THE FRANKPLEDGE POPULATION OF SHREWSBURY, 1500-1720

W. A. Champion

William Champion obtained a degree in history at Oxford University, and has researched the social and economic history of Shrewsbury between 1400 and 1660.

Frankpledge was a system, originally evolved in the tenth and eleventh centuries, for policing local communities, in which typically the male population of the townships were grouped into 'tithings' and made responsible for their good behaviour. Individuals incorporated within the system were obliged to attend the 'views of frankpledge', originally associated with the biannual Sheriff's Tourn (special sessions of the hundred courts), but later more normally with the private leet jurisdiction of the manorial courts. In practice the system did not apply uniformly over the whole country, and the north in particular possessed a different peace-keeping organization. The duties of the tithings included those of mutual surety, the collective pursuit of malefactors, and the provision of 'chief pledges' who comprised the juries which attended the leet courts and presented communal offenders. During the later middle ages, however, some functions such as surety lost their importance, while others were modified - the obligations of collective pursuit, for example, were concentrated on local constables. By 1500 the system was less widespread and more restricted in scope, but tithing lists drawn up for the views of frankpledge could still prove useful, both for empanelling local juries, and for providing a handy indication of males inhabiting the jurisdiction. Further details of the frankpledge system can be found elsewhere and need not be elaborated here. My purpose is rather to analyse the frankpledge listings which have survived for the town of Shrewsbury between 1500 and 1720 as a means of gauging changes in population size. To achieve this I shall first outline the nature of frankpledge in Shrewsbury - which differed somewhat from that found in other communities - and then describe the fluctuations in the size of the town's frankpledge population during this period.

Frankpledge in Shrewsbury

Attendance at views of frankpledge was normally confined to males aged twelve and over. In Shrewsbury, however, this was not the case - at least from the early sixteenth century when the first extant lists appear. We can see this, for example, by comparing the view of frankpledge taken on 9 November 1525 with the locally surviving returns for the lay subsidy of the same year, which were composed according to craft affiliation, citing masters and servants, as well as the 'out of craft', i.e. adult labourers, doctors, gentlemen etc., who were not members of a craft fellowship. This comparison, supplemented by the use of other contemporary records, shows that of the 448 males listed in the view of frankpledge 309 were craft masters, 61 were 'out of craft', and 14 were
servants, including 4 identifiable journeymen. Of the remaining 64 individuals, 15 were otherwise listed in the view with an occupation. These figures imply that in Shrewsbury the frankpledge population was largely composed of adult males who had passed beyond servanthood and had become independent householders. This is supported by the fact that apprentices were never listed as a rule, while the view taken on 29 October 1517 was headed (in Latin) ‘Names of the inhabitants and fathers of families in Shrewsbury and its liberties’, a formula which also tends to support this interpretation.3

It may seem surprising that so few servants and especially journeymen attended the views, since census evidence from Coventry in the 1520s and from Cambridge in the early seventeenth century appears to indicate that very few journeymen were living-in servants and, so it has been suggested, must have lived out as separate householders.4 As such, one would expect them to have appeared in the Shrewsbury frankpledge lists. But this was not normally the case. Thus, while virtually all the sixty-eight master shermen (excluding two widows) assessed for the 1525 subsidy were also listed in the view, only four of their twenty-seven journeymen were likewise noted. Similarly, at a later date in 1613, of thirty journeymen described in a survey as working in Corvisors Row, only five appeared in the views of frankpledge of 1612-13.5 The survey in fact indicates why most journeymen were excluded. It is significant that the five listed journeymen were all married men, while of the remainder seventeen were lodged in other households (six with a parent), four boarded with their masters (including two brothers and a son), and four were also married men who cannot be traced. In other words, although a few journeymen did indeed appear at views of frankpledge, the majority did not since they were in fact lodgers whose status, at least for frankpledge purposes, was not regarded as constituting a separate household. In this respect a comparison between a muster of 1573 which listed 710 male ‘householders’ (595 excluding the Abbey Foregate suburb), and surviving craft listings, in particular another muster of 1569, also suggests that less than 10 per cent of these householders could have been journeymen, and this too explains their relative absence from the views.6 Thus the paucity of journeymen in-servants at Coventry and Cambridge was probably due both to the fact that the relevant evidence relates to poorer residential districts where servant keeping was in any case uncommon, and to the fact that most journeymen did indeed live outside their masters’ households, but as lodgers rather than householders themselves.

