

ORIGINAL PARISH REGISTERS

in record offices and libraries



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EDITORIAL

The new Parochial Registers and Records Measure: a progress report

It looks as if the long drawn out battle over parish registers has entered the last phase. Readers will remember that this started as long ago as *LPS 10* when we reported on the now notorious report to Synod, 114/C. In our last Editorial we outlined the provisions of the new Measure concerned with the physical preservation and care of registers and most other parish documents, which had been drafted by a small working party under the chairmanship of Dr. Alan Rogers of Nottingham University. With some reservations we welcomed this document as an equitable solution to a sensitive and difficult problem and it was our hope that Synod would approve it without further delay or controversy. In fact, at the time of writing this Editorial (January 1976), it is still unclear what the final result will be, though it seems unlikely that the Measure can survive in its present form. We understand from a discussion which took place at a recent meeting with Dr. Rogers, organised by the Standing Conference, that the way the matters was handled at the November meeting of Synod puts at risk the months of consultation, discussion and painstaking research undertaken by his working party. Now there is a danger that the Measure will be replaced or diluted by a hastily contrived patchwork of clauses which, though they may reflect the relative strengths of pressure groups within the Synod, take little account of the problems of access and custody of these important public records as they affect a wider public.

The story as we have it (and if there are other versions we would be pleased to hear them) begins shortly before Synod met, when it was decided that the Policy Sub-Committee in establishing Dr. Rogers' working party had exceeded its authority and had allowed the working party terms of reference which impinged on the Business Sub-Committee's area of responsibility. Because of this constitutional impropriety, the crucial task of introducing and nursing the Measure through Synod was taken out of the hands of the Rogers working party and given to the Archdeacon of Northampton and a new steering committee, only one member of which (Miss Patricia Bell) had been a member of the working party. In these circumstances it is no surprise to learn that the Measure did not receive an adequate introduction to Synod and its nominal sponsors were unable to do much to defend the course of action it recommends. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the new steering committee will feel any more affection for their foster child when they meet to consider it in the light of the criticism it received in the Synod debate. Unfortunately we do not have a detailed account of the course of the Synod debate but we understand the lobby advocating compulsory deposit showed itself to have considerable support.

A further complication exists in the form of a second committee, the Revision Committee. This was appointed by Synod to represent the views of those who had taken part in the debate and it will be this body, meeting in joint session with the Steering Committee, which finally must prepare the revised document to put before the Synod in July. We hope the members of the Steering Committee will allow themselves to be advised by Miss Bell and will come to recognise the strength of the Measure in its present form. They must then persuade the Revision Committee to support them but it seems probable a more extreme view will prevail. The situation demands close attention from all who use these records and who are concerned with the outcome of this matter. But unless they are members of Synod or can influence someone who is, their course of

action is limited. Until February 16th the Steering Committee is prepared to receive submissions and we hope a large proportion of the twenty or thirty bodies which expressed their views to the working party will now write again to the Steering Committee. After February 16th the matter is removed from public view for consideration by the two committees and it will not re-emerge until the end of May or early June, when the document to be debated by Synod in July becomes available. It is at this stage that we would strongly urge readers to contact their local members of Synod to make clear to them the implications of this legislation. It is important for members of Synod to be made aware of the extent of public concern in this debate. This at least may prevent the issue being presented as an internal matter to be resolved in the light of administrative and financial expedience.

The Code of Practice

As we reported in our last Editorial, the Measure is to be accompanied by a Code of Practice. Now a working party has been established under the aegis of the Council for Places of Worship to draft this code. The members are Dr. David Avery, co-editor of *Local Population Studies* (specifically representing the interests of users), Miss Patricia Bell, County Archivist of Bedfordshire, the Very Reverend Syriol Evans, Mr. William Sergeant, County Archivist of Shropshire and the Reverend H. Stapleton (chairman). Mr. D. Mandeville of the Council for Places of Worship is secretary of the working party.

The working party is intended to produce a set of regulations which though 'voluntary' will, it is hoped, be imposed at the discretion of individual bishops. There has been one meeting so far (a second will be held early in February) to settle preliminary details. There are some difficulties in the way of the working party since the draft Measure is in an unusually fluid state and may well end up as a very different thing from its original draft. Anyone with views on the proposed Code of Practice or what might be contained in it should write to Dr. Avery at 6 St. James's Square, London, S.W.1, who would welcome their comments.

The fees issue

The new Measure, in its present form, says nothing about fees payable for searching registers, the matter of fees having been referred to another committee which has to report to the Church Commissioners. We made a written submission to this committee and asked to send a deputation to meet it. This meeting took place on 18th September, 1975, when David Avery, Christopher Charlton and Roger Schofield represented *LPS*. Representing the Church Commissioners were William van Straubenzee, MP, (chairman of the committee), the Venerable the Archdeacon of Nottingham, the Reverend Canon F. Bamber and the Reverend Canon K. W. H. Felstead, supported by a number of officials.

The discussion was of one and a half hour's duration. Our deputation made a number of points and answered questions put by the committee and its officers. We explained the sort of people using parish registers for historical research, the nature of their work and their requirements. We also emphasised the importance of this work for the better understanding of this country's history at a national and local level, and the constructive assistance many of us have received from the clergy themselves.

We explained, too, the quasi-public nature of parish registers and advanced the view that restriction of access to them by the charging of high fees when comparable material is freely available in the public sector would arouse considerable opposition.

We urged on the committee the view that there should be no increase in the fees, but qualified this (since the committee members were talking of the effects of inflation as a possible reason for increasing fees) by urging that if fees are increased then they should be waived for all persons involved in historical research and able to establish their bona fides to the satisfaction of an incumbent. Moreover, we took the view that the waiving of fees should be obligatory and not at the discretion of the incumbent.

Since our meeting with members of the committee, we have learned that they have turned down the idea of a nil fee put to them by Dr. Rogers' working party, expressed their intention to increase the scale of fees and, although no official statement has been made, it seems likely that they will also reject our plea for the waiving of fees for historical research. We understand the chairman of the committee has made it known that any increase while the present counter-inflationary restrictions are in force would incur the displeasure of Her Majesty's Government. This however, though it would prevent immediate implementation, would not prevent an Order being passed by Synod, and it is thought likely that the committee will bring their new Order to Synod in July or November.

If the Church Commissioners decide to go ahead and subject researchers to the new fees for consulting parish registers, what steps can we take to continue to argue our case? The Commissioners have indicated that the revision of fees will be by promulgation of an Order establishing a new table of parochial fees. In law the Commissioners have wide powers. Under the Ecclesiastical Fees Measure of 1962, which enables them to frame orders establishing tables of parochial fees, 'parochial fees' are defined not only as 'fees payable to a clerk in Holy Orders, parish clerk, sexton or other person performing duties in connection with the parish or to a Parochial Church Council', but also cover payment for 'such other services or matters as may by law or custom be now included in a table of parochial fees, and such other services or matters of a like nature for which in the opinion of the Commissioners the payment of fees is appropriate.' This last phrase is extraordinarily wide, and readers might well wonder whether members of the House of Parliament were asleep when they let the Ecclesiastical Fees Measure pass into law.

Ecclesiastical Measures, such as the Fees Measure of 1962, have the status of Acts of Parliament (this was granted by the Church Assembly (Powers) Act of 1919), and powers delegated by Ecclesiastical Measures to particular authorities, such as the power to fix parochial fees which the 1962 Measure delegated to the Church Commissioners, have the status of Statutory Instruments. Thus the Registrar General's Statutory Instrument of 1968, which abolished search fees for all marriage registers, was over-ridden by the Fees Order which the Church Commissioners framed in 1972, and which restored a fee for consulting the pre-1837 marriage registers.

Under the 1962 Fees Measure the Commissioners have to clear two hurdles before any revised table of fees they may frame becomes law. The first is that the Order 'shall be laid before the Church Assembly and shall not come into operation unless it has been approved by the Church assembly (Section 3 (1)). The first opportunity for debate

therefore lies in the Church Assembly, now the Synod. If the Synod approves the new Fees Order it is laid before both Houses of Parliament. If either House passes a resolution for the annulment of the Order within forty days of it being laid before each House, 'no further proceedings shall be taken thereunder after the date of the resolution' (Statutory Instruments Act 1946, S.5 (1)).

The second opportunity to argue the case for waiving search fees for historical research therefore lies in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords.

Thus if the Church Commissioners promulgate a new table of fees which includes fees for searching parish registers with no exception for the purposes of historical research, LPS readers must be prepared first to find members of Synod who will argue the issue with determination, and if this fails, to use their utmost efforts to persuade their MP's to pass a resolution in the Commons annulling the Church Commissioners Order.

An increase in the cost of subscription and membership of the LPS Society

We very much regret that we must announce a substantial increase in the annual subscription to *Local Population Studies*. It has been our constant endeavour to keep the price of the journal as low as possible and this we have achieved mainly through the very considerable amount of unpaid work done by a small group of people. A substantial order from the Open University has been a great help in reducing unit costs and we hoped that the increase in subscription announced a year ago would be adequate for two years. Now, unfortunately, the Open University has been obliged to halve its order and we are having to change our printing arrangements. These factors, together with the continuing rise in the costs of production and of postage mean that we will make a loss on No. 15 and that, unless we raise the subscription, we will lose on every subsequent issue. This is out of the question since we are not subsidised. Every increase in subscription is an annoyance to subscribers and involves our voluntary staff in a great deal of extra work, and we have thought it best to fix the new subscription at a figure which we can maintain for a reasonable time — though you will appreciate that estimating future costs is, nowadays, a hazardous exercise! The new rates which will come into effect with LPS 16, are £1.50 per annum for *LPS* only and £2.75 for membership of the LPS Society (student members (£1.75)).

We hope that you will continue your support of *LPS*. It is the only journal in this country specifically devoted to historical demography and related topics. We believe that its constant concern for the amateur demographer, for those for whom population studies are peripheral to a wider local history interest and for those who are interested in the use of population studies in schools and colleges make it especially valuable. We believe, too, that in relation to today's costs, it gives good value for money. In addition to continuing your personal support, you can help us by bringing in new individual subscribers and by getting public and institutional libraries to subscribe. If you become a member of the Local Population Studies Society there is an additional benefit to us and you have the advantage of being able to purchase a considerable range of books at reduced prices.

Subscribers who pay annually will be notified when their present subscription expires and the new rate become due. For those who pay by Banker's Order a form will be enclosed which will cancel the existing order on its due date and substitute the new rate. Please save us the time and expense of correspondence by dealing with these forms promptly!

**Local Population Studies Weekend Residential Conference, 9-11 July 1976
Knuston Hall**

In *LPS* 13 we advertised a residential conference to be held in Abergavenny in April 1975. One way or another this conference was not well publicised and failed to recruit sufficient people for us to allow it to go ahead. Now we are trying again with very much the same programme and, as at Abergavenny, in partnership with the University of Nottingham Department of Adult Education.

The conference will follow the pattern established at the first *LPS* conference in Matlock in catering for a wide range of interests and experience. We hope to make this possible by dividing the conference into seminar groups. This should make it possible for the complete beginner and the comparative expert both to find something of interest in the weekend. The conference will be staffed by members of the *LPS* editorial board and our visiting speaker will be Peter Laslett, Reader in Politics and the History of Social Structure, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and co-founder of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

The first seminar, led by Richard Wall and Roger Schofield, will consider the household and the family in local research. It will draw on material from the files of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure to examine some of the implications and problems likely to be encountered by the local historian or demographer using census type documents and census enumerator's material for the analysis of household and family structure. The second seminar, led by Colin Barham, Christopher Charlton and Derek Turner, will consider the problems of historical demography in schools, colleges and adults groups. The group will examine some of the methods of parish register and census analysis appropriate for schoolchildren, students or adults who are inexperienced in this field and will suggest some of the sources of information, guides to research, hints on preparing, supervising, writing up and displaying a project which the inexperienced teacher or group leader may find helpful. In addition to Peter Laslett's lecture there will be a discussion to consider the current state of research in local population studies and a meeting to talk about the *LPS* Society and the *LPS* Society Book Club.

The conference fee, including accommodation and tuition, is £14. Non-residents welcome, fee £4 excluding meals. If you wish to enrol for the conference or would like further information, please write to Mrs. A. Boden, University of Nottingham Department of Adult Education, Tawney House, Matlock, Derbyshire DE4 3 BT. (Cheques should be made payable to Local Population Studies).

David Avery
Colin Barham
Christopher Charlton
Roger Schofield
Derek Turner
Richard Wall

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

Conference on computer simulation

In August 1975 Roger Schofield and Peter Laslett visited the Centre for the Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences (the original think tank), south of San Francisco. Ten days of discussions were arranged there by the Mathematical Social Science Board of America, and were attended by several people who had been at our similar gathering in Cambridge in July 1974, and mentioned in LPS 12.

On that occasion computer simulation was described as a possibility, but in Palo Alto the technique was actually demonstrated. As a natural scientist can study the behaviour of earth-worms in the laboratory, so a social scientist can investigate the structure of populations, given different birth, death and marriage rates along with specified choices as to co-residence. It was shown, indeed that the form of the household is little influenced by demographic variation and much more by those conventions about who shall live with whom.

Further interesting inferences were drawn for the history of the English family group in particular. One was that there was a degree of regularity and homogeneity in English households which may distinguish our country from other parts of Europe, even Western Europe, and from the world at large. The Hypothesis was put forward that the evidence we have now accumulated at Cambridge on the English household suggests that our ancestors lived in nuclear families excepting only where such a rule would cause hardship. This 'nuclear hardship' hypothesis will itself be the subject of a simulation experiment, which we hope to conduct in Cambridge.

Results like this made it clear that the facilities which were anticipated at the conference of 1974 had now become available. Simulation seems to have come to stay. At the conference a demographer from Yale, whose concern is with Central Asian marital fertility wanted to know the effect on fertility of a lower male age at marriage. Men are, in fact, known to lose their reproductive power quite sharply after about age forty-seven. Outputs were produced for this enquirer while we were at the conference to demonstrate how much of the variation in fertility in Central Asia in recent years could be accounted for by this factor.

Enquiries about micro-simulation technique and its possibilities should be addressed to Peter Laslett, Cambridge group.

**Peter Laslett
Roger Schofield
E. A. Wrigley**

INFANTICIDE IN EARLIER SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Keith Wrightson

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The problem of infanticide in pre-industrial English society is one which has attracted the attention of a number of historians. In his work on mediaeval English population, J. C. Russell, hesitant as to whether the unbalanced sex ratio of the children of fourteenth century serfs is to be accounted for by differential infanticide or by a deficiency in his evidence, has described the problem as 'a major mystery'.¹ Faced by the almost total silence of parish register evidence on the subject, E. A. Wrigley and J. D. Chambers have speculated on the possible influence of a discreet infanticide as a form of population control in early modern England.² P. E. H. Hair, in his discussion of violent death, has commented that 'While it would be rash to assume that there were necessarily as many infanticides in earlier times as in Victorian days, the normal circumstances of the act — attempted concealment of a birth or mental derangement after a birth — makes it very unlikely that infanticide was uncommon in earlier times. Could it possibly be that infanticide was less seriously regarded in rural Britain in earlier centuries — conceivably that it was tacitly recognised as a form of population control'.³ Both Dr Hair and F. G. Emmison have drawn attention to the evidence of the practice of infanticide surviving in the judicial records of sixteenth-century Middlesex and Essex, Dr Emmison commenting on this evidence that 'infanticide was woefully common'.⁴ A number of American scholars have recently revived general interest in the question of infanticide, but as yet the problems of attitudes towards the crime, its incidence and its forms in early modern England remain open.⁵

In this discussion, I wish to bring together some evidence from legal, parochial and literary sources to suggest that infanticide, in the forms in which it was known in the earlier seventeenth century, can be satisfactorily understood neither simply as a socially sanctioned form of population control analogous to that found in certain ancient or 'primitive' societies, nor as an occasional crime related largely to the killing of newborn children by temporarily unbalanced mothers — the usual modern circumstance of infanticide.⁶ On the available evidence, the practice of infanticide in seventeenth-century rural England appears to have involved elements of both situations. While it was certainly not a generally tolerated practice, infanticide would appear to have had a considerable currency in the disposal of a minority of unwanted, predominantly illegitimate, children. Such disposal took in part the more familiar form of killing at birth and as such was rigorously repressed. It also embraced, however, the disposal of illegitimate children by studied neglect during nursing, a form of infanticide which would appear to have been regarded as less unambiguously criminal. The discussion of infanticide thus uncovers a perplexing relativity in popular attitudes towards the value of infant life which contrasts markedly with the clear prescriptions of contemporary official morality.

Official attitudes to infanticide in the earlier seventeenth century were clear. The moralists and legislators of the period had inherited and were to perpetuate the uncompromising opposition to infanticide expressed by the mediaeval church and by mediaeval criminal codes.⁷ Their treatment of the offence, like that of modern English criminal law, bore out certain stereotyped assumptions about the nature of 'normal' maternal feelings.⁸ Despite the differing experiences of other cultures the crime was and is regarded as unnatural. William Gouge, applauding the 'tender care' of the mother for the child, argued that God had 'so fast fixed love in the hearts of parents, as if there be any in whom it aboundeth not, he is counted unnaturall'.⁹ The modern criminal law regards infanticide as such a contradiction of normal maternal feelings that mental unbalance on the part of the infanticidal mother is virtually assumed to be the causal factor.¹⁰ Seventeenth-century men were disposed to regard the unnatural nature of the offence as a factor which rendered it particularly heinous. To Gouge 'want of naturall affection' was a notorious sin, while those who, like the heathen, slew or sacrificed children were 'more unreasonable then unreasonable beasts, which doe what possibly they can to preserve their young ones.'¹¹ Such attitudes were supported by the law. Infanticide was regarded and punished not as a special category of offence — a fairly recent development in English law — but as murder.

