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EDITORIAL

The Parochial Registers and Records Measure: the last phase

Readers who have had the patience to follow the progress of the Parochial Registers and Records Measure in these pages over the past four years will remember the developments to which we drew attention in our last editorial in May. This was the ill-conceived amendment to clause 20 (2) (b) which without consultation or consideration of the implications, Synod adopted at its meeting in February. The amendment introduced what was in effect a new fees policy whereby readers making their own searches in baptism or burial registers deposited in DROs could be charged fees. The new move was opposed on the grounds that it would encourage DROs which do not charge fees at present to begin to do so and in particular anxiety focussed on the rights the new clause conferred on the non-local authority DRO. The conduct of local authority record offices is regulated by act of parliament and supervised by locally elected committees; in the case of private DROs there is no similar public accountability so that the new clause, at least in theory, made it possible for the public to be charged unlimited fees without redress. The small number of non-local authority DROs at present prompted some to argue that the problem was in reality of no more than academic interest. Draftsmanship such as this, so flawed as to have to be shored up by pleading that the loophole is only a small one, cannot lead to sound law. In any case to argue on the basis of the present number of private DROs could be shortsighted; the Measure itself provides for a bishop to designate new DROs without limiting his choice to partnership with the local authority. Thus the number of private DROs could be increased and with it the risk of exploiting their monopoly powers.

As we reported in May, a strong enough case against the proposals was made to the Synod authorities to persuade them to think again about this section of the Measure. The questions to be answered were, firstly, the form of words to replace the objectionable clause and secondly, how further amendment could be accomplished without endangering the entire Measure. Now these problems have been resolved; non-local authority DROs are to have the right to charge fees for searches in baptism or burial registers deposited with them providing the fees are those laid down in the fees order currently in force which for the time being is the Ecclesiastical Fees Measure 1962. The necessary amendment has been included in the Church of England (Miscellaneous Provisions) Measure which received Synod's sanction earlier this month and which, assuming parliamentary approval to be assured in this case, is expected to come into force at the same time as the Parochial Registers and Records Measure.

The new formula represents a compromise; the privately controlled DROs have retained the right to charge fees granted them by the amendment but have lost the power to determine what those fees should be. The 1962 Fees Measure will be superseded by a new Fees Measure in the near future and we hope its successor will finally abolish fees for searching registers; but assuming there is a Fees Measure in force which retains fees when the provisions of the Parochial Registers and Records Measure
and the Miscellaneous Provisions Measure take effect, it will be interesting to see how many of the private DROs take up their right to fees. At one stage during the discussions of this issue the impression was given that one at least amongst these institutions regarded the charging of fees as a burden it would be pleased to lose and none so far as we know was prepared to state that fees from searches made by readers were an essential part of its income. Their attitude on this point is likely to be important. If they do insist on the necessity of fees their influence on the fees legislation which is currently under review by a Church Commissioners working party could be considerable; maybe even to the extent of persuading the Church Commissioners to retain fees for their benefit. It is unfortunate that even now the reasoning behind the paragraph 20 (2) (b) amendment and the section which has replaced it, remains obscure. We assume that the committee responsible for the Measure received representations from some of the private DROs and felt itself bound to protect their interests but this has never been made clear.

The local authority DROs were not distinguished from the private institutions in the earlier version of the Measure and were, like them, permitted to charge fees for searches unrestricted by any provisions of the Measure. However, as we indicated in May, local authority DROs already possess the power to levy fees under the Local Government (Records) Act 1962, so that the Measure did not confer new rights on them. This is recognised in the latest revision which does not refer to local authority DROs as such. However a clause has been added confirming that the Measure does not affect the powers of local authorities under the Local Government (Records) Act 1962.

It will be two or three years before we can gauge the effects of the new legislation in operation. It is clear that it will accelerate the rate at which the registers which are now with incumbents are deposited in record offices and the new regulations for the safe keeping of registers and the system of regular inspection must surely contribute to the long term security and well-being of records which are retained locally. How some of the other provisions of the Measure will function we cannot forecast; for instance how long will it take to seek out the registers which are held in repositories such as public libraries or local society collections and deposit them in the appropriate DRO? In theory the system for the temporary placing of registers in DROs or other approved repositories for research purposes should resolve many of the local difficulties which have frustrated parish register research in the past; in practice we expect the ease and speed with which these and other arrangements which depend on local goodwill are made will vary from diocese to diocese. Synod has promised an explanatory handbook to accompany the Measure, nevertheless it will be a while before clergy, archivists and record users are thoroughly familiar with all the Measure's provisions and we would advise readers to arm themselves with a copy of the Measure without delay.

The Measure is the product of many hours hard work by a small group of clergy, officials and laymen and they are to be congratulated; without their determination this legislation could have perished at any one of a number of points in its evolution. It has not had an easy passage; it began as
a finely balanced mechanism attempting to rescue registers which were at risk while preserving the traditional rights of the parish to keep its own records; and in this form Synod rejected it. Redrafted it became a device to ensure that virtually all registers and parish records of any age are deposited in DROs and somehow, despite this volte face, it has emerged in the same ambitious and comprehensive mould in which it was first cast.

We have complained often enough about the inadequacy of the consultation with record users which those responsible for the Measure have seen fit to allow and no amount of 'end of term bonhomie' can paper over this particular crack! Time and again it has been a major battle to secure a hearing. During the past year the Record Users Group has found it necessary to call on the support of members of parliament, the Church Commissioners and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Is it too much to ask that Synod, when it deals with matters of widespread concern in future should behave with a greater sense of public responsibility?

OPCS Library

The Office of Population Censuses and Surveys was formed in 1970 with the merger of the General Register Office and the Government Social Survey Department. One of the main aims was to establish a central point for the collection and analysis of population and social statistics. OPCS publish the census results and detailed population and medical statistics previously produced by GRO, as well as the General Household Survey and ad hoc reports from Social Survey Division.

The Library acts as a focal point for this comprehensive range of statistics by holding copies of all OPCS publications and acquiring other British and foreign reports on similar themes whether annual, periodic or special publications. The present collection was formed by the integration of GRO and SSD Libraries' holdings.

Briefly the collection falls into the following categories:—

- UK Population Census Publications
- Population and Medical Statistics
- Foreign Censuses and Vital Statistics
- Social Survey Reports
- Monographs (including textbooks and standard works relating to OPCS topics)
- Journals

Unfortunately the stock of the Library is not well known and, although it is open to the public, OPCS would like greater use made of its facilities. The Library has possibly the only accessible complete set of all published reports for each population census since 1801. Since 1961 an increasing amount of census results is in unpublished form (eg computer print-out and microfilm) and the Library holds reference volumes and indexes which will assist researchers in locating the statistics they require from the 1961, 1966 and 1971 censuses.
The Library is also building up a collection of material and studies using census statistics as part of the Census Use Study. This collection includes unpublished material, for example, local authority area profiles, which are not available elsewhere. This collection, with the Census Use Study card index, permits researchers to use the Library to examine secondary sources as well as primary sources of census data. Also available are bibliographies of census use and analysis on selected topics (eg census-based studies of ethnic minority groups) and the collection of foreign census reports.

In the field of population statistics, statistical tables and commentaries are available on demographic and vital topics including population estimates and projections, fertility, nuptiality, divorce, migration and expectancy of life at national and sub-national levels from publications dating back to the first Annual Report of the Registrar General in 1837. Similar data is available in serial publications for Scotland and Northern Ireland.

Quarterly data on many of the above topics was published in the Registrar General’s Quarterly Return which started in 1849 and was remodelled in 1975 to become Population Trends.

When it comes to medical statistics the Library contains a number of important historical books and papers illustrating the role played by vital statistics in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the movement to improve public health. The works of John Graunt, John Snow, William Farr and Florence Nightingale, available in the Library, laid the foundations for much of present day epidemiology; improved statistics enabled the aetiology of morbidity and mortality to be investigated.

The Library also holds all published OPCS medical statistics and commentaries, and acquires similar publications from other countries and from WHO, the UN and the EEC.

Both medical and population topics are covered in the Studies of Medicine and Population Subjects from OPCS, an ad hoc series, the most recent titles being Child Health, Anencephalus, Spina Bifida, and Congenital Hydrocephalus and Changes in Family Building Plans.

As well as UK material there is a comprehensive selection of foreign demographic data, some of which dates back to the mid-nineteenth century, and covers many of the major countries, in addition to United Nations publications like the Demographic Yearbook. Information is also available from the EEC countries.

The Library has copies of almost all published social survey reports and has access to the few exceptions. These reports date back to 1941 when the Survey Unit was first established as part of the Ministry of Information and cover a wide field of social and economic subjects.

Most of the reports include an account of the survey methodology as well as a full numerical analysis and presentation of the survey’s findings. A complete list of published survey reports and papers is available on request.
In addition to the very comprehensive range of population, medical and social statistics, the Library has a good collection of textbooks, specialist studies and academic dissertations as well as government reports and command papers. In fact, it is likely that the reader will find anything which is relevant to the collection and analysis of the statistics with which OPCS are concerned.

The Library receives, for circulation amongst the professional and other interested staff, about 300 periodicals which are kept for varying lengths of time (not less than five years in most cases) and are available for reference. Such journals as American Journals of Sociology, Annals of Human Genetics, Greater London Intelligence Quarterly, Journal of Biosocial Science, Operational Research Quarterly, Theoretical Population Biology and Urban Studies give an idea of the breadth of the collection.

The Library is in St. Catherines House which is on the corner of Kingsway and the Aldwych. It can offer open access to shelves and electric points for calculators. The Library staff are available to assist visitors and any particularly difficult problem can be referred to the professional staff or the relevant section. Visitors are at liberty to browse and can conduct their own researches using the author index. Xerox facilities are available but immediate service cannot be guaranteed.

The Library is open from 9-4 Monday to Friday (except on public holidays). Space is limited so a prior 'phone call is worth while (01-242 0262 ext. 2235/7). Telephone enquiries are also dealt with by Library staff on these extensions.

The Library's loan service extends to members of the public and outside bodies through the inter-library loan service by which the loan is actually made to another library. Any enquiries about this service should be made to Linda Pacifico, 01-242 0262 ext 2235.

A more detailed account of OPCS publications is contained in Sectional List No. 56. The address is:

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November 1977

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

A journey round the world in search of local population studies

Monsieur Louis Henry, the distinguished French demographer, when he was shown the results of the work of local students of population in England assembled at the Cambridge Group, exclaimed: ‘Ah! c’est le secret weapon Anglais. Cela ne peut pas exister en France.’ A succession of visits made by Janet and Peter Laslett to New Zealand, Australia, Japan and France in the latter part of 1976 and to the United States (Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut) in the early part of 1977 seems to confirm that such activities are indeed peculiarly English. They certainly do not appear to exist in quite the same form in any of the countries listed above.

This does not mean, of course, that the history of demography and social structure is not being studied in these countries. The tour of the Pacific took place under British Council auspices at the request of scholars who wished to know more of what is being done in this field. In France historical population studies are considerably older and much more developed at the universities than in Britain; whilst in America there is enormous activity in many places, but always, it would seem, at official academic places. Everywhere genealogical enquiry is being pursued, and everywhere you will find people writing histories of localities, communities and towns. What is more difficult to discover, though it may be present but not evident to the passing visitor, is the interplay between the part-time researcher in the localities and the full-time scholar at the university. Genealogies appear to be constructed solely for personal interest, not with a view to the possibilities which studies of this kind have for the reckoning of vital rates; except on one site, in Queensland, Australia.

Here the Queensland Group for the History of Population and Social Struc-ture was founded at the end of last year by Professor Roderick Fisher and his colleagues and dubbed ‘Queenipop’ for short. This may have been to some extent an outcome of the week which we spent on the splendid campus of the University of Brisbane with Professor Fisher, but much had gone on before we arrived. Indeed, we were greeted by a large display on the Cambridge Group staged in the hallway of the History Department. There they all were: Population and History, FRFs, Household and family in past time, and copies of Local Population Studies opened up and laid out for all to see. It was pointed out, however, that ‘Queenipop’ is not an organization covering the whole of Australia.

There are as yet, few signs of voluntary activity of this kind in New Zealand though intense interest was taken in its possibilities. New Zealanders seemed anxious to find out whether their family structure was different from that of their British and European antecedents and how the microstructure of their society, its particular population history, may have been connected with the early introduction of social insurance: indeed, New Zealand may be called the cradle of the welfare state.

In Australia, where it is encouraging to find older people, often housewives whose children have left home, entering for higher degrees at the univer-
sities, the subject of family lines settled in particular areas is sometimes taken up for dissertation purposes. One such study at the University of Adelaide is being done by a lady whose work is directed by a lady very much her junior (Ms Brodsky, late research student at the Cambridge Group). She is studying families settled in the Mount Gambier area of South Australia and it is extraordinary that one of these families, a particularly prolific one, was founded in the 1850s by Richard Laslett, Peter Laslett's great-grand-uncle, immigrant from Kent and present on the FRFs of the village of Ash, Kent, produced by the local history group who worked with Mrs. Anthea Newman on the reconstitution of its registers.

In Japan only one university seems so far to have any activity at all resembling that of the Cambridge Group, the University of Keio in Tokyo, one of the hundred in that huge and fantastic city. Professor Hayami there sadly feels the want of Japanese interest in work of the Local Population Studies character which, he said, had yet to fire the imagination of the Japanese local scholars. He has in his personal charge a great collection of original documents bearing on historical demography, which would otherwise have perished, as little interest has so far been taken in topics of this kind, but he hopes that all this may alter soon.

Little need be said of France and the United States, where the pattern is for our kind of research to be undertaken for lower levels of higher degrees, frequently by part-time scholars as in the case of Adelaide. It may be a partial, or even a nationalistic judgement, but I believe that unless scholars in these countries do find a way to create the interchange which Local Population Studies represents in England, they will not easily achieve the means of shedding light on the demographic and social development of their countries. Local Population Studies is not, of course, a secret weapon: it is a means of intellectual interchange and cooperative research, a model for those who share our concerns and interests, elsewhere in the world.
AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SMALL SIZE OF THE HOUSEHOLD, AS EXEMPLIFIED BY STRATFORD-ON-AVON

J. M. Martin

J. M. Martin lectures at the Middlesex Polytechnic. He is interested in the economic, social and demographic history of Warwickshire between the Restoration and the nineteenth century.

