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A NEW Local Population Studies Supplement

SURVEYING THE PEOPLE
The interpretation and use of document sources for the study of population in the later seventeenth century

edited by
K. Schurer and T. Arkell

This new book provides a commentary on four key sources for the investigation of population and society in the later seventeenth century – namely the Hearth taxes, the poll taxes, the Marriage Duty Act assessments and the Compton Census. The book provides introductory sections giving details of the legal and administrative framework of these important sources, discussing also the problems associated with their interpretation and use. Subsequent chapters, twelve in total, provide illustration of the uses to which the documents can be put, and the research issues which may be addressed.

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EDITORIAL

The new British Library at St Pancras

Our rapture at the opening of the new British Library at St Pancras next year will be muted. First by a sense of bereavement in leaving behind the familiar ambience of the Round Reading Room and its various annexes and also by lingering doubt as to how worthwhile the great move will prove to be.

Of course, anyone trying to replace the Round Reading Room faces an impossible task for it has long been a national institution. Who can sit at its tables and not feel – or at least hope – that they may inherit grains of the creative genius of earlier incumbents; of Dickens, Marx, Lenin, and Shaw; not to mention countless scores of toiling academics. The room's creator, Antonio Panizzi, built it in three years at a cost of £150,000 and saw it open in 1857 to public acclaim. He could not have known how well it would serve successive generations of readers. As Richard Boston observed recently, 'it is extraordinary that such an enormous room can be so cosy'. Certainly this is part of its charm. But alongside the comfortable club atmosphere there are the essential elements of a true reading room; the catalogues and bibliographies; the seemingly infinite display of open access reference material – especially rich in the Official Publications Library – and in the great room itself, a layout which permits the sated reader to take a turn round the room all the while seeming to be usefully employed. It is a library of unique charm. Not so the book delivery service. Even this frustration, though sometimes measured in days rather than hours, has its compensations. Enforced browsing while waiting for a volume from Woolwich is surely one of the library's more obscure and rewarding techniques of information retrieval. For the patient gleaner there is a rich harvest to be won, though it is not always related to the subject under scrutiny at the time. Many years ago, it was said that the same cause and effect – delayed book delivery and frustrated readers with creative talents to spare – generated commentaries on the human condition as erudite as any in the library’s book collection. Of course this was at basement level on the walls of the gentlemen’s lavatories. Our recent enquiries suggest that either book delivery has speeded up, or the walls are painted more frequently, or both, for little inspirational literature is to be found there now.

There is no doubt that the library has outgrown the present site. Its one hundred and fifty million separate items are housed in nineteen different buildings. In 1990-91 over 800,000 items were consulted in the Round and associated Reading Rooms alone; and 1.3 million overall. During the same period visitors to these reading rooms numbered 98,000, and to all the British Library facilities 343,000. In fact the reading room figure is recognised as an under-estimate as it is based in a seat occupancy count taken at 3 pm each day.
The new library will bring together on one site all the existing sections of the British Library except the Newspaper Library which will remain at Colindale, the National Sound Archive at South Kensington and the services provided at Boston Spa in Yorkshire. By 1996 all the facilities included in the present new library programme will be in operation and, given the current mood of retrenchment in public spending, it would be unwise to anticipate the reinstatement of those parts of the planned library which have been set aside and which amount altogether to about one third of the original concept. Already more than £300 million has been invested and the government may feel this is enough; to invest more would seem to be profligate. We would not take this view. As the Public Services Agency brochure describing the project points out this is ‘the most substantial public library to have been constructed in the United Kingdom since the great age of museum and gallery building at the end of the last century’. Surely concern for our national, cultural heritage demands that such a project once begun should be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Is this a matter for the new Arts and Heritage minister? If so, we would commend to him the view of a former colleague, Richard Luce. He described the new library as ‘a priceless addition to the British heritage – [and] one of the greatest cultural achievements of the twentieth century’.

We share this view of the importance of the new library though for us it has to be not only a symbol of national cultural heritage but also a complete and functional workplace. In this area it has to be said, the St Pancras project has its critics. Frustration has been expressed at the length of its gestation period, its evident practical inadequacies and obsolescence and disappointment with the awkwardness of its asymmetrical design. It was 1976 when the government purchased the St Pancras site and Colin St John Wilson, the project architect, announced his design concept. Two years later the scheme received planning consent and in 1982 the Prince of Wales laid the foundation stone. It has taken a decade to reach the stage of moving books to the new storage facilities. Compare this with the new Toyota factory in Derbyshire. An investment of more than twice the size yet is has moved from green field site to car production in two years!

The St Pancras site occupies nine and a half acres of land to the west of St Pancras station and looks out onto Euston Road. From the late nineteenth century it housed the Somers Town goods yard which was part of the Midland Railway’s St Pancras terminus. Nothing remains of the goods yard and the new building now stands beside Sir George Gilbert Scott’s high Victorian gothic St Pancras hotel. To Colin St John Wilson’s credit he has set back the main structure of his new building away from the Euston Road frontage so that the view from Euston Road of the pinnacled western facade of the hotel is unimpeded. The official publicity for the new library claims that Wilson’s design sits comfortably beside its older neighbour integrated ‘by the use of similar external materials, red brick, slate roofs and granite weatherings’. It is not a view we share. The two buildings will never be good neighbours. Moreover the new library already looks dated. As one of our colleagues put it, ‘Wilson’s design is of a period that came and went – some time ago’! But perhaps this is inevitable for architecture of all but the highest quality with a project committed to a twenty year timetable between conception and first
commissioning. And who can say that its time will not come again. Thirty years ago, in the trough of unpopularity which then afflicted Victorian buildings, St Pancras itself was earmarked for demolition, next in line to the great Euston Arch. We shall come to accept Wilson’s library; future generations may even learn to love it.

Readers will reach their own verdicts on the quality of the new building and of the facilities it provides. The claims made for new technology at St Pancras are impressive and provided it works more effectively than the much publicised mobile shelving there will be real gains in conservation quality and in reader services. The British Library believes that the new air conditioning and environmental monitoring equipment should alter the micro-climate in the storage areas by such a margin that it will secure, on average, a fourfold improvement in the life expectancy of millions of items. We cannot guess the extent to which this may be a comment on the poor state of the existing storage conditions rather that the technical brilliance of the improvements wrought at St Pancras; but, however, it has been achieved and is a most welcome innovation. Readers may expect to gain more directly from the new computerised catalogues and the so-called automated book retrieval system. In fact this is not wholly mechanized depending on a member of staff to collect the requested item from its shelf and place it in a barcoded plastic container. The barcode then routes the container through a system of conveyors and paternoster lifts to the appropriate reader at a book collection point. Access time for any of the 12 million books, which will be stored in basements descending nearly 23 metres below ground, is expected to be no more than thirty minutes. At present there are no plans to limit the number of book requests readers may make at any one time. The Online Public Access Computer (OPAC) has been previewed at Bloomsbury and Holborn so that readers can familiarize themselves with the system before using it for real at St Pancras. OPAC will work in harness with the Automated Book Request System (ABRS). This will check to see if the items requested are available and will inform the reader accordingly. Eventually the ABRS will be able to signify if any item is missing or destroyed, or if there are any conditions which affect where it may be consulted.

There are various reading areas. The western side of the building contains the Humanities Reading Room. This interlinks with specialist reading areas elsewhere in the complex which serve the Western Manuscripts collections, Rare Books, Music, Maps, the Oriental and India Office collections and the Philatelic collections. Facilities include provision for readers using personal computers and typewriters. On the east side of the building there are three levels devoted to Science, Technology and Industry. The first level focuses on patents, the second on science and technology and the third on business and public affairs. There is immediate access to about twenty kilometres of shelving.

The British Library is keen to emphasize the facilities the new library will offer the general public. More than half a million people are expected to visit the building’s exhibition areas annually and, as for the first time reading room facilities will be open to anyone over the age of eighteen, a considerable increase in the number of specialist users is expected. One way and another St
Pancras may have to cope with over a million visitors each year. The exhibition areas will be used to mount displays which will be drawn from the Library’s priceless collections and some of the ‘treasures’, including the Lindisfarne Gospels, Magna Carta and a Gutenberg bible will be on permanent display. A conference centre will host school’s programmes, library and music recitals and commercial and academic gatherings. We are also promised open-air events in the forecourt, a restaurant and a bookshop.

Over the next three years, as these facilities become available, we shall be able to judge for ourselves how far the great exodus from Bloomsbury, Holborn and all the other British Library sites has served our needs as readers. Already, by joining a Reader’s Tour, we can inspect the new Library, visit the reading rooms, talk to the staff who will supervise the services and begin to feel the quality and atmosphere of Wilson’s grand design. The tours are open to holders of reader’s tickets and must be booked in advance at Bloomsbury. We understand that places are available for May 29th, June 24th and July 14th; further dates will be announced in due course. Whatever our feelings may be about St Pancras, many of the library staff are now quite open in expressing their distress at the way the project has developed. Mutilated funding, bad publicity for the new shelving and the frustration of knowing that the whole concept of a single site library has been put at risk, have all contributed to a lowering of morale. The literature for the new library reflects this change of mood. Once so bullish in tone it is now apologetic. Compare the words of Kenneth Cooper, the British Library Chief Executive in September 1989 with the statement in last winter’s Newsletter. Cooper: ‘The new British Library building at St Pancras is a declaration of the continuing importance of the printed word to the cultural well-being of our society. It is a testimony to our commitment to the spirit of human and liberal enquiry...’. The Newsletter: ‘The move to the new British Library at St Pancras, which is scheduled to begin in 1993, will see an amelioration in the facilities and services that the new library can offer to its readers. Among the many advantages the new building will provide is an overall increase in seating provision. Regretably, this is not as substantial as was originally planned...’.

The true position is a good deal worse. The new library has neither the seats for readers nor the storage space for books to deliver the improvements which have been promised for so long, or even to justify the move to St Pancras. Even before St Pancras becomes fully operational in 1996 books will again be out housed and we wonder how long it will be before readers will also find themselves scattered among distant reading rooms. The increased seating capacity at St Pancras falls far short of the promised target of 500 additional places. The Newsletter sets out the new pattern. The Rare Books and Music Reading Rooms scheduled to open next year will provide 288 seats; the present capacity is 172. The two General Humanities Reading Rooms which will open in 1996 will offer 450 seats compared with the present Round Reading Room’s 375. And the Manuscript Reading Room, the Maps and Asian Reading Rooms will accommodate additional seating of 20, 15, and one respectively. The existing Official Publications Reading Room will not be replicated at St Pancras – instead, some of its open access stock will be available in one of the General Humanities reading rooms – the facilities offered by the North Library Gallery
will also be absorbed by the General Humanities reading rooms'. On these figures and putting in an estimate of the loss of the seating in the present Official Publications Room, there will be a gain of no more than 150 seats. This is our estimate. The figures are approximate. But however you tinker with the arithmetic the total seat provision is inadequate.

What is to be done? There is one obvious solution. It involves the reinstatement of those elements of the project which have fallen victim, stage by stage, to financial pruning. In total this amounts to approximately a third of the complex as Wilson planned it. For once it is just a question money. There is no practical difficulty or problem of space for such an expansion. Four and a half acres of the St Pancras site remains undeveloped and in Treasury ownership. Thanks to the recession which has reduced its cash value and appeal for developers, and to the Camden planners who have refused consent for the land to be used for offices, the nation could, after all, have the institution it was promised. Given the political will, the new British Library could still realise the single-site concept which inspired – and some would say provided the only legitimate justification for – the move to St Pancras. So the National Sound Archive could be brought within the walls; seat numbers and storage facilities increased; and the multi-media cultural provision the British Library deserves, made a reality. And, as we have argued in these pages before, St Pancras should also be considered as a location for the reading rooms which will soon be needed for the General Register Office records and as a possible home for the Census Reading Room when it has to leave Chancery Lane.