In Shrewsbury, therefore, frankpledge encompassed adult males who had set up as independent householders, although it is clear from alterations to the lists that an individual could be temporarily replaced by another member of his household if he had died or was incapacitated. Thus the dyer John Gardener of Frankwell suburb, who died in early 1539, appeared in the mutilated frankpledge lists of 1535-8, but in the last two of these views his son’s name was inserted alongside his own, apparently to represent the household as his father’s life approached its end. In the same lists, Leonard Leche of Mardol street was also crossed out after his death, and his servant’s name inscribed as a temporary replacement. The 1525 view contained the name of William Weale whose father, a mercer, had only recently died. Weale’s mother had taken over her husband’s stock and was assessed in the 1525 subsidy, but as a woman she

52
could not appear in the view of frankpledge. Her son was clearly listed as the surrogate head of that household, although he himself did not achieve master status until 1528-9.

Once listed, an individual was expected to attend the two views of frankpledge held in each civic year, one in October/November, the other in April/May. This involved appearing at the town hall before the two Shrewsbury bailiffs so that attendance could be registered in the paperbooks compiled for that purpose by the town clerk, although the names themselves were drawn up beforehand. Attendance markings were placed alongside each name, signifying whether an individual had presented himself at the view, or whether failure to attend had been due to illness, absence from town or because leave had been granted not to appear. Occasional annotations show that attendance could also be excused, at the discretion of the authorities, through poverty or extreme age. The markings were drawn up in columns with the earliest in date closest to the names. Thus, provided the columns are sufficiently regular, it is reasonably easy to deduce how many views were noted in each book, and when a name was first inserted or finally erased.

Although the paperbooks were headed with the names of the bailiffs serving in the year in which each book was first composed, it was common practice, especially in the sixteenth century, to extend the listings in one book over several years rather than starting afresh at the end of the bailiffs' term of office. This was done by simply erasing the names of those who had died or departed, and adding newcomers to the bottom of the list for each street. The frankpledge lists were then used to empanel the grand juries for the leet or 'Great Court', empowered to present communal offences, including failure to attend the views, for which fines were imposed.

The biannual appearance of, in theory, all male householders before the bailiffs represented a key occasion for public overview of this segment of society. It is, therefore, worth noting the steady decline of this system after c. 1560. Excluding those who were given leave of absence, we find that between 1050 and 1560 less than 10 per cent of the frankpledge population were normally fined for non-attendance. The figure then rose steadily, from about 14 per cent in 1570 to 18 per cent in 1580, 22 per cent in 1600, 34 per cent in 1620, 43 per cent in 1640, 65 per cent in 1660, and 80 per cent in 1680. Alternatively, the percentage of those listed who actually appeared at the views can also be noted. This figure fell from about 50 per cent in the mid-sixteenth century to 31 per cent in 1601, 18 per cent in 1620 and to less than 2 per cent by the late-seventeenth century. It may seem strange that the lists were still maintained even while the system was experiencing terminal decline, and this must clearly affect our appreciation of their reliability. Yet considerations noted below suggest that the relative changes in the size of the frankpledge population were accurate, at least before 1700, and the continued composition of the lists may be ascribed to two factors. First, a register of male householders remained necessary for empanelling juries; and secondly, the fines for non-attendance represented a small but welcome increment to civic income.
Figure 1. The Frankpledge population of Shrewsbury (excluding the Abbey Foregate), 1507-1715

Number of Male Householders
The frankpledge population

A good series of frankpledge listings clearly provides an opportunity to identify individuals and, through collation with legal and parochial records etc., to explore many sociological issues. Such information is particularly useful when, as in 1664-8 and in the early-eighteenth century, the occupations of all those listed was also given. These have recently been analysed by Angus McIntosh, while the residential patterns of trade and status can be shown, not surprisingly, to have been similar to those described by James Hindson in LPS, 31, employing the Marriage Duty returns of the 1690s. In this study, however, our principal interest lies in considering the views as evidence for population movements, much as Poos has employed the tithing lists of medieval Essex to outline such changes before 1550. To this end I have excluded any consideration of the listings for the townships in Shrewsbury's rural liberties, as well as, for comparative purposes, the Abbey Foregate suburb which was not incorporated into Shrewsbury's frankpledge jurisdiction until 1586. Also omitted are a small group of residents, about eighteen in number, in Merivale who were listed in 1507 and 1510 at a time when both the town and the abbey claimed jurisdiction over that street - a dispute later settled in the abbey's favour.