Introduction

Recent work on the household in pre-industrial England has succeeded in establishing that households were generally small and simple in structure. We now know how many contained servants and how few contained relatives and that the predominant familial group then as now consisted of parents and unmarried children. It is less clear to us why households were so small. How significant, for example, was it that couples postponed marriage until their late twenties? To what extent was the household influenced by changes in the local economy? Did trade depression reduce household size or leave it untouched? These questions cannot be answered except by means of a detailed study of a local community. In this article and the one that follows I shall look at differences in the households of rich and poor, of migrant and life-long residents in eighteenth century Stratford-on-Avon.

The sources

A listing of persons residing within the borough of Stratford-on-Avon in April 1765 was drawn up by George Beauchamp, an ironmonger in the town and one of its principal citizens at that time. The purpose of the listing seems to have been to discover the number of persons within each family who had survived or escaped infection from the scourge of smallpox. In the sudden bunching of child burials the register of Holy Trinity bears the clear imprint of this disease which preyed on the townspeople at frequent intervals during the first half of the century. A careful record was made of the total number of persons within each household and of how many had already contracted the disease. It would seem likely that the survey was intended as a preliminary to the carrying-out of a large-scale inoculation of the inhabitants. From the 1760s onwards a form of mass inoculation gained increasing acceptance within country-towns boasting a large middle-class element. In addition the practice had apparently won powerful friends within the ranks of the local medical profession in Warwickshire.
Apart from this useful document the Shakespeare Birthplace Collection also contains an annotated rating-list of the Borough's houses dated 1801. This records the location and occupation of almost all householders, including those exempted from the payment of rates. These two documents, when linked to other sources, particularly the ecclesiastical registers, shed new light on the character of the household in a typical English country-town in the mid-eighteenth century. Beauchamp notes also the parish of settlement of almost all household heads; consequently his census throws up interesting information about the pattern of migration within the Felden and its connection with the size of the household.\(^5\)

We should say a word about the geographical areas covered by the sources mentioned above. The most important point is that the Borough of Stratford formed the major component of the Parish of Old Stratford, but that Borough and Parish were not identical. The Visitation of 1782, for example, records 700 families within the Parish of Old Stratford, and it is known from an independent source that upwards of 500 were found within the Borough at that date.\(^6\) This distinction must be borne in mind when we draw on information extracted from the register and relate it to features of the Borough household.

One further matter needs to be cleared up. Beauchamp does not state clearly what the figures in the 1765 listing represent. The listing suggests 511 separate household units, and there are only sixteen instances where inmates of any description are bracketed with the principal householder. Had the listing been organized in housefuls one might have expected to find more frequent bracketing of family names. We shall assume therefore that we have here a listing of households. At the first census of 1801 there were said to be 510 houses and 550 families. It is not impossible that a similar excess of families over houses also existed in 1765. We must be cautious, however, in accepting this conclusion. The Rev. J. Green noted that, in the year 1759 'A careful Survey of the Town and an Exact Plan of the same was made, and the number of houses therein was found to be 552 ...'.\(^7\) This high figure can be explained, Robert Bearman, archivist of the Shakespeare Birthplace Library, suggests, by regarding the 1759 survey as that of an historian, which probably took in areas outside the Borough boundary, while the Beauchamp count, being a purely legalistic affair, was confined to the Borough.

It is important to note that, because of the infrequency with which inmates of any sort are recorded by Beauchamp, whether these are counted as separate households or not makes little difference to the pattern of results. This is evident from the breakdown figures describing household size.

The last important source is a series of Hearth Tax Returns for the years 1663-73.\(^8\) They indicate the relative wealth of the various wards into which Stratford was divided, while the total number of houses can be profitably compared with the totals for the same wards in 1765 and 1801.

**Economic background**

At this point it may be fitting to turn to a brief examination of the economic experience of Stratford between the Restoration and the early census
era. Despite the largely agricultural character of the Felden, the Avon and its tributary the Arrow encouraged the rise of a medley of industries during the late seventeenth century. This and the resulting prosperity stemmed from the scheme, completed by 1672, to render the lower Avon navigable as far as Stratford. A project to introduce new industries into the town and neighbouring communities was also mooted around this time by the indefatigable Andrew Yarranton and others. Yarranton's declared ambition was to make Stratford to the West of England, 'as Dantzich is to Poland'. These grandiose schemes were not entirely lacking in results, as is shown by certain Petitions to the House of Commons in the 1740s, and Wheler's description of Stratford as having the appearance of a small seaport in the early years of the century.

The chief importance of Stratford thus arose from this river trade and the growing specialization and inter-dependence of the agricultural economy within the Midland region during the century after the Restoration. The town was situated at the centre of a road network linking different cultivation systems within the neighbourhood. Berrows' Journal of Worcester and Aris' Gazette of Birmingham frequently quoted Stratford market grain prices alongside those of Bear Quay in the years before 1750. As early as 1675, John Quilby, describing the towns on the road from London through Banbury to Bridgnorth, refers to Stratford's several good inns, observing that it 'drives a good trade in Malt'. Along the whole route Stratford's boast of five annual fairs was surpassed only by Buckingham's six and Banbury's seven. Though the prosperity of Stratford thus rested on its trading rather than on its manufacturing activity, it had a long-standing malting industry serving the needs of the midland industrial towns: Stratford had the same relationship to Birmingham as the towns of Hereford and Ware had to the metropolis in gathering in the grain from nearby counties and transporting the processed commodity to feed the urban masses. By the mid-eighteenth century the town also boasted a considerable body of workers engaged in jersey-combing and flaxdressing.

In the second half of the century, however, the situation deteriorated. The prosperity of the Avon navigation and of Stratford suffered from the tightening grip of northern manufacturing competition assisted by the spread of the canal network. It was a time of general depression in the town. The celebration of the annual Shakespearian Jubilee, started in 1769, petered out after six years because of the decline of the jersey-combers and flaxdressers who had been its chief support. In the annotated rate-list of 1801 only three of the Borough householders were of either calling. Furthermore, we find that of almost all of the 511 Borough households where occupations are recorded only seventy were inhabited by craftsmen, while 125 were in the hands of trading families. The largest social group was that of common labourers which occupied no less than 150 of the 437 households headed by male adults within the town. (If tenements whose rates were paid by non-occupiers are included, the figure for labouring families would be nearer 180).

Writing in 1806 Wheler observed that 'at present the trade by water is now much diminished', and went on to express a fear that it 'will in a short time utterly cease'. This gloomy prophecy was not unfounded.
1820 the Stratford Canal, begun about 1800, had still not reached the town, and as late at 1831 Lewis could claim that little trade was carried on, 'the inhabitants being principally employed in agriculture', while 'the only manufacture is that of patent Florentine silk buttons...'. The same observer remarked upon the shrinkage of trade and manufacture which had taken place at Warwick lying eight miles upstream.

The vicissitudes in the fortunes of the townsmen is reflected in the population figures for Stratford. Philip Styles' study of the series of surviving Hearth Tax Returns led to the conclusion that there were between 421-29 houses within the Borough in the years 1663-73. As already mentioned, the survey of 1759 refers to some 552 houses. The economic depression of the following decades was, at first, accompanied by population stagnation, and the 1765 listing records only 511 households. Later, in 1785, a figure of 500 households is quoted by an anonymous writer who also suggests an average of five persons per household, while the enumeration of 1801 records some 550 families residing in 510 houses, with twenty houses remaining uninhabited. It appears likely both from the register series and from these household figures that the population expanded, if only slightly, at the end of the century despite persisting economic depression in the town. Family reconstitution also suggests that a fall occurred in the decades after 1775 in the age at first marriage of women, if not of men, who married in Old Stratford.12

The Hearth Tax Returns throw interesting light on the number of houses and level of wealth of the six wards into which the Borough was divided. Three categories of poor are distinguished in the Warwickshire Returns in some years: those described as 'poore no distresse' (third column), the 'certified poore' (fourth column), and actual paupers 'receiving Collection and living in Towne houses or on the Common' (frequently recorded at the end of the fourth column). We should note, however, that even the fullest Returns do not appear to distinguish in every parish the 'certified' poor from actual paupers. The most consistent separate recording of the two groups occurs in the northern half of the county where the incidence of poor squatting communities was greatest. In the Stratford Return those dwelling in town houses are listed in Church and Chapel Street Ward.

In addition empty houses are recorded (as illustrated in column two of Table 1), and also those newly erected or 'in building'. Thus we find twelve separate new dwellings listed in the 1673-4 Returns for the Borough wards. On the basis of Hearth Tax data Philip Styles noted that 'there seems to have been remarkably little new building of any kind [in this area] throughout the third quarter of the seventeenth century', an observation confirmed by 'the surviving architectural evidence'.13

The 1673 Return shows High Street and Bridge Street wards to have under half the houses of the other four wards, but to possess the highest overall level of wealth (compare Table 1, columns 1 and 8). Sheep Street, on the other hand, with 58 per cent of its households exempted from payment had the lowest. If, however, the exempted category is left out of account, then Wood Street can be seen to have the fewest hearths per
Table I  Six Stratford wards, 1673 — Households and hearths

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<th>Ward</th>
<th>all houses</th>
<th>empty houses</th>
<th>all payers</th>
<th>hearths of payers</th>
<th>hearths pr payer</th>
<th>exempt households no</th>
<th>exempt households %</th>
<th>hearths pr household including exempt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High St.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church and</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapel St.</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep St.</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood St.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henley St.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

household (see Table 1, column 5). Again, if the twelve almshouses in Church and Chapel Street Ward are not included, then the proportion of exempted dwellings for the ward falls to 56.8 per cent.

It is not always possible to detect any correlation within the six wards between the level of wealth based on a calculation of average hearths per household and the proportion of households gaining exemption. In four of the wards the level of wealth was between 1.58 and 2.00 hearths, but while three of these had between 53 and 62 per cent exemptions, the fourth (Wood Street) had only 28 per cent exemptions, though the number of hearths per household amongst payers was lower.

The impression produced by the Returns appears to be one of sharp contrasts between wealth and poverty in close proximity, evident in all the wards except in High and Bridge Streets. This can be seen clearly in Church and Chapel Street ward. Amongst the payers ten of the thirty-eight households were assessed at five hearths or above and the average number per household was second only to High Street. But of the six wards it had the highest number and proportion of exempted households.

Size of Household

The figures for the various wards in the Beauchamp listing of 1765 indicate that the expansion of 429 to 511 households during the previous century was not evenly spread, but was concentrated almost entirely in the two relatively poor wards of Wood Street and Henley Street. The most remarkable increase, from eighty-four to 143 households, had occurred in Wood Street Ward. The 1801 rating list suggests that there was no spectacular change in the distribution of housing between the dates of the two later lists. Some increase in houses occurred in Sheep Street, balanced by a shrinkage in numbers in Church and Chapel Streets (Table II). Wood and Henley Street Wards in the western fringes of the town (Greenhill, Rother, Arden and Grove Streets), increased so that their growths between 1673 and 1765 represented a pattern of natural expansion along the main roads out of the town but still within the confines of the Borough.

When we consider the question of household size, we find that the 1765 listing suggests an overall mean for the Borough of between 4.30 and 4.47 persons. The lower figure excludes the people dwelling in institutions:
namely the thirty-nine persons putting up at the White Horse Inn, the thirty paupers found in the Borough Workhouse, and the twenty-one persons recorded as inmates of an undefined number of 'almshouses'. If, as seems likely, the twenty-one almsmen were solitaries, the figure of 4.47 is reduced to 4.29. If all sixteen households which contained lodging inmates, who were apparently unrelated to the household head, are regarded as each constituting two separate households, then, leaving aside the three institutions, the size of the Stratford household would be further reduced to 4.18 persons.

Table II Six Stratford wards, 1673, 1765, 1801 — distribution of households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>1673 houses</th>
<th>1673 households</th>
<th>1765 households</th>
<th>1801 households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High St.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church and</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapel St.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep St.</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>22.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood St.</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henley St.</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge St.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Wards</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall mean household size in Stratford is not high, but this need not surprise us. R. Wall and C. M. Law have noted that differences in household size between communities are, in all probability, linked to differences in their rate of growth. Such a thesis lends plausibility to the figure found in Stratford at a time of incipient economic stagnation in the Borough. In early eighteenth-century Birmingham, where population growth was substantial and the economy booming, a contemporary journal recorded 23,286 persons and 3,719 houses in the year 1730. This would suggest a figure of 6.26 persons per 'houseful'. It might well, however, reflect the pressure of numbers on the existing housing stock and the consequent high incidence of house-sharing along with a complex pattern of multiple households. Birmingham may not, therefore, offer a meaningful comparison with Stratford where there was a surplus of houses over households.

More relevant, perhaps, are figures drawn from other rural parishes in the neighbourhood. For Chilvers Coton, an exceptionally poor mining and weaving parish located on the north Warwickshire coalfield, Mrs Gooder and Peter Laslett give a household figure of 4.43 persons in the years 1681-4. The Gregory King manuscripts also contain information on this subject for two other Warwickshire villages in the year 1698: Coleshill, a populous community of 1,109 inhabitants yields a mean of 4.52 and Shustoke, consisting of 245 souls, one of 4.66.

Several local estimates of family size have come to light and are worth mentioning. One must, however, be cautious in making a direct comparison with the Stratford figures since the relationship between 'house
hold' and 'family' units is never made clear (it would appear that local scribes used the latter expression where today we would use the former). In the year 1676 the parish clerk of Wellesbourne, close to Stratford, noted in the parish register that there were 400 inhabitants and eighty-seven 'families' at that time: this would yield a mean of 4.59 persons per family. A similar insertion stated that in 1767 there were 717 persons and 146 'families', suggesting a rise to 4.91 persons. For the town of Atherstone, the Mancetter register records 2,120 persons and 416 'families' in the year 1785, which yields the fairly high figure of 5.09 persons per family unit.