The British Library is not a government department. The British Library Trustees have no direct call on the Treasury for capital expenditure. Has not government said the door is closed on further contributions from the public purse? There will be those who will argue that it would be a sign of weakness for government to change its mind. We would argue the decision was made by an earlier ministry. The members of the present government need not feel themselves bound by the views of their predecessors. In any case, the new regime's commitment to arts, culture, heritage and to fostering national pride had been widely canvassed. It is to be hoped that the British Library's predicament and the opportunity for an act of rescue will be recognised before it is too late. Now the project has come so far it must be brought to an honourable conclusion. In the words of the proverb, 'it is idle to swallow the cow and choke on the tail'.

We would like to think that the completion of this great library will be one of the first issues to be addressed by the new Ministry of Heritage.

Local Government Reform and the risk to archive services

The risk to archive services in the reorganisation of local government remains a matter of serious concern. Since we last wrote on this subject the process of review has moved several stages further and, in Wales in particular, where the new pattern of local government is now known, it is painfully clear that the fears expressed by archivists and archive users were not exaggerated. But the news is not all bad. The debate which has been going on behind the scenes and
to a lesser extent in the serious press (The Independent and The Guardian), has revealed a large measure of support for our archive services. It has also shown just how capable persistent and tough the leaders of the archive profession have become in putting the case to the public and to our legislators.

The focus of this debate was the Local Government Bill which passed into law in the days of the old Parliament. Briefing from the Society of Archivists, The Association of County Archivists and user groups from all over the country ensured that members of both houses of Parliament were aware of the threat to the present structure of archive services which could follow the disbandment of the existing County Council framework. Lord Teviot, as so often in the past, lent his weight to an amendment in the Lords and Patrick Cormack, a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, agreed to introduce a similar amendment in the Commons. In the event the debate was guillotined and the Bill passed before the archive issue could be considered. Nevertheless, the exercise yielded much real support among members of Parliament, many of whom were prepared to put their names in writing. Robert Key, (now at the new Ministry for Heritage), for example, sought to reassure archivists. ‘We appreciate the importance of local authority archive service and our proposals seek to secure effective arrangements for all services including archives’. David Hunt, who at the time of the announcement was Secretary of State for Wales gave the following assurance for the Principality, ‘I recognise the importance of maintaining the integrity of the archive heritage throughout Wales, and I am anxious that any reorganisation should not have a deleterious effect on this vital and highly valued service’.

Earlier, in response to a written Parliamentary question, Michael Portillo had made a similar promise for archive services in England: ‘In recommending any unitary authorities, the proposed Local Government Commission would have to be satisfied about the delivery of archive services. There will be ample opportunities for bodies concerned with archives to offer advice and comment on the Commission’s recommendations’. We include these statements here at some length in the hope that our readers may at some time in the future be able to make use of the commitments they offer in the resolution of local patterns of archive provision when the Commission is at work.

The Society of Archivists was quick to use the expressions of concern and support wrung from ministers and members of Parliament as a basis from which its members could mount their own election campaign. Pat Cleary, Executive Secretary of the Society, exhorted his members to make archives an election issue – a doorstep issue: ‘We are all constituents, all liable to be canvassed. Make sure no doorstep encounter is allowed to pass without a question on the candidates news on the issue. Does he or she agree that our archive heritage should not be the unwitting victim of structural change?’ No doubt as a result of these doorstep confrontations there are now dozens of well, or at least better informed members of the new Parliament and this will bear fruit later in the campaign. However, there is little evidence that local government reorganization became a serious issue in the election. This may have been because the public saw no major division between the policies of the two major parties. In fact much of the heat had been removed from the debate
 sometime before April 9th when it became clear that the government had not turned its back entirely on the County as a basic unit of local government and would not seek to tie the hands of the Local Government Commissioners to a single pattern of unitary authorities. A statement from the Department of the Environment about the provisions of the new Act makes this clear.

The Local Government Act 1992 provides for the setting up of a new, independent Local Government Commission whose main task will be to review the English shire counties, area by area, and make recommendations for improving the structure of local government with a view to moving to unitary authorities in the shire counties. There is no presumption in favour either of county or district councils as a tier of local government. Nor does the Government believe that there need be a maximum or a minimum size for the area of population covered by a unitary authority. It will be for the Local Government Commission to recommend the most appropriate local government structure to suit local circumstance. Retention of two tiers of local government in some areas is not ruled out as an option.

The Chairman of Commission is Sir John Banham. In the very near future he and his colleagues will begin their work with a view to the first of the new English authorities being in place in 1994-5. There is some speculation in political circles as to how keen an appetite for radical reform the new figures at the Department of the Environment have by comparison with their predecessors and notably with the hawk in this matter, Michael Heseltine. Could it be that once the handful of target authorities among the county councils have been disposed of and some extension in function and area provided for the dozen or so larger urban second tier authorities, the commission will be able to recommend a solution which leaves much of the present structure in place? Certainly the provisions of the recent Act would permit such a fudge and the responsibility it places on the new Commissioners to assess the cost effectiveness of any proposed change could transform the commission from the much heralded prescriptive review body that would change the map of local government irreversibly into an organisation more akin to the Audit Commission using its teeth only where it sees evidence of financial profligacy. All this will soon become clear. The message for archivists and records users must be to keep open the networks which emerged from the debate on the Local Government Bill. Further lobbying centrally, and area by area, will be needed when the Commission starts work. It is not clear at present how the Commission will receive evidence but it would be prudent to prepare a case which can be adapted for use not only with them but with the general public and with other interest groups who, like us, seek to protect specialist county council services.

We fear there may be some danger that the success and professionalism of the archive bodies over the last six months on presenting their views to the politicians may now be counter productive. We sense some of our readers may already be drawing in their antennae relieved that this important cause is in safe hands and reassured by the government's soothing noises. It is with such people in mind that we conclude with a brief examination of the pattern that
has now emerged in Wales. The Welsh were not allowed the privilege of widespread consultation to determine the future of their local government structure; no commission for them! Instead, the Secretary of State issued a consultation paper and discussed the issues with the Welsh local authority associations and certain other bodies. Then on March 3rd, just before Parliament broke up, he announced the replacement of the present eight county councils and thirty-seven district councils by twenty-three unitary authorities.

In some areas the new councils will be reinstatements of the old counties which disappeared in 1974. Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, Montgomeryshire, Carmarthenshire, Merionethshire, Anglesey will all re-emerge with the possibility of Brecon and Radnorshire being added to this list. Pat Cleary analyzed the situation in Wales on the basis of the consultation paper. He found that the archive services in each of the existing counties had made commendable progress since 1974, first in shaping a more or less comprehensive network and then in improving the quality of service through the establishment of additional offices in Llangefni, Aberystwyth, Swansea and Llandrindod Wells; and new premises in Caernarfon, Dolgellau, Cardiff and Cwmbran. The creation of the new unitary authorities will mean that many of them will inherit no record office facilities. In Cleary’s examination which was made before the Secretary of State’s announcement and which used the consultation paper’s proposals of twenty (of the now twenty-three) unitary authorities, it emerges that ‘nine would inherit no record office facilities and would need to undertake both capital investment and recruitment to initiate a service. Two authorities, on the other hand would find themselves responsible for two record offices within their new areas’.

Cleary also points to the extensive transfer of collections which the new system will demand: ‘in order to equate the collections of archives held in each of the new Record Offices to the geographical areas served by the new authorities, substantial transfers of archives would, in many cases, need to take place, each move representing a wrenching away from an integrated system built up carefully over many years. A further complication arises from the nature of archives. Most archive collections are county based, with origins much older than the county councils themselves. Since their historical identity is based upon these old county units, any disposal or redistribution which attempts to take as its basis new geographical areas which do not relate to older boundaries is bound to lead to confusion and disagreement’.

We contacted the Welsh Office for their comments on archive provision in the light of the Secretary of State’s decisions. They would not comment, insisting that no decision had yet been made. We hope they will study Cleary’s recommendations for a Welsh National Archive Service. Such a body would ‘safeguard the immediate future and, in the longer term, provide an opportunity to reduce disparities in service level and quality’. Cleary also seeks the establishment of Joint Archive Boards which would take over the existing archive service and run them for a period of five years. Each authority within such an area could be compelled to contribute to the cost of sustaining the service at a level no less than that of the final year of the county council allowing an adjustment for inflation. During the five year period each new
authority would be required to formulate a plan for submission to the Secretary of State for Wales. Any authority whose plans were rejected would be required to continue within a Joint Archive Board. This is a subject we shall return to, and we would welcome views from readers in Wales.

To return to the scene in England. For the moment all eyes are upon Sir John and the Commission. Details of its procedures will emerge shortly and once this is clear we can begin to address our representations to the appropriate quarter. We have been much encouraged by the hard hitting campaign launched and sustained by the Society of Archivists, the Association of County Archivists and the Association of County Councils. The ability to deliver a message succinctly and effectively is no guarantee of success in politics where larger issues not to mention hidden agendas are at work. But at least we can all take comfort that this important cause is in good hands. We are happy to follow their lead.

**A new index to LPS**

It will not have escaped the notice of some readers attention that the one and only cumulative index for the journal to be compiled covers just the first twenty issues of LPS. As we approach our twenty-fifth year of publication we are in the process of amending this unfortunate situation and will provide a new index free of charge with LPS number 50 (Spring, 1993), covering issues 21-50. We are sorry that the gap between the two cumulative indexes has been so long, but when you receive your copy of the new index we hope you will agree that wait has been worth it!

Tom Arkell  
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May 1992
NEWS FROM THE CAMBRIDGE GROUP FOR THE HISTORY OF POPULATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Utilising the Longitudinal Study in historical and comparative studies

When studying demographic change it is often important to provide a long-term perspective. However, for those working on the census enumerators' returns of the nineteenth century, particularly in the case of those studying family and household patterns, the recent published census volumes fail to provide the information required for detailed comparative analyses. This is true not only when contrasting the past with the present, but also in attempting contemporary cross-national comparisons. Fortunately the availability of the Longitudinal Study (LS), a special anonymized database produced from a one per cent sample of individuals recorded in the 1971 census and linked to the 1981 census, provides an opportunity for some of these problems of comparative research to be overcome.

At the ESRC Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure two major projects have taken advantage of this facility. For the purposes of the first project a set of classifications and definitions of households, families and relationships was devised to enable direct comparisons to be made between the residence patterns of children, young adults and the elderly in England and France at the start of the 1980s. The research represented the results of a fruitful collaboration between English and French scholars, involving, on the English side, Richard Wall of the Cambridge Group and Bruce Penhale, then of the Social Statistics Unit at City University, and, on the French side, Maryse Marpsat, Michel de Saboulin and Isabelle Raton of the Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques (INSEE). The second project, which is still in progress, necessitates the use of a different set of classifications to measure the degree of change in household and family patterns in England and Wales during the course of the twentieth century.

We can examine the potential of these studies by taking a brief look at the elderly age group. Figure 1 sets out the family patterns of some of the very old (persons aged 85+) in England and Wales in 1981 and France in 1982 who were most at risk of residential isolation because they had either never married or had been widowed. For England and Wales, analysis of the LS shows that just over four in ten single men over the age of eighty-five were living alone while another four in ten lived in a household without a family but containing more than one person. Under a fifth of very elderly single men were part of a family household. Even more widowers lived alone (56 per cent) – but this was entirely at the expense of the proportion resident in households containing two or more persons yet lacking a family – and more widowers than single males belonged to a family household. Some of these patterns were shared by women who were over the age of 85: widows were more likely than were single women to be members of a family household but were less likely to belong to a
multi-person household lacking a family. However, among the very old, the incidence of living alone was highest for single women aged 85+: six out of ten did so.