Contemporary statements on the actual practice of infanticide significantly narrowed the field of its discussion. Infanticide was referred to not as a widely practiced custom, but as a crime associated primarily with attempts on the part of bearers of illegitimate children to either conceal their offence or to rid themselves of the unwanted child. Gouge wrote of those '*lewd* and unnaturall women, as leave their new-borne children under stalls, at men's doores, in Church porches, yea many times in open field'.¹² Percival Willughby, the contemporary obstetrician, associated infanticide with 'the looser sort', by which he meant bastard-bearers.¹³ The members of early seventeenth-century parliaments considered the practice of killing illegitimate infants sufficiently widespread as to require special legislation. This reveals what contemporary gentlemen — many of whom as justices may have had personal knowledge — thought to be the heart of the problem. Bills dealing with this subject were debated in the parliaments of 1606-7 and 1610, while the parliament of 1624 saw the passage into law of 'An Acte to prevent the murthuring of Bastard children'.¹⁴ The act argued that 'many *lewd* Women that have been delivered of Bastard Children, to avoyd their shame and to escape Punishment, doe secretlie bury or conceale the Death of their Children and after if the Child be found dead the said Women do Alleadge that the said Childe was borne dead; whereas it falleth out sometymes (although hardlie is it to be proved) that the said Child or Children were murdered by the said Women their *lewd* Mothers or by their assent or procurement'. To rectify this situation, the act laid down that any mother of a bastard who concealed its death was to be presumed guilty of murder unless she could prove by the oath of one witness that the child had been born dead.¹⁵

Evidence of the actual practice of infanticide, both before and after 1624, is to be found principally in the records of murder prosecutions which survive, in the form of coroners 'inquisitions' or indictments for murder among the judicial records relating to particular counties. These records allow one to anatomise the circumstances of such actual or suspected infanticide as has been rendered historically visible by its prosecution and the survival of records. Over the period 1601 to 1665 the surviving assize files of Essex provide a total of sixty cases of infanticide.¹⁶ These cases were drawn from a total of fifty-three parishes, forty-six of which provided a single prosecution within the period of

this survey and seven of which saw two prosecutions. At least fourteen per cent of the county's 382 parishes experienced an infanticide prosecution within the period. Such cases, then, while not common-place, were very far from unknown.

Table 1. Prosecution for Infanticide: Essex Assizes

1601-5	3	1636-40	2
1606-10	4	1641-45	7
1611-15	1	1646-50	9
1616-20	0	1651-55	3
1621-25	1	1656-60	14
1626-30	5	1661-65	3
1631-35	8		
		Total	60

The sixty cases involved the deaths of sixty-two children — two sets of twins being included.¹⁷ No marked sex differential is observable in the children allegedly murdered, there being twenty-nine male and thirty-three female victims.¹⁸ More significantly, fifty-three of the sixty-two children are unambiguously described as bastards. Such descriptions occur largely after the passage of the 1624 act. Of the nine children involved before 1624, only one is described as base, the others being referred to as newly-born children. Of the fifty-three children involved after 1624 all save one are called bastards. The remaining case is ambiguous since two indictments survive, the first of which describes the child as the infant of a married woman, the second of which describes it as a bastard.¹⁹ In fifty-nine of the sixty cases it is the child's mother who stands accused of the murder, the remaining case being that of one Susan Long, widow, who with the consent of the child's mother carried a bastard eleven miles 'it being then extreme cold frosty weather' and neglected to give the child nourishment, so that it died.²⁰ This case may in fact be one of an infanticidal nurse, a subject to which we shall return. Of the sixty mothers, fifty-three were described as spinsters and six as widows. Only once, either before or after the 1624 act, does a reference to a married woman occur. The case is that referred to above for which two indictments survive, the first of which describes Martha Jackson as the wife of one Reuben Jackson, the second of which describes Margaret Jackson alias Wright as a spinster. Despite this ambiguous case and the problems of the contemporary use of the word 'spinster', it is probably reasonable to assume, in view of the lack of other references to husbands, that all but one of these women were, as described, unmarried.²¹

If this is indeed so, the concentration of the courts upon the prosecution of bastard-bearers raises important questions. The motive of concealing a birth may have been strongest among bastard-bearers, especially in view of the harsh bastardy legislation of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the savage penalties of the 1650 act against adultery, incest and fornication.²² Temporary mental disorders following childbirth, however, may be expected to have been as common among married as unmarried women. To what extent do the court cases represent a selective prosecution of infanticidal mothers, and what factors governed that selection?

In dealing with the records of most forms of crime in this period, the historian must remain aware that he is considering not the true incidence of offences but rather the incidence of prosecution. Cases of homicide offer the best opportunity of establishing an accurate picture of the incidence of violent death since the disposal of a body was difficult and the coroner had the duty of enquiring into circumstances 'when any man, woman or child doe come to their death by any casualtie, or untimely means'.²³ Infanticide, however, was probably the form of homicide most likely to escape notice. In a period of high infant mortality compounded by the practices of untutored midwives, the untimely nature of a child's death might be concealed relatively easily from neighbours and authorities alike. The act of 1624, as we have seen, states as much. Such concealment, however, might be more difficult in the case of women whose pregnancy had already attracted unfavourable attention and comment in the neighbourhood and such women were most likely to be bastard-bearers. The necessity of establishing the paternity of a base child, of making arrangements for its maintenance, and of seeking the punishment of its parents, matters which might involve minister, churchwardens, overseers of the poor and frequently the archdeacon and justices of the peace, meant that the bastard-bearer was closely overlooked. Bastardy proceedings which might begin during a woman's pregnancy came to a head during and immediately after her confinement. A midwife was customarily in attendance at base births and expected to extract from the mother in labour the name of the child's father, a gruesome practice amply evidenced by the scores of surviving midwives' depositions in bastardy cases. In these circumstances, the suspicious death of a base infant was more than likely to attract the attention of neighbours and through them of the coroner. Again, in cases which did not come before the coroner, local suspicion might nevertheless result in a prosecution by a privately initiated indictment. Of the sixty Essex cases, thirty-five were initiated by a coroner's inquest, held in the parish of the child's birth and employing juries of local men who would often have personal knowledge of the case. The remaining twenty-five survive in the form of indictments which frequently include the names of the local people who acted as witnesses and whose hostility may often have initiated the prosecution. Local opinion, even malicious gossip, may have been crucial in both forms of procedure.

A peculiarly striking case, which illustrates the complex filter of circumstances and relationships which lay between the committing of an offence and the making of a criminal indictment, is that of Elizabeth Codwell, widow, of Terling, Essex. She bore a base child on 23 January 1642/3. The burial register of Terling for the same month contains the entry 'a base child of Elizabeth Codwell widow, whom she fathered upon Thomas Hanbury was born 23; stifled or killed by her the same day and conveyed away or buried by her procurement the 25th, the general fast day'. The widow, who enjoyed the aliases of Parsons and Hills, was a marginal member of the village community. She had come to Terling from Chelmsford as a servant in the late 1620s and her aliases may indicate that she was herself illegitimate. She was certainly mentally unstable. A paper endorsed 'Eliz: Cadwill lunatique' among the sessions bundles for 1628, contains an account of her examination by her master concerning 'what the caus was that she was so trobled and afflicted in mind'. She had apparently suffered from the attempts of an earlier master to seduce her and she regarded him as the author of the hallucinations of deaths' heads which disturbed her. The father of her illegitimate child, Thomas Hanbury, was known in Terling as a drunkard and disorderly person. Behind the events of 1643 may have lain a history of suffering and exploitation and it seems very probable that she killed her child in one of her fits of depression. On the morning of the child's

birth and death a justice of the peace, Sir Benjamin Ayloff, was sent for. Witnesses, one of whom had been present at her examination in 1628, were subsequently examined on 2 February. Sir Benjamin, however, did not bind over the witnesses to prosecute an indictment. This may have been partly out of commiseration for Elizabeth's mental state and partly a result of the fact that the emergencies of the Civil War meant that sessions and assizes were suspended in Essex in 1643 and 1644. The matter lapsed and so it might have remained but for the strength of one section of local opinion.

In an otherwise undated letter of 16 July, probably 1645, the matter was revived by John Stalham, minister of Terling and his ally John Maidstone, a freeholder. They wrote to another justice, Arthur Barnardiston that 'inasmuch as an unnaturall and barbarous murther hath beene committed in our parish...the guilt whereof we are careful not to contract . . . wee thinke meet to advertyse you that the persons here after named being summoned wil be able to evidence the busynes'. There followed a list of witnesses and a request that they be summoned quickly 'to the intent that so horrid a crime may not escape the hand of justice'. Elizabeth Codwell was indicted on 17 July 1645 and sentenced to death, though she was temporarily reprieved in view of the fact that she was again pregnant. Whether she was eventually hanged in unknown.²⁴

Elizabeth Codwell had probably been under local observation before the birth of her child, as the filiation of her child indicates. Other cases may have been similar. In still others the case may have arisen as a result of the discovery of the bodies of children concealed by mothers who had carried and borne them in secret. That pregnancy might be so concealed can be demonstrated. Willughby cited from his experience cases of unmarried women 'with child but not mistrusted', without expressing any surprise.²⁵ This might be the case even among servants who shared sleeping rooms. One Essex girl managed to conceal her child and eventually to bear it in silence in the room which she shared with her mistress, explaining when examined that 'it would have bine a greife unto her freinds if she should have discovered it And the other cause was that she feared she should not have bine relieved if she had made it knowne that she was with child'. Fortunately for her the child was born alive and its cries awoke her mistress.²⁶

Less fortunate was 'Dennis' Presland, who figures in another of the Essex cases for which revealing supporting examinations have survived. She was a servant at Elsenham Hall who succeeded in concealing her pregnancy until 1 December 1645, when she took to her bed 'very sick'. She seems to have miscarried her child and further attempted to conceal the fact from three fellow servants, who nonetheless deposed before a justice three weeks later that 'they doe veryly beeleeve that shee was delivered of a Chylde wch they are induced unto for that they did see sum matter or burthen wch came from her body and wraped in a sheete where she lay wch did signifie soe much unto them, And they do Judge by what they sawe that shee was gone wth child about a quarter of a yeare and noe more'. 'Dennis' later that night burned the remains in the kitchen fire. What brought the matter before Justice Middleton we shall never know, but on 22 December he examined the case and committed 'Dennis' to Colchester Castle to await trial. She escaped trial in 1646, however, perhaps because she again became pregnant, as is revealed by a certificate of the midwives who examined her in Colchester Castle in February 1645/6. Her indictment survives on the assize files for 1650/1 when she was found not guilty of murdering her child. The full circumstances which lie behind the delays and revival of this prosecution remain hidden.²⁷

Infanticide prosecutions, then, confuse together cases of deliberate killing, which may include both premeditated acts and acts of violence caused by mental unbalance, with cases of the attempted concealment of bastard births. The realities of village life, reinforced after 1624 by a discriminative law, would tend to focus attention on the bastard-bearer. This may perhaps be further illustrated by an examination of the alleged means of murder and of the sentencing in our sample of cases. These are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Alleged Cause of Death and Outcome of Cases

Cause	No. of Cases	To Hang	Acquitted	Died	At Large	Unknown
Strangulation	22	11	5	1	1	4
Exposure	13	3	7	—	—	3
Blows	10	7	2	—	—	1
Suffocation	7	4	2	—	—	1
Drowning	6	3	3	—	—	—
Burning	2	1	1	—	—	—
Totals	60	29	20	1	1	9

In all save two cases it is made clear that the child had died upon its day of birth, probably immediately after birth. Of the alleged causes of death, it may be significant that forms of asphyxia (strangulation, suffocation or drowning) and of exposure, predominated over more violent methods.²⁸ Plainly women might be sentenced to death for any of the alleged means of murder, though they seem likelier to have been found guilty where the child had been beaten. The striking of a child's head against a bed post, the breaking of its skull with a staff or the hurling of a child into a fire or to the ground may suggest infanticide while the state of the mother's mind was disturbed. No direct reference to mental unbalance survives in the evidence of indictments or inquests unsupported by surviving examinations, though in one reported Buckinghamshire case of 1668 a married woman was found not guilty of murder when she killed her child in 'a temporary Phrenzy' and in a London case of 1688 an unmarried girl, subsequently sentenced to hang, pleaded that 'she had not her Senses and was Light-headed'. In these cases the presence or absence of evidence of concealment was held to be crucial.²⁹ Strangulation, suffocation and some forms of blows, such as the crushing of the head, might easily have been accidents of childbirth or of the subsequent overlaying of the child by an exhausted woman. Again, alleged murder by exposure, drowning or burning might represent as much attempts to conceal a stillborn child as genuine murders. In 1630, for example, Constance West was found not guilty of drowning her child in a ditch, it being proved that the child was stillborn.³⁰ Presumably she either bore the child in a ditch or attempted to conceal it there. Elizabeth Terrey was found not guilty of placing her child in a wooden chest and allowing it to die of cold and hunger. Her child was stillborn and she had attempted to conceal it.³¹ In general the nature of the evidence conceals such possibilities. Verdicts alone cannot be taken as proofs of guilt or innocence since we do not know the circumstances which influenced the juries. Willughby cites cases from his long experience of childbirth and its attendant dangers physical and legal, of both the innocent condemned and the guilty unpunished.³² What is abundantly clear is the wisdom of his repeated advice to women not to bear their children alone. He had enough experience of the horrors of contemporary midwifery to

repeatedly emphasise that the assistance or interference of a midwife was by no means necessary to successful birth, but he counselled 'to have a midwife is not absolutely necessary, yet very convenient, to assist the woman, and so to avoid all future suspicions, and to free some of the looser sort from the danger of the statute-law, in case that the child should be found dead'. Again, citing the case of a 'naturall foole' hanged, despite his evidence, for having a premature child in a ditch, 'let the looser sort fear to commit folly, and, if casually they should transgresse, to bee carefull, not to be alone in their travail, least they should suffer, as this poore, simple creature did'.³³

While the evidence in cases where the child died at or soon after birth remains ambiguous, there is further evidence that those who wished to dispose of unwanted children had other means open to them which might be less likely to be discovered. Attention has already been drawn to the case of Susan Long who may have been an infanticidal nurse. Clear evidence of the disposal of bastard children through the system of nursing exists, independently of the evidence of coroner's inquisitions or assize indictments, among the quarter sessions records of the period.³⁴ This evidence, derived from petitions and informations, also brings out the role of the fathers of base children in promoting a subtler and qualitatively distinct form of infanticide; infanticidal nursing.

Bastard children were frequently put out to a nurse. Elin Cropper of Aughton in Lancashire, for example, looked after the child of one Elizabeth Lunte of Maghull, for which she was to receive forty shillings from the girl's father.³⁵ Some nurses specialised in taking bastards. One Jane Lees of Crompton, Lancashire was called before the justices 'to shew cause wherefore shee taketh to nurse divers children of Strangers being bastards and keepeth them soe long as by law the same cannot bee sent to their places of birth'.³⁶ More ominously, some fathers of bastard children gave the children to vagrant nurses. Hugh Browne of Chorley got Margaret Adlington with child and on the child's birth took it from her and 'tied it to a beggar's back'.³⁷ Margaret Breakell of Deane parish petitioned that the father of her bastard had 'put the said chyld unto a beggar woman whoe wandreth up and down the Cuntrie insoemuch that the said chyld is lyke to be starved and famished for want of releefe'.³⁸ William Seddon, a Lancashire tailor, was ordered by the Justices to maintain his bastard. When the child was thirty-two weeks old he gave it to a beggar.³⁹ Francis Bland, an Essex yeoman, took his bastard to London on the pretext of putting it out to nurse and subsequently refused to disclose its whereabouts to the child's mother.⁴⁰

The infanticidal nursing of illegitimate children was to be recognised as a social problem of sufficient weight in Victorian England to be the subject of parliamentary enquiry 'independently altogether of the more criminal class of cases'.⁴¹ It would appear, in both the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, to have been motivated very differently from the killing of children at or soon after birth. Here we find less the influence of mental strain or desire to conceal a shameful birth, than the more calculated intention of removing a source of expense, shame or inconvenience which, while involving less overtly criminal behaviour, reveals an unfamiliar callousness towards infant life. These points may be illustrated by quoting more fully two particularly well-documented cases of suspected infanticide nursing in Lancashire.

