 or 1851.
A third possible limitation of the tithe documents is the scale and accuracy of the maps. Only where the details drawn of the property are clearly distinguishable is a house repopulation project viable. In the main, however, the standard of accuracy of such maps is very high (although only those sealed by the Tithe Commissioners are certified as being accurate) and the scale is large enough to define the exact extent of each occupancy unit and the outline of each building. In the cases of market towns or the large villages, a second map of the built-up centre was sometimes compiled on a larger scale in addition to the one of the whole township. An examination of the tithe maps available for Nottinghamshire, for example, has revealed that the detail of nearly all the maps relating to townships with a population in 1841 of under 2,000 is sufficient for house repopulation, as well as those of the market towns and urban villages of Newark (c.10,200 pop.), Mansfield (c.9,800), Southwell (c.3,500), East Retford (c.2,700), Bingham (c.2,000), Arnold (c.4,500), Bulwell (c.3,100), and Selston (c.2,000). This leaves only nine Nottinghamshire settlements with populations of over 2,000 where the tithe records are either non existent or deficient, and these include the Borough of Nottingham and four of its most populous suburbs. Even in these areas, however, house repopulation may be possible using the evidence of street numbers if given in the census returns.\(^8\)

In some instances it may be found that the urban parts of a town may spill over into adjacent townships, in which case one may have to use two or more different tithe maps, as was necessary with the author's project in Ashbourne, Derbyshire. Ashbourne in 1851 was a market town with an urban population of approximately 3,500 people, and the urban area covered no less than four different townships, each with tithe apportionments and maps dated between 1846 and 1849. The township of Ashbourne itself, which included about two-thirds of the urban area, had a detailed large-scale tithe map, and house repopulation was carried out with something like 80% success. The figure was lower for the urban portions of the remaining townships which had less detailed maps.\(^9\)

Procedures

Assuming that both census and tithe records are adequate, what procedures should be adopted for making the actual correlation? The first stage is to rearrange the details of the tithe apportionment into an order roughly comparable with the order of the census
households. Most tithe schedules list properties by alphabetical order of owners, so that the names of the occupants of adjacent properties together with their map numbers may appear scattered over all the pages of the schedule. On the other hand, the tithe maps number their property units in a systematic (if occasionally somewhat irregular) pattern, and adjacent properties along a main street, for example, will usually bear consecutive numbers. Therefore it is necessary to re-sort the names of the occupants in the tithe schedule into numerical order of the tithe map number in order to avoid tedious searching each time the name of a particular occupant or the number of a property needs to be retrieved. This is best achieved by making a form or card for each property and working through the tithe schedule copying down all the relevant details for each entry onto a separate form in this order - tithe number, name(s) of occupant(s), name(s) of owner(s), and description of property. For example one form might bear this information:

Tithe Map No. 97: **Occu Pant**: Smith, John, and 3 others,
**Owner**: Wright James,
**Description**: 4 houses, outbuildings, yard, etc.

These property forms can then be sorted into consecutive order of tithe number, e.g. 95, 96, 97, 98, etc., so that they follow the order of the numbers on the map, and the occupants can be easily matched to the properties which they occupied by comparing them with the map. An example of details from five consecutive property forms, together with the relevant section of the tithe map, is shown on page

It now remains to link the census households with these properties, and this is achieved by working systematically through the properties on one side of a street or road on the map, checking the name of the occupant from the property forms by reference to the tithe number, and identifying where possible a household head of that name in an appropriate place on the census sheets. The property form should then be marked with the census page reference and enumerator's number (see note (1) on page of that particular household, and, conversely the census household should be marked (on the copy of the census sheet) with the tithe number of the relevant property. Depending on circumstance it may be found that no more than one in every four or even six households can be placed with certainty at first (for example, the occupants of a row of terraced houses may be described as 'John Smith and 3 others'), but having once established these 'hooks', the remainder can be pinned up in between. A pattern should emerge in the order of the census households
reflecting the enumerator's original route along the road or street; once this has been ascertained the number of uncorrelated households in the census between each identified one should be divided into the available number of houses as shown on the map, and the households marked with a 'possible' tithe number of the property forms. Exact attribution to one of two properties may be impossible in some cases, but to have narrowed the choice down to two is an achievement in itself and sufficient for many purposes. Also, the number of households may not agree with the number of available dwellings, and here the correlation will have to be interpolated. Certain or highly probable correlations should be marked just with a number, e.g. '95'; likely possibles with one query, e.g. '96?', and dubious ones with two queries, e.g. '97??'. Where two adjacent households or properties cannot be distinguished then the number of both should be written as, e.g. '96/97?'. Where an enumerator for the 1851 census has followed his instructions carefully he should have distinguished each house from the next by a longer line drawn across the page than the line used to divide each household, but in the author's experience this convention was widely ignored. Where it was used, however, it could greatly assist the success of the project.