Compared with the situation of the very elderly in England and Wales, those in France were much more likely to belong to a household which contained a family, and much less likely to be a member of a household with two or more persons but no family. The percentages of the elderly in England and France who lived on their own, however, did not converge to anything like the same extent. Two conclusions follow. First, in France the main alternative to living alone was the family household, whereas in England and Wales it was the household of two or more persons who did not constitute a family.

Secondly, it is significant that although more French elderly than English elderly (including the very old) were married, it was not the case that fewer elderly in France would live on their own in the event of widowhood or a failure to marry. Although a higher proportion of the elderly were married in France, even in extreme old age, this could offer no ultimate protection against the risk of solitude.

The issue of the extent to which family and household patterns in England and Wales have changed over the course of the twentieth century is explored through Figures 2 and 3. Figure 2, for instance, sets out the percentages of men and women aged 65+ who were residentially isolated (living alone), at risk of residential isolation (living with non-relatives only) or who were living with their spouse at each of the censuses of 1921, 1971 and 1981. The information for
1921 has been obtained from data on thirteen local populations which OPCS has made available to the Cambridge Group. They do not constitute in any sense a random sample of the national population of 1921, but represent a larger and more representative set of data on families and households than has previously been assembled for this period. Figure 3 examines the residence patterns of the elderly in a little more detail by taking note of the percentage of elderly in the same censuses who were not currently married but who lived with either an unmarried child or another relative. It has to be admitted that a full presentation of the residence patterns of the elderly would have been preferable, but this was effectively precluded because the data streams produced for the LS do not record a full set of relationships for all the household members within it. It is impossible, for example, to discover how many married persons had unmarried children living with them.

Looking first at Figure 2, it is evident that in 1971 the proportion of elderly men living on their own was almost double, and the proportion of elderly women on their own, three times that of 1921. A variety of surveys from intervening years imply that almost all of this change has occurred since 1945. Figure 2 also shows that between 1921 and 1971 the proportion of elderly (men and women) living only with non-relatives was halved. In addition, there was a dramatic increase in the percentage of elderly men living with a spouse (from 57 to 73 per cent) but rather less of a change in the percentage of elderly women with a co-resident spouse (33-37 per cent). Indeed, even in 1981 the proportion of women over the age of sixty-five still resident with a spouse was below that reported for England in pre-industrial times. The explanation lies with the more marked improvement in female than in male expectation of life,
the effect of which has been to increase both the number of elderly men whose wives are still alive and the number of elderly widows.

The rise between 1921 and 1971 in the proportion of elderly who lived alone was accompanied, as Figure 3 shows, by a decline in the proportion of elderly who were not currently married but who lived with an unmarried child. This reflects other demographic change of possibly even greater significance for the living arrangements of the elderly. The fall in fertility beginning in the late nineteenth century and the altered pattern of child bearing within marriage means that most women no longer continue to bear children into their late thirties or early forties and therefore that when individuals reach the age of 65 they are less likely to have unmarried children still at home. The main source of immediate aid to the elderly parent, the unmarried child, has therefore very largely disappeared. Moreover, Figure 3 makes clear that the frequency with which elderly non-married persons lived with other relatives, amongst whom are included married children, also declined between 1921 and 1971, although to a much smaller extent than for the frequency of living with unmarried children. An alternative potential source of support for the elderly widow or widower has therefore not only failed to compensate for the 'absent' unmarried child but has itself actually contracted.

NOTES

Maximal length of life

In LPS 40 an appeal was made for information on people dying at age eighty-five or over, for use in a project initiated by Peter Laslett on the maximal age at death. Many readers very kindly responded with valuable data, and a preliminary analysis of this material was made in LPS 46.

Since then, the name of the project has changed to ‘maximal length of life’, partly because it was felt that the new title was more encouraging than ‘maximal age at death’, and partly to avoid the rather unfortunate acronym of ‘MAD’. More important, the project, of which this particular line of enquiry forms a part, has now been funded by the Wellcome Trust over a three-year period beginning in April 1992, and as a result the range has been broadened. Information is now sought on cases of individuals dying at age eighty and over, rather than eighty-five, provided that these ages can be authenticated by documentary evidence of birth or baptism, and of death or burial. As the analysis of the preliminary material in LPS 46 showed, age at death alone, as recorded in burial registers or elsewhere, has proved too inaccurate to be usable.

Clearly, people using parish registers for family reconstitutions or genealogies are the most likely to be able to provide authenticated data, as the response to the previous cry for help showed; but as Peter Laslett said in his original letter in LPS 40, there may be other reliable sources, and any cases drawn from these too would be welcomed. The earlier the period, the scarcer the evidence, and so the more valuable any information that can be given. LPS readers once again are asked for their help.

Information should be sent to: Dr K. Schürer, The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1QA.
NEWS FROM THE LOCAL POPULATION STUDIES SOCIETY

Pachyderms, Parish Registers and Welsh-speakers

There can be few conferences of British societies where the assembled customers glancing out of the common room window, see below them in a public park, gently grazing on the autumnal leafage of the council’s beech trees, three large elephants. Such was the auspicious start of the LPSS day-conference at Cardiff on 2 November, whose speakers discussing migration and other population matters in Wales and its Borderlands, nevertheless managed to avoid references to emerging trunk routes and data in jumbo packs.

As usual at LPSS conferences, those attending (some from far afield) learned about new sources for population history and were reminded about the limitations of some old ones. Bill Edwards (University College, Aberystwyth) showed us many ways of analysing the provenances in the marriage registers, and usefully explained the cautions necessary in deducing conclusions about migration from them – his field of study being in mid-Shropshire. The nineteenth century census returns for Wales were similarly analysed in great detail on a series of maps, by Rees Pryce (Open University in Wales), in order to trace the currents of in- and out-migration, both between districts and between periods. In the out-migration from Wales, Rees drew particular attention to the role of the nonconformist chapel of the receiving area as a mitigator of cultural shock.

Jeff Childs, a member of the Dinas Powis Local History Society, described the sources he had used in studying landownership in a Glamorganshire parish, Llangyfelech, up to the present century, noting how available and accessible the various sources were for the population historian of Wales, and also their individual limitations. Peter Cook, researching via the Open University, used past marriage patterns to put forward considerations about the historical ‘ethnic’ divide in Pembrokeshire between English-speakers and Welsh-speakers – a subject which produced an extremely lively discussion, not without contemporary vibes. Finally, David Jenkins (National Museum of Wales) gave us a thoughtful paper about the mortality crisis of 1699-1700 in Montgomeryshire, in which the quantitative data from parish registers were backed up with informative and even amusing material from diaries and other non-numerical records.

A point stressed by several speakers and claimed (I think rightly) to have been given insufficient attention in most parish register studies, is the actual size of parishes. It is all too easy to assume that a Parish is a Parish is a Parish. Whereas a large parish – large either in acres or people – may well have an inherently different population pattern from a tiny parish. Q.E.D.
LPSS owes a debt to the Open University in Wales for the warm hospitality of its Cardiff premises and especially for the organisation of the conference undertaken by Dr Pryce. Although those attending are to be congratulated on tearing themselves away from the box on the day of the World Cup Final (and this in Wales), rugby did creep in at one point, when it was suggested that Welsh three-quarters were suitable from the North, being low and swift Celts, whilst the other chaps were bulkier and slower men of the South, thanks to Norman blood. The elephants, by the way, were attending a circus.

Grace Wyatt died on 17 February 1992. During the last six years, since her retirement from a library post, she had served LPSS outstandingly, as treasurer, conference secretary, distributor of LPS and general factotum. Despite all this service she found time to keep up her research (some of which has appeared in LPSS) and was latterly collecting information on a subject she felt strongly about, in the context of women's studies, past maternal mortality. She is already greatly missed. Paul E.H. Hair.

Forthcoming conferences and day schools

Most forthcoming LPSS day schools and conferences will be organised by one of our regional organisers in conjunction with another institution or society. For example, the next event is a week-end conference to be held on 26-28 June, which has been organised for us by David Dymond, who is resident tutor in Suffolk for the University of Cambridge Board of Continuing Education. The venue is Madingley Hall, which lies in pleasant parkland a few miles outside Cambridge:

Speakers include Charles Phythian-Adams (Leicester University) on the community in English Local History; Professor A. Hassell Smith (University of East Anglia) on Norfolk communities in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries; Richard Wall (The Cambridge Group) on households and the residential patterns of the elderly; Dr Eilidh Garrett (The Cambridge Group) on patterns of work in the nineteenth century family; Dr Kevin Schürer (The Cambridge Group) on the Census project 1891-1921; Ken Kirkman on suburban communities; and Stella Colwell on 'From family history to community history'. Places are limited and members interested are advised to lose no time in sending for full details and a form: Courses Registrar, Board of Continuing Education, Madingley Hall, Madingley, Cambridge, CB3 8AQ.

Further event in various stages of planning include:

Saturday 8 November 1992.
A day school at the Bradford City Technology College, to include a number of Yorkshire topics in the morning and some hands-on experience of computers in the afternoon, using various programs appropriate to population topics. (Organiser: Sir David Cooke, Bt, 8 Royal Crescent, Harrogate, HG2 8AB. Telephone 0423 524656).
April 16-18, 1993.
A week-end conference at Harper Adams College, Newport, in association with the Friends of Shropshire Archives and Research, and the Shropshire Family History Society. The theme will be county and city trade directories and the nineteenth century census. (Organiser: Trevor Hill, 24 Wheatfield Drive, Shifnal, TF11 8HL. Telephone 0952 461068).

September 1993.
A day school in Manchester, in association with the Manchester and Lancashire Family History Society. The theme will be parish registers. (Organiser: Mrs Marnie Mason, 3 Southland, Holmes Chapel, CW4 1EU. Telephone 0477 37804).

October/November 1993.
A day school to be hosted by the University of London Extra-Mural Society for Genealogy and History of the Family: theme to be decided. The society's programme secretary is Dr John Reed, Willow Tree Ho, Westleigh Drive, Bromley, BR1 2PN. Telephone 081 467 1442.

In 1994 our organisers are prospecting venues, dates and partnerships with other bodies in the south-west of England (week-end conferences), Birmingham and North Staffordshire (day schools). Further suggestions are always welcome.

Enquiries may be addressed to those named, or to: Dr Dennis Mills, (Conference Secretary), 17 Rectory Lane, Branston, Lincoln, LN4 1NA. Telephone 0552 791764.

Additional conferences

In addition to those conferences organised by LPSS, the journal has been notified of the following conferences to be held by the Society for the Social History of Medicine.