In 1626, Elizabeth Bradell of Croston, described as 'a bad woman of her tongue, lyme fingred, And of a lewde carriage in other courses of her lyef' bore a bastard child to Cuthbert Mason, a local glover. Two days after its birth, he gave the child to one Isabel

Smith, described alternatively as a labourer's wife and a 'traveller who had noe certain place of abode'. This he did with the consent of Elizabeth and her sister and in spite of the advice of a neighbour that 'before yow putt[?] yor child of a Begger in this cold weather digge a hole and bury it quicke'. He gave Isabel Smith six shillings and a coverlet and instructions to return the child in two weeks when he had found a better nurse. Smith described herself as a poor woman living as a nurse. She confessed to having had three bastards herself, all of which had died before the age of two years. In addition she admitted 'that shee never gave any sucke to any childe in all her lyef'. She received Mason's child and also carrying another bastard given to her, walked to Bretherton where she obtained shelter in a barn. To feed the children 'shee bought a penny worth of milke for the same infants, And boyled the same with some butter And afterwards gave it to the said Infants who as shee . . sayth did eate very well'. By morning, however, Mason's child had died. The mother of the other child came and retrieved it next day. Of the subsequent proceedings in this case nothing more is known.⁴²

Susan Barloe was the daughter of John Crompton a yeoman of Pilkington. In 1629 she had a bastard which died at an early age. In 1630 she again became pregnant. Her father quickly arranged a marriage — at three days' notice — with Thomas Barloe, a Bury yeoman, who did not discover her condition for ten weeks. When he realised that the child was not his, Susan's father gave him money to forgive her and told him that 'he should not be troubled therewith'. Barloe, however, insisted on the making of a bond preventing the child from inheriting his estate and later described how 'when the childe was borne in this examinant's house the examinant walked all that night abroad and refused to come into his house till his said father in lawe (according to promise) had taken the childe and provided for it'. John Crompton took the child first to his sister-in-law Dorothy 'a young freshe woman and full of sucke'. After three days, however, he took the child from Dorothy, who described it as 'a perfect childe, stronge and likely to live' which 'sucked well' and gave it to his sister, Jane Roskowe of Deane parish. Jane's husband warned him 'that his wife was with childe and could not sucke it and besides if she had not been with childe yet she was not able to give sucke for she had x of xii children of her owne and was scarce able to give anie of them sucke'. Crompton replied that she should 'bringe it up otherwise as she had donne her owne children formerly'. After two weeks the child had become 'very sickly and the mouth of it was so sore that it could scarce sucke'. Roskowe urged Crompton to find a new nurse and on Crompton's refusal, found one himself. Within three days, however, the child was dead. As with the Mason case, we do not know whether this case ever came to trial.⁴³

The fact that cases of this nature are not uncommon among the Lancashire sessions files as compared with the admittedly thinner examination files of Essex, introduces a further question. Lancashire had a considerably higher incidence of bastardy in this period than did Essex.⁴⁴ The possibility presents itself that in an area where illegitimacy was a relatively familiar phenomenon, an area moreover of vast parishes and of relatively weak ecclesiastical and magisterial control,⁴⁵ bastard children may have been regarded less as a source of shame than of expense and inconvenience. The presence or absence of virtually institutionalised means of disposing of such children may be related to the incidence of bastardy, attitudes towards illegitimate births and the chances of a discreet infanticide passing unseen. Infanticidal nursing, a phenomenon which one associates primarily with London and the industrial cities of the nineteenth century, may have been relatively common in such similarly weakly-controlled rural areas of the seventeenth century as the north-west. On the other hand, the paucity of comparable examples from

Essex may relate more to the proximity of London, where, as we have seen, Francis Bland disposed of his child. The failure of the Lancashire assize files to survive precludes direct comparison of the situation in the two counties discussed here, at least in the earlier period. The possibility of regional differences in attitudes towards illegitimacy and infanticide may never be adequately resolved, but is worthy of some consideration.

Infanticide, then, both at birth and in the early weeks of a child's life was known in the early seventeenth century and was punished, though discovery and punishment was largely confined to bastard-bearers accused of murdering their children at or soon after birth. To what extent may the practice of infanticide have affected parish registration and in particular the recording of bastards? This issue may be explored by the comparison of the legal records with the appropriate parish registers, where possible, a comparison facilitated by the fact that both indictments and coroner's inquisitions give details of the place and dates of birth and death of the children involved. Such a comparison has been made for twenty-one of the cases in the Essex sample by a search of the registers of the eighteen parishes involved which have survived and are available in the original or as microfilm or transcripts in the Essex Record Office.⁴⁶ One would not, of course, expect to find baptismal registration in these cases, though registration of birth might be forthcoming during the later 1650s. Burial registration, however, might be expected, especially since coroner's inquests were almost invariably held in the parish of birth. A search of both baptismal and burial registration revealed that of the twenty-one children, none were registered as born or baptised, while only two were registered as buried. The burial entry for the child of Elizabeth Codwell of Terling has already been cited. The second case was that of the child of Elizabeth Daws of Theydon Garnon, acquitted of drowning her child in 1621. Its burial entry reads 'Spurius cuiusdam Elizabetha Daws non baptizatus'. Despite the fact that they were rendered locally notorious by inquest and prosecution, nineteen of our twenty-one cases were lost to the registers. Significantly, the two recorded cases are to be found in the only two registers examined which regularly recorded the burial of unbaptised children. The Terling register, indeed, records both stillborn and unbaptised children. The victims of infanticide at birth, then, were lost to all but exceptionally well kept registers.⁴⁷ A further attempt to trace the five Lancashire cases of giving children to vagrants or of infanticidal nursing, provides more encouraging results. Only three of the five cases can be properly checked against registers available in print. Of the three children concerned, however, two were registered as baptised in their parishes of birth.⁴⁸ The exceptional case was the case of the child of Cuthbert Mason, which, as we have seen, died at two days old. From this evidence it may be concluded that children dead soon after birth were unlikely to be registered, while children put out later to infanticidal nurses may well be registered. Only the use of an exceptionally good register can allow the historian to have any confidence that the former cases are not lost.

The investigation of the registration of these allegedly murdered children, however, has revealed at least one such register — that of Terling. Can this register be used to gain some impression of the probable incidence of infanticide? The regular recording of the burial of both stillborn and unbaptised children in Terling allows at least the establishment of a margin within which the killing of children at or soon after birth may have occurred. Over the period 1601-1665 1,284 children were baptised in Terling while fifty-eight stillborn and twenty-five unbaptised children were buried. The percentage stillborn and unbaptised of all *live* births for the period was therefore 6.3 per cent, while the percentage of stillborn and unbaptised of all *known* births was 6.1 per cent. (For particular five year periods, the corresponding percentages varied between 1.19 per cent

and 1.18 per cent for 1656-60 and 11 per cent and 10.3 per cent for 1621-25). Of the eighty-three earliest infant deaths, however, only one, that of Elizabeth Codwell's child, was distinguished as infanticidal.

Over the same period, forty-nine bastard children were recorded in the Terling register. Of these one was registered as stillborn, two as having died unbaptised and one, Elizabeth Codwell's, as murdered. The closeness of registration, and the reaction which the case aroused would suggest that the death of Elizabeth Codwell's child was indeed the only case of infanticide among the forty-nine bastard children. Although the available evidence forms only the slenderest basis for generalisation, the Terling material suggests that perhaps two per cent of bastard children were killed at birth.

The possible incidence of bastard-murder at birth in Terling may be used to speculate about the county of Essex as a whole. Essex had a population of perhaps 100,000 in this period.⁴⁹ Assuming a birth rate of 35 per 1,000, one should expect 3,500 births in any given year. Assuming the Terling bastardy ratio of 6.3 per cent of all known births, one might expect 126 base births per annum and 8,190 base births over a period of sixty-five years. If two per cent of these bastards were murdered, one might expect 163 cases of bastard infanticide over the sixty-five years.⁵⁰ The assize records, which do not provide complete coverage, provide some sixty cases. Perhaps two per cent is a reasonable upper estimate of the extent of bastard infanticide at birth in the rural Essex of the earlier seventeenth century, for while it seems probable that some cases never came to court, or are lost to us as a result of patchy record survival, it is equally evident that many of the accused mothers were innocent of any offence other than concealment. What does seem clear is that even among those who had the strongest rational motive to commit infanticide, who were in a position subject to acute emotional strain and who were closely overlooked by both their neighbours and the authorities, the crime was infrequent.

While there is some slender basis for speculation on the incidence of the killing of base children at birth, it would be idle to go on to attempt to assess the probably higher incidence of the infanticidal nursing of bastards or the incidence of infanticide in the population as a whole. The Registrar General's reports of the later nineteenth century make it clear that in Victorian times few cases of infanticide were detected involving the deaths of children more than one month old.⁵¹ An even greater obscurity surrounds the situation of the early seventeenth century. Bastards frequently died very young, but the evidence for distinguishing how far their deaths were the result of natural causes, were a by-product of the fact that they were customarily put out to nurse and perhaps hand-rather than breast-fed, or resulted from studied neglect, scarcely exists.⁵²

It seems most unlikely, however, that infanticide has a distinct role in the earlier period as a means of population control. The generally high levels of marital fertility and short birth intervals of the period would tend to argue against such a conclusion.⁵³ Delayed marriage and elementary contraceptive measures are likely to have been of much greater significance in slowing population growth. The evidence of moralistic statements, law and also of popular attitudes would suggest that a high value was placed on most infant life. The evidence of the practice of infanticide would suggest that it was an offence committed under exceptional circumstances, related largely to the concealment or disposal of illegitimate children. The extent to which it was pre-meditated or resulted from mental and emotional unbalance remains difficult to determine beyond the point of distinguishing the circumstances of infanticide at birth from those of infanticidal nursing. In both respects, the investigation of infanticide in early-modern rural England fails to reveal a situation essentially dissimilar from that obtaining in industrialised

Victorian England. Contemporary British society is perhaps distinguished from both its pre-industrial and old-industrial past by the growth of social institutions which have rendered the practice of infanticidal nursing obsolete and the softening of attitudes towards illegitimacy which has made the killing of children at birth by any other than a mentally and emotionally disturbed mother increasingly unlikely.

Notes

1. J. C. Russell, *British Mediaeval Population*, 1948, pp. 148-9, 162, 167-8. Cf. for a similar situation in 9th century France, E. R. Coleman, 'Mediaeval Marriage Characteristics: A Neglected Factor in the History of Mediaeval Serfdom', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, II (1971) pp. 209-10.
2. E. A. Wrigley, 'Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., XIX (1966), p. 105; J. D. Chambers, *Population, Economy and Society in Pre-Industrial England*, 1972, p. 78.
3. P. E. H. Hair, 'Deaths from Violence in Britain. A Tentative Secular Survey', *Population Studies*, XXV (1971), p. 18.
4. P. E. H. Hair, 'Homicide, infanticide and child assault in late Tudor Middlesex', *Local Population Studies*, 9 (1972) p. 44; F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Disorder*, 1970, p. 156.
5. See L. Demause, 'The Evolution of Childhood', *History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory*, I (1974) p. 527ff. and the extensive bibliography contained in his footnotes to this and the succeeding section of his essay.
6. For examples of infanticide as a means of population control in Polynesia, see R. Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, 1939, p. 43, *We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*, 2nd ed., 1957, pp. 156, 370, 374, 376. For a discussion of the 'maternal filicidal impulse' see J. C. Rheingold, *The Mother, Anxiety and Death. The catastrophic death complex*, 1967, p. 126ff.
7. N. Walker, *Crime and Insanity in England Vol. 1. The Historical Perspective*, 1968, p. 126; Russell, pp. 160-2.
8. Walker, p. 136.
9. W. Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties*, 1622, p. 499.
10. For the development of the law of infanticide, see Walker, Ch. 7. The decreasingly punitive attitude of the courts is illustrated in his Table 4, p. 133. In 1923-7, 49.1 per cent of women convicted were sentenced to imprisonment, in 1961-5 only 1.3 per cent. In recent years convicted women have customarily been placed on probation or committed to psychiatric care.
11. Gouge, p. 500.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 507.
13. P. Willughby, *Observations in Midwifery*, ed. H. Blenkinsop, with an introduction by J. L. Thornton, 1972, pp. 11-12, 31-2, 33-4, 273-5.
14. J. R. Kent, 'Attitudes of Members of the House of Commons to the Regulation of "Personal Conduct" in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XLVI (1973), p. 69.
15. 21 Jac. I. c.27. This act was repealed in 1803. It should be noted that it was not a crime to kill a child in the course of birth, before it had a separate existence, a gap in the law not filled until 1929. The ignorance of midwives frequently led to the killing of children during difficult births. On occasion such acts may have been deliberate.
16. N. McNeil O'Farrell, ed., 'Calendar of Essex Assize Files in the Public Record Office', Essex Record Office typescript [hereafter given as E.R.O. Ass] Vols. I-IV, *passim*. The documents calendared by Miss O'Farrell provide the principal, though not the exclusive, source for records of infanticide prosecutions. Further cases may be forthcoming among the 196 files of King's Bench Indictments — Ancient for the years 1601-65, preserved in the Public Record Office, which I have lacked the time to search. Dr Emmison, using both sources, found 30 Essex cases for the years 1558-1603, p. 156. For the relationship between assizes and King's Bench, see J. S. Cockburn, *A History of English Assizes, 1558-1714*, 1972, pp. 130-1. Inequalities of record survival preclude any hope of recovering a complete list of infanticide cases in this period. For present purposes the sample of cases provided by the assize files forms an adequate basis for generalisation.

17. We have a minimum of sixty-two deaths from infanticide in Essex for an estimated 227,500 births 1601-1665 (for the basis of this estimate see p. 14 below). For comparative purposes it may be noted that in 1868 the Registrar General reported 186 victims of murder and manslaughter aged under one year in England, for 786,858 births. *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages in England. (Abstracts of 1868)*, 1870, [hereafter given as A.R.R.G. 1868] pp. x-xi, 188-91. The comparable figures for 1880 were 119 infant victims for 881,643 births. A.R.R.G. 1880, pp. xv, 216ff. It is hard to say how much more reliable the figures of the Registrar General are than those derived from seventeenth century sources. Dr W. B. Ryan wrote in 1862 that British statistics on infanticide were in 'a very unsatisfactory condition' and quoted an enquiry of 1861 based on Coroner's Inquests which attributed 1,104 infant deaths to infanticide in the metropolis alone. W. B. Ryan, *Infanticide; its Law, Prevalence and History*, 1862, pp. 17, 61-4.
18. In 1868 the Registrar General reported 82 male and 104 female victims, in 1880 56 male and 63 female victims. A.R.R.G. 1868, pp. 188-91, A.R.R.G. 1880, pp. 216ff.
19. E.R.O. Ass 35/101/17, 22.
20. E.R.O. Ass 35/97/H/2.
21. Both Dr Emmison, pp. 156-7, and Dr Hair, *Homicide etc.*, p. 44, drew attention to the predominance of apparently unmarried women. Ryan also associated the crime with illegitimacy, pp. 33ff.
22. Under the Acts 18. Eliz.c.3 (1575) and 7 Jac.I c.4 (1609) the mothers of bastards which threatened to burden the poor rates might be corporally punished or imprisoned in the House of Correction. The Act of 1650 made incest and adultery capital offences, while convicted fornicators were liable to imprisonment for a first offence, death for subsequent offences. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, (3 vols.), 1911, vol. II, p. 387.
23. J. Wilkinson, *A Treatise Collected out of the Statutes . . . concerning the office . . . of Coroners and Sherifes*, 1628, p.5.
24. E.R.O. T/R 60 Parish Registers of Terling; Q/SR 271/35; Q/S Ba 2/11, 2/57; Ass 35/86/T/34. Both sessions and assizes were completely suspended in 1643, sessions reviving in April 1644, assizes in October 1644. Stalham and Maidstone's letter survives in the sessions bundles of 1645 and probably belongs to that year. A further cause of delay in this case may have been Sir Benjamin Ayloff's political opposition to the parliamentarians who dominated local government in Essex.
25. Willughby, pp. 31, 275.
26. E.R.O. Q/S Ba 2/18.
27. E.R.O. Q/S Ba 2/59, 2/60; Ass 35/92/H/5.
28. In those cases of infanticide for which the means of death was stated in 1868 and 1880, forms of asphyxia again pre-dominated, though exposure was less prominent, A.R.R.G. 1868, pp. 188-91. A.R.R.G. 1880, pp. 216ff.
29. Walker, pp. 126-7. The registrar-general's reports do not provide information on the proportion of infanticides held to be the result of mental unbalance. No woman was hanged for the offence after 1849, it being the established practice of the Home Office to reprieve all infanticidal mothers throughout most of the nineteenth century. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
30. E.R.O. Ass 35/72/T/27.
31. E.R.O. Ass 35/86/T/39.
32. Willughby, pp. 31-2, 273-5.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-2, 275.
34. The examples of infanticidal nursing to be quoted below are drawn principally from the sessions files of Lancashire in the Lancashire Record Office [hereafter given as L.R.O.].
35. L.R.O. QSB/1/154/57.
36. L.R.O. QSB/1/91/39.
37. L.R.O. QSB/1/146/33. In this and the following three examples the childrens' mothers appealed to the justices, ostensibly out of fear for their childrens' lives.
38. L.R.O. QSB/1/214/84.
39. L.R.O. QSB/1/59/81,92.
40. E.R.O. Q/S Ba 2/61.
41. 'Report from the Select Committee on the Protection of Infant Life; . . . 1871', *Parliamentary Papers*, 1871, Vol. VII. pp. 607ff.
42. L.R.O. QSB/1/16/38.
43. L.R.O. QSB/1/87/66.
44. P. Laslett and K. Oosterveen, 'Long-term Trends in Bastardy in England', *Population Studies*, XXVII (1973), pp. 276ff.
45. The two counties are compared in these respects in K. E. Wrightson, 'The Puritan Reformation of Manners, with particular reference to the counties of Lancashire and Essex, 1640-1660', Unpub. Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1974.