The simplest way to count those listed is to enumerate those who appeared in the last views of each paperbook, i.e. whose names were not erased, although in practice updating of the lists often occurred even after the last recorded view. For greater coverage, however, the names in the first views in some of the paperbooks have also been counted - a relatively easy task, despite later erasures, because of the marking system described above. It should, therefore, be noted that the totals displayed in figure 1 do not in fact give a complete coverage of extant views of frankpledge.

Ignoring short-term fluctuations, the pattern revealed by figure 1 is reasonably clear. Between 1507 and 1563 the frankpledge population remained relatively stable, although a decline of some 14 per cent took place between 1525 and 1540, subsequently recouped by 1563. There after this population grew rapidly, from 452 in October 1563 to 801 in the spring of 1587, 984 in 1613 and 1072 in 1634, an increase of 137 per cent over the whole period. The total in 1634 was almost the highest recorded in the seventeenth century and numbers remained roughly level until 1715 (958), although intermediate oscillations were quite marked. Listings also survive for 1722 (825), 1724 (907), 1728 (814), and for the years 1731-8. Some of these lists, however, do not seem to have been composed with as much care as previously. This, it seems, was partly due to the fact that by the late-seventeenth century the lists were beginning to underrecord the increasing numbers of urban gentry, in particular those who maintained their principal seat elsewhere. The degree of under-registration (perhaps 2-3 per cent of the frankpledge population by 1700) should be borne in mind when considering the later totals.

How do these changes correspond to independent estimates of Shrewsbury's population? Calculations indicate that the population, excluding the Abbey Foregate in each case, was approximately 2900 in 1525 (subsidy assessment),
2500+ in 1563 (diocesan survey), 4700 in 1587 (muster return), 6000+ in 1672 (Hearth tax), and 6300 in 1695 (mayor's census and Marriage Duty returns, excluding outlying townships at Coton, Gravel Hill and Old Heath). These figures correspond reasonably well with what one would expect on the basis of the frankpledge evidence, with little sign of growth before 1560; a substantial increase thereafter; and a measure of stability during the second half of the seventeenth century. Much the same pattern appears if the town is taken in its entirety, i.e. including the Abbey Foregate. In this case the population was about 3100+ in 1563, 5500 in 1587, 7000 in 1672 and 7200 in 1695. In detail, however, the frankpledge lists show that the Abbey Foregate was less successful than the rest of the town in recovering from a dip in numbers during the mid-seventeenth century. Totals in that suburb rose from 125 in the spring of 1588 to 194 in 1634, and oscillated between 150 and 170 from 1647 (152) to 1715 (161). The latter totals in fact were similar to that recorded in spring 1587 (155), prior to an epidemic in that year (see below).

Recent surveys have indicated that English towns more than shared in the overall doubling of the national population between 1500 and 1700. According to Clark and Slack, however, the disproportionate growth of the urban sector was uneven. Most if not all of the larger established towns experienced some increase between about 1570 and 1620, but whereas some centres continued to grow until about the mid-seventeenth century, other did not. Accepting that the frankpledge lists give a reasonably accurate picture of population change, Shrewsbury's experience would seem then to have been typical of the more successful provincial towns, although in detail the curve of growth was at its steepest in the early Elizabethan period, with over half the increase between 1563 and 1634 occurring before 1587. A marked deceleration took place within the next twenty years, and although the immediate rate of growth must have risen sharply after 1606, the increment between 1613 and 1634 was irregular and not as rapid as in the years before 1587. Nonetheless, Shrewsbury's population continued to grow until about 1640 when, as elsewhere, further increase was halted, even momentarily reversed. Enumerations for the second half of the seventeenth century indicate the same stickiness of population change experienced by the national population as a whole, although growth appears to have continued in London, the greatest urban centres (often ports), and the emerging dockyard and industrial towns.

In examining the frankpledge totals in more detail, it is important to appreciate that the lists represented only a portion of the whole populace. Since they were composed of adult male householders, i.e. of individuals usually older than their early twenties, any increase due to natural causes must represent a lag of about twenty five years since its origin. This implies that the substantial rise in numbers after 1563 could have had its roots beforehand in the 1540s, and since incipient growth is visible from 1556, the level of dependents may already have begun to rise by the mid-1530s. However, the extent to which the inception of growth was due to prior natural increase is complicated by the unknown contribution of immigration. Moreover, owing to inadequate parochial registration, the details cannot be assessed before 1560, although thereafter the decadal totals of baptisms in two of the town's five parishes, St Alkmund's and St Julian's (both mainly urban in character), recorded growth for much of the
late-sixteenth century, and a consistent surplus over burials.  