July 3-5, 1992.
The annual summer conference of the Society for the Social History of Medicine is to be held at All Souls College and St Edmund Hall, Oxford. The theme will be, Communities, "Caring" and Institutions. Speakers include Peregrine Horden (All Souls College); Marjorie McIntosh (University of Colorado, Boulder, USA); Sandra Cavallo (University of Exeter); Anne Borsay (St David's University College, Lampeter); Marguerite Dupree; Akhito Suzuki (Wellcome Institute, London); Mary Clare Martin (Goldsmiths College, London); Leonard Smith (University of Birmingham); Hugh Freeman (Royal College of Psychiatrists); Andrew Schull (University of California, San Diego); Peter Bartlett (Wellcome Institute/University College, London); David Wright (Linacre College, Oxford); Mathew Thomson (Wellcome Unit, Oxford); John Murray (Ohio State University); Sandra Burman (University of Capetown); Zhongwei Zhao (Trinity College, Cambridge); Lara Marks (Queen Mary and Westfield College, London) and Anne Crowther (University of Glasgow). Further information can be obtained from Richard Smith, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, 45-47 Banbury Road, Oxford.
A conference organised by the Society for the Social History of Medicine, to be held at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. The theme will be, From 'Idiocy' to 'Mental Deficiency': Historical Perspectives on People with Learning Disabilities. Speakers will include Hilary Dickinson (Thames Polytechnic) on 'The life of an individual with learning difficulties in the early nineteenth century: the case of Augustus Lamb'; David Wright (Linacre College, Oxford) on 'Childlike in his innocence: lay attitudes to "idiots" and "imbeciles" in Victorian Britain'; David Gladstone (University of Bristol) 'The Starcross Asylum'; David Barker (Manchester University) on 'The high grade, unstable defective female, 1900-39'; and Matthew Thomson (Linacre College, Oxford) on 'The problem of mental deficiency in the inter-war period'. There will be a discussion afterwards led by Anne Digby of Oxford Polytechnic.

April 1993.
A conference is being organised on the History of Nutrition, to be held in Glasgow in the Spring of next year. The conference will explore the theme and will include the following speakers, Mark Weatherall, Sally, Horrocks, Tim Dejager, Susan Williams, Tim Boon and David Smith. For more information please contact: David Smith, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Glasgow University, Glasgow.
HOW ADEQUATE WAS HOSPITAL Provision BEFORE THE NHS?
AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1945 SOUTH WALES HOSPITAL SURVEY

Martin Powell

Martin Powell is a lecturer in Social Policy at Hatfield Polytechnic. His main research interest is in the geography of hospital provision before the National Health Service.

In 1941 the Minister of Health announced that as a basis for planning the post-war hospital system, he intended to initiate a survey of existing facilities. The objectives of the survey were to collect hitherto unavailable information on the existing situation, to assess the adequacy of the available facilities and to provide a body of expert advice on the way in which existing facilities could best be co-ordinated and if necessary expanded to serve the community in each area. England and Wales were divided into ten regions, and in 1943 the Welsh Board of Health appointed A. Trevor Jones, Professor J.A. Nixon and Professor R.M.F. Picken to be the Surveyors for South Wales and Monmouthshire. Their brief was to:

'Survey the hospitals (other than mental hospitals and mental deficiency institutions) in the counties of Brecon, Cardigan, Carmarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth, Pembroke and Radnor, and in the county boroughs of Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil, Newport and Swansea...''

Their report was published in 1945. The Surveyors recognised that the region was one of great diversity. Generally, the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth were heavily industrialised, with ribbon settlements running broadly north to south in deep valleys. The remaining counties were largely agricultural and sparsely populated. The main centres of population were the three coastal county boroughs: Cardiff, Newport and Swansea, although the industrial valleys had high population densities but few separate and identifiable urban centres. The surveys are generally regarded as an accurate picture of hospital provision at the time. According to Eckstein, 'the hospital surveys constitute perhaps the most remarkable factual and critical reports on medical facilities ever published in any country. Not a bed escaped the researchers' attention. The surveys are an invaluable aid to research'.

So, what does this remarkable and authoritative survey say about South Wales? How adequate was the hospital service built by voluntary and municipal effort which still forms a part, sometimes physically, of today's hospital system in the region? This article traces briefly the historical development of hospitals both generally in Britain and in South Wales. Then, it assesses the adequacy of the hospital system in 1938, the year on which the Surveyors based their data and the last year of peace before the incorporation of many hospitals into the 'Emergency Medical Service' and ultimately into the 'National Health Service'.
The development of the hospital system in England and Wales

Richard Titmuss points out that: 'the dominant feature of the pre-war situation was the existence of two distinct and contrasting hospital systems – voluntary and municipal. Both had grown up without a plan. Their origins and histories were dissimilar; they were differently organised and financed and, in some respects, they catered for different sectors of the population. The oldest and most prestigious hospital system was the voluntary sector, which dates mainly from the eighteenth century. Voluntary hospitals were financed by philanthropy – 'the donations of the living and the legacies of the dead' and were staffed by many of the leading doctors of the time who attended in an honorary capacity. The patients were members of the 'deserving poor'. However, this was not the only criterion for admission. Hospitals tended to exclude 'incurable' or 'chronic' cases as well as infectious disease cases. In addition, a patient with an influential patron and/or who presented an 'interesting case' compatible with the requirements of medical education stood the best chance of admission. Voluntary hospitals increased their number of beds to reach the maximum point in 1938 – the year before the introduction of the 'Emergency Medical Service' of World War II. However, by about 1850, most of the major towns had a voluntary hospital, and from this point smaller 'cottage hospitals' staffed mainly by general practitioners appeared in the rural areas. In contrast to the large general hospitals in urban areas, these hospitals usually required payment by patients either directly or in the form of subscription schemes.

Similarly, in South Wales, voluntary effort set the pace in the general institutional treatment of the sick. Small voluntary hospitals were opened in Swansea in 1817, in Cardiff in 1837, and in Newport in 1860. These institutions grew to become the leading hospitals of the region, training centres for nurses and, in the case of Cardiff, the Welsh National School of Medicine became primarily based on the Royal Infirmary. These large hospitals set standards and provided a regional service for specialised cases throughout South Wales. The smaller hospitals in the rural areas and mining valleys mainly dated from the end of the nineteenth century. In the rural areas, the hospitals were generally of the 'cottage' type, but in the mining valleys, a number were restricted to those in a particular occupation or company who qualified for admission by means of contributory schemes. Examples of this type included the Caerphilly Miners' Hospital and the Powell Duffryn Workmen's Hospital, Aberbargoed. Bevan claimed that some 'voluntary hospitals' in South Wales owed as much as 97.5 per cent of their revenue to the workers in the locality.

The municipal hospital system was more complex as local authorities were given powers to deal with different issues at different times. Much of the municipal hospital accommodation started life as workhouses. In spite of the spirit of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, many of the inmates of the workhouse were not able-bodied, but the aged and the sick. In contrast to the voluntary hospitals, the workhouses tended to be filled with the chronic sick and those not deemed to be in the 'deserving category' such as unmarried expectant mothers and individuals with venereal disease and sometimes those with infectious diseases. The only factor such a variegated body had in common was that voluntary hospitals were often unwilling to admit them.
Medical care for ‘sick paupers’ was extremely rudimentary: few aspects of workhouse life escaped the touch of ‘less eligibility’. However, towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, there were gradual improvements in the conditions in workhouse infirmaries. In the early years of the twentieth century, some infirmaries had the latest equipment such as x-ray machinery and sun-lamps and a growing number of surgical operations: some even received medical students and accepted paying patients. On the other hand, many rural workhouses had seen few advances, and resembled the old ‘mixed’ workhouse more than something that could even remotely be termed a hospital. By 1938 the quantity and quality of municipal general hospital provision varied greatly, and this is generally explained in terms of the wealth and ideology of the local authorities.

The South Wales Surveyors noted that several of the municipal hospitals dated from the period 1835-1845. However, during the 1930s, Llandough Hospital had been built by Cardiff County Borough Council, while Glamorgan County Council built Church Village Hospital. ‘Although the standard of service in local authority institutions and hospitals had materially improved in many areas, it still falls short of requirements’.

As noted above, many voluntary hospitals excluded patients with infectious disease. Initially, these patients were treated in the only public facility available – in Poor Law Infirmarys, but under permissive legislation many local authorities in due course provided hospitals for infectious disease. South Wales did not conform closely to this general pattern. The first real effort to provide a hospital for infectious disease was voluntary and dates from 1866 when the people of Cardiff and Penarth procured an old man of war, HMS Hamadryad, from the Admiralty to serve as a hospital ship during a cholera epidemic.

Tuberculosis had long been thought to be an incurable disease, and little provision was made apart from the ‘last resort’ of the workhouse. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the claim that tuberculosis was curable led to the construction of sanatoria. In 1911 this effort was financially encouraged when tuberculosis was included in Lloyd George’s National Health Insurance scheme. In 1921 responsibility for treatment was transferred completely to local authorities.

In Wales, the decision to organise a campaign to eradicate tuberculosis predated Lloyd George’s initiative. In 1910 a public meeting unanimously decided that a national memorial to the recently deceased King Edward VII should be the Welsh National Memorial Association (WNMA), a voluntary association to combat tuberculosis, which was granted its Charter of Incorporation by King George V in 1912. The WNMA essentially took the place of the local authorities in England, firstly by making financial agreements with the insurance commissioners after 1911 and then with the local authorities after 1921. Institutions were set up by purchasing existing buildings such as Craig-y-Nos, the former home of opera singer, Adelina Patti, and building sanatoria such as the South Wales Sanatorium, Talgarth. Thus as the Surveyors stated, ‘the hospital system of South Wales is... as in other parts of the country, the complex product of different evolutionary processes’.  

24
Table 1  Health care needs in England and Wales 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>England and Wales Average</th>
<th>Number of (of 11)</th>
<th>South Wales Region</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Persons per room</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.65 (Cardigan)</td>
<td>1.09 (Swansea)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unemployment rate</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.3 (Radnor)</td>
<td>35.8 (Merthyr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Adjusted death rate</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.94 (Radnor)</td>
<td>1.52 (Merthyr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Infant mortality rate</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42 (Cardigan)</td>
<td>78 (Merthyr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tuberculosis death rate</td>
<td>100 (CB)</td>
<td>3 (of 4)</td>
<td>98 (Newport)</td>
<td>127 (Cardiff)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74 (CC)</td>
<td>7 (of 7)</td>
<td>81 (Brecon)</td>
<td>115 (Pembroke)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: CB = County Borough; CC = County Council; LA = Local Authority.
Source: 1 = 1931 Census, Table D; 2 = 1931 Census, Occupation, Table 16 (those out of work as percentage of those economically occupied); 3 = 1938 Registrar General's Report, Table 17, (adjusted for age and sex, in a similar fashion to today's standardised mortality ratio); 4 = 1938 Registrar General's Report, Table 17 (per thousand); 5 = PRO MH96/1111, in L. Bryder, ‘The King Edward VII Welsh National Memorial Association and its policy towards tuberculosis, 1910-1948’, Welsh History Review, 1987, p.216, (TB deaths per 100,000 population).

As outlined above, some of the processes were somewhat different from England, but did this have any impact on the resulting pattern of hospital provision in the region in 1938? In other words, was the hospital system of South Wales different from that of England and more importantly, was it adequate to meet the needs of the region? It is clear that South Wales was a deprived region in material terms, and so probably had a high level of need for health care. As table 1 shows, the majority of South Wales local authorities were above the average for England and Wales for both overcrowding and unemployment. This high level of deprivation was reflected in the health indices. Only Radnor had an adjusted death rate below the England and Wales average and only Newport had a tuberculosis death rate (just) below appropriate England and Wales (county borough) average. The seven counties in England and Wales with the highest rates of tuberculosis mortality were all Welsh. The special conditions of an area like Merthyr should be noted: its adjusted death rate was one and a half times the England and Wales average, while its unemployed rate was almost three times the national average.

There are a number of ways of examining the hospital system in the region. The first characteristic to examine is the total number of beds. Then, it is necessary to look at this figure by sector (municipal and voluntary) and local government areas (county borough and county councils). The next step is to turn from quantitative to qualitative indices and consider how much of hospital accommodation was unsatisfactory. The final point to examine is the number and distribution of medical and nursing staff.