46. E.R.O. D/P 152/1/1 Theydon Garnon; D/P 309/1/1 Margaret Roothing; D/P 27/1/3 Gt. Hallingbury; D/P 99/1/1 Felsted; D/P 387/1/1 Bowers Gifford; T/R 12/1 Kelvedon; T/R 109/1 Ardleigh; D/P 88/1/1 Wakes Colne; T/R 93 Prittlewell; T/R 60 Terling; T/R 136 Waltham Holy Cross; T/R 106 Cold Norton; T/R 101 Doddinghurst; D/P 388/1/1 Little Oakley; D/P 304/1/1 White Roothing; D/P 84/1/1 North Weald Basset; F. A. Crisp ed., *The Parish Registers of Stapleford Tawney*, 1892, *The Parish Registers of Ongar*, Essex, 1886.
47. The quality of registration in this, as in other respects, varied over time. The seventeenth century register of Great Hallingbury for example, was searched in vain. An earlier volume, however, contains the remarkable entry 'The xxxth daye of marche 1578 a wicked and ungodlye wretche, named marie lyttell, being destitute of the grace of god and having contrarie to the lawes of god and the lawes of this realme, comitted fornicatio[n] being delyvered of a man child, the sayd xxxth daie of marche in the yere afforesayd, most unnaturalye by all cyrcy[m]stances murdered it, cast it in to a pryvie havinge before nyped it by the throte and sculle most lamentable the same child being buried the vth daye of aprill in a^o 1578'. E.R.O. D/P 27/1/2. I must thank Miss Julie Crossley for bringing this reference to my attention.
48. A. Sparke, ed., *The Registers of the Parish Church of Deane, 1604, 1613-1705, Lancs. Parish Register Soc.*, 53-4, 1917, p. 18; H. Fishwick ed., *The Registers of the Parish Church of Croston, Lancs Parish Register Soc.*, 6, 1900, p. 75.
49. Estimated from F. Hull, 'Agriculture and rural society in Essex, 1560-1640', Unpub. London Ph.D. thesis, 1950, p. 121.
50. Terling has a somewhat high bastardy ratio compared to the Essex parishes analysed by Laslett and Oosterveen, p. 276. If, as seems likely, two per cent of all births is a more plausible estimate of the bastardy ratio for Essex as a whole in this period, then one would expect some 4,550 base births over the sixty-five years and some ninety-one cases of bastard infanticide.
51. For 1868 the registrar-general reported 170 infanticide victims under one month old and only sixteen victims aged between one month and one year. For 1880 the comparable figures were ninety-nine and twenty. *A.R.R.G. 1868*, pp. 188-91, *A.R.R.G. 1880*, p. 216ff. In contrast, the Parliamentary Committee on the Protection of Infant Life reported in 1871 that, 'it appears, from a comparative statement on the inquests held on legitimate and illegitimate children, that the proportion which the latter bear to the former is so large as to lead to the conclusion that most of them came to an early end; and in the opinion of Dr Lankester, the Coroner for Middlesex, founded on returns and professional experience, they are "killed off" before they are one year old'. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1871, vol. VII, p. 611.
52. Miss Oosterveen has shown that in Colyton 63.5%, in Hawkshead 78.9% and in Alcester 87% of bastards were buried within three years of baptism. K. Oosterveen, 'Bastardy in three English Parishes', unpub. report, Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, p. 3. An ominous indication of deliberate neglect occurs in the act book of the archdeacon of Colchester for 1605-9. The churchwardens of Tolleshunt Darcy presented in 1607 one Anne Clowes who had had a base child by Steven Beckingham, a servant. They complained that 'the child is leaft to the parishe and she unnaturally drying up her selfe the Childes liff was indaungered she being conveyed awaye after she had dryed up hir self'. She had apparently acted on the advice of one Widow Clowes of Goldhanger, very possibly her mother. Both were excommunicated. E.R.O. D/AC A 30, f. 189v.
53. I owe this point to Dr E. A. Wrigley, for whose comments I am most grateful.

A STUDY OF SURNAME DISTRIBUTION IN A GROUP OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE PARISHES, 1538-1840

Rex Watson

The author is a Senior Lecturer in a College of Education. His particular interest in surnames has developed gradually from more general interests in local history and genealogy.

1. Introduction and methods

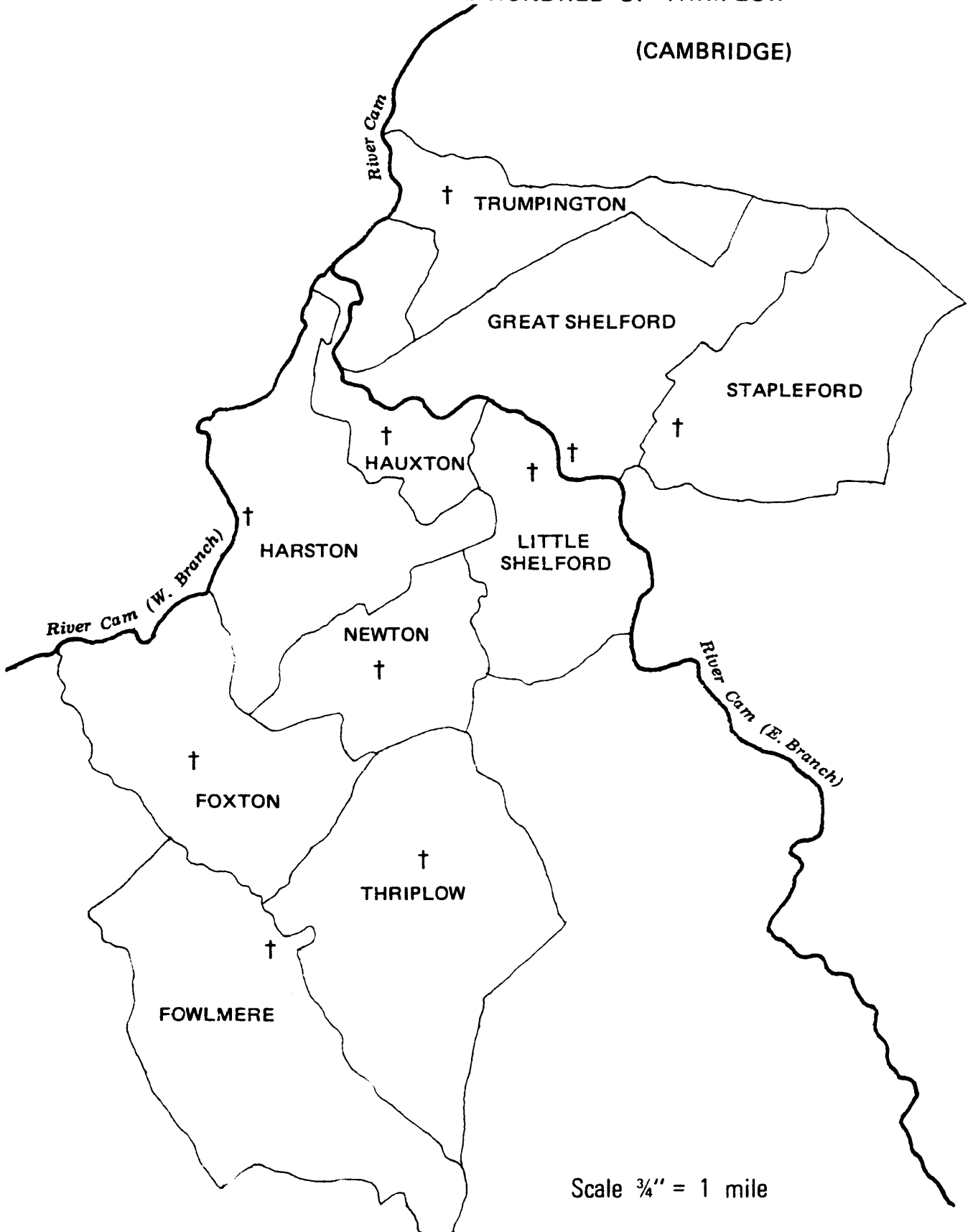
One of the first things to strike a newcomer to an area is that the surnames are different to those he has been used to: different in the sense that there are some he has not heard before, and different in the sense that some he has heard before seem much more common. For example, in South Cambridgeshire the author would put Challis and Dockerill into the former category, and Dean, Chapman and Butler into the latter. This is true despite the tremendous amount of movement of population that has occurred, particularly in this century, since surnames became hereditary some 500 to 700 years ago.

It is intended in this paper to trace the development, over 300 years, of the commonest names of an area of South Cambridgeshire, looking first at the persistence of names within a period and then at the number of names common to pairs of parishes. Indexes to parish register transcripts were used.¹ The parishes are shown on the map in Figure 1. They lie for the most part between the two main branches of the Cam south of Cambridge, the exceptions being Great Shelford and Stapleford, just north-east of the more easterly of the two branches. They are in fact eight of the ten parishes of the Hundred of Thriplow. The other two parishes of this Hundred, Foxton and Trumpington, do not have register transcripts (in any case Trumpington is very close to Cambridge itself and would probably therefore have a greater interaction with Cambridge than would the more distant parishes). Table 1 gives some indication of the sizes, both absolute and relative, of the eight parishes.

For the periods for which registers were kept to 1840, the only serious under-registration seems to be in Newton, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; as often the Civil War-Commonwealth period is sparse in entries, but this affects most of the eight parishes. (Non-conformity should also be borne in mind: Baptist chapels were founded at Harston in 1786 (a small graveyard dates from c. 1800) and at Great Shelford in 1825; Fowlmere and Thriplow have Congregational gatherings dating from 1780, Little Shelford from 1823; also in the large adjoining parish of Melbourn, south west of Fowlmere, a Baptist gathering dates from as early as 1675, and a Congregational one also from the late seventeenth century). As a simplification, then, we may regard Great Shelford as a large parish, Newton and Hauxton as small ones, and the other five as

THE PARISHES OF THE HUNDRED OF THRIFLOW

(CAMBRIDGE)



Scale $\frac{3}{4}$ " = 1 mile

TABLE 1

Parish	Population ² 1801	No. of persons ³ taxed 1664 Hearth Tax	Register ⁴ Entries to 1840	Date of first Register Entry
Fowlmere	420	44	4830	1561
Harston	412	55	4770	1599
Hauxton	144	28	2480	1560
Newton	114	29	1960 ⁵	1560
Gt. Shelford	570	72	8460	1557
Lt. Shelford	220	37	3940	1600
Stapleford	235	23	4410	1557
Thriplow	334	46	3930	1538

'average'-sized, relative descriptions which are still largely true today. The 1664 Hearth Tax figure for Stapleford does suggest that at that time it was only a 'small' parish. In this paper 'size' will normally refer to 'register-size', as indicated by the number of register entries.

The frequency of occurrence of each name was extracted from the indexes to the transcripts for three (somewhat arbitrary) periods: 1538-1640, 1641-1740, 1741-1840. Thus the start of the listing for Fowlmere is as follows:

	1538-1640	1641-1740	1741-1840
Adams	11	3	21
Aldred (Awdred)	46		
Allen	16		4

However, not all names were included in the analysis which was restricted to the commonest 50 names in each parish, in each period of 100 years.

2. Persistence of Names within a Parish

Table 2 shows for each parish the number of names in the top-fifty lists for (i) both first and second periods, (ii) both second and third periods, (iii) both first and third periods, (iv) all three periods, i.e. those in (iii) which are in the second period list also. The figures do not suggest any significant difference between 1538-1640/1641-1740 and 1641-1740/1741-1840. It might also be noted that the figures for the two 'small' parishes of Newton and Hauxton and for the 'large' parish of Great Shelford do not seem to be essentially any different from those of the other five parishes.

Two points may be of interest with regard to the last two columns of figures:

(a) the parish (Thriplow) with the largest figure in the third column, for 1538-1640/1741-1840 is, and was, arguably the most isolated of the eight parishes (Fowlmere, roughly equally distant from Cambridge, is on the old main route from Cambridge to London). Also, Thriplow's register dates from 1538, which in a sense pushes the first period back further than for other parishes.

TABLE 2

Parish	Number of Names Common to Lists for:			
	1538/1641 1640/1740	1641/1741 1740/1840	1538/1741 1640/1840	all 3 periods
Fowlmere	9	11	4	2
Harston	20	13	6	6
Hauxton	14	13	6	5
Newton	16	9	4	3
Gt. Shelford	14	15	6	5
Lt. Shelford	14	17	4	3
Stapleford	9	10	4	0
Thriplow	17	21	8	7
Averages	14.1	13.6	5.3	3.9

(b) the figure zero for Stapleford in the fourth column is a surprising one: not a single name ranks in the top fifty for all three periods; if we look in detail at the four names achieving top fifty status in both first and third periods, we see that the zero is no accident of chance. Their numbers of entries are:

	1538-1640	1641-1740	1741-1840
Barnes	44	—	42
Be(a)vis	35	4	28
Brown	9	1	24
Moore	18	—	20

Stapleford has no obvious under-registration. Perhaps the low 1664 Hearth Tax figure (Table 1) referred to in Section 1 gives a clue. Did Stapleford suffer some depopulation in say the fifty years or so before 1664, and regain its numbers, including at least some of the same families (e.g. Barnes, Moore) in the eighteenth century? Nonetheless the total number of entries in Stapleford's register for 1641-1740 is not unduly low (1,260, compared with for instance 1,400 for Little Shelford, 1,230 for Thriplow, 1,610 for Fowlmere). Moreover, no heavy mortality is apparent from the register. This would perhaps repay further study.

Lastly, for each parish, the names appearing in the third column of numbers of Table 2 were ranked according to their size in 1538-1640, to see if, as one might expect, the commonest names for 1538-1640 were the ones with the greatest chance of survival into the top-fifty for 1741-1840. The rankings are given in Table 3.

The 'halves' arise on account of 'tied' ranks: for instance in Stapleford, the name Brown ranks equal 36th, with five others, i.e. it ranks 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, jointly. $38\frac{1}{2}$ is the usual statistical compromise.

The average of the forty-two numbers in Table 3 is 21.80; if there were no tendency for the commonest names to be the surviving ones we should expect the average to be around the average of the numbers one to fifty, viz. 25.5. 21.80 as an average of

TABLE 3

Parish Ranks in 1538-1640 of those surviving into 1741-1840 top fifty

Fowlmere	32½, 32½, 41, 41
Harston	1½, 4, 5, 6½, 6½, 27½
Hauxton	2, 4, 16½, 21½, 29½, 46
Newton	3, 4, 21½, 33½
Gt. Shelford	22½, 27, 29½, 35½, 42, 46
Lt. Shelford	10½, 15½, 19½, 36
Stapleford	2, 4, 14½, 38½
Thriplow	1, 8, 13, 14, 28½, 32½, 48, 48

forty-two numbers each randomly in the range one to fifty is considerably less than 25.5.⁶ so we may be confident that the commoner names have a greater tendency to survive.

The six ranks above for the 'large' parish of Great Shelford are of special interest. Contrary to the general trend, Great Shelford's commonest names fail to survive, at least into the top fifty for 1741-1840. A similar comment may be made for Fowlmere, though here there are only four listed. One wonders if the size of Great Shelford made it act as a magnet for smaller parishes, with the result that its own earlier commonest names were superseded as 'leaders'. The proliferation of the name Dean there in the third period, referred to below in Section 3, suggests that the attraction of this large parish may have extended outside our area also.

If this was the situation in South Cambridgeshire it was not necessarily so in other parts of the country. Buckatzsch, for instance, found that surnames persisted to a much greater extent in Shap, Westmorland, than they did in Horringer, Suffolk. Accordingly it was decided to compare the Cambridgeshire villages with an area in North-west England and the chapelry of Colne in Lancashire was selected. The first register, covering the years 1599-1653 has been printed with an index, and the number of entries over this period is very similar to that for the 8 South Cambridgeshire parishes to 1640 from the start of their various registers.⁸ Table 4 shows what proportion of all entries in the register was taken up by common names of each area.

Table 4 serves to confirm and quantify a casual observation which one makes on looking at the names in registers in each of the two areas: put simply, there are many more names in the Cambridgeshire registers; indeed the comment is probably still valid with regard to present-day inhabitants of the two areas. In South Cambridgeshire the top fifty names account for only about 35 per cent of the entries, whereas those for Colne account for about two-thirds.

The periods are slightly different (various dates to 1640 for south Cambs. compared with 1599 to 1653 for Colne), and the approximate methods used at most stages of the numerical work suggest that all figures quoted as results must be viewed as having some possible error. However, the conclusion is inescapable that a name of the Lancashire area was on the whole likely to be possessed by more people than was the case in Cambridgeshire. If we agree that the more holders of a name there are, the more likely it is to survive (established for the individual parishes in the Cambridgeshire area from first to third periods), then we may have a partial explanation of the results of

TABLE 4

Rank	Name	Colne 1599-1653 percentage of total entries	Name	South Cambs. 1539-1640 percentage of total entries
1	Hartley	9.9	Prime	1.6
2	Hargreaves	4.2	Taylor	1.3
3	Smith	3.9	Fuller	1.3
4	Emmott	3.5	Rayment	1.2
5	Robinson	2.7	Newman	1.1
6	Blakey	2.5	Beavis	1.1
7	Baldwin	2.1	Rogers	1.1
8	Walton	1.9	(Gillson	1.0
9	Holgate	1.7	(Collis	1.0
10	Wilson	1.7	Barnes	0.95
20		1.1		0.67
30		0.71		0.53
40		0.56		0.41
50		0.48		0.38

Buckatzsch, quoted earlier, for Shap and Horringer, if Horringer were not unlike the Cambridgeshire parishes, and Shap not unlike Colne.

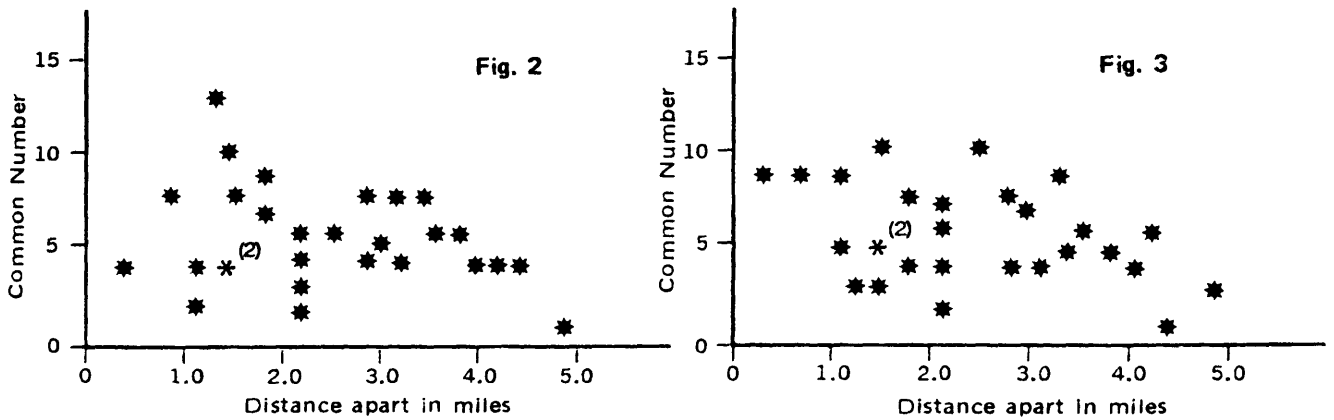
One may wonder why the Lancashire area should in the first place have its leading names so large numerically compared with Cambridgeshire: one might hazard the guess that the relative isolation of the northern area, in the Pennines (compared with south Cambridgeshire not more than fifty miles from London, and in the 'lowlands') would render the introduction of a new name (or the emigration of an inhabitant) a comparatively rare event: of course here we would be looking back into the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the isolation would be more pronounced.