These points have a bearing on the meaning of the 'rebuilding statutes' of 1536 and the early 1540s, empowering civic authorities to compel the repair of ruinous properties, which have been interpreted both as a sign of continued demographic attrition and of renewed urban growth. The Shrewsbury evidence is relevant here because the town council is known to have taken an interest in this matter in 1532, and lobbied for the 1536 bill in parliament. Although the population may have dipped after 1525, this was perhaps too recent to have prompted any marked deterioration of Shrewsbury's housing. At the same time, significant growth could not have occurred before 1540, and a renewed demand for property did not indeed emerge until the 1560s - signalled, for instance, by inquests into encroachments in 1563, 1568 and 1570 - as a likely prior increase in dependents was translated into a rise in the number of households. It seems more plausible, therefore, to interpret the statutes at face value as their preambles stated - simply as expressions of concern about the dangers posed by ruinous properties, anxieties which had fifteenth century antecedents. 

The frankpledge lists also supply some evidence about the severity of the mortality crises in the late-1550s, which nationally reduced the population by some 5.5 per cent between 1556 and 1561. The incidence of local crises was never universal, and of fourteen towns examined for epidemic mortality between 1485 and 1610, Shrewsbury was one of only three for which no evidence exists for an epidemic between 1557 and 1559. The frankpledge enumerations tend to support the hypothesis that Shrewsbury escaped. Between the spring of 1556 and the spring of 1563 the population increased slightly from 418 to 437, while an incomplete list of autumn 1558 gave 269 males compared to 274 in the same streets in 1556. By contrast, later mortality crises observed from parish registers were often signalled by sharp falls in frankpledge totals, provided a sufficiently proximate series of listings exists. Thus an epidemic in 1587, probably typhus, was marked by a decline of 10.5 per cent in the number of male householders between the spring of 1587 and 1588 (Abbey Foregate included). Similarly, whereas between spring 1650 and autumn 1652 the frankpledge population in the rest of Shrewsbury barely changed, in the Welsh ward numbers fell by 8.4 per cent following the plague epidemic of 1650 which is known to have been confined to that district, coincident with the urban part of St Chad's parish.

It is noticeable, however, how rapidly in the period of growth the effects of epidemic mortality could be overcome, Thus the losses of 1587 were retrieved by 1595, while the mortality caused by a plague epidemic in 1604 was recouped so quickly that scarcely any decline is visible in the frankpledge totals. Again, the frankpledge population fell by 10.5 per cent between 1622 (1032) and 1625 (924) in the wake of mortality crises in some parishes in 1623-4, while recruitment of craft masters, and thus of householders, was also hit by trade dislocation. Yet these losses had been more than made good by 1634. Such crises, however, may have had a deeper impact before the underlying disposition to grow appeared. Thus it is tempting to ascribe part of the decline in the frankpledge population between 1525 (448) and 1540 (385) to the plague.

57
outbreaks of 1526, 1532, 1536 and 1537-8, whose existence, if not their severity, was indicated by contemporary references.25

It is interesting also to observe that the cessation of Shrewsbury's population growth in c. 1640 occurred at about the same time as the pattern of parochial vital events also changed. The combined registers of St Alkmund's and St Julian's parishes show that the long ascent of baptismal totals was curtailed in 1640-9, and the natural surplus in that decade was the smallest since registration began. In St Chad's, the most populous parish, where registration survives from 1617, a decline in baptisms did not occur until the 1650s, although the previous decade was the first to witness a surplus of burials over baptisms, a trend which persisted for most of the rest of the seventeenth century.26 As noted previously, however, the adult male population would not immediately be affected by changes in the level of dependents, so the contraction of the frankpledge population between 1634 (1072) and 1647 (950) must reflect some combination of increased mortality, reduced immigration and delayed entry into the frankpledge ranks. Significantly crisis mortality is known to have struck the town in 1642-3 and 1648, while economic problems also reduced the number of adult males coming forward to claim master status: recruitment to the Drapers', Mercers' Sheremen's and Weavers' crafts in 1640-9 was lower than in any decade since 1600. Commercial difficulties were experienced by many towns in both the 1620s and 1640s, and Shrewsbury was no exception.27