This information confirms the impression of the modest dimensions of the Stratford household in 1765. A contributing factor was the virtual absence of housesharing. Beauchamp's notes lend strength to this suggestion: no more than sixteen (2 per cent) of the 511 households appear to contain lodgers. This is of the utmost significance to an understanding of the character of society in the Felden. Mrs. Gooder has found that of the 176 families in the parish of Chilvers Coton only six shared house in 1681. Dr. Tranter, discussing the listing of the Bedfordshire parish of Cardington, notes that seventeen of the 146 households (11 per cent) shared. The recent work of the Cambridge Group has traced a similar pattern on a wider national canvass.

**Household composition**

It would have proved instructive to have looked more closely at the proportion of surviving offspring who remained resident within the parental household, but we could not do this on the basis of the Stratford listing. However, we were able to examine the average number of persons per household in 1765 in the light of information extracted from the parish registers on the marriage dates and the number of baptised offspring of the household heads of the Beauchamp listing. We could then subtract from such reconstituted families those offspring and parents who failed to survive up to 1765 (Table III).

Only ninety-three, a comparatively small proportion of the 511 households where the linkages with a previous marriage were unambiguous, could be used. The exercise yielded, nevertheless, some interesting results. The mean size of thirty-six households, recorded by Beauchamp, where the register proves that offspring under fifteen years of age were still at home in 1765, was found to be 6.30 persons. This works out at one third higher than that of twenty-three households where marriage had taken place during the years 1725-39, and where, consequently, all surviving offspring had attained adulthood. It is significant that the overall mean number of persons per household in the Borough in 1765 (4.30), was much closer to the latter figure than the former. From this we may tentatively conclude that the majority of households had been established some time prior to 1765, though the smallness of the sample dictates caution. A further point of interest is the size of the surviving family group resulting from thirty-four marriages formed during the years 1740-9 in relation to the size of the household unit of 1765.

The two are very similar. Families in this group must have been started
Table III Stratford, 1765 — family formation and household size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mar. date</th>
<th>no families in sample</th>
<th>children up to 1765 mean</th>
<th>net of children dead before 1765 mean</th>
<th>persons in family, 1765 mean</th>
<th>persons in household, 1765 mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1725-39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>4.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740-49</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>3.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-64</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 including adults

about twenty years before the Beauchamp listing was compiled, so that these couples would just about have completed their family formation in 1765. The similarity between surviving family and household size found in this group fails to show any evidence of movement of offspring out of the home at puberty. (It is impossible to draw any definite conclusion about the customary age of movement on the basis of this evidence; it could in any case be concealed by the replacement of offspring at puberty by living-in servants.)

It is of interest to attempt a breakdown of Stratford households by the number of their members (Tables IV and V). The overall pattern of household sizes is roughly similar to that found in Peter Laslett’s sample of one hundred communities for the period 1574-1821. Of the 511 units recorded by Beauchamp no less than forty-seven consisted of one person and, even more striking, 221 (43 per cent), of between one and three persons. For the latter category Peter Laslett’s figure was 36 per cent. The ninety-three households (16 per cent) composed of three persons formed, as in Laslett’s sample, the largest single category within the Borough. It is worth noting that there are only seven instances where two households of the same family name appear together in the Beauchamp survey. It is possible, for example, that '[ . . . ] Keene, widow', who, one might suppose from the record to be a solitary, was in fact residing in the same house as 'W. Keene', whose household of three persons is set out immediately above Widow Keene in the listing. We simply cannot tell, but the number of such instances is negligible. From this evidence it is clear that the statistical make-up of the Stratford household supports the assertion by Laslett that, 'In England . . . the large joint or extended

Table IV Stratford, 1765 — household size by number of persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons in household</th>
<th>No of households</th>
<th>% total households</th>
<th>No of persons</th>
<th>% total persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2191</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table V Stratford, 1765: 100 English Communities, 1574-1821\(^1\) — households and persons in households of various sizes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons in household</th>
<th>no of households</th>
<th>Stratford, 1765</th>
<th>no of persons</th>
<th>% total persons</th>
<th>100 commns, 1574-1821</th>
<th>% total households</th>
<th>% total persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>662</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6+</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>1,053</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds), Household and family in past time, 1972 Table 4. 3, p. 136.

The family seems never to have existed as a common form of the domestic group at any point in time covered by known numerical records.\(^2\)

Against this it should be said that in Stratford, as in Laslett’s sample, approximately half of the members of the community resided in households of six or more persons. Laslett noted that less than 20 per cent dwelt in households of three or fewer persons, while in Stratford 22 per cent did so. (Table V). That a substantial part of the Stratford community lived in households of six or more persons clearly cannot be explained in terms of the multi-family household. But it may be partly explained, though the listing says nothing about it, by ‘living-in’ members of the household. This may have been a considerable group.\(^3\) In the tiny Felden parish of Fenny Compton Philip Styles found that in the year 1698 some forty-five of the 415 inhabitants consisted of single living-in servants, while a further forty were known to be bachelors and spinsters over the age of twenty-one years.\(^4\) At Clayworth in Nottinghamshire the unmarried living-in group was calculated to be 16 per cent of the inhabitants, described by Laslett as ‘typical enough’.\(^5\) Nor were servants confined to the wealthy; in a more recent sample of seventeenth century communities, Laslett has noted that between one third and one quarter of all domestic households retained servants.\(^6\)

**Delayed marriage and the small household**

From this account of the character of the pre-industrial household we can begin to understand the assumption underlying Malthus’ description in his well known *Essay*, that, whatever was happening to the customary practice of marriage in 1799, he could look back to a recent past in which the ‘prudential’ postponement of marriage was a universal habit (outside still untypical industrial communities, at any rate).\(^7\) This would seem to indicate that in Stratford in 1765, a man did not normally take a wife until he was able to maintain himself in an independent home. Household structure must surely be regarded as intimately bound up with customary marriage practice.

Given the universality of the small household composed of independent, one or two generational ‘nuclear’ families, and given also the probable prevalence of the living-in element, it is not surprising that in Fenny Compton the mean age at first marriage in 1698 was over thirty for men and twenty-nine for women. An exercise in family reconstitution based on the ecclesiastical register of the parish of Old Stratford (at least five in seven families were in the Borough and the remainder were drawn
from the surrounding hamlets), has served to confirm this evidence of the practice of late marriage in the Felden. The mean age at first marriage remained at over twenty-seven for grooms and at over twenty-six for their brides throughout the third quarter of the eighteenth century, spanning the years in which the 1765 householders came to wed. A yardstick of the prevailing custom is the rarity of teenage marriage amongst either sex. Only ten of 103 Stratford bachelors, and twenty-three of 156 spinsters entered wedlock below the age of twenty in the year 1754-74 (Table VI)\(^2\).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>no events</th>
<th>% total marriages</th>
<th>mean age</th>
<th>median age</th>
<th>under 20 years No</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Based on reconstitution of families.

Conclusion

The listing of 1765 in conjunction with the parish registers and the hearth tax returns has enabled us to establish that in Stratford at this period the overall household size was between 4.30 and 4.47 persons. The size of the household varied with the time interval between the marriage of the household head and the making of the listing. A group of households formed in the years 1725-39 suggests a figure of 4.17 persons, while another group begun in the years 1750-64 suggests a mean of 6.30 persons. Multi-family or multi-generational households were rare in Stratford: no more than sixteen of the 511 households recorded any kind of lodger in 1765. In breaking down these 511 households according to size it was found that 9 per cent consisted of one and 43 per cent of between one and three persons.

In the eighteenth century marriage was late for both bachelors and spinsters. During the decades in which the families listed in 1765 were formed the mean in Old Stratford was over twenty-seven for men and twenty-six for women. Age at first marriage was not the only significant factor affecting the size of the household. The widespread distribution of the unmarried, living-in servant influenced the custom of nuptiality and the character of the households. The importance of the living-in element become evident when we come to investigate in the second article the effect of wealth, poverty and migration on household size.

NOTES


2. Both this document and the rating list described below are copies of the originals, written in the hand of R. B. Wheeler: his History and Antiquities of Stratford-on-Avon appeared in 1806. Both are in the Shakespeare Birthplace Library.
3. The parish register shows that at least two people died as a result of inoculation, a month after the listing was composed. For this and a discussion on the information relating to the incidence of smallpox contained in the listing, see J. M. Martin, 'The rise in population in eighteenth century Warwickshire,' Dugdale Society Occasional Paper, no. 23, 1976.


8. The Hearth Tax Returns for this county are in the Warwick County Record Office, Q.S. 11/5, 1663; 11/2, 34-35, 1673.


12. For the 1785 figure see, Anon, ff. 5-6. Little is known about marriage habits. Regional data drawn from the 1841 census has shown that teenage marriage was at that time subject to regional differences, but was markedly higher for both sexes where rural under-employment and poverty prevailed (rural Bedfordshire which is compared with the Metropolitan Division). See, R. B. Outhwaite, Age at marriage in England from the late seventeenth to the nineteenth century, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Vol. XXIII, 1973, p.59. For Warwickshire evidence with a bearing on this topic see, J. M. Martin, 'Marriage and economic stress in the Felden of Warwickshire in the eighteenth century,' Population Studies, Vol. 31, 3, 1977: Ibid, 'The rise in population in eighteenth century Warwickshire,' Dugdale Society, 1976.

13. This observation is qualified by the statement that 'the 1690s saw a marked increase in activity, and the spread of contemporary architectural fashion to the smaller houses both in town and country.' P. Styles, The social structure of the Kineton Hundred in the reign of Charles II,' Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society, Vol. 78, 1962, pp. 112-3.


15. 'Surprising increase of Halifax and Birmingham,' Gentleman's Magazine, October, 1743 p.539.

16. Large-scale growth, mainly resulting from immigration did not, apparently, have this effect in seventeenth century London. Parliamentary surveys of East End parishes have revealed that of 768 houses only 4 contained more than one household. Within households, however, there was considerable overcrowding, the result of the taking-in of
servants and of lodgers of one sort or another. M. J. Power, 'East London housing in the seventeenth century,' P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), Crisis and order in English towns, 1500-1700, pp. 254-6.


18. The figures for all three parishes described here are recorded in Laslett, Table 4.1, p.130 and Table 5.1, p.187.


20. Laslett, Table 4.8, p.146.


22. The 'living-in' element could be formed of servants, sojourners, and also, as in Fenny Compton, of unmarried adult offspring.


25. R. Wall 'Mean household size in England from printed sources,' Laslett and Wall, pp. 150-3.

26. J. M. Martin, 'Marriage and Economic stress.'

27. Ibid: as late as 1796 it could be claimed in Parliament that, 'By the pressure of the times ... marriage was discouraged, and among the labouring classes ... the birth of a child ... was considered a curse.' See, 'Debate on Mr. Whitbread's Bill to regulate the wages of labourers in husbandry,' 36/Geo. III, Parliamentary History, Vol. 32, pp. 703-5.

Acknowledgments: I am greatly indebted to the late Philip Styles for comment on an earlier version of this piece, and to Robert Bearman, senior archivist, the Birthplace Library, Stratford-on-Avon, for valuable additional information. Finally my thanks to Richard Wall and Karla Oosterveen of the Cambridge Group for their encouragement and assistance with successive drafts.
MARRIAGE SEASONALITY 1761-1810: AN ASSESSMENT OF PATTERNS IN SEVENTEEN SHROPSHIRE PARishes

W. J. Edwards

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In an earlier article Leslie Bradley has argued that marriage seasonality appears to reflect three factors — fundamental, local and accidental.¹ The first of these factors includes elements such as ecclesiastical discouragement of marriage in certain months or economic constraints and produces consistent regional or national patterns, while 'local' and 'accidental' factors introduce variations. Most of the published studies have emphasised the more 'fundamental' seasonal features arising from ecclesiastical and economic control, but obviously other factors, such as the size and social cohesiveness of the community concerned, or the level of extra parochial marriage, may modify the seasonal pattern. However, before these local factors can be assessed, more detailed studies of the extent to which periods of ecclesiastical prohibition were observed in all parts of the country are necessary.

The present study uses data drawn from seventeen published registers of parishes of different sizes in central Shropshire over the period 1761-1810.² The parishes lie in a discontinuous north-south belt, ranging from the market town of Wem on the north Shropshire plain, with a population of 3,121 in 1811 to a group of small parishes, all with populations below 300 in 1811, situated on the southern bank of the Severn floodplain south of Shrewsbury. To avoid the problem of small samples, the seventeen parishes have been divided into five groups, based on their population size in the 1811 census, as shown in Table 1. For each group of parishes the information on marriage seasonality is presented in the form of a standard index, in which the figure 100 represents the number of events that would occur in a month if the annual total of marriages occurred evenly taking account of the different number of days in each month.³
Table 1. Parishes grouped by size of population in 1811.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size-group</th>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>1811 Population</th>
<th>Size-group</th>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>1811 Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000+</td>
<td>Wem</td>
<td>3121</td>
<td>300-599</td>
<td>Berrington</td>
<td>575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Condover</td>
<td>1289</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stokesay</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bitterley</td>
<td>1083</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hopesay</td>
<td>464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stanton Lacy</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td></td>
<td>Onibury</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Smethcote</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>600-999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stretton</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>200-299</td>
<td>Acton Burnell</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wistanstow</td>
<td>659</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pitchford</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bromfield</td>
<td>610</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stapleton</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Longnor</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leebotwood</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The first panel of Table 2 presents a seasonal marriage index for each parish size group over the whole period, while the second panel combines the parishes and presents a seasonal index for individual decades. The immediate impression gained from the aggregate figures is the similarity in patterns of marriage seasonality between these Shropshire examples and those presented in LPS for other areas. This reinforces the idea of fundamental ecclesiastical constraints having a national impact.

The church discouraged marriage during three periods of the year. The first of these from Septuagesima to Low Sunday, covering three weeks of February, the whole of March and two weeks in April, is clearly evident in these data. March is consistently the lowest month in all parish size-groups and for the bulk of the period; only ceasing to be so from 1801-10 when August replaces it. There is some indication that marriages were also infrequent in April and February in certain decades, but the levels of marriage in February vary in parishes of different size. It appears that the main impact of ecclesiastical prohibition is concentrated in March, but its impact is noticeably weaker in the case of the large market town of Wem. These data also suggest that the observance of this prohibition weakened during the early nineteenth century, with an increase in the proportions of marriages solemnised in March, but earlier the discouraged period was widely recognised. This corresponds well with Bradley’s findings for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire parishes and with Massey’s findings in Burton Joyce. Similar findings also occur in the data for Oswaldkirk (North Riding, Yorkshire) and in the Ardèche. It therefore seems fair to conclude that in general throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century Lent was still avoided for weddings and that only in the early years of the nineteenth century did the situation change, but the strength of observance depended very much on the size of parish, which in turn may well reflect the control of social convention and more specifically that of the incumbent.