Lastly with regard to Table 4, it may be remarked that Hartley (especially) and Hargreaves to this day present problems of identification in school class lists, bank accounts, sports teams, and the like, in N.E. Lancs. Attempts to work out genealogies for Hartley meet with tremendous difficulties. Most of the names in the top fifty list for Colne are still common in the area today, including such locally characteristic names as Bannister, Bulcock, Crossley, Foulds, Greenwood, Hanson, Kippax, Ridihalgh, Sagar, Tillotson and Whitaker as well as most of the top ten (Table 4). Two names however which ranked twentieth (C.110 entries) and twenty-ninth (C.70 entries) respectively, Acornley and Mancknolls, have either become rare or extinct. It is more difficult to gauge to what extent the Cambridgeshire names survive today as substantial as they were about 350 years ago, simply because as Table 4 shows, even the top name then only accounted for 1.6 per cent of the total entries. Incidentally, Rogers is a one-parish name (Gt. Shelford), 1538-1640, underlining the dangers in assuming the commonest names for the block of eight parishes are always to be found in the parish-pair lists of Section 3. (See below.)

Only two names achieve top-fifty status in both areas, namely Brown and Smith, the former being only the fiftieth in Colne. The only other names from the Colne top-fifty achieving top-fifty status for the first period in any single parish in the Cambridgeshire area are Parker (Stapleford), Robinson (Thriplow) and Watson (Fowlmere).

3. Names common to pairs of parishes at different periods, and the effect of distance apart

In our final section we turn to the question of surnames which were common to more than one parish in the sense that they were amongst the fifty most common names in each place. Figures 2-4 plot for each period (1538-1640, 1641-1740, 1741-1840) the number of such names for pairs of parishes according to distance apart.



Graphs of common number of surnames against distance apart for parish-pairs 1538-1640 and 1641-1740 using the top 50 names in each parish.

In each case the Figures indicate, as one would expect, that the number of common names tends to decrease as distance apart increases, and a statistical test confirms this.⁹

However, for a fixed (or roughly fixed) distance apart there is a considerable scatter of points: thus prediction of common number of names, given distance apart, in an area agreed to be similar to this one in its surname distribution characteristics (e.g. other rural areas nearby), could take place only within fairly broad limits.

Another interesting conclusion, reached by comparing one Figure with another, is that the number of common names increases over time, particularly between the second and third periods. A number of factors need to be considered in attempting to explain this. On the one hand some names die out, at least in the eight parishes, for instance the name Aldred already alluded to (in the first three Fowlmere names). On the other hand other names come into the area from outside: a striking example of this is Dean(s),

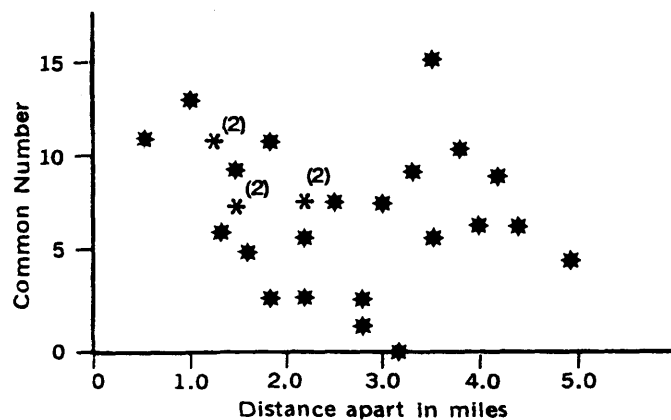


Fig. 4
Graph of Common Number of Surnames against
Distance apart for parish-paires, 1741-1840
(Using top 50 names in each parish).

which features in the top fifty for 1741-1840 in three parishes, including a massive 117 in Gt. Shelford, but has no entries at all, at least in these three parishes, in the first two periods. If these were the only two factors at work, we could probably argue plausibly that the extinction one was stronger than the incoming one. However, a third factor, possibly the most important, will also be at work, namely the spread within the area itself of names, from, for instance, one parish's top fifty in 1538-1640, to three in 1641-1740, to four in 1741-1840. This precisely happens with the name Cooper, for example. In other words, it may be that in earlier times names were rather more likely to be concentrated in and so identified with just one parish. Possibly this is due to the fact that as the years went by movement from parish to parish became easier, literally in terms of better roads, etc., 'legally', in terms of less strict Poor Law regulations regarding settlement, and economically with a generally increasing real wealth.

There are one or two interesting counter-examples to the general trend in the numbers of common names, notably Fowlmere/Harston (1538-1640: 7; 1641-1740: 4; 1741-1840: 0), Harston/Thriplow (7, 8, 2 respectively) and perhaps Harston/Hauxton (12, 3, 6 respectively). The figure of zero for Fowlmere/Harston, 1741-1840, is most remarkable. Did Harston gradually over the years lessen its links with, at least, Fowlmere and Thriplow? The set of three figures for Fowlmere/Thriplow (10, 3, 9 respectively) is also rather puzzling, although this is a reaction provoked by the small middle number. Incidentally, with regard to this pair it should be remarked that the parish boundary between the two passes within one or two hundred yards of Fowlmere's church: a part of 'Fowlmere' is appropriately named 'Little Thriplow'.

Finally, it may be of interest to Cambridgeshire readers and others to peruse a list of the common names appearing in four or more parishes:

1538-1640: 4 Brown, Newman, Prime, Taylor.

5 Adams, Collis.

1641-1740: 4 Brown, Cock(s), Green, Nor(th)field, Prime, Smith, Whitby, Wright.

5 Clarke, Saunders.

1741-1840: 4 Andrews, Cock(s), Cooper, Hagger, Nor(th)field, Rayner, Scott, Turner, Wallis, Wright.

5 King, Smith.

6 Clarke.

There are other variations in spelling than those given.

Of course these names are not necessarily the overall most frequent ones in the area in the periods.

4. *Summary*

The main conclusions reached in Sections 2 and 3 are the following:

(a) in general, the commonest names of a parish have the greatest tendency to persist, but in the case of the only 'large' parish this does not apply;

(b) differences with regard to persistence of names in different areas of the country may be due to some extent to the fact that the proportion of the population bearing the commonest names varies from area to area;

(c) the number of names common to pairs of parishes tends to decrease as distance apart increases, though there is considerable variation in common number for a given distance apart;

(d) the number of names common to a specific pair of parishes tends to increase with time, though there are some striking exceptions.

One would welcome investigations on similar lines for comparably-sized areas in different parts of the country: one of the features of this sort of work is that the worker, particularly perhaps if he is only an enthusiastic amateur, as the present author, tends to work in isolation, and hence evolve his own methods. This has of course advantages, but it may be a drawback that the results of two such workers may not easily be comparable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to thank Mr. T. P. R. Layng for his kindness in lending me his original transcripts, thus enabling much of the work to take place in the evenings, Dr. Peter Spufford for his advice and encouragement, and for kindly providing me with the Hearth Tax figures, originally obtained by his wife, and Mr. Richard Wall for assistance with successive drafts. Also, my thanks are due to Dr. J. D. Marshall, Dr. R. A. McKinley and Dr. E. A. Wrigley for their help and encouragement in various directions.

Notes

1. Transcriptions and Indexes by Mr. T. P. R. Layng, deposited in the Cambridgeshire Record Office.
2. *Victoria County History, Cambridgeshire, Vol. 2*, p. 138.
3. PRO E.179/84/437. (Hearth Tax). This is actually the Michaelmas 1662 Assessment, as revised Michaelmas 1664.
4. The figures are estimates based on counting pages of the transcript.
5. Newton's registers are only transcribed to 1829.
6. The standard error of the mean is 2.22.
7. E. J. Buckatzsch, 'The Constancy of Local Populations and Migration in England before 1800', *Population Studies*, July 1951.
8. The original register, in excellent condition, is with the incumbent at Colne. The transcript was made for the Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1904.
3. The Kendall rank correlation coefficients for common number of names against distance are -0.14 , -0.20 , -0.21 for the periods in chronological order. Although none of these three coefficients are individually significantly different from zero at the 5% level (the latter two are close), taken as a set of three the coefficients are different from zero at a high level of significance.

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POPULATION MOBILITY IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE 1578-1583

Hugh Hanley

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'The most important source for migration in England before 1640' is how one historian describes the ecclesiastical court deposition books, the reference being specifically to the biographical statements which witnesses in civil suits were normally required to make.¹ The one slim volume of depositions which is all that survives for the archdeaconry of Buckingham covers the period 1578-84.² The 143 witnesses divide into the following occupations:

Table 1 Occupations of Witnesses ³

Gentry	5
Yeomen	4
Husbandmen	56
Labourers	9
Servants (including one shepherd)	10
Tradesmen and dealers	18
Others (one apparitor, one scrivener)	2
Not stated	29
	<hr/>
	143

How much allowance should be made for bias in this sample is a question of some difficulty. In general there is likely to have been a preference for the mature, independent witness whose words would carry weight with the judge. The most usual means of discrediting hostile testimony is to impute poverty or some other form of dependence; in several instances individual witnesses are even called upon to declare the value of their assets as a measure of their trustworthiness. Lack of discretion is alleged against the testimony of one witness, a boy of eighteen, though, equally, the extreme age of another is objected to on the same count.⁴

The sort of person called as a witness also depended to some extent upon the type of case being heard. Although the range of ecclesiastical court actions was strictly limited, their incidence might well vary with time and place.⁵ About half the Buckinghamshire witnesses were involved in tithe cases in which there was a strong rural bias; witnesses to local customs form a fair proportion of this group, long residence being an obvious advantage; of the remainder, half were involved in defamation cases (the most random group), the rest being matrimonial (mostly breach of promise) and testamentary actions, and a solitary case of dilapidation to church property.

One other sort of bias which must also be mentioned is the geographical distribution of witnesses. The great majority are drawn from the northern, lowland, half of the county. The total number living in parishes lying wholly south of the Chiltern escarpment is under twenty, of which six are from the borough of High Wycombe. This discrepancy reflects an imbalance in the relative number of cases relating to the two areas and can hardly be chance but is not readily explicable.⁶

The general accuracy of the information given by witnesses about themselves has to be assumed,⁷ but is not necessarily complete in regard to moves made. Indeed, apart from those who state that they have lived in a particular place 'since birth', not many of the deponents unambiguously trace their movements back to their native parishes. Frequently only the length of present residence and place of birth are stated and this could imply one move or several. Once again the context is often important. Witnesses who had moved several times in their lifetime probably tended to mention only those moves which seemed relevant to the matter in hand.⁸ It is significant that the witness who declares the largest number of moves was involved in a case concerning events which had taken place some fifteen years previously.

Table 2 Number of parishes lived in

1 parish only	28	19.6%
1 parish 'nearly all life'	6	4.2%
2 parishes	2)	66.4%
2 parishes (at least)	93)	
3 parishes (at least)	12	8.3%
Over 3 parishes	2	1.3%
	<u>143</u>	<u>99.8%</u>

In the above table those persons who state that they have lived in a particular parish all their lives except for a specified number of years have been placed in line two if the number of years is three or less, otherwise in line four. Altogether there are fourteen people (9.8 per cent) in lines three — five who, at the time of deposing, are back in their native parishes. This gives a total of 33 per cent who can be said to have remained linked to one parish.

In terms of distances travelled from place of birth, reckoning from point to point and ignoring intermediate moves, the overall picture is as shown below.

Table 3 Distances travelled from birthplace

	Men	Percentages
Distance to next parish	12	15.2
1 – 5 miles	9	11.4
6 – 10 miles	19	24.1
11 – 15 miles	14	17.7
16 – 20 miles	4	5.1
21 – 30 miles	5	6.3
31 – 40 miles	2	2.5
Over 40 miles	14	17.7
	79	100

(Places not identified: 2)

It will be seen that distances of fifteen miles or under account for 68.4 per cent of the total. A striking feature is the high percentage of distances of over forty miles.

Of the 127 persons whose place of birth is recorded, forty-two were born outside the county border, including one resident of Steeple Claydon born in Calais. They are divided among thirteen counties, as below:⁹

Table 4 Counties of Origin of Witnesses born outside Bucks.

Oxfordshire	9	Gloucestershire	1
Northants	8	Worcestershire	1
Herts.	4	Shropshire	1
Beds.	4	Notts.	1
Berks.	4	Staffs.	1
Warwicks.	4	Monmouthshire	1
		Denbighshire	1

There is a marked predominance of movement from the north and west, all the non-adjacent counties affected lying in these two directions. (For some of the natives of Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, and Bedfordshire emigration to Buckinghamshire meant a journey of only a few miles.)

Within the county, the examples are too dispersed for any clear local directional pattern to be apparent but it may be significant that there is only one example of a move from the southern, or Chiltern half of the county, which is not from a 'borderline' parish.

Of individual occupational groups, it is clear that the husbandmen, the largest group, were also proportionally the most stable; of the forty-two who can be analysed, nearly half (eighteen) did not move at all, while almost all the remainder recorded moves of fifteen miles or less. Tradesmen were proportionately the most mobile group, reckoning both by number of migrants and distance travelled. They account for five of the eleven migrants over forty miles whose occupations are known, the others comprising two gentlemen, two servants, a husbandman and a labourer.

The 'biographies' are silent about the reasons for the moves which they record, but occasionally a witness's evidence contains clues to his motives. More rarely, it is possible to bring to bear information from other surviving sources such as parish registers and wills to illuminate the circumstances of a particular case.

In the category of long-distance (forty miles plus) migrants, as we have seen, tradesmen predominated. Here one tiler, Nicholas Norman from Berkshire, for example, stated that he was employed by John (later Sir John) Fortescue who was then engaged in building his great manor at Salden.¹⁰ Numerous other less magnificent rural residences erected or improved in the period must have created a demand for skilled craftsmen.

Another long-distance migrant was John Ilove, husbandman, of Wolverton, aged 24, from Atherstone, Warwicks, and in his case we have the definite information that his wealth in goods amounted to a mere five shillings, deducting debts. In this instance it is also possible to piece together some of the circumstances surrounding the move. He had come to Wolverton three and a half years before, in or about the year 1580, at which time, as we discover from his evidence, he had been employed for a year as a shepherd by 'Mr. Longfield', otherwise, Sir Henry Longueville, lord of the manor. From other sources we know that Sir Henry was engaged in a violent dispute with his manorial tenants who accused him of seeking to deprive them of their common rights to certain pastures in the parish. In 1584, a chancery action was commenced on behalf of the tenants and prominent among the grievances recited in the formal bill of complaint was the allegation that Sir Henry had employed 'unknown or poor persons' to expel the animals of the townsfolk from the enclosed pastures.

It would seem, then, that Sir Henry had good reason for employing outsiders, and the circumstances were probably not unusual, for Buckinghamshire was among the counties most affected by enclosures in this period.¹² It is possibly not a coincidence that the Longuevilles also held estates in the same hundred of Warwickshire from which John Ilove came.¹³ The case is a reminder that the far flung operations of some of the gentry must have often affected the lives of people lower down in the social scale and that not all long-distance moves were as casual as they might appear on the surface.

Short distance migration was both more common than long distance and more complex, since factors such as marriage, kinship obligations, and inheritance customs were much more operative than was likely to be the case over longer distances, except perhaps where the wealthier gentry were concerned. The phenomenon of the returning migrant already mentioned is most readily accounted for in terms of kinship ties of one sort or another, though for only one case in our sample is corroborative evidence of this forthcoming (see the reference below to Angelo Martyn). In twelve instances the information given is precise enough to enable us to calculate the approximate age on return to the native parish. Two of the returns took place in childhood and so must be discounted; of the remainder, all but two, and in both cases special circumstances can be discerned, took place at varying ages between eighteen and thirty-four. The ages of leaving home seem to have been equally diverse. One returned migrant, William Stappe, husbandman, of Pitchcott, aged about forty in 1583, had previously been a servant. He specifies four moves lasting from one to eight years each, beginning at the age of eighteen or nineteen and ending with his return to Pitchcott when aged around thirty-four. At no time during the whole period was he living more than ten miles from his birthplace.¹⁴

An interesting feature of William Stappe's career is that his return to his native place is associated with his evolution from a servant living in other people's houses to the status of husbandman. How typical is he? While there is no evidence to indicate that more than a proportion of servants returned to their home parishes, there is sufficient to suggest that the progression from servant to husbandman was a familiar enough pattern for we have at least two other examples of the process.¹⁵ It is significant that all eight servants in our sample were under thirty; for most men, service was a period of youthful apprenticeship rather than a permanent condition. Servants in husbandry were hired by the year, a situation which encouraged mobility.

Marriage as a motive or occasion for a change of residence follows naturally from consideration of servants, for marriage must have played a crucial role in determining where and when a servant settled. Significantly, at least two of the nine actions for breach-of-promise to marry involved servants as principals, as in the case which involved the aptly named Thomas Trewlove. Or he might do better and in true storybook fashion marry his master's daughter. Joan Wheeler, daughter of 'Goodman' Wheeler of Radnage, was alleged to have promised to marry William Goodale, a servant in her father's house; her father had insisted on a year's delay, saying she was too young.¹⁶ Other men, besides servants, might change their abode as a result of marriage. The five years which Richard Ardres, gentleman, spent at Turvey and Harrold in Bedfordshire before returning to his native Sherington in or about the year 1578 are doubtless to be explained by his marriage to Margaret Arderne of Turvey.¹⁷

Death was another frequent cause of movement within the family network in an age of high mortality. Angelo Martyn's return to his native Brill where he had been staying for three-quarters of a year, in the house of Agnes Martyn, widow, his sister-in-law, is explained by the death, a few months before, of his brother, Gilbert, a husbandman. Gilbert's will names his brother as overseer and residuary trustee for his two infant children, George and Frideswith.¹⁸

Economic change, as distinct from perennial misfortunes such as bad harvests, was a possible cause of enforced migration. Such migration would, as often as not, be short distance in character. It would also tend to be uneven in incidence — like enclosure itself. Dr. Chibnall has shown how Sherington, a parish in which enclosure was successfully resisted in this period, was to be subject, a little later, to excessive immigration from surrounding parishes in which enclosure had taken place.¹⁹ Enclosure was not, however, the only economic movement tending to separate the husbandman from his holding. The engrossing of farms by landlords bent on taking advantage of the rising demand for agricultural produce could have a similar effect if in a less dramatic fashion. Two fairly clear examples of this sort of migration can be identified.