An examination of the quantity of hospital provision in South Wales

Table 2 shows that for the total number of beds per thousand population, and for all the totals for individual categories except tuberculosis, the region had fewer beds than England. The same is true when counties and county boroughs
Table 2  Beds per thousand population for England and South Wales in 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>South Wales</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>England</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>CB</td>
<td>CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acute</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.87</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.28</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.92</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.58</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.01</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.73</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: INF = infectious disease; TB = tuberculosis; CB = County Borough; CC = County Council.
Bed figures have been taken from the appendices of the ten Nuffield Hospital Surveys (1945-6). Population figures have been taken from the Registrar General’s Statistical report for 1938. ‘England’ is actually the remaining nine survey regions of England and Wales, which also includes North Wales.

are separately examined with the two exceptions that the average for the Welsh county boroughs (Cardiff, Merthyr, Newport and Swansea) was greater than the English county boroughs for the ‘chronic sick’ category and the Welsh county councils had more TB beds than their English counterparts. Indeed, South Wales had fewer total beds (4.87/1,000) than any of the nine English regions, with the lowest English region being Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire with 5.36 beds per thousand.

Table 3 separates the total number of beds into municipal and voluntary categories. In England, the municipal sector supplied a similar number of acute beds to the voluntary sector. However, this was heavily influenced by the large number of acute beds in the London County Council’s ‘municipal empire’. In the English county boroughs, the number of municipal acute beds exceeded the number of voluntary acute beds. There were far fewer municipal acute beds as compared to voluntary acute beds in the county boroughs of South Wales, while there were very few municipal acute beds in the Welsh county councils. Indeed, only two of the seven county councils (Cardigan and Glamorgan) had any such beds. In both England and South Wales, the supply of chronic beds was overwhelmingly concentrated in the hands of the local authorities. As noted above, the Welsh county boroughs had more chronic beds per capita than their English counterparts. Most of the maternity beds were supplied by local authorities in both England and South Wales. The low percentage of total births occurring in institutions in South Wales suggests shortage of maternity beds. For example, the percentage for England and Wales was 24.0 per cent in 1932, while it was only 8.2 per cent in South Wales. This figure is heavily influenced by the percentage for Glamorgan which, with 10.9 per cent, was the highest county in the region. The next highest is Cardigan with 5.8 per cent, while the lowest is Carmarthen with 2.3 per cent.14
Table 3  Ownership of beds per thousand population for England and South Wales in 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>South Wales</th>
<th></th>
<th>England</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All CB CC</td>
<td>All CB CC</td>
<td>All CB CC</td>
<td>All CB CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acute</td>
<td>0.69 1.64 0.32</td>
<td>1.46 2.27 1.15</td>
<td>1.66 2.46 0.70</td>
<td>1.67 2.10 1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic</td>
<td>1.10 1.72 0.86</td>
<td>0.01 0.00 0.02</td>
<td>1.24 1.27 1.26</td>
<td>0.04 0.04 0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity</td>
<td>0.12 0.18 0.10</td>
<td>0.05 0.05 0.05</td>
<td>0.18 0.26 0.12</td>
<td>0.09 0.12 0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>0.66 0.81 0.60</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>1.00 1.00 0.79</td>
<td>- - -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>0.76 0.62 0.82</td>
<td>- - -</td>
<td>0.54 0.71 0.39</td>
<td>0.17 0.05 0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.33 4.97 2.70</td>
<td>1.52 2.32 1.22</td>
<td>4.62 5.70 3.26</td>
<td>1.97 2.31 1.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: See notes to table 2.

Provision for infectious disease was totally in the hands of the local authorities, and the familiar pattern of greater provision in England for both types of authorities is again evident. In England, provision for tuberculosis was shared between the municipal and voluntary sectors, but in Wales, provision was totally in the hands of the WNMA, which the Surveyors classed as municipal provision. Too much stress should not be put on the fact that the county councils had more beds than the county boroughs as this merely indicated that sanatoria tended to be located in rural areas because this was considered a more suitable environment. The WNMA sanatoria were open to individuals from a wider area than the local authority in which they were situated. For example, the South Wales Sanatorium in Breconshire contained some 300 young men from all parts of the region. Overall, it is clear that South Wales had far fewer beds than England. The only situation where per capita provision in South Wales matched England was the relatively unimportant category of voluntary provision in the county council areas. Moreover, the Surveyors considered the region deficient in qualitative as well as quantitative terms. ‘Several of the buildings used for the treatment of the sick are obsolete and should be abandoned as hospitals as soon as possible. Whilst others, although structurally suitable in some respects for the treatment of the sick, are overcrowded with beds, the number of which should be reduced’.

The Surveyors presented figures for the number of beds in unfit institutions but did not present any elaboration or justification of their figures. From their comments in the text, a different set of figures emerges. However, as can be seen from table 4, it appears that the Surveyors considered anything from a third to a half of all hospital accommodation in South Wales unsatisfactory. This figure rises to nearly 90 per cent when the chronic beds are considered, which were concentrated in public assistance institutions. Most institutions for the chronic sick occasionally admitted acute cases, maternity cases and mental cases, as well as sick children, while quite an appreciable number, accounting for some 40 per cent of beds, also admitted cases of tuberculosis and even healthy children. The Surveyors estimated that only about one third
## Table 4 Beds in unsatisfactory premises in South Wales 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Surveyors’ Estimate - Unfit, Partially unfit or overoccupied</th>
<th>Total based on comments in text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acute</td>
<td>1616</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infectious Disease</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4089</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** ‘Surveyors’ estimate’ from Trevor Jones, Nixon and Picken, *Hospital survey*, pp.51-70.

of the institutions, representing one quarter of the beds, had satisfactory wards. Only 3 per cent of day-rooms were satisfactory. The dining rooms were usually ‘unpleasant and depressing’. Many of the problems of such institutions stemmed from their age and original purpose. All were built originally as workhouses: of the 22 institutions 9 were more than 100 years old, 8 were over fifty years old, 2 were more than forty years old, while the most recent had been built in 1904 and 1908. Some had been improved or extended, but ‘it is quite difficult to improve or extend buildings designed with a quite different conception of the purpose they were intended to serve’.17 More generally, the Surveyors comment, ‘the worst and oldest buildings are set aside for the chronic sick ... [small ‘mixed’ institutions] are repellent to many patients’.18 The following are examples of unsuitable accommodation:

City Lodge, Cardiff (591 beds) - ‘a mixed Poor Law Institution...the older part of the institution is of the usual workhouse type and is obsolete in design’.

Brecon PAI (thirty-five beds) - ‘outlived [its] usefulness, and might be discarded at an early opportunity’.

The Surveyors observed that many of the maternity beds were in public assistance institutions as opposed to maternity homes or general hospitals. ‘In the least progressive institutions, which cover around 48 maternity beds [14 per cent of the total] the facilities and equipment...are of the barest...there is little pressure on the beds because they are rarely used except for unmarried mothers and for confinements of women of mentally deficient type...ordinary patients will not willingly enter such institutions’.15 Examples of maternity accommodation which were picked out for criticism include:

Lady Aberdare Maternity Hospital, Mountain Ash (ten beds) - ‘an adapted dwelling house and is unsuitable for its purpose’.

Maesteg Maternity Home (eight beds) - ‘adapted dwelling house, unsuitable for use as a hospital’.

28
The Surveyors considered that many of the hospitals in the region, though physically sound, were too small to function effectively as hospitals. 'Attention is particularly directed to the high proportion of small hospitals in South Wales'.\(^{20}\) They questioned the efficacy of a hospital with less than 100 beds because of 'clinical, nursing and administrative disadvantages'. Larger hospitals would have permitted the segregation of patients into different wards, the provision of specialised equipment and most importantly the assembly of a team of consultants. 'Generally speaking, the size and location of a hospital determines the character and completeness of the available specialist service'.\(^{21}\) Of the 141 hospitals in South Wales, 117 had 100 beds or fewer and 68 had fewer than 30 beds. The average size of all hospitals was 67 beds. For voluntary general hospitals, the average size was 62 beds, while for local authority maternity homes the figures was eleven and for infectious disease hospitals 29. The respective averages for England in 1939 were 83, 84, 36 and 42.\(^{22}\) Examples of institutions considered to be too small include:

Aberystwyth Small-pox Hospital (three beds) - 'a country cottage and should be discarded...impossible as a hospital'.

Bedwellty Isolation Hospital (twelve beds) - 'a small, 'wooden-framed corrugated iron building...situated remotely on a mountain top'.

All four Isolation Hospitals in Brecon and Radnor (four to eleven beds) - 'all unserviceable'.

There were fifty-six acute general and acute special hospitals in South Wales, but only in five were specialists in continuous charge of patients. However, these hospitals accounted for some third of all beds. In a further third of hospitals representing about a half of all beds, specialists visited regularly, but often only to operate with the result that aftercare was not closely supervised. In most of the remaining hospitals specialists were available 'on call', but their attendance was irregular and they were called in only for particularly difficult cases. In a few hospitals specialists were never called. Similarly, equipment and facilities tended to be concentrated in a few large hospitals: only three hospitals had pathology laboratories; only two hospitals had 'therapeutic' x-ray departments; about half of all hospitals, representing some three-quarters of beds had satisfactory 'diagnostic' x-ray equipment, but many of the smaller hospitals lacked a qualified radiographer. Only three of the twenty-two institutions devoted to the care of the chronic sick had resident medical officers, but these accounted for half of the beds. However, 'we are dissatisfied with the standard of medical treatment ... even in those institutions at which specialist advice is available. At institutions without resident medical staff and without the services of specialists the position calls urgently for radical alteration and improvement'.\(^{23}\) In about 60 per cent of institutions, representing some 80 per cent of beds, the nursing was carried out under adequate supervision, leaving the rest of the beds under the supervision of persons who were not trained nurses. Moreover, about a quarter of beds were understaffed and for some two thirds of beds the nursing did not conform with 'modern standards'.

Of the thirty-three infectious disease hospitals, twenty had fewer than thirty beds, while thirteen had fewer than fifteen beds and five had fewer than ten
Table 5  Location and visiting pattern of specialists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specialty, with number if (given)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Hospitals regularly visited outside location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Surgeons (18)</td>
<td>Cardiff, Swansea, Newport</td>
<td>20 with <strong>no</strong> regular visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Physicians</td>
<td>Cardiff, Swansea, Newport</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gynaecologists and Obstetricians</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>2 with specialists in charge of beds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ophthalmologists</td>
<td>4 Institutions</td>
<td>25 visited regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear, nose and throat surgeons</td>
<td>5 Institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dermatologists (3)</td>
<td>Cardiff, Swansea, Newport</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paediatrician (1)</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>'utilised ... by other local authorities'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** It is impossible to compare the levels of medical staffing between England and South Wales because the latter presents data in a different format. For the shortage and maldistribution of medical staff, see Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, *Hospital surveys*, pp.9-13.


beds. Only the two largest hospitals had over 100 beds, each accounting for less than a quarter of all beds, employed whole-time medical officers. Roughly half the beds were in the hands of the Medical Officer of Health or one of his staff, while the remaining beds were under the care of a general practitioner. It was estimated that good quality medical and nursing treatment covered some 80 per cent of beds. Only the largest hospital (the Cardiff City Isolation) had internal laboratory facilities although 'the importance of such provision cannot be emphasised too strongly', while eleven of the smaller hospitals lacked a disinfector, 'the most elementary requirement in isolation hospitals'. In general, as table 5 indicates, specialists tended to be located in the three largest coastal towns: Cardiff, Swansea and Newport, and they visited outlying hospitals with different degrees of regularity.