These data also raise questions concerning the relative performances of February and April. If March marriages were discouraged, is the February peak simply a response to this constraint, an attempt to beat the ban which Lent imposed? But if this were so, why is April which comes after the end of Lent such a quiet month?
### Table 2. Marriage seasonality in seventeen Shropshire parishes 1761-1810 by size of parish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total No. of marriages</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c.3000 (Wem)</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000-1999</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-999</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300-599</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-299</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All parishes</td>
<td>3355</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**By decade**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total No. of marriages</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1761-1770</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771-1780</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781-1790</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791-1800</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801-1810</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(100 = annual total/365 x number of days in a month)

The second period when marriages were discouraged was from Rogation to Trinity, covering two weeks in May; here the published evidence is more equivocal, but the results are plain. For the total sample May is easily the most popular month, rising in importance until 1780 and falling slightly thereafter. In the villages May dominates the marriage pattern, with index values double and treble those that might be expected with an even monthly distribution. In the market town of Wem however, while May always features as a popular month, it is December which dominates the registers. Thus the second period appears to have less impact than the first, confirming Bradley's findings⁵, refuting the notion that 'marriages in May were unlucky⁶, and suggesting a possible regional contrast between Shropshire and Yorkshire, as May never features as a peak month in the Oswaldkirk data⁷. Indeed this may be an example of local, economic or customary factors shaping patterns of marriage seasonality. For example, May festivities and fairs seem to have been common in Shropshire⁸. Two contemporary Directories list May Day fairs in a majority of market centres in the county, but whether these together with the spring time season encouraged marriage is an open question⁹.

The final prohibited period, from Advent to Hilary, covering December and two weeks in January does not appear to have been observed at all. In the villages the index numbers for December and January are at about the same level as in November and several other months in the year, while Wem records both December and January as peak months over the whole period. Bradley has noted that from 1720-70 any discouragement on marriage in these months appears to have been relaxed, so that by the end of the eighteenth century December was frequently the most popular month¹⁰. Certainly there is evidence of December peaks in other areas, but their incidence is infrequent.
A number of other features can be noted from these aggregate tables. It has been suggested that a summer trough in marriage is a fairly general phenomenon, with August recording low monthly totals; this has been connected with the labour demands of harvest time, but Bradley has noted that the same pattern recurs in less rural parishes, in part refuting such an occupational explanation\textsuperscript{15}. In these data, while levels of marriage in July, August and September are low, there is considerable variation through time and between groups. Generally September is the lowest of these three months followed by August and then July; indeed July seems to be one of the more popular months in the smaller parishes. Overall, marriages appear to be concentrated in May, June and July, with the summer period of above - average numbers increasing in length as parish size decreases. In many other studies November stands out as a popular month, possibly reflecting an easing of the farming year and a time of surplus, but here a November peak only occurs amongst the smallest parishes\textsuperscript{15}.

The broad pattern that stands out in these aggregate data confirms the importance of Lent as a control on monthly seasonality, but indicates that more diverse factors, probably highly local in nature, influence the degree of observance of the other two discouraged periods. These data also suggest that certain of the contrasts that exist may well be a function of the size of the parishes concerned, reflecting the degree of economic diversity. In particular the monthly pattern of Wem, the small market town differs from that of the rural parishes, suggesting that size and degree of urbanisation may influence seasonal characteristics, producing contrasts between town and countryside. Moreover in the smaller parishes the incumbent or chief landowner played a dominant role. This was particularly true in 'estate parishes' where the influx of new employees was closely controlled from year to year\textsuperscript{16}. In such circumstances, marriage may well have been associated with certain constraints and customary months of solemnisation. Similarly, in such parishes a devout incumbent might have been particularly effective in maintaining the ecclesiastical periods of discouragement free of marriages, particularly in December when Christmas services and festivities may well have taken precedence.

Finally, there are a number of ways in which marriage seasonality could be investigated further with profit. Firstly, marriages could be divided into those between local people and those where spouses come from outside the parish. If there are differences in the seasonality of the marriages of the two groups then both mobility and employment may be influential in shaping the aggregate seasonal pattern. Secondly, greater attention needs to be given to the precise role of economy in shaping seasonal trends. Chambers has indicated the close relationship between nuptiality and the economy over longer time periods\textsuperscript{17}, and there is no reason why comparable associations should not hold good on an annual and seasonal basis, as Ogden found among the silk-growers of the Ardèche\textsuperscript{18}, annual and seasonal hiring, the contractual terms of service, and the regional and temporal emphasis on 'living in' and 'cottage labour' may be important\textsuperscript{19}.

Where possible it would also be useful to identify 'local' customs and the role they play. It has been suggested that the Shropshire May fairs may have contributed to the higher frequencies of that month, but other local
customs may equally sway the pattern and determine the tempo of this aspect of vital events.

These issues and their interconnection form one route to the explanation of marriage seasonality, and by so doing, illustrate the internal connectivity of 'the world we have lost' and the need that exists for further research on this topic.

NOTES

2. The seventeen registers used have all been published by the Shropshire Parish Register Society. The volumes consulted were: Wem, (Lichfield [L], vols 9 & 10, 1583-1812); Condover (L, vol. 6, 1570-1812); Bitterley, (Hereford [H], vol. 4, 1658-1812); Stanton Lacy, (H, vol. 4, 1561-1812); Stretton, H, vol. 8, 1661-1812; Stretton, H, vol. 8, 1661-1812; Wistanstow, (H, vol. 17, 1661-1812); Bromfield, (H, vol. 5, 1559-1812); Berrington, (L, vol. 14, 1559-1812); Stokesay, (H, vol. 17, 1559-1812); Hope, (H, vol. 18, 1660-1812); Onibury, (H, vol. 18, 1577-1812); Smethcote, (L, vol. 1, 1609-1812); Acton Burnell, (L, vol. 19, 1568-1812); Pitchford, (L, vol. 1, 1558-1812); Stapleton, (L, vol. 1, 1658-1812); Longnor, (L, vol. 5, 1586-1812); Leebotwood, (L, vol. 5, 1547-1812).
4. L. Bradley, LPS, No. 4, 1970, p.34.
5. M. Massey, 'Seasonality, some further thoughts,' LPS, No. 8, 1972, pp. 48-54.
CHRISTIAN NAMES IN SOLIHULL, WARWICKSHIRE, AND YARDLEY, WORCESTERSHIRE 1540-1729

Anne Harris

Miss Harris is a solicitor, who for some years now has been a member of a Birmingham University extramural class in local history, in which she herself has been working mainly with parish register material.

Little work has been undertaken by demographers on the fluctuations in popularity of christian names. Yet, systematically studied, they might well provide insights, not only into religious and cultural trends but, to some extent at least, into the ethnic characteristics of a given locality, and its position with regard to communications.

The present study is based primarily on an analysis of 5,665 boys' and 5,271 girls' names which were given at baptism in the two adjoining Central Midland parishes of Solihull and Yardley between 1540 and 1729. However, in order to provide comparative material, three supplementary analyses have been carried out, as follows:

1 An analysis of 174 men's and 171 women's names which are recorded in the Solihull marriage register between 1538 and 1560. This, it is felt, should provide some indication of the christian names in use in the Arden area immediately prior to the Reformation.

2 An analysis of 113 boys' and 126 girls' names occurring in the baptism register of Rempstone, Nottinghamshire, 1570-1609, as giving some indication of usage in the East Midlands.

3 A similar study of Pattingham, Staffordshire, over the same period (228 boys' and 231 girls' names) to represent the West Midlands.

Throughout the study, statements regarding 'the national trend' are derived from the Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names, Second Edition, which for brevity is hereafter referred to as 'the Dictionary'.

References to a name as 'uncommon' mean that it was given in fewer than 1 per cent of the relevant baptisms; from 1.0 per cent to 2.0 per cent, it is counted as 'rather uncommon!'
Popularity of ‘Top Three’ Christian Names

It was a feature of the whole period 1540 to 1729, both nationally and locally, that a small number of names — three for each sex — accounted for a high proportion of all baptisms. Of the boys, between 47.5 and 62.5 per cent were called John, Thomas, or William in the national table (see Dictionary, p. xxviii), and similar proportions obtained at Solihull and Yardley. Among girls, the top three names monopolized between 44.5 and 67.0 per cent. From 1600 these were invariably Mary, Elizabeth and Anne; but in the sixteenth century, because of the temporary eclipse of Mary (see below), the three female ‘top runners’ tended to vary from place to place.

Table 1 ‘Top three’ girls’ names, in order of popularity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationally, 16th century</th>
<th>Solihull and Yardley, 1550-99</th>
<th>Rempstone, 1570-1609</th>
<th>Pattingham, 1570-1609</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Joan</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnes</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Joan</td>
<td>Joan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joan</td>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Alice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that all four lists include Elizabeth, which was to remain one of the favourites in the seventeenth century, and Joan which was not. The Arden list, however, is the only one to include Anne, which was destined to join the top three; whereas the others still feature, in Agnes, Margaret and Alice, names that were rapidly becoming outmoded. Although rural, the north Arden parishes of Solihull and Yardley were near to the historic towns of Coventry and Warwick, and the growing town of Birmingham. Two important roads to London ran through them and they were not far from ‘the Welsh road’.

The Reformation

According to the Dictionary, Mary suffered an eclipse after the Reformation. However, locally it was only moderately popular among pre-Reformation names, accounting for three per cent of the women marrying 1538-60. During the second half of the sixteenth century, on the other hand, it became more popular at 6 per cent. It climbed even further, to 7.5 per cent, in the 1590s before, reaching the top three, where it was to remain, 1600-1729. This pattern suggests a lack of special devotion to the Virgin in the early sixteenth century; but a revival of interest in the name at the time of the Armada, when anti-catholic feeling might be expected to have been strong, and when to return to favour it surely must have divested itself to some extent of former religious and/or political connotations.

Another effect of the Reformation nationally is said to have been the eclipse of Peter, Simon, and certain non-scriptural saints’ names — seventeen for men and six for women. All the male names in this category were certainly uncommon or unused from 1540 to 1729, except for Simon which qualified as ‘rather uncommon’ 1550-99. However, they seem
already to have been passing out of vogue in the early sixteenth century, for Peter does not occur at all in the pre-Reformation sample, while Simon and a mere three of the seventeen non-scriptural saints make only single appearances. Thus the subsequent neglect of these names does not seem to be entirely due to the break with Rome.

With the six female non-scriptural saints' names the picture is rather different. Barbara, Cecily and Ursula do not appear locally among the pre-Reformation names, and it is therefore hardly surprising that none of them rises above the 'rather uncommon' category thereafter. Agnes and Margaret, by contrast, rank as very popular in the pre-Reformation sample, taking third and fourth place after Joan and Elizabeth; while Katherine was popular, coming above Mary, with 4.5 per cent of the total of female names. The rapid decline of these three names after the Reformation is therefore striking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2 Agnes, Katherine and Margaret — percentage of female baptisms in Solihull and Yardley.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Reformation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If, however, the negative impact of sixteenth century religious changes was limited mainly to a fall in the popularity of three non-scriptural female saints' names, the positive effects were rather more widespread. The 'eccentric' puritan names, like Sorry-for-Sin, No-Merit, which were associated with extreme religious fervour, are not to be found in the Arden parishes. Moreover, among the milder 'virtue' names, the only one to make much headway was Grace which rose to 'rather uncommon' at Solihull, 1650-99. On the other hand, increasing familiarity with the Bible does seem to have encouraged the rise in popularity of biblical names which had previously been unused or uncommon. During each of the twelve decades between 1550 and 1669, at least one new biblical boy's name was introduced into the two local parishes, treated as a single unit. The peak decade was the first of the seventeenth century — a decade, incidentally, when immigration was particularly high — which saw the introduction of five new names: Jonathan, Joseph, Nathaniel, Samuel and Benjamin. The range of female biblical names was more limited. Nevertheless, eight of the same twelve decades brought at least one new arrival, the peak of girls being the 1640s, with the advent of Esther, Hester, Hannah and Deborah. Eventually Joseph became the most popular biblical name for boys, Sarah for girls.
Table 3 Joseph and Sarah — percentage of male and female baptisms respectively in Solihull and Yardley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Joseph Male Totals</th>
<th>Sarah</th>
<th>Female Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Reformation</td>
<td>unused</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>unused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540s</td>
<td>unused</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>unused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
<td>unused</td>
<td>1,340 (less than)</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,722</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-99</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>1,465</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-29</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of this table with Table 2 shows that both upward and downward trends in the popularity of certain names stemming from the Reformation persisted over some two centuries; thereby indicating that tendencies initiated by religious changes may later have been magnified by the 'snow-ball' effect of fashion.

'Rustic' or 'Vulgar' Names

According to the Dictionary, the names Alice, Ellen, Humphrey, Joan, Julian, Parnell and Peter were all coming to be regarded as 'rustic' or 'vulgar' immediately prior to or during the period covered by this study. True to their usual responsiveness to national fashions, the Arden parishes did indeed tend increasingly to shun these names. This may be illustrated by looking at the declining fortunes of Alice and Joan.

Table 4 Alice and Joan — percentage of female baptisms in Solihull and Yardley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Alice</th>
<th>Joan</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Reformation</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540s</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>1,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-99</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-29</td>
<td>(less than)</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>(less than)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from the nationally recognized rustic or vulgar names, Christian, Eleanor, Isabel and Nicholas may have acquired a similar stigma locally, since all suffered a similar decline. Thus Isabel, the most popular of the four, slipped from nine per cent in pre-Reformation times to six per cent 1550-99, then to 2.5 per cent 1600-49, and was thereafter under one per cent — i.e., 'uncommon'.