Comparisons and conclusion

As noted above, historians have suggested that despite the general context of growth from the second half of the sixteenth century, the demographic experience of English towns was not uniform. Frankpledge listings from other towns may serve to illustrate this point. Similar data, though not so plentiful, survive for Ludlow, Leominster and Hereford.28 Perhaps the most interesting contrast is supplied by the Hereford records, although in that city frankpledge was known by an alternative name, the judicial tourn. The subsidy returns of the 1520s suggest that before the era of growth the populations of Hereford and Shrewsbury (excluding the Abbey Foregate) were not too dissimilar, and this is supported by the frankpledge evidence. In 1561-2 some 430 men were listed at the Hereford tourn compared with 437 at Shrewsbury in the spring of 1563 (again excluding the Abbey Foregate, as is the case with all subsequent figures). By c. 1670, however, the size of the two communities had diverged markedly. For example, whereas 922 taxpayers in Shrewsbury were assessed for the Hearth tax of 1672, only 364 persons were taxed in Hereford in 1665, prompting Lobel to comment that 'Hearth Tax returns of 1665 reveal a startling decline in the city's position in respect of wealth and taxable population in relation to other towns'.29 Even allowing for variation in the comprehensiveness of the respective Hearth taxes, the difference is compatible with the frankpledge data. Thus in October 1664 989 men were listed for the Shrewsbury view of frankpledge, but only 424 for the Hereford judicial tourn.

In fact the evidence shows that after 1561-2 Hereford's population did at first grow at a rate similar to that of Shrewsbury. By April 1572 the Hereford total
had risen by 27.4 per cent to 557 (Shrewsbury 574 in 1576), but then appears to have been checked, even reversed. The figure of listed males stood at about 546 in 1578-9, 538 in 1600-01, 426 in April 1638 and 500 in April 1661. Several incomplete lists survive for the intervening years, none of which indicate any further sustained growth in Hereford’s population after c. 1580.

The utility of frankpledge listings in unravelling basic questions of population change is well demonstrated by this comparison. The extent to which similar evidence survives for other towns is uncertain although, in addition to the examples mentioned above, tithing lists have also been noted for Coventry, Maldon and Worcester. Such material enables one not only to examine those features described in this article, but also provides a foundation for tackling many other issues of population and social structure, including mobility, occupational patterns and participation in some local institutions, all of which deserve investigation.

NOTES

5. S. B. R. 2219, sessions records including a survey of inmates.
7. Fines are calculated from ‘great court’ records in the series S. B. R. 977-1381, and then compared with the nearest surviving frankpledge lists - see note 11.
11. Sources: S. B. R. 996, 1023, 1052, 1054, 1076, 1083, 1089, 1117, 1119, 1342, 1842-3.
13. Briefly, these approximations are based on the following calculations. In 1525 some 496 male taxpayers were assessed for the lay subsidy although evasion was at least one third; S. B. R. 172 and W. A. Champion, ‘The Shrewsbury Lay Subsidy of 1525’, Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society, LXIV, 1985. It is assumed that the non-taxpayers aged under sixteen comprised 40 per cent of the population and that the sex-ratio in towns - though not in London at a later date - favoured males by, say, 10 per cent. (For this last point, see Phythian-Adams pp. 199-201; R. Finlay, Population and Metropolis, 1981, pp. 19, 140-2). The diocesan survey of 1563 listed approximately 550 households after rural parishioners are excluded; Brit. Lib. Harleian MSS, no. 594, fos. 160-1, 170. Frankpledge data, however, indicates that the survey totals may be slightly undercast, particularly in St Julian’s parish. A multiplier of 4.5 has been used. The muster of 1587, arranged principally by craft affiliation, listed 1291 males, although unlike normal muster designation, males aged above sixty were included; S. B. R. 2551. After adjustments for residents in the Abbey Foregate and substantial servant evasion, a figure of 1380 can be derived. It is then assumed that the proportion of the population aged less than sixteen was by now about 35 per cent (see J. Boulton, Neighbourhood and Society, 1987, p. 18), but that the sex-ratio still favoured females. The Hearth tax of 1672 listed 922 taxpayers excluding the Abbey Foregate, W. Watkins-Pitchford, Shropshire Hearth Tax Roll, 1672, 1949. To these
should be added those exempted by certificate and paupers, about 400-500 in total. A multiplier of 4.5 has again been used for this, the most comprehensive of the Hearth tax rolls for the town. This multiplier was in fact the mean 'houseful' size (i.e. including lodgers) calculated from the best surviving Marriage Duty returns between 1695 and 1698. S. B. R. 275-8. These census lists undoubtedly provided the basis for the Mayor's count of 1695; T. Phillips, The History and Antiquities of Shrewsbury, 1779, p. 68.


15. Clark and Slack, Ibid.

16. Based on aggregate totals held on file by the Cambridge Group.


18. S. B. R. 75, paperbook 3, fo 37f.

19. S. B. R. 76, fos. 66f, 114f, 125f.


26. See note 16.

27. Clark and Slack, pp. 103-4.


60