Both related to the open field parish of Marsh Gibbon near the Oxfordshire border. The first concerns Thomas Neale, husbandman, aged fifty-eight, living in 1584 in the adjoining parish of Pounden. Until two years before, he had lived at Marsh Gibbon for forty-six years and had been the occupier of a substantial holding of one and a quarter yardlands (about forty to fifty acres). His departure from the parish was, he tells, the result of his landlord's having taken the holding into his own hands. The same fate had befallen Thomas Butter twelve years previously. Now a labourer of sixty, living in the adjoining parish of Edgecott, he had then held one and a half yardlands. He had lived in Marsh for six years, so must have come there in about 1566; his birthplace was Burwick in Oxfordshire, approximately nineteen miles to the south-west. Both men had held their

lands from the Howell family, lords of the manor of Westbury, the smaller of the two manors in the parish. Both had been induced to testify in a case of disputed tithe. Their holding had been added to the desmesne, though it emerges from the evidence that neither was in fact within the manor of Westbury.²⁰

The individual cases we have looked at, while too few in number to afford a coherent picture, give some insight into the variety of motives for migration and in particular the part played in local migration by continuing social and economic patterns in relation to marriage, the family and service. The extent to which these structural factors favouring a degree of local migration were being modified or overlaid by other factors such as the overall growth in population or by prevailing economic conditions remains problematic. It should be remembered, too, that the degree of mobility suggested by our analysis of witnesses, while impressively high, is likely, for the reasons given, to be an understatement of the situation among the rural population at large, especially in regard to long-distance migration.

Notes

1. Peter Clark, 'The Migrant in the Kentish Towns, 1580-1640' in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, ed. P. Clark and P. Slack, 1972, p. 118. This study makes use of a large quantity of surviving Kentish biographies. An analysis of a smaller group of Sussex biographies is to be found in Julian Cornwall, 'Evidence of Population Mobility in the Seventeenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. XL, 1967, pp. 143-152.
2. Buckinghamshire Record Office (hereinafter given as BRO) D/A/C/23, commissary court of the archdeaconry of Buckingham, depositions, 1578-84. The archdeaconry was virtually coterminous with the county but several parishes, including the town of Aylesbury and the borough of Buckingham, were peculiars and three parishes were in the archdeaconry of St. Albans. It should be noted that not all the witnesses were resident in Bucks at the same time; ten were living just outside the county boundary at the time of deposing.
3. In a few cases the occupation, although not given in the 'biography', is clear from the evidence and has been supplied. Occasionally, too, one or other piece of standard biographical information (usually occupation or birthplace) is missing, so that the number usable for any specific analysis varies.
4. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.11.46.
5. For a consideration of general trends in church court business after 1560, see R. A. Marchant, *The Church Under the Law: Justice, Administration and Discipline in the Diocese of York, 1560-1640*, 1969, pp. 61-63. Among the more striking developments was the enormous expansion of tithe and defamation cases; the former appear to have reached a peak in the first decade of the seventeenth century.
6. To some extent it reflects the actual distribution of the population which was still heavily in favour of the north in spite of evidence of considerable migration into the Chilterns during the period between 1377 and 1522. See J. Cornwall, 'English Population in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, Vol. XXIII, 1970, p. 43. Urban dwellers are also likely to be under-represented (see note 2 above).
7. Ages are frequently given in round numbers, often with the addition of 'or thereabouts' (*vel circiter*). In the few cases where it has been possible to check ages against the appropriate parish register they have been found to correspond fairly closely. For example, John Nelson gave his age in 1581 as thirty while the entry of baptism in the register of his native Wolverton is dated April 1549, which makes him thirty two. A similar two-year understatement was found for two others in this age group — William Shepherd of Stewkley and Thomas Rigall of Mentmore, (born at Wing).
8. Richard Ardress, makes no mention of the period which we know from other sources he spent at University in Cambridge in his youth. On the other hand, the claim of the eighty-year-old immigrant to the county, Thomas Paxon of Ludgershall, to a sixty year residence is confirmed by the muster roll of 1522, A. C. Chibnall (ed.) *The Certificate of Musters for Buckinghamshire in 1522*, 1973, p. 148. (He had neither lands nor goods so was probably a servant).
9. Two places, Thorpe and Wyggle, both stated to be in Hertfordshire could not be identified and have been omitted from table 3; the possibility of scribal error cannot be excluded. 'Farningho', Oxfordshire, has been taken to mean Farthingho, Northants, which is not far from the Oxfordshire border.

10. BRO, D/A/C/23 fol.68; DNB; Sir Frank Markham, *A History of Milton Keynes and District*, vol. 1, 1973, p. 175.
11. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.110; Markham, p. 156.
12. See W. E. Tate, *A Handlist of Buckinghamshire Enclosure Acts and Awards*, 1946, p. 20.
13. *The Victorian History of the County of Warwick*, vol. IV, 1947, p. 249.
14. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.114v.
15. One is John Ilove already mentioned; the other is John Nelson, husbandman of Ravenstone, formerly a servant in the house of John Escall in the same parish. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.55v-56v.
16. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.55v., 33v. Trewlove and Goodale were both parties to actions, as distinct from witnesses.
17. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.95v; A. C. Chibnall, *Sherrington: Fiefs and Fields of a Buckinghamshire Village*, 1965, pp. 184-185.
18. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.89v-90v; BRO, D/A/Wf/9/135.
19. Chibnall, *Sherrington*, p. 200ff.
20. BRO, D/A/C/23, fol.126-128, 131v-137v.

ORPHANS IN PRE-INDUSTRIAL TOWNS — THE CASE OF BRISTOL IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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In a recent article in *LPS*, Mr Laslett has made public the results of his pioneer work on the extent of orphans in pre-industrial society.¹ This note is intended as a supplement to Mr Laslett's work, based on an analysis of the population of the city of Bristol according to the returns to the 1694 Marriage Act (6 & 7 Wm. & M c.6) for 1696. Although clearly one cannot make any generalizations purely on the analysis of a single community, the Bristol analysis does fill a gap in Mr Laslett's Table 3 — that of a large urban community, since the only representative of a large centre is that of St Peter Mancroft parish in Norwich, the records of which Mr Laslett himself states to be probably incomplete. Marriage tax assessments for the eighteen Bristol parishes have survived for various dates between 1696 and 1706, although only for 1696 is there a complete run for all 18 parishes; these assessments have been edited and printed, and have been used in conjunction with an analysis of the demographic, social and occupational structure of the city.³ The purpose of this act was according to its title to raise revenue 'for carrying on the Warr against France with vigour', and as such was one of several similar acts passed during the 1690s. The bill was introduced in Parliament in February 1694/5, received the royal assent in April 1695, and came into force on 1 May 1695 initially for five years, later being extended until 1706 by an act of 1696 (8 & 9 Wm. III c.20). The act imposed duties upon births, marriages, burials, bachelors over the age of twenty-five years and childless widowers, the level of tax paid varying according to one's social status. The basic rate upon burials was four shillings, on birth two shillings and on marriages 2s 6d. All bachelors and widowers were liable to one shilling per annum tax.

Lists of inhabitants were drawn up for each Bristol parish giving details of the rates at which each inhabitant was liable, and as far as can be ascertained these assessments list all persons resident in the city at the time of their compilation. The lists were set out in household groups, although because of large numbers of servants which follow family listings, it is not always clear where one household finishes and another begins. Except for the parish of St. Nicholas, the occupations of the male heads of each household are not usually given, although the qualifications 'gent' or 'esq' are sometimes used, as are the descriptions '600 li' or '50 li p.a.' signifying that the described had an estate assessed to be worth at least £600 or had an annual income in excess of £50. Those reckoned to be worth '600li' were charged an additional £1 above the standard rates on burials, births and marriages; bachelors and widowers being taxed at six shillings instead of the usual one. Esquires were assessed at an additional £5 above the usual rates. The highest rate

levied was on John Hall (Bishop of Bristol, 1691-1710), who was assessed at an additional £20. Those who were in receipt of alms were assessed at four shillings for burials only, although this was usually paid by the poor law authorities upon death.⁴ Regrettably only a few of these assessments have survived — for the City of London, Bristol, some parishes in Norwich, Southampton and Shrewsbury, and for a few rural parishes in east Kent, Derbyshire, Warwickshire and elsewhere.⁵ When utilized in conjunction with other sources these assessments can be used to produce what might be described as a 'reconstructed directory', predating by some years poll books which, when available, are usually the earliest surviving directory-type source material.

The Bristol assessments for 1696 being complete for all parishes provide the first really accurate information as to the population of the city. The population of the city in that year was 20,157, the size of the parishes varying from a mere 156 in the central business parish of St. Ewan to 2,897 in the vast peripheral parish of St. James, the boundaries of which extended beyond the city into Gloucestershire. Unfortunately the assessments are not clearly arranged by household, and whilst it is possible to distinguish households, this is not an easy exercise, although with the help of similar assessments (land tax, poll tax, window tax, poor rates, etc), this can be achieved with a reasonable degree of accuracy. In all some 4,560 households have been identified, of which 3,309 (72.6 per cent) are headed by a married couple. Some 881 (19.1 per cent) are headed by widows, a further 191 (4.2 per cent) by widowers, and the remainder (4.1 per cent) by bachelors, spinsters and others whose status cannot be readily decided. In only about half the cases does the assessment actually describe 'single' women heading households as widows, the remainder have been identified since children are subsequently listed, and/or their status has been confirmed from other sources. In the case of widowers, this description is never given, although they can be readily identified if their children are subsequently listed.

In all some 7,356 children are found listed in the assessments as belonging to those households headed by a married couple, a widow (or presumed widow), or a widower (or presumed widower). 5,594 children (76 per cent) belonged to married couple households, 1,762 (24 per cent) to single parent households. 2,289 of the 3,309 married couple households contained children (69.2 per cent), compared with 917 of the 1,062 widow/widower-headed households (86.3 per cent). Amongst those households headed by a married couple with children, almost one-third had only one child, 27.3 per cent had two children and 19.3 per cent three children. Only 2.1 per cent of households had four or more children, although 40.6 per cent of all children having both their parents lived in families with four or more children. The details are set out in Table 1 below.

Amongst single parent families, there were some 1,439 children having no recorded father and 323 with no recorded mother. Table 2 shows the detailed breakdown.

Of particular note is the large number of children dependent on a widowed mother. Whilst the average was 1.9 children, 23 per cent of widows with children had three or more children to feed and clothe which in 1696, a year of high food prices and trade recession, could not have been an easy task. When one looks at the 169 widowers with dependent children, the average number is similar at 1.9, with 27 per cent having three or more offspring. The situation of course varied somewhat from parish to parish, and one needs to relate the numbers of widows, widowers and orphans to the total population of the parish in order to get a realistic picture of the significance of single parent families as a cause of poverty in each parish. Table 3 below shows this breakdown by parish.

TABLE 1 No. of Children per household in Households headed by married couple, 1696

No of Children per household	Households		Total Children	
	No	%	No	%
1	744	32.5	744	13.3
2	624	27.3	1248	22.3
3	442	19.3	1326	23.7
4	274	12.0	1096	19.6
5	109	4.8	545	9.7
6	59	2.6	354	6.3
7+	37	1.6	281	5.0
TOTAL	2289	100.0	5594	100.0

TABLE 2 No. of Children per household in single parent households, 1696

No. of Children	Widows	Total Children	% of total Children	Widowers	Total Children	% of total Children
0	133	—	—	22	—	—
1	351	351	24.4	82	82	25.4
2	223	446	31.0	41	82	25.4
3	102	306	21.3	32	96	29.7
4	47	188	13.1	8	32	9.9
5	11	55	3.8	5	25	7.7
6	9	54	3.7	1	6	1.9
7+	5	39	2.7	—	—	—
TOTAL	881	1439	100.0	191	323	100.0

TABLE 3 No. of widows, widowers and orphans relative to total populations of each parish

Parish	Total Households	Widow/Widower-headed households		Total Children	Orphans	
		No.	%		No	%
All Saints	53	9	17.0	82	13	15.8
Castle Precincts	289	45	15.6	520	90	17.3
Christchurch	176	54	30.7	189	39	20.6
St Augustine	343	83	24.2	556	152	27.3
St Ewen	30	11	36.7	59	26	44.0
St James	685	163	23.8	1102	283	25.6
St John	195	39	20.0	324	53	16.3
St Leonard	70	19	27.1	97	27	27.8
St Mary Port	91	16	17.6	153	32	20.9
St Mary Redcliffe	358	94	26.3	648	151	23.3
St Michael	207	33	15.9	291	40	13.8
St Nicholas	288	54	18.8	432	69	15.9
St Peter	216	43	19.9	331	65	19.6
SS Philip & Jacob	358	86	24.0	610	173	28.3
St Stephen	442	123	27.8	682	191	28.0
St Thomas	317	59	18.6	597	144	24.1
St Werburgh	58	16	27.6	90	23	25.5
Temple	384	115	29.9	593	174	29.3
TOTAL	4560	1062	23.3	7356	1745	23.7

Looking first at the proportion of widow and widower-headed households to all households, one can see that there is quite a wide variation between the eighteen parishes, ranging from only 15.6 per cent in the relatively poor industrial parish of Castle Precincts to 36.7 per cent in the wealthy central parish of St. Ewen in which most of the city's merchants had their homes and offices. Ten parishes contained above the average percentage of households headed by widowed persons, of which four — Christchurch, St. Ewen, St. Leonard and St. Werburgh — were small central, semi-residential in nature, and the other six — St. Augustine, St. James, St. Mary Redcliffe, SS Philip & Jacob, St. Stephen and Temple — were all large, industrial and/or dockside parishes, in which one might expect a fairly high proportion of widows. Excluding the parishes of Christchurch and St. Ewen, St. Stephen, the main dockland parish, contained the greatest number of widowed households. Yet the expectation that dock parishes would contain a higher than average proportion of widowed heads of household does not prove universally true, since St. Thomas parish contained only 18.6 per cent of such households.

A similar parochial variation is also found when one looks at the ratio of orphaned children to the total child population of the city, the figures ranging from 15.8 per cent in the second smallest parish of All Saints to 44.00 per cent in the smallest parish of St. Ewen, the unrepresentativeness of which has already been mentioned. Excluding St. Ewen, eight parishes contained above the average percentage of orphaned children, the largest numbers being found in the industrial (textile) parishes of Temple (29.3 per cent) and SS Philip & Jacob (28.3 per cent), followed closely by the dockland parish of St. Stephen (28.0 per cent). This time the dockland parish of St. Thomas contained above the average percentage, 24.1 per cent of its children being orphaned.

Overall 23.7 per cent of the city's children were orphans, slightly higher than Mr. Laslett's figure of 20.7 per cent for the eleven pre-industrial communities (1599-1811).⁶ However, as most of these were rural communities, spread over a long period of time, it would perhaps be better for comparative purposes to look more closely at the urban cases and at those examples for the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. If we take the seven communities for which figures are available for the period 1686-1706 (i.e. Clayworth 1688; Norwich, St. Peter Mancroft, 1694; Lichfield, 1695; Harefield 1699; Stoke-on-Trent 1701; Monkton 1705 and St. Nicholas-at-Wade 1705), we get a figure of 21.8 per cent, which is slightly more comparable to the Bristol figure. However, if we look only at the two urban examples — Lichfield and Stoke-on-Trent — we get a similar figure — 21 per cent at Lichfield and 25 per cent at Stoke, which average 23 per cent, within one per cent of the Bristol figure. The Bristol figures, along with Mr. Laslett's figures for Lichfield and Stoke do, therefore, suggest that an overall figure may be higher than the 20.7 per cent found by Mr Laslett if larger industrial towns are included, and in particular if one were to include London.⁷ Indeed, Mr. Laslett himself says that 'we may believe that in fact a much greater number was in this plight'.⁸ Mr. Laslett also makes the point that actual urban figures may be even higher than the Bristol figures suggest, since it is very probably that appreciable numbers of orphans were not resident with their widowed father or mother as they had been bound out apprentice. To try to trace all orphan apprentices in Bristol in 1696 would be a time-consuming and complicated task, but it is possible to calculate accurately the number of orphan apprentices bound in that year, since the city's apprentice registers clearly indicate whether or not the boy's father was deceased. For the two years from 25 March 1695 to 24 March 1696/7, some 454 boys were bound apprentice in the city, of whom 135 were

fatherless. Assuming the normal apprenticeship period of seven years and that the number of apprentices bound each year did not fluctuate widely, one can make a crude estimate of the total number of orphaned apprentices resident in Bristol in 1696 as 473. If these are added to the 1,745 orphans recorded in the marriage tax assessments the total orphan population of Bristol rises to 2,218 out of a total child population of 7,356 or 30.2 per cent. It must be stressed that this figure can only be regarded as an approximation, nevertheless it seems very probable that the number of orphans in Bristol exceeded 30 per cent. This figure is in line with those found by Mr. Laslett in parishes with high quality data, eg. Clayworth 1676 (32 per cent). It is thus a fair generalization that one child in three living in Bristol in the late seventeenth century had lost one or both parents.