Among the national rustic names, Ellen may have suffered from its connection with the non-scriptural saints; and so may Nicholas, which occurs among the local group. However, since Bridget came into use, and Francis into prominence, after the Reformation — both nationally and locally — a note of arbitrariness, or 'pure fashion' cannot be altogether excluded.
Surnames as Christian Names

One might have expected surnames to have been used at the opposite end of the social scale from the names in the last category since, according to the Dictionary, they were restricted to the nobility and landed gentry until the nineteenth century. But in Arden, although always uncommon, they were employed occasionally, not only by the rural aristocracy, but also — and more interestingly — among the lower orders, to advertise the paternity of an illegitimate child. The entry in the Solihull baptism register for 1602: 'The xxvth daie of Marche, Wheeler, sonne of Elizabeth Cumson, spurius' seems to be a case in point as does that for 1629: 'Russell Wheeler was baptized December 25', since no other child was recorded as baptized in 1629 or 1630 without a record of parentage.

Regional Names

The influence of the 'Welsh Road' can perhaps be seen in the seven Welsh or Celtic names which were used on twenty-nine occasions in the two Arden parishes between 1540 and 1729: Arthur, Evan, Griffin, Lewis, Ludovic, Owen and Winifred. Even if treated as a single name, these were always 'uncommon'. However, only one occurrence (Winifred) is found at Rempstone 1570-1609, and one (Arthur) at Pattingham over the same period.

It is interesting to contrast this situation with that relating to northern names. The Dictionary mentions Brian as surviving until the eighteenth century in several northern counties, and two per cent of Rempstone boys were given this name 1570-1609, while it was completely absent from Pattingham 1570-1609, and from the Arden parishes throughout the whole period under review. Another name which was 'formerly common in England', but later mainly confined to the north, was Jean. Again, although this was quite popular at Rempstone 1570-1609, with five per cent of female christenings, it is not to be found at all at Solihull, Yardley or Pattingham.

Local Variations

The Dictionary states that Raphael was always Jewish in England; but four sons of well-established local families were so christened between 1539 and 1631. In addition the Solihull register records the marriage of a Raphael from nearby Hanbury into the Solihull gentry in 1599, and the burial of a local Raphael in 1644.

It seems strange that George, the name of the patron saint of England, should be considered to have been 'rare' nationally until after 1714. At Rempstone 1570-1609 it is used only once, while at Pattingham it is 'rather uncommon'. But for some reason Arden people were more enamoured of this name, which scored 2.5 per cent in the first half of the seventeenth century and 4.5 in the second half.

It patriotism had anything to do with this, the same factor may also have contributed to the high popularity of Henry in Tudor times. According to the Dictionary, this was fairly commonly used during the medieval
period and has 'fluctuated very little since'. But locally it fluctuated itself into considerable popularity in the late sixteenth century, rising from 4.5 per cent in the 1540s to 8.0 per cent 1550-99, before moving down again to 3.0 per cent for the period 1650-99. Like George, Henry was less popular at Rempstone and Pattingham 1570-1609, accounting for 2.5 per cent of male christenings at the former, and under one per cent at the latter.
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NOTES AND QUERIES

THE ENUMERATOR OF CORBY, LINCS.

David I. A. Steel

How long did it take to conduct the local census? Could most people fill in their own forms? These are questions which must often occur to those who make use of the Census Enumerators' books. In Lincolnshire, George Bird, the young Corby wheelwright, was an enumerator in 1871 when aged twenty-two, and he tells us in his diary how he carried out the job in the neighbouring parishes.

15.3.1871 "Went down to Mr. Willertons (the Registrar) for census papers and instructions."

30.3.1871 "Went down to Swayfield and Countnorpe to deliver the census schedules, quite enjoyed the job, was pretty well tired when I got home."

3.4.1871 "I started this morning to collect up the census schedules. I had a great many to fill in myself, didn't get home while eight, was very much amused at the different questions asked about it at the poor people's houses."

4.4.1871 "I copied the schedules into the enumeration book, a good bit of writing, took me all day."

For his four days of work on the census George Bird received 26s. on the twenty-first of June. He obviously did the job properly for he was again an enumerator in 1881, this time for Corby. This was a bigger job for he noted in his diary for the fourth of April, 1881, "Collecting the census schedules began at six in the morning, at it while eight at night, not quite done." He collected the rest of the schedules the next morning and spent the day and the next copying them out.

WILL FORMULARIES

Margaret Spufford

I was very interested in Eric Poole's project of working through a body of wills indicating the possible relationship of dedicatory clauses to one another.1 I would like to re-enter the original plea I made,2 that, if there is a choice, groups of wills for particular parishes be examined, rather than a cross-section of wills proved over a much larger area, at any particular point in time. I still feel, as I felt in 1972, that each parish has its own group of scribes, its own sets of common forms, and its own distinct 'flavour', recoverable from the dedicatory clauses. It would be an interesting exercise to test this impression which worked in the parishes I looked at, on a larger scale. I hope Eric Poole will do this. Ideally, I suppose, one
should carry out both exercises, and look at both long runs of wills for particular places, and cross-sections of clauses in use at the same date, to see just how prevailing fashion influences village habits of drafting.

Bernard Capp has indeed done us a service in pointing out the formula contained in Fly in 1657. As a result, considering the high circulation figures for almanacs in the 1660s, any individual dedicatory clause after 1657 has obviously to be treated extremely critically as an example of the scribe’s or testator’s opinions, if it resembles that in Fly. If it does not, we can still hope we have a reflection of the belief of either scribe or testator, until other formularies in mass circulation are found.

I am more cautious about the effect of Eric Poole’s discovery of West’s Simboleography formula of 1590. This also is interesting, but obviously its effects would have been very much more limited. Just how widespread they were would have depended on the purchase price of the volume, which I have so far failed to discover. It seems immediately likely that it would only have been in the possession of a local gentleman, the incumbent or his curate, or a public notary, and therefore only needs to be considered as a possible source in the countryside when one of them was a witness. I find it very difficult to believe that scribes like the Greaves, Halliwell, and Allens of Willingham had copies of the Simboleography. It is helpful to bear in mind that Robert Loder’s expenditure not on one book, but on ‘bockes’ in 1614 amounted to seventeen pence, and his sole similar purchase in the preceding year was an almanac which cost him two pence. Unless a publication was priced at this sort of level, it seems from the evidence of inventories, not to have spread very far in the countryside. This means that will dedicatory clauses can still be used as the briefest possible evidence for religious belief before 1657 at least, although now the historian must keep a wary eye open for the local gentleman or vicar armed with a Simboleography, as well as all the other booby-traps.

NOTES

2. M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities, p. 335, n. 35.
3. Local Population Studies, 14, p. 49.
4. Dr Capp tells me that he has not found will formulæ in other almanacs with the exception of William Turner’s formula in the late 1680s, which closely resembled the Fly formula. He has found a formula which was also very close to the almanac formula he printed in LPS in J. H. Hawkins, The Young Clerks Tutor (first edition 1664, fifteenth by 1705). At present, therefore, the Fly formula is the only one known to have been in mass circulation. I am very grateful to Dr Capp for giving me this information.
5. For the contrast between the countryside and the towns, see Peter Clark, ‘The ownership of books in England: 1560-1640: the example of some Kentish townsmen’, in L. Stone, ed., Schooling and Society, 1977, particularly pp. 108-9. It is interesting that the first formula from West’s Simboleography given by Eric Poole can be traced to the witnessing curate in the case of Geoffrey Holmes of Milton, Spufford, pp. 341-2.
THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, KEW

Michael Roper

Since the Public Record Office was established by statute in 1838, thus bringing public records for the first time into the custody of a single authority, it has been faced with an almost constant accommodation problem. The opening in 1856 of the first stage of a new record repository on the Rolls Estate in Chancery Lane brought the public records together on one site, but this and further extensions of the Chancery Lane building during the latter part of the nineteenth century only just kept pace with record accruals. After the First World War it became necessary to store less heavily used records out of London, the first such country repository being a former gaol at Cambridge and the most recent a Second World War hutted hospital at Ashridge, Hertfordshire. More recently accommodation for readers has also become a problem and since 1968 certain heavily used classes have been stored and seen in part of the Land Registry building in Portugal Street. Since 1972 the PRO has also had custody of the British Transport Historical Records at Porchester Road, Paddington. With all this accommodation the PRO was able to accommodate records occupying almost fifty miles of shelving and to cope with over 90,000 visits by readers each year, but the dispersal of records and search rooms was inconvenient and there was no room for expansion on the existing sites (records are currently accruing at a rate of about a mile of shelving each year). Consequently in November 1969 the Government announced its decision to build a new Public Record Office at Kew, which would meet the foreseeable needs of the PRO to the year 2000 with space on site for further expansion thereafter. Work commenced in May 1973 and the new building opened its doors to readers on 17 October 1977.

The new building occupies a Thames-side site to the east of Kew railway bridge and is a few minutes walk, via Burlington Avenue and Ruskin Avenue, from Kew Gardens Station on the London Transport District and British Rail North London lines; rather further away is Kew Bridge Station for trains direct from and to Waterloo. Access by road is from the South Circular (Mortlake Road) and parking space has been provided for over 200 cars.

The public areas are on the first three floors. On passing through the public entrance the reader finds himself in a spacious lounge area, with cloakroom and refreshment facilities adjacent. To progress further he needs to obtain a special reader’s ticket which operates the electronic turnstiles and admits him to the staircase to the first floor reading rooms. The two main reading rooms, the Langdale Room and the Romilly Room (named after the Lords Langdale and Romilly, the first two Masters of the Rolls to be also statutory Keepers of the Public Records), each have seats for 250 readers. Adjacent is a separate Reference Room for the consultation of class lists and other means of reference. On the second floor is another reading room for the consultation of maps and large documents. Furniture for the reading and reference rooms has been specially designed and built and air-conditioning and a high level of illumination have been pro-
vided. In the reading rooms partitioned areas have been set aside for the use of typewriters; microfilm readers will be available; and invigilation by PRO staff will be reinforced by closed-circuit television surveillance. To ensure prompt attention to requisitions for documents a small computer system has been installed with keyboard terminals in the Reference Room by which the reader may transmit his requisitions direct to the appropriate floor of the storage area. The computer system also checks, virtually instantaneously, that the document reference is valid and that the document is not already in use or otherwise unavailable and informs the reader accordingly. When documents have been transmitted to the appropriate floor and the documents have been produced to the reading room, the reader is informed by means of an electronic paging device, numbered to coincide with his seat number, which issues an audible tone and flashes a light when signalled from the control panel. This paging system operates anywhere within the public areas of the building and the reader is not tied, therefore, to the reading room while awaiting his documents.

The remainder of the ground and first floors is occupied by PRO staff and services, including the full range of photographic and reprographic services. The three upper floors, each with a floor area of 7,569 square metres (1.87 acres), are devoted to document storage.

With the completion of the new record office at Kew it is now possible to concentrate the public records and those who consult them on two sites — Chancery Lane and Kew. To be kept and seen at Chancery Lane are the medieval records and modern legal records (i.e. those classes described in Volume 1 of the Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, together with some related departmental records and private collections (PRO 30), State Papers (SP classes) before 1782 and the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PROB classes). The decennial census returns 1841-1871 (on microfilm) and the non-parochial registers and records will continue to be seen for the time being in the Census Room at Portugal Street, but will be transferred in the near future to the Rolls Room at Chancery Lane. Thus the demographer will find that most of his sources will remain at Chancery Lane. He will, however, need to visit Kew, which is now the Office headquarters, to consult the records of modern departments of state (i.e. most of the classes described in Volumes 2 and 3 of the Guide), related private collections and the British Transport Historical Records. A leaflet giving fuller details of the division of records between Chancery Lane and Kew is available from the Enquiries Desk at either site.

The postal address of the new record office is Public Record Office, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, TW9 4DU and the telephone number is 01-876 3444.

NOTES


2. For an account of the technical aspect of the new building see L. Bell, 'The new Public Record Office at Kew' in Ibid. 5(1) (April 1974), 1-7.
SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Editor's Note: The editors will be pleased to receive information or copies of publications which readers consider relevant to LPS.

Books

V. Ben Bloxham

**Key to the parochial registers of Scotland**, Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University Press, 1970, Price unknown.

A useful adjunct to D. J. Steel's more general guide, **Sources for Scottish genealogy and family history**, Phillimore, 1970. Bloxham indicates for each parish which years are missing and which defective but says nothing about the quality of detail in the registers (e.g. whether the mother's name appears in the baptism register).

P. Eaton and M. Warnick

**Marie Stopes: A preliminary checklist of her writings together with some biographical notes**, Croon Helm, 1977, £5.95

A list of the published writings of Marie Stopes, a pioneer of the planned parenthood movement. Contributions to periodicals, particularly in the field of health and social welfare, are covered less effectively than the separate editions and reprints of her books.

**Major genealogical record sources in England and Wales**. Series A, No. 1, Revised 1975, Genealogical Society of the Church of Latter Day Saints, 50 East North Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah 84150, U.S.A.

A list of the major sources which provide information on individuals in the past. The amount of detail given is limited. For example, for Quaker records it is noted that they cover the period from the seventeenth century to the present, consist of records of births, deaths, and some marriages which 'may be somewhat more detailed than the parish registers' and are available for consultation at the Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1 2PJ.

Other equally brief lists in the series deal with Ireland (No. 2), Scotland (No. 3), the Isle of Man (No. 4), No. 5, **Population movements in England and Wales by canal and navigable river** and No. 6, **Welsh patronymics and place names in Wales and Monmouthshire**, provide specific examples of the difficulties that arise when an individual changes residence or lacks a surname.

Series A, No. 7 and succeeding numbers are given over to a county by county survey of the jurisdictions of the various probate courts. A map of each county shows to which jurisdiction each parish belongs.

The Genealogical Society's controlled Extraction Programme and Computer File Index are described in two further research papers (Series F, No. 3 and 4 respectively). The latter encompasses all the parishes listed in the former with additions and modifications following from genealogical work by members of the Society, although the names are in alphabetical
order within counties rather than within parishes as is the case with the Controlled Extraction Programme. A full list of parishes included in this Programme can be found in Parish and vital records listings published by the Genealogical Society and updated every July. Copies of the list of names for individual parishes are being supplied to some county record offices and the historian who uses these indexes should read with care the explanatory guide to the Extraction Programme. There are some obvious points, such as the baptism and marriage registers being covered in full but burials only when there was clear evidence that the entry related to a person baptised less than seventeen years. Other points may not be so obvious. For example, Bishops Transcripts as well as original registers have been used in certain cases and the same entry may appear twice in the index, perhaps with minor differences.