External evidence and information from other sources can often be an invaluable aid to correct identification and should be used wherever possible. Features such as named houses, yards, terraces, or public houses which still exist at the present day are an obvious example. The names and addresses given in contemporary commercial directories can be a useful link between the date of the tithe apportionment and the census returns, and electoral registers, rate books or any contemporary estate surveys or rentals will also fill the same role. It is necessary to bear in mind that the outline of a building shown on the map represents a unit of ownership, and that the block may be subdivided in practice into two or more separate dwellings. The first editions of the Ordnance Survey 25 inch-to-one-mile maps (usually surveyed in the 1870's or 80's) may indicate these sub-divisions, and old engravings or photographs can be invaluable for showing the appearance of now-demolished properties. If the buildings still exist then some field-work may be necessary to establish how many families could have been accommodated in them in 1841 or 1851. Bundles of title deeds for individual houses which name the occupants in the 1840's and 1850's will also be of obvious value.

However, perhaps the greatest aids to identification are a mixture of
intuition and common sense. The latter will suggest that the un-
identifiable census family of a butler or gardener named immediately
after an identifiable gentry family is probably occupying part of the
latter's large house. Similarly the trades or occupations of
unidentifiable household heads may link up with property similarly
described in the tithe schedules; the victualler will probably be
occupying the public house, the schoolmaster the school, the alms
person the almshouses, and the maltster the 'house and malt-house'.
Even if the occupants' names do not agree, then a person in the
right place with the same surname, or, if the property is a commercial
one, the same trade, will also be highly suggestive of continuity.(11)
Status can also be a guide - one would not expect the gentleman to
live in the terraced house or the labourer in the mansion - although
one must guard against becoming involved in a circular argument if
one is intending to use the results as evidence of social status.

In house repopulation work it is always necessary to bear in mind the
ever-present possibility of misinterpretation arising out of circumstantial
evidence, or out of the deficiencies or even mistakes in the sources
themselves. The census schedules that have been preserved were
compiled by the enumerators from the individual returns made by
each household head, and there is always the possibility that the
enumerator did not copy them exactly in the order in which they were
collected; two adjacent households may be transposed or a missed
one may appear at the end of the list.(12)

Because of these possibilities the final result of a house repopulation
project must be regarded as no more than an approximation to the
true position that existed on the census night. However, it is
reasonable to assume that, if all the available evidence has been
carefully assessed, the majority of the other correlations will be
strong possibilities and that the overall picture will have sufficient
validity on which to base broad conclusions.

Once the correlation is completed to the best of one's ability, the
census details should be added to the relevant property forms, which
can then be used as the basis for compiling distribution maps, etc.
Tracings or photocopies of the tithe map can be marked with a
variety of different symbols - dots, triangles, crosses, etc., as
necessary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Householder's Schedule</th>
<th>Name of Street Place or Road and Name or No. of House</th>
<th>Name &amp; Surname of Each Person who abode in the house on the Night of the 9th March 1851</th>
<th>Relation to Head of Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>High Street</td>
<td>John Spencer [Details of his family and 2 servants have been omitted for clarity]</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>James Wright [Details of family and 2 servants omitted]</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>William Cook [Details of family omitted]</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Jane Ash [No family]</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>John Smith [Details of family omitted]</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Richard Hunt [Details of family omitted]</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Ellen James [Details of 1 servant omitted]</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Rank, Profession or Occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clergyman of Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grocer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ostler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pauper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>Labourer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>Annuitant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Entries from five consecutive property forms recording details taken from the tithe apportionment schedule, 1848.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tithe No.</th>
<th>Occupant</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Green, Joseph</td>
<td>James, Ellen</td>
<td>Paddock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>James, Ellen</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>House and garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Smith, John and 3 others</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Four houses, out-buildings, yard, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Wright, James</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>House and shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Spencer, John</td>
<td>Taylor, Thomas</td>
<td>House and garden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Extract from the tithe map relating to the details described above, 1848.
Example

As an example of the procedure of house repopulation, compare the extracts from five consecutive property forms with the relevant sections of the tithe map and the census returns given on pages Commence at the first of the property forms, in this case with tithe no. 95, and work numerically along the street. The following points should be noted:

1) The numbers given in the left-hand column of the census sheet are purely the enumerator's reference number for each household and have no further significance. They are not house numbers, nor are they identifiable with the tithe map numbers.

2) As property no. 95, a paddock, does not represent a dwelling house, therefore one will not expect to find the name of the occupant, Joseph Green, in the census at that point – he may live some distance away; for the purposes of correlation, therefore, his name should be ignored in this particular context.

3) Tithe no. 96 can be correlated with census reference no. 75 as the names of the occupants agree. Additional circumstantial evidence is that it is appropriate for an elderly spinster of private means with one servant to be living in a large house which she owns, fronting the main street.

4) Tithe no. 98 can be correlated with census reference no. 70. It is appropriate that a grocer with his family and two servants would live in a large house with shop, which he owns, fronting the main street.