In some cases, surgeons visited as many as nine hospitals. 'The rather small number of surgeons and the multiplicity of hospitals at which some of them attend raise serious doubts as to whether the best surgical skill is being made regularly available to all patients. Major surgical operations are performed in many hospitals otherwise than by surgeons of consultant rank'. It was estimated that in Britain some two and a half million surgical operations were performed by general practitioners in 1938-9, an average of three per doctor per week. Moreover, the number of resident medical officers below consultant status was also limited. Only nine voluntary hospitals employed such staff, and only in three cases were more than one employed: Cardiff Royal Infirmary, Swansea General and Eye Hospital and Royal Gwent Hospital, Newport. Eleven local authority hospitals had resident medical officers, as did six tuberculosis sanatoria.

Full out-patients' departments were found only at the above three voluntary hospitals, though specialists often saw out-patients at the hospitals at which they visited. Thus, while the coastal areas were comparatively well served for this service, the large populations of mining valleys were forced to travel...
considerable distances and often had to wait some time to be seen. The Surveyors calculated that while the percentage of new out-patients of the population of the three respective centres varied from 8.7 per cent for Cardiff to 4.9 per cent for Newport, the outlying areas the figure varied from 1.7 per cent to 1.0 per cent, implying a large degree of unmet need outside the three main centres.26

Conclusion

It is clear that both in quantitative and qualitative terms, South Wales was a deprived region with respect to its hospital services. Indeed, it appears to compare unfavourably with England in all areas where the data are sufficient to enable comparison. It had by far the smallest number of hospital beds per capita of the ten survey areas in England and Wales. It had a large number of unsuitable hospitals due to reasons of their size and their structural characteristics. It has been shown that the region’s hospitals were, on average, smaller than hospitals in England, and the Surveyors specifically commented on the high number of small hospitals. Indeed, only 17 per cent of the region’s hospitals were above the Surveyor’s suggested minimum size of 100 beds. Moreover, it has been calculated that anything from a third to a half of all hospital beds were located in unsatisfactory accommodation. The Surveyors stated that two of the three premier hospitals (Cardiff and Swansea) were overcrowded and unsuitable for the necessary future development, and that the first priority in the region should be the construction of a new Medical School and Hospital in Cardiff to serve as the Welsh National School of Medicine.27 Perhaps more important than bricks and mortar were the small size and restricted location of the region’s consultant team. In addition, only the three largest voluntary hospitals employed more than one resident medical officer and only the same three hospitals had full out-patients’ departments. It should be noted that this region suffered poor social conditions which might be thought to require an increased level of health care provision.28 Overall, then, the hospital ‘system’ of South Wales, the home region of the Minister of Health who introduced the NHS, contained many institutions, both large and small, which would now be hardly recognisable as ‘hospitals’. Such is the pace of development within living memory.

NOTES

1. Alan Trevor Jones was, at the time of the survey, Hospital Officer for Wales. Formerly he was Medical Officer of Health for Carmarthen and he was to become Senior Administrative Medical Officer with the Welsh Regional Hospital Board (1947-55) and Provost of the Welsh National School of Medicine (1955-69). John Alexander Nixon was a consulting physician at Bristol Royal Infirmary and Emeritus Professor of Medicine at Bristol University. Ralph Montgomery Fullerton Picken had been Medical Officer of Health for Cardiff (1921-33). At the time of the survey he was Mansel Talbot Professor of Preventive Medicine at the Welsh National School of Medicine (1933-49) and was to become Provost of that Institution (1949-55).
4. This study relies on information for individual hospitals taken from the South Wales survey. This may be supplemented by information from hospital records: see J. Foster, ‘An introductory guide to hospital records’, Local Population Studies, 45, 1990, pp.57-61.

6. This often quoted phrase may be found in Abel-Smith, The Hospitals, p.405.
7. Hansard, House of Commons, 30 April 1946, col.47.
9. Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, Hospital surveys.
11. Trevor Jones, Nixon and Picken, Hospital survey, p.3.
14. Data from Trevor Jones, Nixon and Picken, Hospital survey, p.18.
17. Trevor Jones, Nixon and Picken, Hospital survey, p.14. Of the forty-four institutions deemed unsuitable for hospital purposes, a number still serve the purpose; for example, City Lodge (now St David's Hospital), Cardiff and Brecon PAI (now St David's Hospital).
23. Trevor Jones, Nixon and Picken, Hospital survey, p.13. See Nuffield Provincial Hospitals Trust, Hospital surveys, 'It is for the provision of the chronic sick that the Surveyors reserve their bitterest comments', p.15. See also M.A. Crowther, The Workhouse system 1834-1929, London, 1983, Chapter 7.
26. Data from Trevor Jones, Nixon and Picken, Hospital survey, p.36. For the difficulties experienced by out-patients, see PRO MH77/18 Report by Hospital Almoners' Association, 1943.
27. This 'first priority' was not completed until 1971 with the building of the Heath Hospital, Cardiff.
28. This argument is further developed in M. Powell, 'Hospital provision before the NHS: territorial justice or inverse care law?', Journal of Social Policy (forthcoming).
SEASONAL VARIATION PATTERNS IN BAPTISMS AND BURIALS
FOR RUISLIP, MIDDLESEX

Derek Jacobs

Derek Jacobs is a graduate of the University of London and a Chartered Engineer. Since his retirement five years ago, he has become involved in studying the local history of Ruislip Middlesex, with main interests in the sixteenth century and in the development of local history databases for a computer.

Introduction

The parish registers for Ruislip, Middlesex are extant for the following periods:

- Baptisms 1689-1840 (defective 1757-1761)
- Marriages 1694-1840 (defective 1718-1744)
- Burials 1695-1840 (missing 1706-1708)

During these periods, Ruislip was essentially a rural area and was little affected by any urban development until the opening of a railway station some three miles away at Pinner in 1838.

In a preliminary statistical study,¹ annual and seasonal burial and baptism patterns were compared for the two periods 1710-50 and 1770-1810. The present article examines the seasonal variation patterns only, mainly for the period 1762-1836, in more detail using three methods to examine the variations of both baptisms and burials.

The first method is to examine the variations on a weekly basis as suggested by Alan Dyer.² In this method, events occurring on 29 February and 31 December are neglected, the remaining 364 days are divided into 52 weeks and corresponding weekly values for each year in the period 1762-1840 summed. The results are then expressed as percentages of the total number of events and are plotted as three-week running averages.

In the second method, corresponding monthly values for each year in the period 1762-1840 are summed, the results are again expressed as a percentage of the total number of events and three-month running averages are calculated. So that these monthly values can be compared directly with the weekly values, the three-month running averages are scaled by a factor 12/52. The resulting values are then plotted on the same axes as the three-week running averages to give an indication of the trend of the cyclic variation over the year.

The third method is that adopted by Wrigley and Schofield.³ In this method, corresponding monthly values are again summed within a period, but the results are expressed as index numbers. One hundred represents the total that would be expected on the basis of an ‘even split’ between the twelve months.
after taking into account the different number of days in each month. In order to take account of leap years, February is assumed to have 28.25 days and a year is assumed to be 365.25 days. To allow a direct comparison to be made with the Wrigley and Schofield data, the analysis period has been split into two, 1762-1799 and 1800-1836, to correspond to the last two Wrigley and Schofield periods.

For Ruislip, the number of baptisms and burials in each period is only in the order of 1,000 and, as the Wrigley and Schofield data relate to a much larger number of events (some 404 parishes), three-month running averages are again used for the Ruislip data so that the general shape of the cyclic variations can be more clearly seen. This averaging of the present data is considered reasonable to eliminate irregularities which, it is considered, are more likely to occur than in the patterns derived from the much larger number of events used by Wrigley and Schofield.

**Baptisms**

Dyer’s article covered four different types of parish: rural, market town, city and London. The results for all four types were broadly similar, with a spring conception peak between April and June followed by a trough in summer and autumn and another peak at Christmas. In the rural parishes, the peaks and troughs were more pronounced and the timing of them was found to differ between the three urban groups.
The baptism results for Ruislip are shown in figure 1. The x-axis is calibrated in conception date as well as baptism date and, for this purpose, an interval of forty-two weeks was assumed between the conception and baptism. This is made of of a thirty-eight week gestation period plus a four week delay between birth and baptism. The four week period was assumed after examining the period 1787-1812 in which both birth and baptism dates are shown in the registers. A sample of 100 events was taken and a frequency histogram plotted from them showed a clear modal value of four. Dyer's article, which concentrated on the period 1580-1620, uses a one week delay between birth and baptism, giving an interval of only thirty-nine weeks between conception and baptism. The difference between these two birth/baptism intervals is perhaps explained by Wrigley and Schofield, who state that, in the sixteenth century, baptism was very close to birth but in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was a median interval of one month between the two events.

The three-week running averages, shown as a continuous line, give a pronounced gestation peak in the May/June period similar to that found by Dyer for rural parishes, but the other pronounced peaks and troughs found by Dyer are absent. Instead, there is a gradual fall towards the winter with the values remaining below the mean value from the end of September until April. Although a small rise occurs over the January period, this is no more significant than the rise which occurs in September, when Dyer's results show a pronounced trough. It is interesting to note that the May/June peak has lesser peaks occurring regularly on its rising and falling flanks. The trend, represented by the three-month running averages, is shown as a dotted line and exhibits a single peak in the early summer months and a trough in mid-winter. The magnitude of the spring peak for Ruislip (a rural parish) is almost the same as the rural parish peak of Dyer for a period of some 150 years earlier.

Figure 2 shows a comparison between the seasonality of baptisms for Ruislip for the periods 1762-99 and 1800-36 and those determined by Wrigley and Schofield for roughly corresponding periods. The Ruislip data are plotted as three-month running averages. It can be seen that there is a close agreement between the two curves for both periods, the correlation coefficients being 0.89 for the earlier period and 0.90 for the later. If a ten-month interval is assumed between conception and baptism, then both periods show a spring conception peak and a winter trough for Ruislip. The peak for the period 1800-36 occurs about one month earlier than that of the period 1762-99 and the trough about one month later.

Burials

The burials on a weekly basis are shown in figure 3. The trend, again indicated by a dotted line, shows a rise at the end of winter, a fall in early summer and another, lesser rise, towards the end of summer. This would seem to support the theory that deaths rise towards the end of winter due to poor diet throughout the winter months, fall as the better weather gives an improved diet and then rise again towards the end of summer due to hot weather related illnesses such as typhoid. Looking at the weekly pattern it would seem that the summer low mortality trough is very short in duration and that there are three
Figure 2a  Baptisms index for Ruislip compared with Wrigley and Schofield's national figure, 1762-99

Figure 2b  Baptisms index for Ruislip compared with Wrigley and Schofield's national figure, 1800-34
peak periods early in the year. Dyer shows a similar mortality pattern for Ludlow. This exhibits a similar peak for the first part of the year, but the following trough is of a much longer duration than that for Ruislip and there is no autumn peak.

Figure 4 shows a comparison between the seasonality of burials for Ruislip for the periods 1762-99 and 1800-36 and those determined by Wrigley and Schofield for roughly corresponding periods. The Ruislip data are again plotted as three-month running averages. For the period 1762-99 it can be seen that again there is a close agreement between the Wrigley and Schofield pattern and that for Ruislip. The correlation coefficient in this instance is 0.71 which is still high when comparing two sets of only twelve items. Burials again seem to peak during the winter months as in figure 3 and drop off during the summer with a slight rise at the end of summer.