A. J. Howard and T. L. Stoate

The Somerset Protestation and Lay Subsidy Roll 1641-2, Edited and published by T. L. Stoate, Lower Court, Almondsbury, Bristol, 1975, price unknown.

A transcription of the Subsidy and Protestation Returns but valuable also in that the introduction offers a general guide to other taxation documents between 1300 and 1700 which give names. A comparison of the two returns shows 25 per cent of the names in the Subsidy are not to be found in the Protestation Return but half of the discrepancy is caused by men being taxed wherever they held property and half of the remainder probably by deaths in the intervening period. A companion volume also by T. L. Stoate on the Cornwall Protestation Returns appeared in 1974.

F. Leeson

A guide to the records of the British State Tontines and Life Annuities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Oakhill Press, 1968, price unknown.

An introduction to a much neglected source. For the Tontine of 1693, for example, there are two lists, one for 1694 showing full name, age, parentage and abode both of the nominee and the parent, and the second for 1730, showing for the surviving nominees, current status, address, and address and name of husband in the case of married females.

Ann Oakley

The Housewife, Allen Lane, 1974.

Includes some general comments on the pre-industrial family. Two assertions which could repay careful study by historians are that most children left home at the age of seven or eight and that pre-industrial marriages discriminated less than contemporary ones between male and female roles as marriage were working partnerships.

Peter F. McDonald

Marriage in Australia. Age at first marriage and proportion marrying 1860-1971, Australian Family Formation Project, Monograph No. 2, Australian National University, Canberra, 1975, price on application.
Chapter 4 deals with the British Isles focusing on changes between 1851 and 1901 in the proportion married in particular age groups. At the same time figures are presented which show important regional variations in the proportion married. In 1861 these variations were more marked for men than for women in the age groups 20-4 and 25-9 but more marked for women in the age group 45-9. There is also a critique of the 1911 census as a source of studying trends in marriage patterns since the older the married couple at the time of their marriage, the less chance there is that they will have survived and been included in the census.

Paul Thompson
The Edwardians. The remaking of British Society. Weidenfeld, 1975, £10.00.

Thompson’s aim is to measure and identify changes in inequalities in society. On sex roles his conclusion is that about one quarter of Edwardian marriages were partnerships and that there was a rigid segregation of roles when men’s work was heavy and segregated. In the seventy years of this century the nuclear family became more self sufficient and more privatised, as the home became more comfortable. The old and youth have been increasingly left to devise their own social life.

Chapters of books

Harvey J. Graff
‘Respected and profitable labour. Literacy, jobs and the working class in the nineteenth century,’ in G. S. Kealey and P. Warrian (eds.) Essays in Canadian working class history. McClelland and Stewart.

Uses data from Hamilton, Ontario on ability to sign one’s name, occupation and wage to argue that literacy as so defined was not a prerequisite for obtaining skilled labouring or even white collar positions. Rather, literacy received the encouragement of educational reformers because it promoted discipline and moral values and provided experience of training in being trained.

J. W. Scott and L. A. Tilly

Scott and Tilly attack the notion that women in Europe only began to work outside the home after they had gained political and legal rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, also the argument that nineteenth century capitalism reduced the role of married women to that of servants within the home. On the contrary Scott and Tilly argue that traditional employment patterns for women were only gradually modified in their new industrial setting. Wives and daughters worked for the family rather than for themselves, a pattern which was only finally broken by rising living standards which made their work less necessary and increased the range of work that was available.
T. C. Smout
'Aspects of sexual behaviour in nineteenth century Scotland' in MacLaren, A. Allen (ed.) Social class in Scotland. £8.00.

An investigation of differences in sexual behaviour outside marriage according to social class. Discusses the notion of the relationship between illegitimacy and illiteracy and between illegitimacy and the one-roomed dwellings of the poor. The proportion of births that were illegitimate varied from region to region but were generally more prevalent in country areas rather than in towns. It is suggested that this pattern owes something to the frequency with which young persons worked away from the authority of the parental home.

L. Stone

Argues that in the sixteenth century the kin orientated family of the middle ages gave way to the patriarchal authorisation nuclear family as the state took over functions formerly exercised by the kin (particularly in connection with the maintenance of law and order and welfare). At the same time the growth of Protestantism emphasised the role of the family (and more particularly the family head) at the expense of that of the priest. Economic forces too, the break up of the guilds and the decline of the open field system, took away from the community a whole range of powers and gave them to the family. In the eighteenth century families remained nuclear in character but the authority of the husband over wife and father over child weakened. According to Stone these family types mirrored the society of which they were part, authoritarian families under an authoritarian state for example. The general argument is not unconvincing although its emphasis on political change is a reflection of the fact that much of the evidence concerns only the upper echelons of society. When it comes to the illiterate or semi-literate mass of the population no evidence is offered that would imply that their family patterns were in any way similar.

Pamphlets

John and Sue Farrant
Preston in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Brighton before
Dr. Russell: an interim report, University of Sussex Centre for Continuing
Education Occasional Papers Nos. 3 (1975) and 5 (1976), 25 and 33 pp,
price 30p each plus postage from the Centre at Education Development
Building, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RG.

These two pamphlets are based on work by evening classes in Brighton,
the ancient parish of Preston now being within the borough of Brighton
and Hove. Both use aggregative analysis and ecclesiastical censuses, etc.
to attempt estimates of population before 1801. The Brighton register
is also used to examine the mobility of marriage partners 1660-1750 and
seasonality of marriages and baptisms 1611-1810, and the Preston register
to attempt a reconstitution of the population in 1670. Other topics covered are copyholding in Preston (based on manor court books and rentals), and occupations and personal wealth in Brighton (based on probate inventories 1710-50).

Articles

M. Anderson
'Sociological history and the working class family. Smelser revisited,' Social History, 3, October 1976.

A critique of Smelser's thesis that wider social movements such as friendly societies, co-ops and trade unions developed when the individual replaced the family as the labour unit in factories in the 1820s and 1830s. Anderson argues that spinners cannot have had sufficient offspring of the right age to act as their pieceers. The major differences in family patterns were in comparison with the proto-industrial situation where the father worked at home. However, many of the new employees in the factories came from rural areas where it was the custom for children to leave home in their early teens to work for farmers. In fact in Preston children remained longer at home than they did in rural areas.

L. K. Berkner
'Recent research on the history of the family in Western Europe,' Journal of Marriage and the Family, 35(3), August 1975.

Summarises recent demographic, legal and sociological studies of the family in France, Germany and England with a bibliography.

B. Clapp

A brief analysis of the local census of 1778.

N. F. R. Crafts

Argues that the methods used to generate population totals in the eighteenth century using baptism and burial totals collected by Rickman lead to contradictory estimates of the rate of population growth once a small allowance is made for errors in the basic data. The fluctuations in vital rates are so considerable as to preclude both the definition of a 'normal' pre-industrial pattern and a firm conclusion about the reasons for the 'take off' of population in the late eighteenth century.
R. K. Fleischman
'Notes on South Lancashire population during the industrial revolution, University of Lancaster Regional Bulletin, 16(5), Summer 1976.

Argues that employment opportunities for children promoted higher fertility in Lancashire cotton towns in the early nineteenth century. The basis on which crude birth rates were calculated does not inspire confidence since it rests on the assumption of a constant child mortality between early and mid-century. Neither do life expectancy figures based solely on schedules of ages at death in parish registers reveal trends in mortality if the number and ages of in-migrants are unknown.

H. Freudenberger and G. Cummins
'Health, work and leisure before the industrial revolution,' Explorations in Economic History, 13, 1976.

Argues that the agricultural changes in the eighteenth century improved the diet and hence the health of the population, a necessary pre-condition for the longer working week ushered in by the industrial revolution.

G. Gilchrist (ed.)
*A transcript of the enumerator's schedules of the parish of Annan for the years 1801, 1811 and 1821. The returns rarely mention relationship to the head of the household. The later schedules seem to have been completed with less care than that of 1801, contrary to the popular view that the first census was more inaccurate than the others.

F. R. Grace

Calculations of crude baptism, marriage and burial rates using a running population total which is an average of baptisms multiplied by 30 and the progressive subtraction of baptisms and addition of burials from the known population of 1801. Of greater value are the estimates of infant mortality based on tracing all deaths within two years of baptism and, when ages are given, dividing the number of infant burials into the number of baptisms. The result shows infant mortality fairly steady prior to the 1730s and only markedly lower after 1800.

M. Griffiths

A study of the differing levels of mortality in rich and poor areas of Exeter from the seventeenth century to the present.
T. Gwynne and M. Sill

A study based on enumerators' books of 1861 of the Welsh community in Middlesbrough in 1861. Households headed by Welsh born heads were found to be concentrated in particular streets and grouped into enclaves rather than randomly scattered along those streets.

R. Hall
'Occupation and population structure in part of the Derbyshire Peak District in the mid-nineteenth century,' The East Midlands Geographer, 6(2), December 1974.

An analysis of the mobility, age structure and household composition of craftsmen, farmers and labourers. More farmers were heads of households than was the case with other occupational groups, and they were also rather older. The age structure of general labourer, servant and agricultural labourer populations varied between townships in relation to the size of farms, the larger farms having a tendency to employ a much younger workforce.

The whole of this issue is devoted to a series of reports on the Philadelphia Social History Project. Of particular interest to English readers are the papers by Theodore Hershberg and Robert Dockhorn on the classification of occupations and Theodore Hershberg, Alan Berstein and Robert Dockhorn on linking directories and censuses.

P. Horn
Shows that in Daventry in 1871 one family in eight employed domestic servants, one third of whom were under the age of twenty.

T. G. Kessinger
A review essay of work on the household from the perspective of India. Concludes that beliefs about the ideal form of the family are important and that Peter Laslett in 'Household and Family in Past Time' (1972) has erred in focusing on co-residence which is only one of the dimensions of family life.

S. J. Kleinberg
'The systematic study of urban women,' Historical Methods Newsletter, 9(1), December 1975.
A plea for the systematic study of women in the urban environment identifying the major sources and the way in which they should be exploited. A summary of recent work suggests the extension into the city of women's pre-industrial employment patterns modified by the increasing
differentiation of home and workplace which prevented married women from sustaining a significant role within the labour force. Citing Lynn Lees on the Irish women in London in the 1850s, as women moved to the city 'their role in the family economy changes from that of production to that of maintenance'.

P. Laslett
A discussion of the concept of privacy as it affects the family in society and in the home and as it affects children and adults. Argues that privacy has increased with greater amenities, less overcrowding, fewer domestic servants and that this has reduced the opportunities for social control of behaviour and led to a greater variety in behaviour.

P. Laslett
'The wrong way through the telescope: a note on literary evidence in sociology and historical sociology,' *British Journal of Sociology*, XXVII(3), September 1976.
An assessment of high literature as a source for the history of society. Case studies taken include a reference in a poem by Robert Burns to a servant girl giving her parents a portion of her wages and the sexual license of Restoration comedy. The latter is contrasted with the low level of illegitimacy and the late age at marriage as recorded in contemporary parish registers. Where literature can be checked from other sources it is sometimes found correct and sometimes not. When it provides the single source, it is impossible to know whether it points to universal, common, or extraordinary behaviour, to behaviour in times past or times present, or some combination of two or more of these elements.

J. Modell and T. K. Haraven
Puts the case that boarding was a stage in the life cycle, as was domestic service. Far from being a sign of family disorganisation, it is argued that boarding offered a family environment for those who for one reason or another were unable to live with their parents.

P. Phillippe and L. Yelle
A study of 119 families in Isles aux Coudres, Quebec, during the eighteenth century which shows that women having nine or more pregnancies and between one and five pregnancies lived longer than those in the intervening group. The further observation that women having nine children or more had a consanguinity at least twice that of other mothers leads to the conclusion that endogamy promotes high fertility by reducing post-partum amenorrhea. Shorter birth intervals also follow as inbreeding increases the risk of infant deaths.
J. G. Pounds
A series of maps show the distribution per 1,000 acres of 'able' men from the Muster Roll of 1567, adult males in 1642 from the Protestation Returns, and households in 1664 from the Hearth Tax, and seasonality of baptisms, plague mortality, illegitimacy and annual trends in 'child' mortality.

D. S. Smith
An examination of parental influence on the age of marriage of sons and daughters. In the nineteenth century younger sons married more wealthy women than they had earlier, while daughters increasingly married out of birth order, and a higher proportion remained celibate. This is taken to imply a general loosening of parental control.

M. H. Smith
'Parish registers and population in South Holderness,' *Hedon and District Local History Series*, 3, 1976, 50p.
Includes tables on infant, child and adult mortality, intervals before remarriage of widows and widowers and a chart showing length of residence within a parish for families mentioned in the registers. Unfortunately rules regarding who is in observation have not been strictly applied and all mortality rates must be considered too high. This must throw some doubt on the trends in mortality. For example, the figures as they stand suggest that while adult mortality fell after 1750 infant and child mortality remained at a level above that of the late sixteenth century. Smith is probably on safer ground in documenting a fall in the age at marriage for women in the late eighteenth century and seeking an explanation for this, and for a rise in illegitimacy, in the general context of pauperisation, enclosure and changes in the law regarding apprenticeships and support for the poor.

D. Steel
'One hundred years on. The use of a private census to compare with the mid-nineteenth century enumerators returns,' *The Local Historian*, 12(2), 1976.
Private census of the village of Corby in Lincolnshire was taken in 1975 in which the questions asked were similar to those posed in the 1851 census enquiry. Comparison of the two surveys showed that in 1975 there was a much wider variety in the choice of names for children, and the population had a markedly older age structure. Under a fifth of the surnames found in 1851 were represented in the present-day village. On the other hand the proportion of married couples with one of the partners (usually the husband) born in Corby had remained constant.