5) Tithe no. 99 can be correlated with census reference no. 69. It is appropriate that a clergyman with two servants would live in a large house fronting the main street, but note that in this case he is only the tenant of the property, not the owner.

6) Tithe no. 97 appears from the tithe map and schedule as a group of four houses in a yard behind no. 98. Reference to the site on the ground today and to the Ordnance Survey 25-inch-to-one-mile map (first edition) of the 1880's indicates these to be a row of terraced cottages. The only occupant named is John Smith, whose name matches census reference no. 73. As there are four households listed in the census between those of James Wright (no. 70) and Ellen James
(no.75), one of which is that of John Smith, then it is reasonable to assume that the households of Smith, Cook, Ash, and Hunt occupy the four houses named on the tithe schedule. The occupations of these four household heads are also appropriate to the type of property. Note that the row is owned by the grocer behind whose house they are situated.

(7) The enumerator walked along this side of High Street from south to north, and this is reflected in the order of the households on the census sheets, but the tithe map is numbered in the opposite direction. This may or may not be the case in other communities.

(8) Note how difficult it would have been to locate the homes of the households named on the census sheets without the key provided by the tithe map and schedule. If one was lucky the enumerator might have indicated that the four terraced cottages were in 'Wright's Yard', but by no means all enumerators went into such detail.

Further studies

House repopulation can also provide a basis for extended studies of other aspects of local history, supplementing the census and tithe data by information from other sources. One of the most valuable projects is to use contemporary local newspapers to provide a different viewpoint of the society whose members fill the pages of the census enumerators' books. Detailed though the census returns are, no amount of statistical analysis will reveal exactly who were the influential personalities in a community - the social elite and the leaders of local society - whose identities can only be discovered from other sources such as newspapers. The Ashbourne group referred to above inaugurated a project designed to elicit this information, accumulating biographical details of the most prominent personalities in a card-catalogue. A card was allotted to each figure, and on each was noted details of the subject and his family, household, birth-place, etc., from the census forms, of his place of residence and property ownership from the tithe records, and references to his appearances in public life from the local newspaper, which was examined in detail for the two years either side of the census day. This information was subsequently enlarged by references from other sources such as commercial directories, Guardians' minutes, gas company minutes, membership lists of various local societies, etc.
As a result a small group of personalities emerged who were prominent in public life in the town, and about whom brief biographies could be written; in some cases it was possible to glean information as to their character and opinion from the newspaper reports of their public speeches. Admittedly such detail was available principally for certain members of the upper and middle classes, although at the other end of the scale, the newspapers also reported the names of misdoers and their crimes. In these cases it was sometimes possible to write 'probation reports' on the miscreants by gleaning details of their social background and physical home environment from the census and tithe records.

The Ashbourne group's project is probably the first such study to use the house repopulation technique to illuminate the demographic and general history of a community in the period c.1840-c.1860, based on the nucleus of the 1851 census returns and extended by use of other sources as enumerated above. The results of this work are to be published as a book on early Victorian Ashbourne, in 1973 or 1974, which will include examples of the distribution maps compiled in the course of the house repopulation project and the fruits of the biographical study already mentioned.

NOTES

(1) This paper is adapted from the author's 'Group Projects in Local History: House repopulation in the Mid-Nineteenth Century' in Bulletin of Local History, East Midlands Region, VI, (1971), pp. 11-20. Grateful thanks are due to Mr. Christopher Charlton for several helpful suggestions during the revision of the paper.

(2) M. Beresford: The unprinted census returns of 1841, 1851 and 1861 for England and Wales, 1966.


(5) A map illustrating the distribution of household heads of private means and of households with resident servants at Ashbourne, Derbyshire, in 1851, compiled by members of the author's group, appears in A. Rogers: This was their world, 1972, p. 73.

(6) For a discussion of the problems see Rogers, op.cit., chapter V, especially pp. 105-108.


(8) One of the three ancient parishes which formed the Borough of Nottingham, two were purely urban areas with neither enclosure nor tithe awards, and the other has three enclosure awards and a tithe apportionment and map of insufficient detail. There are enclosure awards for the four suburbs of Lenton, Radford, Sneinton, and Basford but no tithe apportionments.

(9) Sections of the tithe map and schedule together with pages from the census and a commercial directory relating to Ashbourne are reproduced in Rogers, op.cit., pp. 69-72.

(10) As an alternative the names of the occupants can be sorted into alphabetical order, in which case it will be necessary to reverse the working procedure described below, i.e. one must work from the census households to the tithe occupants and then to the tithe map. This method has certain advantages but on balance the first system is to be preferred.

(11) Continuity of surnames can be a misleading indicator in some cases: much depends on the rarity of the surname in that particular community. Also there are rare instances of persons moving to houses next door.

(12) For a fuller discussion of the deficiencies of the census returns, see Tillott, op.cit.