For the period 1800-36 however, the Ruislip pattern seems to be quite different from the Wrigley and Schofield one, the latter being very similar to that for the earlier period, with a winter peak, and a summer trough. The Ruislip pattern, however, exhibits two very pronounced peaks, one in spring and one in autumn. The reason for these two peaks becomes, possibly, clearer if the burials are broken down by age as in figure 4c.
Figure 4a  Burial index for Ruislip compared with Wrigley and Schofield's national figure, 1762-99

Index

120

100

80

60

Dec Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec Jan

Burial Month

Figure 4b  Burial index for Ruislip compared with Wrigley and Schofield's national figure, 1800-36

Index

120

100

80

60

Dec Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec Jan

Burial Month
For the period 1811-40, the age at burial is given in the Ruislip parish registers and for this period, it was found that approximately one third of the burials were less than age ten years and approximately one third of the burials were sixty years or over. The burials for this period are therefore shown separately for the three groups:

- less than ten years of age
- ten years to fifty-nine years
- sixty years and over

The results are plotted using the Wrigley and Schofield method so that they can be compared with figures 4a and 4b.

It can be seen that for the sixty plus group, there is a pronounced single peak throughout the winter months, whereas for the under ten’s there is a pronounced peak in the late summer-early autumn and only a small rise during winter. The third group has two distinct peaks, one at the end of winter and one at the end of summer with a trough in the summer and winter. This would seem to suggest that young children were more susceptible to hot weather related illnesses and old people to cold weather related illnesses. The two peaks exhibited by the third group and by the pattern of figure 4b, would seem to be due to a combination of these two characteristics.
NOTES


APPENDIX

Definition of mathematical functions used

mean value of a variable y: \( \bar{y} = \frac{\Sigma y}{n} \)
standard deviation of a variable y: \( \sigma_y = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma y^2}{n} - (\bar{y})^2} \)
covariance of two variables x and y: \( p = \frac{\Sigma (x.y)}{n} - x.\bar{y} \)
correlation coefficient between two variables x and y: \( r_{xy} = \frac{p}{(\sigma_x \sigma_y)} \)

where:

x and y are the male and female baptisms respectively
\( \bar{x} \) and \( \bar{y} \) are the mean values of the variables x, y respectively
\( \sigma_x \) and \( \sigma_y \) are the standard deviations of the variables x, y respectively
n is the total number of events
\( \Sigma \) signifies the summation of individual values of the expression following it. For example \( \Sigma y = y_0 + y_1 + y_2 + ... \)
DEMOCRAPHIC CHANGE IN KIBWORTH HARCOURT,
LEICESTERSHIRE, IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

David Postles

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University of Leicester. His research is concerned with naming processes in the
English past

Introduction

Demographic trends in the later middle ages still defy confident explanation. Earlier analyses employed non-demographic indicators – such as the price of land – to reflect assumed trends. Those using directly demographic data have made estimates at two levels: the national and the local or regional. Estimates of the global population of England have been based precariously on reflating figures in sources such as Domesday Book and the Poll Taxes of 1377-81, using a putative multiplier, since these sources comprehended only part of the population. Studies at the micro-level have considered data from manorial court rolls, mainly relating to adult males. The ‘Toronto School’ (the group of historians at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies who, over the past thirty years, have conducted detailed research into the estates of Ramsey Abbey), Razi and, more recently, Judith Bennett, have reconstituted the adult male population from appearances in and suit of court respectively from some manors of Ramsey Abbey, Halesowen and Brigstock. Possibly more accurate data and trends have been produced by Titow for Taunton and Poos for six manors in north Essex. Their data have been derived from tithing- or hundred-penny payments, where it was still levied flexibly at a rate per head, rather than becoming a fixed sum for the whole community. Data from this latter source are likely to be the most accurate.¹

The problem with studies at the micro-level is that they may be subject to wide ‘stochastic variation’. The data for Taunton – currently being reworked by Harold Fox and Chris Thornton – relate to a particular type of federated manor with an urban centre. The data for north Essex, presented by Poos, are genuinely regional, covering six manors, but the quality of the data is variable by manor. On the other hand, the importance of localised studies is that, not only do they present relatively more accurate data, but demographic change may also have been variable regionally. Particularly is this so in the case of the demographic response to the ‘crisis’ of 1315-7 and the level of recovery after the plague of 1348-9. A truly accurate reflection of overall demographic change may, in the end, only be perceived through an accumulation of studies at the micro-level. Long-run demographic change in the later middle ages had important implications for agrarian change, the relationship between social groups, and the condition of the peasantry.

41
Tithing-penny payments at Kibworth Harcourt

Demographic change at Kibworth Harcourt in the later middle ages exhibits important regional variation from other places studied to date. Kibworth Harcourt is located a short distance south of Leicester, in a pays (or region) of Leicestershire which is now predominantly grassland. The largest manor in the community was held by Merton College, which also held the liberty or franchise of the view of frankpledge. Consequently, all males aged over twelve in the community – on all manors there, not just Merton’s – were required to be in one of the four tithing groups of Merton, each under a chief pledge. It seems quite clear that all these males over twelve paid tithing-penny flexibly at the rate of 1d. per head, and it is these data which are employed here to reconstruct the demographic trend at Kibworth between c.1280 and c.1450. Payment of the tithing-penny acts as an index of the adult male population over twelve and thus, by and large, of demographic trends.

The nature of the payment needs to be established. The designation of the payment changed over the later middle ages, and this can cause some confusion. Tithing-penny payments were often alluded to as the common fine. On some manors, this common fine became levied as a fixed sum for the whole community. The common fine was levied at Kibworth, but was only part of the exaction for tithing-penny. The common fine (communis finis; de communi fine) was levied at Kibworth at the equivalent of the Easter (Hockday) view, although this was often not held until early summer. The fine was fixed initially at 20s., but later at a reduced level of 9s.1d. Another payment, however, was also exacted in association with frankpledge and tithing, but this sum was known by various appellations during the later middle ages, although its nature was always the same. This payment was received at the equivalent of the Michaelmas view of frankpledge (although often not collected until winter). Tithing-penny payments thus consisted of two parts: a fixed levy at Easter and a flexible levy at Michaelmas. It is the latter which can be employed to reflect changes of population at Kibworth.

The different nature of these payments can be established from some sporadic, but specific, entries on the court rolls:

‘quod dant de communi fine nichil ad presens Item quod dant de capi ad presens iijs viijd.’ (October 1352) (that they give at the moment nothing for the common fine Item that they give now for ‘head-money’ 3s.8d.);

‘quod dant de capitiijs viijd Et nichil de communi fine ad presens quia ad visum post Pascha’. (November 1363) (that they give 3s.8d. for ‘head-money’ And nothing for the common fine now because [it is taken] at the view after Easter).

These entries, amongst several others, illustrate that the two sums were collected at the two different views of frankpledge (the two views equivalent to the two dates of the sheriff’s tourn).
For much of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the levy at Michaelmas was designated *capitales denarii*. During the later fourteenth century, however, terminology became confused. Whilst the term *caput* *denar* was still in use in the 1360s, and even as late as 1378, the more frequent term from the 1350s was *de capiti*. There seems little doubt that this later term was simply a confusion of the earlier *capitales denarii*, and that it had nothing to do with payments of chevvage to leave the manor. More confusingly, from c.1379, the common fine (the fixed sum) became known as the *certum* (*de certo*) (reflecting its fixed nature), and from the 1390s the flexible levy at Michaelmas was also referred to as *certum*. It is evident, however, that the payment at Michaelmas was still received on the basis of 1d. per male over twelve in tithing, not least because the sum varied from year to year.³ This use of the term *certum* for both levies, however, was transient. In the early fifteenth century, the court rolls again referred to the levies respectively as *communis finis* and *de capitalibus denar*.

The real nature of the flexible levy, however, can be illumined by specific memoranda on the court rolls and the early designation of the levy. The earliest references in the court rolls allude to the payments as: *De hominibus qui sunt in franciplegagio* (from the men who are in frankpledge) (1286)• and *De capitibus dicene* (1288 and 1289). The earliest account rolls provide the same insight: *Fines Curie Et de vis de receptis de capitibus dicene* (Fines of court And 6s. of receipts from the heads in tithing) (1289); *de capitibus dicene* (1287 and 1292). These receipts are quite evidently the equivalent of what are subsequently known as *capitales denarii*. Taking designations in account rolls to c.1330, the payment was specified as *de capitalibus denar* (eight years), *de capital’ den* (three years), *de capitalibus den* (eight years). Thereafter, the variant forms comprised *de capiti’ denar* and *de capital’ denar*. The same terminology existed in the court rolls.

Other memoranda reveal the flexible nature of the levy, based on payment of 1d. per head in tithing. In 1295, an inquisition was held whether Osbert *sutor* should contribute to the payment: ‘Osbert *sutor* dat pro inquisizione habenda utrum debet dare argentum franciplegagii uel non’ (Osbert *sutor* gives [a fine] to have an inquisition whether he should give frankpledge money or not). Another inquisition exonerated a tenant from all payments except tithing-penny at the rate of 1d. per head: ‘Unde inquisicio dicit quod nichil dedit nec aliquid exigunt’ (that is, the lords, Merton College) nisi jd pro capite suo’ (Whereby the inquisition says that he gave nothing nor did they exact anything except 1d. for his head[-money]). In 1284, there was no receipt from the payment, since it was not certain how many men there were (‘De capitibus (sic) denariis [nichil] quia nescuntur quantum de hominibus’ (From head-money [nothing] because they do not know how many men). In 1298, the account roll reflected that the sum received should be based on the number in tithing (‘Preterea de capiti’ den’ secundum numerum hominum in decena existenciunc’ (Moreover from head-money according to the number of men being in tithing). In 1378, the payment was qualified in the court rolls as 1d. per head: ‘de den’ capiti’ proueniuntibus de numero tot’ capiti’ quilibet ad jd’ (From head-money coming from the total number of heads each at 1d.). From 1379 to 1417 (in thirteen years), the level of payment was explained in the court rolls because there were no more heads: ‘et non plus quia non [sunt] pluria capita.’ These memoranda establish that the sum
received at the view at Michaelmas was based flexibly on 1d. from each male over twelve in tithing.

The receipts from this payment can be accumulated for 102 of the years between c.1280 and c.1450. After 1450, the court rolls no longer recorded the payment. Most of the data was initially collected from the court rolls. Before 1350, however, there is a large gap in the series of extant court rolls between c.1290 and the early 1340s. Not much of these data have been restored from the account rolls, which record the payment separately through to c.1350 (thereafter it is subsumed in the perquisita – or fines and proceeds – of the courts). From these two sources, it has thus been possible to amalgamate data for a significant proportion of the years.

Administration and collection

There remain, however, some questions which must be addressed about the data. First, there is the problem of how comprehensive are the data; second, and relatedly, is that of the efficiency of the administration and collection of the money, with possible changes over time. It is known that some males would be exempt from being in tithing – especially those not resident for at least a year (possibly including some servants). There is also the question of those newly admitted into tithing and those presented for not being in tithing. Poos compensated by adding these to the figure for tithing-penny. At Kibworth, however, it is not clear that these males had not paid tithing-penny; the sum may have been exacted at the end of the proceedings. Moreover, it is very probable that these males would have been included in the following year, so that the trend is still reasonably accurate.

Until the fifteenth century, the administration seems to have been fairly effective. This efficiency may be implicit paradoxically in the presentment of males for not being in tithing and the level of new admissions. In 1278, eleven males were presented for not being in tithing – all sons (filii); in 1280, another seven; in 1292 five. In 1276, two men were excused being in tithing because of their age, one professedly 100 years old (fuit de Etate V\textsuperscript{100}).