L. A. Tilly, J. W. Scott and M. Cohen
'Women's work and the European fertility patterns,' *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, VI (3), Winter 1976.
A critique of Shorter's thesis that industrialisation revolutionised women's attitudes about themselves by offering them employment opportunities
outside the home. All agree that there was earlier marriage, a rise in marital fertility and in illegitimacy in the eighteenth century. The difference comes with Tilly, Scott and Cohen's insistence that the vast majority of women who worked were following traditional employments with the object of augmenting family finances and not for self emancipation. Instead fertility, both within and without marriage, rose as an increase in long distance migration broke the hold of the traditional family and created a body of persons with no expectations in owning land. At the same time there was no longer any need to postpone marriage to meet the requirements of craft organisations.

R. Wall

A matching of names in the parish register and enumerator's schedule to determine how many persons claiming to be born in Colyton were not to be found in the baptism register because name and age were given incorrectly or because baptism took place in a neighbouring parish or a Nonconformist Chapel. The implications of these sorts of error for the reliability of the reconstitution are considered.

J. Walter and K. Wrightson

Argues that dearth while contributing at first to social disorder ultimately promoted social harmony as authority, either central or local (that is JPs), took remedial action, in line with the contemporary belief in social responsibility and leadership by a social and administrative elite. An interesting point is that in times of crisis, as in Essex in the 1590s there was a shift in the social composition of persons charged with theft, with many more labourers and women among the prosecuted than in non-crisis times.
William H. McNeill

Plagues and Peoples

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Age at baptism in pre-industrial England

Dear Sir,

Berry and Schofield in their paper with this title published in Population Studies in 1971 (p. 453) point out that, while during the latter half of the seventeenth century the interval between birth and baptism was relatively short and corresponded roughly with the Church's requirement that it should not exceed fourteen days, later this interval increased until at the end of the eighteenth century periods of more than a month were common and sometimes more than a year intervened. Their results are based on registers from eleven London parishes, sixteen northern parishes and sixteen parishes scattered over central and southern England. They commented that local variations between parishes were very great and expressed the hope that evidence from other parishes might help to clarify the picture. Some relevant entries have been noted during a study of the parish registers of Ratcliffe on Soar and are presented here to supplement the data already published.

Ratcliffe on Soar is a small rural parish in South Nottinghamshire close to the confluence of the Soar and Trent. The Compton Census of 1676 records no recusants or dissenters in the village. Visitation returns state that there were only two Dissenter families in 1743 and only "two or three of those called Moravians" in 1764. In 1829, there were enough Wesleyans present to hold meetings in one of the small village houses. According to the Visitation, there were seventeen families there in 1743 and twenty in 1764. A reconstruction of the population from the parish registers suggests there were about seventy inhabitants in 1700 rising to a more precise estimate of 130 in 1780. The 1811 census gives the population as 169. The number of baptismal entries in the registers during the years in question is therefore small, typically two or three a year, and the total number of entries quoting birth dates and the proportion quoting both birth and baptism dates are considerably smaller than those studied by Berry and Schofield. Nevertheless, there are some fifty entries of birth and baptism dates and these may give some indication of registration practice in a small, purely agricultural community.

The relevant entries fall into three groups; each made by one minister or curate serving the church throughout that period:

(a) 1663-1677: There were thirty-six baptisms, twenty-six of which have birth dates. Two baptisms from 1653, one with a birth date have also been included in this set.

(b) 1781-1786: There were twenty-three baptisms, seven of which have birth dates.

(c) 1798-1812: There were fifty-six baptisms, nineteen with birth dates, while two other dates of birth can be discovered from an entry in the Nottingham Journal.

The distributions of the ages at baptism in each period are tabulated below using the method of percentiles adopted by Berry and Schofield.
In the first period the pattern noted by Berry and Schofield is found. Babies were baptised shortly after birth — in half the cases on a Sunday—and the baptismal entries therefore give a reasonable guide to the age of the population. This is also true for the period 1781-1786 with one exception, which is the more surprising since two other babies born at the same time into the major two farming families of the village were christened when only one day old. The family of the other child were probably cottagers and she was not christened for four months.

The data for 1798-1812 is very odd. The shortest interval indicated in the register if fifty-three days and the other intervals are much longer. Indeed the birth dates seem to have been recorded specifically to emphasise these long delays. There are three cases where it is clear that children of a family were 'saved up' and baptised together. In one extreme case, a father, aged twenty-nine, and two of his children, aged six and three years, were baptised together with a third, presumably infant, child. Attempts to check the dates of birth of other children baptised during this period using other sources, for example the 1851 census, can only indicate the year of birth but, to that extent at least, do not suggest that in these cases there were similar inordinate delays in baptism. For example, out of twelve persons in the 1851 census who can be identified in the baptismal registers, ten ages check to within one year of the date of baptism and three of these check exactly. The two cases checked from a newspaper report are exceptional in that they record the birth of triplets quickly followed by the death of two of the babies. The very short intervals are therefore not typical of the period.

There is no obvious reason for the extreme delays noted in this period and the sample is too small to make any detailed interpretation worthwhile. It does raise the possibility that the marked increase in interval between birth and baptism noted in about half of Berry and Schofield's list for 1791-1812 may arise from a bias in the sample due to the minister wishing to draw special attention to cases of undue delay in baptisms. However their use of a rule excluding registers from consideration if more than ten per cent of the entries lacked either birth or baptism entry may have avoided this risk.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at baptism in days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1653-1677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781-1786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798-1812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Your sincerely,
Harry Collins.

Vikings, Ratcliffe on Soar, Nottingham.
Roger Schofield comments:

"It is always good to get more information on the age at baptism, but as Mr. Collins rightly points out, the large number of baptism entries with no corresponding date of birth raises doubts as to the representativeness of the ages of baptism that can be calculated and makes it difficult to interpret the figures.

The kind of bias which may result is very graphically illustrated by Mr. Collins' results for the period 1798-1812 when the incumbent is generally only noting the dates of birth of those who are unusually old when they are baptized. It was precisely the obvious danger of this kind of bias which led Midi Berry and me to reject any register in which more than 10 per cent. of the entries lacked the date of birth.

The habit of baptizing several members of a family at once, which Mr. Collins highlights, is an interesting one and seems to have been rare before the end of the eighteenth century. From the work the Cambridge Group has been doing on the aggregative analysis of a large number of parish registers it looks as if both baptism and burial registration began to deteriorate rapidly after 1780, reaching a nadir in the 1810s.

Occasionally an incumbent tried to stem the ebbing tide. The most dramatic example I know is contained in the aggregative analysis of Hinckley, Leicestershire, sent to us by Miss Herrington of Leicester. In the 1820s about 160 people were baptized each year but beginning in 1830 the number plunged sharply downward until in 1836 only seventy-five baptisms were recorded. Suddenly, in June 1837 no less than 360 people were baptized, seventy-eight on 28th June and an astonishing 161 on 30th June. Dates of birth or ages are given for these 239 people from which it is clear that very few were infants. Almost half were aged between one and five, just under half between six and nineteen, and 6 per cent were of age twenty and above. When these baptisms are added back into the appropriate years, the annual totals look more reasonable, but there still seems to have been some falling off in the number of baptisms registered since the 1820s.

The timing of this sudden rush of laggards to the font may well also tell us something about popular attitudes to the civil registration of births, for the final, and largest, group of 161 persons was baptized on the last day before civil registration began. However this may be, Hinckley furnishes particularly dramatic evidence of a more general laxness in attitudes towards baptism in the early nineteenth century, which led to both higher ages at baptism and omissions. It would be interesting to know if other readers of LPS have also studied this development, to which Mr. Collins has so valuably drawn our attention."

Infanticide

Dear Sir,

Keith Wrightson's intriguing discussion of the evidence for infanticide (LPS, 15, pp. 10-22) has reminded me of a reference which may be of general interest. John Mirk (or Myrc) who wrote a well-known religious
treatise in the fifteenth century called Instructions for a Parish Priest comments on the possibly deliberate smothering of babies by parents.

In the first entry, he reminds the priest to enquire of husbands:

‘Hast thouow also by hyre l-layn
And so by-twene yow the chylde l-slayn?’


This could be interpreted as no more than a warning to parents to act responsibly before a child is born, but an earlier editor in 1868, Edward Peacock, had no such doubts when he wrote in a marginal note: ‘Hast thou and she overlain any of your infants?’ (Early English Text Society, No. 31 (1868) p. 45).

The second entry puts the sinister possibilities more distinctly. Mirk pointed out that among the cases reserved for bishops to deal with is:

‘the modeure that the chylde over-lyth
the fader also sende thow wythe’

(Lund Studies in English, 49. p. 160)

Here, as Kristensson writes in his glossary, ‘over-lyth’ unequivocally means ‘smother by lying upon’ (p. 253). Clearly, where babies were reported as ‘accidentally’ smothered, the medieval church seriously investigated the possibility that they had been deliberately killed, and that the crime had involved the collusion of both parents.

Yours sincerely,
David Dymond.

Cambridge University Board of Extra-Mural Studies, Madingley Hall, Cambridge.

Smallpox inoculation deaths

Dear Sir,

I noted the letter in LPS 18 concerning infants who died following smallpox inoculation and can add to this by quoting two entries from the register of Marston Trussell, Northants. — ecclesiastical register 2/i/4:

25 March 1790, died 25 March. Thomas son of Nicholas and Ann Bishop inoculated when the Parish were in general for small Pox.

26 March. Charles son of John Junior and Elizabeth Partridge likewise.

Thomas Bishop was born 16 February, 1790, baptised 8th March and Charles Partridge was born 10 February 1790 and baptised 8th March also.

Yours faithfully,
Gillian F. Richard (Ms.)

9 Milton Street, Kingsley, Northampton.
1801 census: Guildford

Dear Sir,

In the parish records for Newdigate, Surrey, held at the Guildford Record Office, there is a single page of census record for 1801 which gives the names of the head of each family plus the number and sex of children (PSH/NR/9/1), e.g.

‘James Ede, 6 males, 6 females’

also

‘Inhabited houses, 63; uninhabited 2
Families 76
In·trade 11
Manufacture 1
Total population 445.’

Yours faithfully,
Alan J. Skilton, RIBA.

An early Oxfordshire maternity home

Dear Sir,

I was most interested in Mr. Henstock’s article in LPS Autumn 1975 especially as I had recently stumbled upon a similar establishment in Oxfordshire. When transcribing the registers of four adjacent parishes in the west of the county, I noticed a number of references in the burials, and later among the baptisms, of children from ‘Sworn Lains’, the name being changed to ‘Stonelands’ about 1765. Then, in the early Burford registers, the place was called ‘Foresworn Lains’.

This place proved to be an extra-parochial area of some six acres on the boundaries of four parishes, one of which was a ‘detached parcel of Berkshire’. It was some two miles east of Burford and barely a quarter of a mile from the main London to Gloucester highway. There are no title deeds earlier than 1940 but Quarter Sessions recognisances show that there was an inn here and that in 1801 the licensee was the owner of the lying-in home. He inserted an advertisement that year in the local newspaper, Jackson’s Oxford Journal:

Notice is hereby given that near Sworn Lays, in the County of Oxford, is a House belonging to no Parish, well situate to receive LYING-IN WOMEN privately: and such may be treated with on reasonable terms, by applying to James Hart, at Sworn Layes Great House, near Burford, Oxfordshire.

Such a place was clearly attractive for the purpose as it was beyond the jurisdiction of parish overseers, local magistrates and the clergy, although the sheriff’s writ reached it. Unfortunately little real or documentary evidence exists but reference was made to it in Rawlinson’s Diaries (1720-30) as ‘the Bastard School ... Here is a House which no body claims’. The local tradition is that it was used for lying-in by naughty ladies of
King Charles' court when at Oxford (1642-6), and also as a pest house for plague and smallpox where Oxford Scholars stayed during plague years in Oxford.

The records of baptisms and burials from Stonelands ceased in 1836, by which time the new Poor Law was effective and workhouses had been built. The area was absorbed in the neighbouring parish of Asthall by an Enclosure Award of 1841. The place was roofless by 1906 and its last wall had to be demolished as unsafe in 1946.

The old name 'Foresworn Lains' can perhaps be translated as 'forsaken births' — 'forsaken' is an old meaning of 'forsworn' and 'lains' or 'laa-ings' from 'Lay', which could mean the bringing to bed for childbirth. The out-house used as a maternity ward was locally known as the 'laa-ing house'. The reason for the change to 'Stonelands' from 1765 is unknown, but there were stone quarries adjacent to the house.

I was fortunate in finding two sets of manuscript notes, one c. 1895 by an old village historian recording the stories prevalent at that date, the other c. 1960 by a local doctor who wrote his reminiscences of his youth c. 1906.

The fuller story of 'Sworn Lains' is printed in Oxfordshire Local History 'Top Oxon' No. 21, for 1976-7, obtainable through the County Archivist at County Hall, Oxford, for 50p including postage.

Yours faithfully,

F. R. L. Goadby (Brigadier)

Gaunt Mill, Standlake, Witney, Oxon. OX8 7QA.

Light on daily life in the late eighteenth century

Dear Sir,

I noticed a comment by May Pickles in her study of Wharfedale, printed in No. 16 of Local Population Studies, to the effect that reliable information concerning eating habits in past centuries is hard to find.

In the light of this, I thought it might be of interest to your readers to share in a discovery made in Berkhamsted. The Local History Society of which I am a member has been engaged for five years in recording such old buildings as we have left. About two years ago, we were investigating a brick terraced cottage next to a little timber-framed house, to establish whether it also contained any older work. In the loft, covered with black dust, we found a metal spike of papers, which proved to be the personal accounts of the Matthews family, a firm of local builders and odd-job men, who were known to have lived in the next house, and about whom we already knew something, as two of their ledgers have survived elsewhere. The earliest date in the papers is 1764, the latest 1839. There is no guarantee that all their accounts were kept here, for there are many gaps.

55
One may assume that they would have had a garden, common rights, and possibly some other land, providing perhaps milk, eggs, poultry, fruit and vegetables. Other than that, all their food must, we suppose, be dealt with in these accounts, and I append some representative extracts.

It has also been suggested to me that some supplies may have been paid for in cash, but in view of the fact that the family ran up bills for very small items, and expected months of credit, it seems unlikely that anything was paid for at the time of purchase, and that they either produced the items mentioned above themselves, or went without.