Notes

1. Peter Laslett, 'Parental Deprivation in the Past: A note on the history of Orphans in England', *LPS*, 13 (Autumn 1974), 11-18.
2. Elizabeth Ralph & Mary E. Williams, eds., *The Inhabitants of Bristol in 1696*, Bristol Record Society, XXV (1968).
3. See my forthcoming Ph.D. thesis, *Social & Occupational Structure of the City of Bristol, ca 1670-1730*.
4. Details of the operation of the act in Bristol are found in the introduction to Ralph & Williams, *op. cit.*
5. For a complete list, see D. V. Glass & D. E. C. Eversley, eds., *Population in History* (London, 1965), 173 fn. The London assessments have been published in an indexed form as *London Inhabitants Within the Walls* by the London Record Society, Vol. II (1966). A learned introduction by Prof. Glass details the workings of the act and describes the importance of the assessments for historians. Details of other assessments can be found in R. E. Chester-Waters, 'A Statutory List of the Inhabitants of Melbourne Derbyshire in 1695'. *Derbyshire Archaeological & Natural History Society Journal*, VII (1885); Philip Styles, 'A Census of a Warwickshire Village in 1698'. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, III (1951) and E. A. Wrigley, ed., *Introduction to English Historical Demography* (London, 1966), 174-8.
6. Laslett, *op. cit.*, 14.
7. Mr. Laslett includes step-children in his figures for orphans, whereas in my calculations they are, of necessity, included amongst the total numbers of children living in households headed by married couples. For this reason my overall figures for the proportion of orphans in Bristol and those of Mr. Laslett for various communities are not strictly comparable, although the absence of this component from the Bristol figures does underline the fact that one would expect the figures for large urban centres to be higher than those for small urban or rural communities.
8. Laslett, *ibid.*

NOTES AND QUERIES

Under-registration in the Warton (Lancs.) registers

R. Speake

The presence of Dissenters in a parish is well known to affect the registration of baptisms, marriages and burials. The extent to which this may occur is clearly illustrated by the example of Warton, a parish situated in the northern-most part of North-West Lancashire, bordering on the boundary with Westmorland (now part of Cumbria).

In this parish Quakers were to be found mainly at Yealand Conyers, and they eventually built a Meeting House in 1697. However, Quaker records contain details of births, marriages and burials of local residents from the 1650s.¹

Because members of the Society of Friends did not use parish registers for the recording of baptisms, marriages and burials a high level of under-registration can be expected in the Warton registers. In order to determine the likely influence of the Quakers, who kept their own records of births, marriages and burials, the entries made at the Yealand Meeting have been used to estimate how far the records of this parish have been affected.

In the table below births, burials and marriages involving local Quakers between 1651 and 1812 are shown as a percentage of *all* the baptisms (or births), burials and marriages of the parish area.

Baptisms, burials and marriages in Warton Parish 1655-1812

Period	Baptisms			Burials			Marriages		
	Quaker		All ³	Quaker		All	Quaker		All ⁴
	No	%		No	%		No	%	
1655-1660 ²	11	5	202	3	<1	306	5	7	68
1661-1670	15	5	291	7	2	295	5	6	79
1671-1680	20	8	255	18	7	272	7	11	61
1681-1690	15	7	217	13	6	225	9	16	57
1691-1700	32	16	207	26	8	312	13	20	66
1701-1710	26	9	280	16	6	256	4	6	65
1711-1720	29	11	274	20	8	256	9	12	75
1721-1730	32	12	270	26	8	307	7	9	75
1731-1740	13	5	277	10	5	220	6	10	61
1741-1750	17	6	267	5	2	203	6	8	75
1751-1760	14	5	281	14	7	196	3	4	87
1761-1770	8	2	344	11	4	253	0	0	94
1771-1780	3	<1	355	9	5	170	1	1	94
1781-1790	5	1	379	7	3	217	2	2	103
1791-1800	4	<1	426	2	<1	251	1	<1	104
1801-1812	13	2	597	7	2	277	2	1	135

Notes

1. Details of the Yealand Meeting House records have been extracted from lists compiled from the original registers by Dr. W. Giles Howson of Lancaster. Parish registers are held at the parish church in Warton and are published by the Lancashire Parish Register Society, Vol. 73. The Leighton and Yealand Conyers Catholic registers are published by the Catholic Register Society. The original documents are now in the County Records Office, Preston. Totals were obtained from the original documents in both cases (i.e. parish and Catholic registers).
2. 1651-1660 for burials; 1651-1660 for marriages.
3. Including 124 entries relating to local residents in the Catholic register. Commencing with 1761-1770 the decadal totals are 21, 28, 13, 20, 42.
4. Including 11 marriages of local Catholics. Commencing with 1761-1770 the decadal totals were 6, 1, 1, 0, 3.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Incidence of Tudor Suicide: additional sources discovered

Dear Sir,

In his contribution to *LPS* 5, Autumn 1970 — 'A Note on the Incidence of Tudor Suicide' — Dr. Hair employed a list of '. . . all the suicides in the county of Essex for the period 1560-1603 (from the King's Bench Records) . . .' based on the work of Dr. Alan Macfarlane, to compare with his calculations based on the inquests to be found in Dr. R. F. Hunnisett's *Calendar of Nottinghamshire Coroners' Inquests, 1485-1558*, (1969).

Unfortunately Dr. Macfarlane's list, made in 1966, on the files numbered K.B.9 597 to K.B.9 712, was made the year before the discovery of a further batch of files belonging to King's Bench Indictments Ancient during a search of the King's Bench File Sacks under the direction of Mr. C. A. F. Meekings of the Public Record Office. These are now numbered for Elizabeth's reign from K.B.9 1006 onwards and help to remedy gaps in the Law Sittings for that reign previously left unaccounted.

Taking a sample period 1561 to 1590, there should have been 120 Law Sittings. The files assembled in the years 1967 to 1969 mean that 87.5 per cent (105) of the files which should exist are now accounted for, though one file was found broken and a few membranes may have been lost. Dr. Macfarlane's list, however, would only represent 62 per cent (74) of those files which must originally have existed for the period 1561 to 1590. Dr. Hair's calculations upon the number of verdicts of suicide given for Essex in Elizabeth's reign must, therefore, be somewhat understated.

Yours sincerely,

Simon J. Stevenson
Emmanuel College,
Cambridge, CB2 3AP.

Editors' Note

Mr. R. G. Hyde has written to us asking us to make clear that his letter in *LPS* 14 referred to Cowley, Uxbridge, not Cowley, Oxford, and that his address is 12 Robins Close, Cowley, Uxbridge UB8 2LE.

The birth/baptism interval at Harberton, Devon

Dear Sir,

The dates of births and baptisms are recorded for Harberton, Devon, from 1699 to 1709 and again from 1726 to 1727. Philemon Phillips was the parish clerk for both periods and he recorded the births and deaths of his own children. Not every baptism has a birth date but in the appropriate years there were 121 with both dates out of a total of 263

baptisms. The most common intervals were fifteen and sixteen days, the maximum was twenty-nine, the minimum one.

It has been suggested that this interval may have varied with time and place. There is some evidence to show that it did not do so in Harberton since the same interval is predominant in 1653-64 in a very different religious climate. Out of fifty-six baptisms in those two years, forty have the birth date recorded. Thirteen had intervals of between fourteen and sixteen days, six had an interval of twenty-one days and twenty-three had intervals of between thirteen and twenty-one days. The maximum interval was thirty-five days, the minimum again one.

There is no obvious reason for the presence of birth dates. At neither period was there an apparent change in clerkship. Philemon Phillips clearly intended to record every birth date since he left spaces for this, but failed to fill in most of them. A hint of social custom is perhaps recorded in the statement that ' . . . was born and baptised privately on December 2nd and brought to Church on December 26'. This was a gentleman's child. Uniquely, for one particular family births *only* are recorded. These were perhaps Dissenters, presumably Baptists.

Yours sincerely,

R. G. F. Stanes,
Culver House,
Payhembury,
Honiton, Devon.

A WEA group project in demographic studies in Liverpool

Dear Sir,

We have been using the parish register for St. Nicholas, Liverpool, which has been printed and is in two volumes — thus it gives us 'more books to go round'. We found that for a period from 1700 to 1725 occupations and addresses are given as well as the usual information — and in many cases there is even more, like 'lodger with Widdow Smith' or 'servant to Alderman So and so'. We also found a map of Liverpool as it was in 1725, scale 100 yards to the inch — a street plan in fact. So using these two sources we have set about reconstructing the town as it was then.

We have spent ten weeks extracting the information from the parish registers — card indexing every entry — then sorting these cards into streets — and making appropriate lists — then occupations — and doing the same — then putting them into alphabetical order and working out whether the Richard Singleton in Moore Street in 1702 is the same man who lived in Castle Street in 1704. If the occupation is the same, there is a chance that it is — but of course if that is 'saylor' there is doubt!

Before we had been at it (there are only thirteen in the class) for two weeks we realised that we should never cover twenty-five years — so reduced it to the first ten. I have been engaged by the WEA to continue with this course during the winter and hope that these

thirteen will still be able to come — but have in the meantime been instructing a class of forty odd who will be eligible to join in themselves at the end of their course (we have made the 'project' class a select band of those who have been through a course of instruction — just so that we know that they are fit to be let loose on archival material, and have proved that they are seriously interested!). Thus I am hoping for a much enlarged class in the winter. The ones who have done a lot of the donkey work on the first ten years will go on now to make something useful of the material we have got, and search other documents to fill in more of the life story of the population of Liverpool then. It was a period of growth — the Liverpool Parish was set up and St Peters consecrated in 1704. A lot of the occupations so far named probably encompass the men who worked on this. If new members join in — and I feel sure that they will — then they will be set to 'do' the next ten years or so — and catch up the others.

Of course it is quite possible for a family to live ten years in one house and never to go the church to baptise a child, marry another, or bury the dead — so we will use rate books, quarter sessions, etc. — whatever we can lay hands on to try to fill in the gaps.

Basically all we have done so far is card index and list — but already one or two interesting points have emerged. People 'lodged', and lodging house keepers were often widows. People moved — both houses and occupations — occupations usually moved up the scale. *Sayler, Saler*, etc. seem to refer to the rock bottom sailor, whereas *Marriner* seemed to mean the captain or some 'officer' class, and we have other material to search which gives us names of ships and their officers for that period, and we are gradually building up the picture, even of where they go and for what. We hope to link this with the family in the picture of the birthrate of their children. 'Foreigners' are few and far between — even to Scots, Irish and Welsh names. Although I have used the name Smith above as an example, I did that out of habit but in fact the name Smith was rare, comparatively. Many of the names found in Liverpool in 1700 are still there today! Although men of like occupation gathered together in the same street, the town does not seem to have been ghettoed.

Obviously there is much to interest the class here. They tend to divide themselves up according to their interest and work on their own — one is 'doing' the poor and has found reference to a 'little twisted girl' in papers relating to one of the major families of the town. Another is concentrating on the Bluecoat School which was established in 1709 because her son has just gone there; another is keenly interested in the shipping — in 1709 it is recorded that the first vessel sailed for Africa, and in 1717 the new dock, the Dry Dock was built (now Canning Dock). And so on.

Yours sincerely,

Elizabeth Simpson,
19 Harboro Road,
Sale, Cheshire.

MISCELLANY

An unusual lying-in asylum

Contributed by Adrian Henstock

In the parish registers of Cotgrave, Nottinghamshire, recently deposited in the Nottinghamshire Record Office, occur a series of entries relating to an unusual local institution.

Between 1785 and 1811 they contain the record of baptisms of no less than seventy-three children from the Lodge-on-the-Wolds, an extra-parochial area comprising one farmhouse and twenty-five acres on the fringes of Cotgrave parish. All the entries record only the names of the mothers, all of whom are different and many of whom are described as 'spinster'. This phenomenon is explained in the section relating to Lodge-on-the-Wolds in William White's *Directory of Nottinghamshire* of 1832 (but omitted from later editions): 'It is said the house here was once a noted Lying-in Asylum for pregnant ladies, who wished to secrete their illegitimate offspring, and afterwards pass themselves upon the fashionable world as 'virgins chaste and fair''. The building is described as The Asylum in the Cotgrave Enclosure Act of 1790 and the adjacent wood appears as Asylum Plantation on a map of 1835.

It is not known whether the Asylum was a private commercial venture or a charitable foundation supported by subscription, although the former seems more likely. It was probably conducted alongside the farming activities, and the number of girls in residence at any one time was probably no more than three or four; the number of baptisms per year never rose higher than six and was usually lower.

The Asylum seems to have catered for the better-off, and it is possible that most of its clientele was drawn from nearby towns such as Nottingham and Leicester. It was ideally situated for such a purpose, set in remote country yet close to important roads such as the Foss Way and guaranteed by its extra-parochial status freedom from harassment from clergy who might have objected to its existence on moral grounds.

At least one of the temporary inmates of the Asylum can be identified, as on 5 July 1787 was baptised 'Elizth, D. of Elizth Cheslyn from ye Lodge on ye Wolds'. The Cheslyns were a gentry family from Langly Priory near Diseworth in Leicestershire but at this period four maiden sisters lived together in a fashionable house on Low Pavement, Nottingham. Elizabeth, known as Betty, was one of them and is known from another source to have had an illegitimate daughter who was known as Bessy. The mother caused further gossip in Nottingham in December 1789 when, in the words of a contemporary diarist, 'Miss Betty Cheslyn eloped with Captain Langley of the Seventh Dragoons; Mr. John Wright attended her to the Leen Bridge and handed her into the carriage to Captain Langley'.

(Editors' note: Mr. Henstock would be interested to hear of the existence of any similar institutions elsewhere, and to discover how common they were and how they were administered).

Ten Lewd Women

Contributed by J. R. Holman

An Account of the Awful Death of Ten Lewd Women who were smothered on Monday November 3 1821 in the Infirmary at Liverpool, being afflicted with an incurable malady which they caught of some Greek Sailors. A Grecian ship arrived at this port in the month of August last, having about thirty hands on board, when, no sooner had the vessel come in the river, than a number of unfortunate young women went on board, and bartered both body and soul for a trifling sum of money. It is the nature of sin to carry along with it its own punishment, and the awful denunciation of God's displeasure not unfrequently commences in this, and terminates in the terrors of another world: for the foreigners communicated a disease of such an infectious and deadly nature, that it baffled the united skill of the most eminent and experienced of the faculty of Liverpool, and proved too stubborn for any antidote that could be applied in this country.

After every means had been used that prudence and art could devise, without producing the desired effect, the symptoms of this dreadful malady became more and more alarming. The flesh first turned yellow, then became spongy like a honey-comb, and afterwards became black and began to drop off their bones in large lumps. So offensive was the stench that arose from the putrid state of their bodies, that no person, however desirous, could approach their beds, or give them any relief. On Saturday last, another consultation of the medical gentlemen connected with the Infirmary was held, when after a most laborious and lengthy conference, they came to the awful decision that these wretched young women should be smothered with nitre and sulphur, the easiest and most effectual method of putting a stop to the raging infection.

These unfortunate women's names are — Jane Williams, aged eighteen; Mary Grant, sixteen; Elizabeth Watts, fifteen; Margaret James, seventeen; Mary Evans, twenty; Sarar Rich, nineteen; Catherine Howell, twentytwo; Elizabeth Bennet, sixteen; Anne Loyd, eighteen; and Ellen Harper, twentythree.

Courteous Reader! What could the hopes of salvation of these poor deluded mortals be? The dissipated course of life they lived proved the truth of that sacred declaration that 'The wicked shall not live out half their days'. The unerring word of the unchangeable God says 'The heaven and earth shall pass away, but not one jot or little of my word shall fail'. Again it declares that 'without holiness no man can see God' and that unless we be cleansed from our sin we cannot enter into the kingdom of God. We would not set boundaries to the extent of the Divine mercy, for we cannot always perceive the workings of the Holy Spirit on the heart, but we would point out the danger of a sinful course of life, and the benefits and pleasures of early piety.

Shepherd, Printer, Temple Gate, Bristol.

Avon County Library (Bristol Reference Library)
Jefferies Manuscripts, Vol. 14 (B7958), p. 83.

A medical comment

The account of this 'incurable malady' does not describe any recognisable past or present medical condition. Perhaps the nearest would be the malignant form of syphilis that occurred in Europe in the sixteenth century. Both venereologists that I have consulted, one of whom has a special interest in medical history, confirm however that this description fits no venereal disease present in 1821. If the pamphlet is not entirely based on pious fantasy, I wonder whether the starting point could have been a report that some prostitutes were heavily treated (smothered in ointment) with sulphur, which was much used for the treatment of many skin complaints, and that there was subsequent misinterpretation or wishful association of the term 'smother' with death by suffocation.

Contributed by Professor A. C. Cunliffe of the Department of Medical Microbiology, King's College Hospital, London.

A Suffolk Methuselah

Contributed by David Dymond

A remarkable and early example of longevity occurred in the Suffolk parish of Stanton, and is mentioned in a monastic cartulary of the fifteenth century!¹ Here is a translation of the key passage, clearly derived from some earlier source:

And be it known that there was a certain man who was called Robert Aunger, seven score and seven years old before he died, ancestor of the former Henry Herwer. Which Robert saw Abbot Ordinger, and the Abbot himself had as many as thirteen monks.

The extract is interesting not only for its extraordinary claim that Aunger reached the age of 147, but also for the attempt to give some kind of evidence for the phenomenon — by mentioning that he had seen (or had been in the habit of seeing) a former Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds who ruled from 1148 to 1156. Robert Aunger does not feature in lists compiled in the 1280s,³ so his life would appear to have spanned the period roughly from 1130 to 1280.

As for the thirteen monks mentioned in the cartulary, they were presumably the Abbot's escort. Aunger could have seen Ordinger either in Bury itself, or in Stanton which as a manor belonged to the abbey.

The rest of the relevant passage (see below) makes it clear that Robert's age was mentioned not simply as a piece of interesting gossip but as useful evidence in a legal dispute over property. A priest called Henry Herwer had given away 2½ tenements at Stanton to the lord of the manor of Lamarsh in Essex, and in so doing had, in the opinion of the monks, disinherited the abbey-church of Bury. So Robert Aunger was mentioned as the ancestor or grandfather (*avus*) of Henry Herwer, and as an earlier and long-lived occupant of the 2½ tenements which were then 'held of the manor of Stanton belonging to the church of St. Edmund'.