Wm. Matthews to Humy. Tompkins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ballance Accounts due to me</th>
<th>6 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1774 for 4 pd. 1/2 Mutton</td>
<td>1 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for 5 pd. half Veal</td>
<td>1 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1775 for 13 stone 4pd Bakom</td>
<td>1 19 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1775 for 7pd. half Beef</td>
<td>2 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1777 for 9 pd Beef</td>
<td>3 4 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1777 for 4 pd half Lam</td>
<td>1 10 1/2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 17 10

(Mr. Matthews paid off 10/6 of this!)

Other butcher’s items later include Cows hart 1/-, one (illegible) pluck at 10d, one cheake at 1d, calfs head 1/-.  

The family did not bake their own bread. For some reason they used two suppliers simultaneously — Samuel King and Thomas Butterfield. The price was 5 1/2d, no size mentioned, in May 1787, 6 1/2d by August, down to 6 1/4d in October. One bill is presented in a different form — ‘160 Potel Loves at 6 1/2d’. By 1790 Butterfield refers to Quart Loaves and they now cost 7 1/2d. King had been dropped by this time.

More than one bill is a strange mixture, as when Matthews pays William Norris for nails, hinges, tacks, several lots of pork and a gridiron, or nails, lock, file, thirtyone pounds of pork and a peck of onions.

Mr. Matthews buys various items for his business, some of them rather strange, for instance, ‘3 setts Gloria plates Angel and flower’. They come black, white or lacquered.

By 1809 the Grand Junction Canal was in use and elm timber is delivered to Two Waters Wharf. There are also accounts for the education of a number of children and for the purchase of footwear and medicine. In 1809 William Collier drew teeth (2/-) and in 1810 he is ‘Inoculating Mrs. and Two Children £1. 1. 0d’. One other item of interest is a letter which was filed amongst the bills.
Hammersmith September 28 1790

Dear Mother
I should be obliged to you if you would send my Black all together as it is and Then I shall go in Mouning as all them that can get a black gown does for the Duke of Cumberland. So I don't like to look Different from every body else or I would not Trouble you t send Them pray send Them imeaditly for he will be Buried to morrow night Mother it is in my Blue Box and if you Cant find the Key you most Rinch the Box open for I most heave Them Deritly please to Derict Them to be left at The Bell and Crown Halburn and I will send for Them from Their so Dont Delay sending them so god blefs you all and believe me your ever affectionate Child

Mary Mathews'

The letter is endorsed on the reverse 'September ye 30 1790 the Parsil was delivered to the Coachman'.

Yours faithfully,
Margaret Hole.

91 Churchway, Haddenham, Aylesbury, Bucks.

[Editors' Note: It has not been possible to print this contribution in full and readers interested in learning more about these accounts should contact Margaret Hole.]
MISCELLANY

The responsibilities of kin

Contributed by Richard Wall

On the first day of January 1782 Elizabeth Ashwell, widow, was living with her daughters, Mary, aged eight and Sarah, aged two, in a tenement in the Bedfordshire parish of Cardington. However, an older child, Thomas, possibly illegitimate, was in the workhouse. Nor was this the only case of a family losing a child to this institution. Thomas Burridge, a widower, had married Mary, the widow of Thomas Payne, in 1775. In 1782 their home was a tenement in neighbouring Cotton End and within it could be found two children of his first marriage, one child of her first marriage and one child of their present union. Two sons of Mary’s in their early twenties were in service and Frances, daughter of Thomas, was in the workhouse.

If we look for a common factor in these two cases we might see it in age, (Thomas Ashwell was eleven and Frances Burridge thirteen) and in the relative weakness of the ties to their families outside the workhouse, involving possible illegitimacy in the first case and previous marriage in the second. These cases are unusual in another way, however, in that the link between the inmates of the workhouse and their families are drawn unambiguously by the (unknown) compiler of the Cardington list.

Also in the workhouse were a few elderly widows, some younger widows with children, a couple of mothers with bastard children and some children whose parents were not recorded anywhere in the list and who may have been dead. For these persons no relationship with other families is indicated, yet it is a little unlikely that they were entirely bereft of relatives in the surrounding community. Even though population was relatively mobile much of this mobility occurred over short distances and there is some evidence that it was not too difficult to keep track of the movements of close relatives. Very few of the parents in Cardington with surviving children in 1782 failed to specify a parish of residence for their children who had grown up and left home.

However, since they lived five, ten, sometimes fifteen miles away from their parents what sort of assistance could they be expected to offer them should the occasion arise? In their absence might one turn to other relatives, such as cousins or in-laws for support? These sort of questions are very difficult to answer. The Cardington list, good as it is, offers no information on this point and literary sources such as diaries and letters record the experiences of members of a much higher level of society than those we are now considering. It is, however, interesting that in cases of great need, those subject to investigation by the Poor Law authorities, only the closest relatives could be compelled to provide assistance. The document we are using to illustrate this, and which is reproduced in full below, dates from more than a century later than the Cardington list, although it incorporates much earlier legislation and possibly to a certain extent, earlier practice. Two points require par-
ticular attention. First, it insists on a very clear distinction between the filial duties of sons and daughters, since the obligation of the latter to support their parents ceased on marriage. Secondly, there is the question of context. The statement of the liability of persons to maintain their relatives was inserted into the official diaries issued to the members of the Fulham Board of Guardians. It accompanies information on the salaries of all their employees, a list of the schools and other institutions in which were maintained poor persons chargeable to the parish of Fulham and dates of committee meetings. Presumably the statement was included as a reminder to the Board of where the obligations of the authority should stop and those of the private family begin.

Of course, whether that support of relatives was actually forthcoming is quite another matter. Michael Anderson has shown in connection with industrial Preston in 1851 that 'extreme' poverty limited in practice the power and the willingness of persons to assist kin, just as the Poor Law authorities in Fulham noted that relatives who were themselves poor would not be obliged to render assistance. In other respects, though, there seem to be some key differences between what actually happened and what the Poor Law authorities assumed should happen. Anderson’s interpretation of his Preston evidence is that boys were more likely to leave home than girls and were more likely to renounce familial obligations, whereas we have seen that the Poor Law authorities gave greater responsibilities to sons than to daughters. Moreover fifty years after the Board of Guardians’ diary was issued Willmott and Young in their classic study of working class families in Bethnal Green observed that married daughters would normally see their parents much more frequently than would married sons.

Extract from Fulham Board of Guardians Members’ diary, 1905-1906
Liability of persons for maintenance of relatives

1. A husband is bound to maintain his wife.
2. Parents, including widows, are bound to maintain
   (a) Children under 16 years of age
   (b) Children over 16 years of age who are unable to work through sickness or other cause.
3. Grandfathers (and grandmothers, if widowed) are liable to maintain their grandchildren, even though the parents be alive.
4. A stepfather is bound to maintain the children belonging to his wife at the time of marriage (whether legitimate or illegitimate) until such children attain the age of 16. Should the mother die before the children reach the age of 16, the liability of the stepfather then ceases.
5. Married women having a separate estate are bound to maintain:
   (a) Husband
   (b) Children
   (c) Grandchildren
   (But a woman whose husband is alive is not liable to maintain her grandchildren, the issue of a previous marriage.)
6. The mother of an illegitimate child is liable for its maintenance whilst she remains unmarried, or while the child is under 16. An order of affiliation may be obtained by the Guardians upon the putative father of an illegitimate child to contribute to its maintenance, but such order is available only for so long as the child is actually in receipt of relief.

7. Legitimate children (sons, whether married or single, and daughters, if unmarried) are bound to maintain their parents when unable to work through sickness or other cause. N.B. — it is only relatives of sufficient ability who are liable, and proof of ability is required by justices before an order can be made.

By the Statute 4 and 5, Will. IV, cap. 76, sec. 56, all relief given to a wife, child or children under 16 (not being blind, deaf or dumb) shall be considered as given to the husband of such wife, or to the father of such child or children, as the case may be.

The 39 and 40 Vict., cap. 61, sec. 23, enables trustees to pay to the Guardians the cost of relief to paupers entitled to any annuity or periodical payment, and gives such trustees a legal discharge upon payment thereof.

In the case of paupers or pauper lunatics entitled to payment as members of Friendly or Benefit Societies, and having no wife or other relative dependent upon them for maintenance, the expenses incurred by the Guardians may be recovered as a debt after notice served upon the managing body of the Society. No claim can be made against the Society until the Guardians or their Relieving Officer have declared the relief to be given on loan, and shall have, within 30 days thereof, notified the same in writing to the Secretary or Trustees of the Society or branch of which the pauper or pauper lunatic is a member. (39 and 40 Vict., cap 61, sec. 23; and 42 Vict., cap. 12, sec. 1.)

The above applies to an Unregistered as well as a Registered Friendly Society.

NOTES

2. Ibid, p. 172
3. In 1905-1906 one of the members was T. R. Wall. His diary is currently in the possession of Richard Wall.
Several correct solutions to 'Vaguely Demographic' (LPS 18) were received. The two prizewinning entries drawn out of a hat were sent in by H. E. Gough, Herne Bay, and Miss A. D. Harris, Solihull.
LOCAL RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

English Genealogical Congress 1978
The English Genealogical Congress 1978 will be held between Monday, 4th September and Saturday, 9th September, 1978, at St. Catherine’s College, Cambridge. Accommodation and meals will be provided at the College. The theme of the Congress is The Theory and Practice of Genealogy — the contribution which genealogists can make to Historical Studies. There will be a programme of lectures, with seminars on topics arising from the main lectures, and a special practical project. There will be two afternoons of excursions to places in and around Cambridge, a banquet and an exhibition of genealogical work running concurrently with the congress. Further details are available from Miss S. Colwell, B.A., Organiser, English Genealogical Congress 1978, 26 Rangers Square, Hyde Vale, Greenwich SE10. Please send a stamped self-addressed foolscap envelope.

Work on local population history known to the Cambridge Group
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.

Notes on the form in which the aggregative, family reconstitution, listing and literacy analyses are held by the Cambridge Group to whom all enquiries about this material should be addressed.

Aggregative. A simple tabulation of the frequencies of baptisms, burials and marriages recorded in a parish register, usually on a monthly basis from the beginning of registration until the early nineteenth century.

Family Reconstitution. A set of forms each containing the linked parish register entries of baptism, burial and marriage relating to a married couple and their offspring. Sometimes information from other sources (e.g. wills, censuses and poor law records) is included on the ‘family’ forms.

Listings. A copy, often a photocopy, of an original listing of the inhabitants of a community at a certain date. The amount of information available varies, but usually both individual names and household divisions are specified. Most listings are accompanied by tabulations (e.g. distribution of household sizes) on standard forms.

Literacy. A simple annual tabulation of the frequencies of signatures and marks recorded by brides and grooms in the marriage registers after 1753. The tabulation usually extends up to 1844, notes the frequency of 'suspect' signatures, and specifies the numbers of cases where both, either, or neither spouse signs.

*Denotes analysis completed.

STAFFORDSHIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aggregative</th>
<th>Betley*</th>
<th>Mr. R. Speake</th>
<th>74 Chester Road, Audley, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listings</td>
<td>Stoke-on-Trent (Clayton and Seabridge)</td>
<td>Mr. R. Speake</td>
<td>1678</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SUFFOLK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aggregative</th>
<th>East Bergholt*</th>
<th>Mr. F. W. Grace</th>
<th>50 Temple Road, Ipswich, Suffolk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Easton*</td>
<td>Mr. J. J. Packard</td>
<td>The Cottage, Easton, Woodbridge, Suffolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eye*</td>
<td>Miss O. W. Riches</td>
<td>Wyncroft, 10 The Close, Raydon, Diss, Norfolk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

62
Flixton by
Bungay*
Framlingham*
Fressingfield*
Hale
Hadleigh*
Homersfield*
Thorpeness*
Ibbetshall*
Ipswich, St.
Clements*
St. Helen*
St. Lawrence*
St. Margaret*
St. Mary Elm*
St. Mary Quay*
St. Mary Stoke*
St. Mary Tower*
St. Matthew*
St. Nicholas*
St. Peter*
St. Stephen*
Nonconformist
Chapels*
Kelsale*
Lavenham*
Laxfield*
Sibton*
South Elmham
St. Cross*
St. James*
St. Michael*
Yoxford*

Mrs. N. R. Evans
Mr. J. J. Packard
Mr. R. E. Emms
Mr. K. P. Boulton
Mrs. N. R. Evans
Mr. J. Ridgard
Mrs. N. R. Evans
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mr. M. Reed
Mrs. R. Barker
Mrs. K. Carter
Rev. R. Marchant
Mrs. R. Barker
Mrs. N. R. Evans
Mrs. N. R. Evans
Mrs. N. R. Evans
Mrs. N. R. Evans
Mrs. R. Barker

Millgreen House, Fressingfield,
Diss, Norfolk
The Red House, Brockdish,
Diss, Norfolk
28 George Street, Hadleigh,
Ipswich, Suffolk
12 Brefield Road, Melton,
Woodbridge, Suffolk
421 Park Road, Loughborough,
Leics.
15 Glebe Way, Frinton-on-Sea,
Essex
The Crooked House, Lavenham,
Suffolk
Laxfield Vicarage, Woodbridge,
Suffolk

Listings
Fressingfield
Ipswich,
St. Margaret
St. Peter

Reconstitution
Carlton
Kelsale

Surrey
Aggregative
Epsom*

Literacy
Walton-on-the-
Hill*

Sussex
Aggregative
Preston*

Reconstitution
Balcombe

Mrs. R. Barker
Mrs. R. Barker
Mrs. G. D. Kennett
Mrs. J. E. Fox
Mr. J. H. Farrant
Mrs. D. Howden

38 Cornwall Road, Cheam,
Sutton, Surrey
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Caterham, Surrey
University of Sussex, Falmer,
Brighton, Sussex
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Sussex

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Mrs. P. Ford
(deceased)
Austrey*
Mrs. V. Elliott
Stoneleigh
Dr. N. Alcock
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1765
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Frome
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Mr. R. O. Calver
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1774
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Reconstitution
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Mr. M. L. Baumber
Flat 5, Finedon Villas,
Woodville Road, Keighley,
Yorks, W.R.
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Miss L. Hopkinson
9 Lynton Close, Brayton, Selby,
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