As Henry Herwer is connected in the same manuscript with Lamarsh Manor in Essex and Elm church in Cambridgeshire, it is fairly certain that he was the same person as Magister Hervey de Stanton (born c. 1270-80, died 1349-50).⁴ So it is just possible that Robert Aunger (if born c. 1130) was indeed the grandfather of Henry Herwer *alias* Magister Hervey, but this presupposes that the Aunger family were not only capable of living to great ages, but also of fathering children relatively late in life! It is perhaps more likely that the scribe was using the word *avus* in the looser sense of forefather or ancestor.

We have no means of knowing the sources on which the fifteenth century scribe of the Stanton Book based his description of Robert Aunger. When the dispute over the 2½ tenements blew up, during Henry Herwer's lifetime or shortly afterwards, the monks' claim could very well have been based on local court-rolls. These might be expected to record some details of Aunger's tenancy, but not his exact age. (Unfortunately no mediaeval court-rolls for Stanton have survived). Local oral tradition may have played a part in preserving a memory of Aunger's age, but there is always a chance that two individuals of the same name were confused and their ages added together.

Can we therefore accept 147 as Robert Aunger's actual age at death? The number expressed in Latin as 'seven score and seven' may not have been meant literally, and may be no more than a convention for 'very old'⁵ Nevertheless it seems likely that Aunger did live to a great age by mediaeval standards. He lived long enough to get a very unusual mention in a monastic document, even though the monks of Bury were more interested in him as legal evidence, than as a human being with a remarkable demographic and medical record.

Notes

1. British Museum, Add. MSS.4699 (41 folios). This document, known as the Terrier of Stanton or the Stanton Book, is a register of charters, surveys and other memoranda concerning the manor of Stanton. It is clearly part of a larger cartulary for its original folio numbers (now crossed out) run from 290 to 329. Palaeographically, the Stanton Book appears to have been written in the early fifteenth century. See G. R. C. Davies, *Mediaeval Cartularies . . .* (1958), 13-17.
2. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. London, *The heads of religious houses, England and Wales, 940-1216*, (1792), p. 32.
3. Either *De Itinere Salamonis de Roffensis* (c. 1280) in F. Hervey, *Pinchbeck Register*, Vol. II, or the 1283 Lay Subsidy in E. Powell, *A Suffolk Hundred in 1283*, (1910).
4. S. H. A. Hervey, *Hervey, First Bishop of Ely and some others of the same name* (1923), Suffolk Green Books, No. XIX, pp. 176-83. The I.P.M. of Edmund, Earl of Kent, December 1330 shows Hervey de Stanton holding land in Stanton as of the manor of Lamarsh (IPM 4 Edw. III, 38). The *Dunham* mentioned in the cartulary may be Downham in the Isle of Ely. This Hervey de Stanton is usually designated Rector of Elm to distinguish him from his more august namesake and relative (c. 1265-1327) who was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Edward II and founder of Michaelhouse, Cambridge (later absorbed into Trinity College).
5. I am indebted to Roger Schofield for pointing this out.

Appendix

1. Transcription, B.M., Add. MSS..4699, F 7v, para. 2 (with modern punctuation) Et sciendum quod erat quondam unus homo qui vocabatur Robertus Augner etatis vijxx & vij septem (sic) annorum priusquam moriebatur, avus quondam Henrici Herwer. Qui Robertus videbat Abbatem Ordinum & ipse Abbas habebat tantum xiiij monachos. Qui Robertus tenuit de manerio de Stanton pertinenti ad ecclesiam Sancti Edmundi tenementum quondam Willelmi Munche & aliud tenementum quondam Walteri Day & dimidium tenementum quod vocatur Willelmi Wryghtes, quae tenementa tenebantur per gallinas ova & alias consuetudines pertinentes nunc ad manerium. Qui dominus Henricus Herwer sacerdos & persona ecclesiarum de Dunham & Elme, tenens predictorum tenementorum & faciens omnia servicia & consuetudines pertinentes ad predicta tenementa sicut alii tenentes eiusdem tenurae cum officio praepositurae messoris clavigeri & cornu (arii), dedit domino manerii de Lamersch in exheredacionem ecclesiae Sancti Edmundi predicta tenementa pertinentia manerio de Stanton, quod quidam manerium de Stanton Abbas & conventus de Bury tenent de Rege in capite & ad hoc ponunt se in patriam.

2. Translation

And be it known that there was a certain man who was called Robert Augner, seven score and seven years old before he died, ancestor (grandfather) of the former Henry Herwer. Which Robert saw Abbot Ordinger and the Abbot himself had as many as thirteen monks. Which Robert held, of the manor of Stanton belonging to the church of St. Edmund, a tenement formerly of William Munche and another tenement formerly of Walter Day and a half-tenement which was called William Wryghtes'. Which tenements were held by payment of hens, eggs and other customs belonging now to the manor. Which Sir Henry Herwer, priest and parson of the churches of *Dunham & Elme* (holding the aforesaid tenements and doing all the services and customs belonging to the aforesaid tenements, as others holding of the same tenure, with the office of reeve, messor, claviger and ? horn-blower) gave to the lord of the manor of Lamarsh, in disinheriting the church of St. Edmund, the aforesaid tenements belonging to the manor of Stanton. Which certain manor of Stanton the Abbot and convent of Bury hold of the King in chief, and in this matter they place themselves in the hands of the jury.

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SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

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A series of reprints of works of special interest to historical demographers the earliest being John Graunt's *Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality* which was first published in 1662, the latest, the work of the actuary Charles Ansell, which was issued by the National Life Assurance Society in 1874. Some of the volumes in the series consist of single works, Thomas Short's *Comparative history of the increase and decrease of mankind*, for instance; others of several shorter studies, all on a common theme. One difficulty with these composite volumes is that the pagination recommences with every fresh study. The title page is of no value either as it fails to indicate the length of any of the items. Fortunately each volume, whether composite or single, has an introduction in which the various studies are severely described and compared with the results of the most recent research.

J. B. Bertrand, translated by Anne Plumptre, introduction by J. N. Biraben
A historical relation of the Plague at Marseilles in the year 1720, £5.50

The plague which devastated Marseilles in 1720 is estimated to have killed 50,000 people in the city and surrounding area whereas the great London plague of 1665 is thought to have killed no more than 16 per cent of the population. Bertrand was one of twelve qualified doctors in Marseilles at the time of the plague. His account is biased because he was eager to defend the actions of his medical colleagues while the failings of others, particularly the municipal authorities, were emphasised. Nevertheless he must have witnessed personally many of the scenes he describes as the contagion and blind panic spread through the population.

Unlike the rest of the volumes in this series there is not a table or a 'statistic' in sight, but the impact of the epidemic on the community is no less clear for that.

Dr. William Black, introduction by D. V. Glass

Analysis of the diseases and mortality of the human species (1789), £4.50

The focus is on specific diseases and on the London Bills of Mortality, supplemented by the records of dispensaries in London and Newcastle. As a physician his comments and criticism of the London Bills are of particular value. Of interest too is his observation that comparatively few had been inoculated against smallpox, Razzell, it will be remembered, having recently taken another view (*Economic History Review* 1965). But Black also includes a demographic section in which he estimates, reliably according to Glass, world population and the age composition of the population of Europe. There is also discussion of such matters as age at puberty and age at marriage, urban-rural differences in marriage and fertility and the sex ratio at birth.

E. H. Greenhow, General Board of Health, London. Introduction by Fraser Brockington.
Papers relating to the sanitary state of the people of England, £4.00

A systematic study illustrating the level of mortality and more particularly the major fatal diseases in 105 registration districts, some healthy, others most unhealthy, during the years 1848 to 1854. The data on cause of death were drawn from unpublished tables in the possession of the Registrar General. In addition the census of 1851 was raided for information on the number of persons per house and the occupational complexion of the district, while the Reports of the Poor Law Board to the General Board of Health furnished the number of paupers. Greenhow's detailed reworking of the Registrar General's statistics is now of greater interest than his conclusions which seem self-evident, that much preventable disease was directly connected to over-crowding, imperfect sanitation, imperfect and insufficient food and bad working conditions.

Thomas Short. Introduction by R. Wall.

Comparative history of the increase and decrease of mankind (1767), £5.00

Short's sources were the Bills of Mortality, for continental as well as English cities, in addition to the aggregated totals of baptisms, marriages and burials from a large number of English parish registers which had been a feature of his earlier work. By juxtaposing these data with meteorological records he hoped to ascertain whether climate, rainfall and the harvest were in any way related to incidence and age at death. He also investigated the prevalence of different kinds of diseases under varying environmental conditions. Short's style of writing does not commend itself, he wanders from subject to subject and is far too inclined to introduce matters which add little to his general theme. Nevertheless he is worth persevering with, if not for his argument which was to combat the evil of vice and luxury, then at least for his data which in some respects surpass Rickman's much better known collection forty years later.

Thomas Short. Introduction by R. Wall.

New observations on the city, town and country bills of mortality (1750), £7.00

An extensive analysis of population change between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries based on the baptism, burial and marriage registers of over 160 rural parishes and fifty towns. There is a bias towards towns and villages in the north of England and the survey suffers further from the use of aggregated totals of vital events for such broad periods that it is impossible to discover exactly when the growth of the sixteenth century turned into the stagnation if not decline of the seventeenth. Short's principal object was to discover which trades, soils and situations were best adapted for long life, which years were the most sickly and which diseases the most fatal. Unfortunately the relevant data are all contained in a series of badly arranged tables, so that it is not easy to see immediately whether his conclusions on, for instance, which soils were particularly 'healthy' or 'unhealthy' had any validity.

John Graunt and Gregory King, introduction by P. Laslett.

The Earliest Classics: Observations on the Bills of Mortality, Natural and political observations and Burn's Journal, £8.50.

This last, *Burn's Journal*, is probably the most interesting. Hitherto unpublished, although occasionally referred to by scholars, it contains the workings for his calculation of the population of England. Although surprisingly accurate, it has not been clear how King arrived at his final totals. The Journal with its many deletions and recalculations (often on an entirely different basis) might seem to support that a certain amount of guesswork was involved. Nor did all the material in the journal find its way into his published work. It would therefore repay the close attention which this edition, clearer and easier to handle than the microfilm or xerox original, makes possible.

Graunt's *Observations* has often been reprinted although it is perhaps *read* less frequently by historical demographers than it should be.

J. Howlett, introduction by A. H. John

Enclosure and Population (1786/7), £3.75

In the two essays reprinted in this volume Howlett sought to prove that enclosures involved both the reorganisation of land and its subsequent more intensive cultivation. In turn, it is argued, this resulted in an increase in the demand for labour and the growth of population. The evidence advanced for beneficial effects of enclosure is, however, capable of more than one interpretation, as Howlett himself realised (*An Enquiry*, p. 28). The population of Donnington (see *An Enquiry*, pp. 40-48) may indeed have grown but not necessarily because of the enclosure. Similarly out-migration could as well indicate poverty as prosperity. Migration to manufacturing areas accepted by Howlett as counter-balancing depopulation in some recently enclosed Leicestershire villages (*An Enquiry*, p. 13) is later also used by him to provide evidence of the detrimental effects (to the poor and the poor rate) of allowing the poor almost unlimited access to commons and wastes (*Enclosures*, pp. 80-81). It remains true, however, that work on the relationship of enclosure to population growth has yet to proceed far beyond the rudimentary table (*An Enquiry*, p. 26) which on the face of it shows, as Howlett hoped it would, that enclosing parishes were increasing faster in population than the unenclosed (but note the much smaller *total* population of the former).

Population and disease in early industrial England. Introduction by B. Benjamin. (Contains Percival on population in Manchester and his *Essay on smallpox and measles*, with Heberden on the increase and decrease of diseases, particularly plague.), £4.25

Not one of these works can be described as epoch-making. The importance of Percival lies in the summarised censuses of various settlements in and around Manchester. Since in most cases the original schedules have not survived, these figures now provide the only record of the household size, age structure and proportion of the population widowed for communities which were to form the nucleus of 'industrial England'. Heberden, on the other hand, focused on the London Bills of Mortality. His year by year summary of the Bills from 1701 showing the proportion dying from particular diseases, as also the weekly variations between 1763 and 1767 and 1795 and 1799 in frequency of

certain other diseases and the ages of the afflicted should be approached critically, bearing in mind the known defects of the Bills and some suggestion that Heberden may have misclassified certain diseases. It would be advisable to read this piece only in conjunction with Black's thorough analysis of the same source (see above).

The population of Ireland before the nineteenth century, introduction by J. Lee. A reprint of essays on the population of Ireland by Howlett, Bushe and Newenham, and Mason's *A survey of the barony of Portnekinch*, £7.00

Of varying standard and length, Newenham's study covers 358 pages, the next longest, that by Howlett, only twenty-four. In the absence of reliable census and parish register data it might be thought that there was little that could be said about Irish population. Howlett's solution was to place blind acceptance in a most imperfect source, the Irish hearth tax returns. Bushe and Shaw Mason in their different ways both try to fill the gap, the former checking the hearth tax returns and insisting on the variation in the number of persons per house according to the age and status of the household head, the latter by organising his own local surveys of the age and occupational structure of the population, the value of land and size of farms. Newenham provides much general comment on Irish trade and agriculture, the importance of potato culture, the 'typical' furnishing of an Irish cabin and so on, but there was much speculation. According to Bushe 'To build an house for his family is not always an easy matter to an Irish peasant', while Newenham agreed with Arthur Young that in many instances 'the cabin of the Irishman begins with a hovel which is erected with two days labour'.

Comparative statistics in the nineteenth century, introduction by R. Wall. (Comprises *Elements of medical statistics* (1829) by F. Hawkins, and *Treatise on man* (1842) by Quetelet, £7.00

Hawkins was an assiduous compiler of statistics, noting the number of suicides in Copenhagen, the amount of insanity in New York and the proportion of children stillborn in the Dublin maternity hospital, as well as the annual rates of mortality in most European countries. Too many of his findings, however, are based on the results of single years. Rickman's collection of English parish register data was accepted uncritically and there must be some doubt about Hawkin's main contention that the British population was the most healthy in Europe. Quetelet collected similar statistics but had more to say on the height and weight of nineteenth century factory workers compared with the wealthier section of the population, and on crime, studied in relation to the age, sex and educational attainment (inability to read and write, etc.) of the criminal. One fault is that the reprint has necessarily to reproduce the small print of the Chambers edition of 1842.

Slum conditions in London and Dublin, introduction by R. Wall. (Includes Whitelaw's *Essay on the population of Dublin* (1805) and two reports by the London Statistical Society on conditions experienced by working class inhabitants in Victorian London in the 1840s.), £4.50

The volume is completed by two tables, one manuscript and one printed, neither very easy to read, which provides further information on the same East London parish (St.

George in the East) covered in the more thorough of the Society's surveys. From the latter we know for what was considered an 'average' working class district, not only what wages were received and rent paid, but whether rooms and clothing were clean, how many times a week animal food was eaten and what newspapers were read. Whitelaw's particular interest was also the living conditions of the poor, but his main achievement was the first accurate assessment of the size and distribution of the population of the Irish capital. His street by street survey showed both the number of people differentiated by sex and the number of inhabited and 'waste' houses.

Rates of mortality, introduction by B. Benjamin. (Two works are included, *Tontines and life annuities* (1860) by A. G. Finlaison and *On the rate of mortality* (1874) by C. Ansell, £4.50

Both are relatively short and deal with the life expectancy of the upper classes in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Finlaison took as his data the records of the participants in successive government-backed life assurance schemes, while Ansell had to circularise members of the clerical, medical and legal professions and others of similar standing for details of their own and in some cases their parents' families. From Finlaison's study there is some 'hard' information on mortality (although only for one section of society) for a key period when other sources such as parish registers are most suspect. Ansell's, however, is the broader study, encompassing fertility as well as mortality, throwing out in the process some interesting observations on the frequency of multiple births, birth spacing and family size. The extent to which upper class experience differed from that of the population at large is generally made clear.

LOCAL RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

The following list contains additions to the work on local population history known to the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure and published in previous issues of **Local Population Studies**.

* *Denotes analysis completed*

BEDFORDS.

Aggregative

	Chalgrave*	Mr. & Mrs. F. G. Emmison	Bibury, Links Road, Chelmsford, Essex.
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Literacy

	All parishes*	Bedford Modern School for Boys	
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Listings

	Campton*	J. D. Asteraki	122 Reading Road,
	Clophill*		Finchampstead,
Reconstitution	Shefford*		Wokingham, Berks.

BERKS.

Aggregative

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Literacy

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	Old Windsor*	"	20 Silver Street, Cambridge
	Reading, St. Giles*	"	"
	Sunningwell*	"	"
	West Challow*	"	"

Listings

	Binfield 1780		
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Reconstitution

	Caversham	Mrs. D. McLaren (Ph.D. student of R. Wordie)	Room 150, History Dept., University of Reading, Berks.
	Tilehurst	Mrs. M. Pewsey	25 Venning Road, Arborfield, nr. Reading, Berks.

BUCKS

Aggregative

Literacy

Listings

Denham 1749
Hartwell with Stone 1730
Stoke Pages 1831

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Meldreth*

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Miss B. McNeice

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Literacy

Lolworth*

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Cambridge Group

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Bottisham 1786

Reconstitution

Melbourn

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Cartha Martha, Rezare,
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Listings -----

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Listings — Whitehaven 1762

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Carsington* " "
Dronfield* Miss S. Bowen Homerton College, Cambridge
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Literacy

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Osborne 1801
Shaftesbury St. James 1821
Thornford 1821

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Listings

Darlington 1767

Reconstitution

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North Fambridge*	Mrs. B. Board	The Old School House, Stow Maries, Chelmsford, Essex
Steeple*	K. J. Bruce	The Poplars, Down Hall Beach, Bradwell-on-Sea, Essex
Southminster*	"	"
Gt. Sampford*	G.C.S. Curtis	Houses, Gt. Sampford, Saffron Walden, Essex
Little Sampford*	"	"

Literacy

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