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the efficiency suffered perceptibly. The failure can be illumined by comparing the level of receipt of the sum with the number of males who appeared in court. Data for two sample courts are sufficiently illustrative. In October 1436, the receipt comprised only 16d., but twenty-eight males appeared in court; in November 1441, only 18d. accrued, but thirty males appeared in court. It is obvious that the sums could not represent all the males on the manor. With these figures, there would have been insufficient males to fill the multiple manorial offices: reeve; two afeerors; four chief pledges; two ale-tasters; six superiiores terrarum et tenementorum (overseers of the lands and tenements); and, when in use, the jury of presentment (known here simply as the Inquisicio), which comprised twelve men. There would have needed to be a great concentration of office-holding, but this did not occur. In 1436, twelve offices were held by ten different men; in 1441, twelve offices were distributed amongst eleven men. The collection of
the money had obviously become inefficient. Data after c.1430, although represented on the histogram (Figure 1), have therefore been discounted as inaccurate.

The reliability of the payments before this date can also be established by two independent controls. A tithing list and a count of those in the four tithings were both made in c.1280-90. The listing suggests about 120 males in tithing, taking due account of cancellations of names. The count provides 112 or 115 in tithing (there was some confusion as to whether there were thirty-one or twenty-eight in one tithing). The capitales denarii suggest a figure of 106 males in 1281, 116 in 1287, and 126 in 1288. The Poll Taxes of 1377-9 enumerated sixty-four males liable to tax (over the age of fourteen). There were also ten male servants, but some of these may not have been required to be in tithing. The contemporary receipts de capit' suggest an adult male population of about sixty. There is therefore a degree of correlation between these independent controls and the receipts of money.

The demographic profile of Kibworth Harcourt

The demographic trend at Kibworth can thus be described. From c.1280 to c.1320, despite some sharp fluctuations, there was an underlying stable trend. The vicissitudes may owe more to the problems of collection than demographic changes. The fluctuations have been eliminated in Table 1. The check on the validity of Table 1 is that in the 1340s, the payments represented about eighty males.
Table 1  Mean levels of population of males over twelve c.1280-c.1320

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>number of years with data</th>
<th>mean</th>
<th>median</th>
<th>min</th>
<th>max</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>sd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>84.56</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>14.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: min = minimum number in any one year; max = maximum number in any one year; Q1 = first (lower quartile) in the range of numbers over all years; Q3 = third (upper) quartile in the same range; sd = standard deviation. These statistics have been produced using Minitab.

This stable trend was only briefly interrupted by the agrarian 'crisis' of 1315-7. That dislocation had no enduring effect at Kibworth. The level of population remained fairly stable through to 1348. The pestilence of 1349, however, produced the first secular downturn; mortality reduced the population of males over twelve by about 40 per cent (and possibly by a higher rate than other susceptible cohorts). The population then remained at this new low, but stable, level through the 1350s. Recovery occurred during the 1360s and 1370s. By 1377, the population stood about 25 per cent above the level in 1349-50. This recovery, however, was only relative, since the level in 1377 was still 25 per cent below that of the late 1340s, before the plague. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, another decline set in, although it may have been compounded by the declining efficiency of collection of the pennies.

The data do not explain the causes of demographic change – whether exogamous or endogamous. The unknown variable is the relative level of immigration and out-migration. Some information could be extracted from the court rolls, but it would tend to be anecdotal, with fears about its comprehensiveness. For example, the court rolls before c.1350 tended to acknowledge immigration to the manor, but after that date the emphasis is on recording villein fugitivi (who left the manor without the lord’s permission). It is known, however, from the changes of surnames in the vill, that there was also much immigration during the later fourteenth century. The rolls simply reflect administrative concerns, rather than real processes. The data presented here therefore stand only if there is assumed to be an equilibrium between immigration and emigration.

With these allowances, the data present some local variation of demographic change. The impact of 1315-7 seems to have been short-lived. The population in the early fourteenth century exhibited some stability rather than decline. The first secular downturn was in 1349. Thereafter there was some stability at this new, low level. The recovery of the 1360s and 1370s was substantial by comparison with the level immediately after the plague, but still remained at a level significantly below the late 1340s before the plague. It was only a relative recovery. The trend at Kibworth cannot be used even as a regional model, however, since more evidence is needed of trends in other similar vills.
APPENDIX

SOME DATA FROM KIBWORTH BEAUCHAMP

Some similar data can be abstracted from the views of frankpledge of the adjacent manor of Kibworth Beauchamp. It seems that here only one view was held, equivalent to the Michaelmas sheriff's tourn. Here the fine levied was called the common fine (*communis finis*), but it seems to have continued to be flexible. [However, a separate figure given for the appurtenant manor of Mowsley in 1348 was called *capitales denarii*. They seem nonetheless to have been equivalent terms]. Data are available for 1346-51 inclusive and 1354, tabulated below.⁹

Table 2  Inferred male population over twelve years at Kibworth Beauchamp 1346-54

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>inferred males (aged 12+ years)</th>
<th>population (mean)</th>
<th>change (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1346</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1346-8=109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1347</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
<td>mean of 1346/8 to 1349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1348</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
<td>= - 63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1349</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>1349 to mean of 1350-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1350</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td>= +110 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1351</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1350-4= 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1354</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extent of the recovery immediately after the plague, according to these figures, casts a shadow of doubt over their reliability after 1349. Before 1349, the payments do seem to reflect actual numbers of males. Although the payment was in rounded shillings in 1346-7, in 1348 it was 10s.2d. In 1347, the payment was qualified as *hac vice* (on this occasion). In 1349, the drastic decline in the amount paid was explained: *Et non plus propter pestilenciam* (and no more because of the plague). After 1349, however, the sums are all rounded shillings – indeed, seemingly at increments of 1s. over the initial years. Moreover, in 1350-1, the payments were made *de gracia* (by favour), which suggests some sort of negotiation between lord and community. One explanation might be that the lord, in response to the decline in the proceeds of the flexible common fine, negotiated a fine which, although lower than the level before the plague, yet was higher than would have accrued if levied per head. In these years 1350-4, the fine was defined as so much *ad presens* (at this time), but that phrase may merely indicate annual reviews of the level by discussion between lord and tenant, rather than any persistent real flexibility. The figures for Kibworth Beauchamp may therefore only be totally accurate demographically for the decline up to 1350. The figures after 1350 must still represent the ability of the community to pay, so assume some demographic recovery, but are only indicators of that change.
NOTES


2. See generally, C. Howell, Land, family and inheritance in transition: Kibworth Harcourt 1280-1700, Cambridge, 1983. Also, R.H. Hilton, 'Kibworth Harcourt – a Merton College manor in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', in Hilton, Class conflict and crisis of feudalism, Essays in medieval social history, London, 1985, pp.1-17. I have consulted all the court rolls (Merton College Muniments MM 6351-6447) and all the account rolls between 1287 and 1350 (MM 6196-6244), in the course of my research into naming patterns in medieval Leicestershire. The court rolls are gathered in such a way that the references are confusing. I therefore give dates of rolls rather than references. I am grateful to John Burgass of Merton College for his help and patience. Cicely Howell did not discuss the interpretation of the demography presented here. My interpretation and manipulation of the data are new for Kibworth, but I have relied heavily on her work for the general developments at Kibworth. Her discussion of the demography depended largely on the mortality of tenants – only a small cohort of the total population, and possibly thus not a reliable indicator of wider demographic change. The tithing-penny data also allow a longer-term and more continuous view of the changes and recoveries.

3. I thus differ from Howell, Land, family and inheritance, pp.31-2, who missed the point suggested here.

5. I differ slightly from Howell, Land, family and inheritance, p.29.
6. The data in the Poll Taxes are presented by Howell, Land, family and inheritance, pp.217-20 (Table 22).
8. Villein fugitivi are discussed by Howell, Land, family and inheritance, pp.44-7.
LOCATING THE "MISSING MARRYERS" IN COLYTON, 1660-1750

Pamela Sharpe

The author was formerly a research student at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. Dr Sharpe is now local history research fellow at the University of Essex

Introduction

When the original reconstitution of Colyton was analysed by Tony Wrigley, one of his discoveries was a fall in the number of marriages celebrated in Colyton church in the period 1660 to 1750, and particularly in the first half of this period. The drop in marriages far exceeded the fall in baptisms which suggested that this was unlikely to be due to poor recording, but rather, that the marriage ceremony was being avoided in Colyton church. Only 145 marriages were celebrated in Colyton in the period 1650-99 for couples who subsequently baptised their children there: this was an average of a mere 2.9 marriages per year. In the period 1700-49 only 204 marriages were celebrated by couples who later baptised their children in Colyton, an average of four per year.

Prior to Hardwicke’s Act of 1753, marriage which took place outside of church and without banns was legally validated; indeed, drawing on the aggregate analysis sample of the 404 parishes, Wrigley has shown that the baptism/marriage ratio rose during the seventeenth century to the point where only an estimated 90 per cent of marriages were recorded in the parish registers.1 More recently, Schofield has inflated the figure to a possible 14 per cent of marriages which are missing.2 Colyton can be treated as a case study, to trace the background of the ‘missing marryers’.

This article results from a project to produce a ‘total reconstitution’ of the parish of Colyton.3 An attempt was made to link documents concerning the Colyton inhabitants such as tax assessments and poor relief records, to the Family Reconstitution Forms (FRFs) to give each family a ‘class’ or status attribute. Since FRFs are constructed around a marriage date, missing marryers appear on what are known as ‘dummy’ FRFs generated from baptism or burial details only. Table 1 shows in how many cases the status of dummy FRFs can be established in comparison with normal FRFs, and illustrates that in the period 1650-1749 a slightly greater proportion of dummy FRFs have status designations than FRFs with marriages. Table 2 shows the distribution of these dummy FRFs according to status. The results shown in this table must be compared with the status of the entire set of FRFs which is shown in Table 3.

By comparing Tables 2 and 3, it can be seen that the first cohort of missing marryers showed a similar status distribution to marryers in Colyton. In the 1550-99 and 1600-49 cohorts rather more of the poor and crafts categories
Table 1  Percentage of dummy FRFs with status designation compared to FRFs with marriages and status designation 1538-1799

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th>Dummy</th>
<th>With marriages</th>
<th>% difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1538-49</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>+ 2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>-11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>-7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-99</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>+4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-49</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>+0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-99</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>-3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2  Status designation of dummy FRFs 1538-1799

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Gentry</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Crafts</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Labourer</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1538-49</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>82.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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<td>1650-99</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-99</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-99</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3  Distribution of FRFs with status by cohort 1538-1799

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Gentry</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Crafts</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Labourer</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1538-49</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-99</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-49</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>52.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1750-99</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

showed a tendency not to marry in Colyton. While the poor category in the 1650-99 cohort seems high, it is lower than in the distribution in the total collection of FRFs; conversely, the craft category is double the proportion in the total collection of FRFs. Twenty-eight per cent, rather than fourteen per cent, of them appear in the dummy FRFs. This trend is also evident in the 1700-49 cohort, with 26 per cent of dummy FRFs being classified as crafts, while there were 16 per cent in the cohort as a whole. Crafts are still 7 percentage points higher for dummy FRFs than for the entire collection of FRFs in the cohort 1750-99.
It is clear then, that in the period 1650 to 1749, missing marryers in Colyton church were not disadvantaged in terms of income. They comprised the central core of the Colyton population. They were craftsmen, small landholders or labourers in regular employment. They were neither the gentry nor the poor, they came from ‘the middle’ of society.

Finding the missing marryers

Where did they marry? The first check was made on parishes surrounding Colyton. It was possible to search the registers of nine nearby parishes for the period 1650-99. Four neighbouring parishes do not have registration covering this period. The register of St Sidwells, a parish in central Exeter, was also searched for this period to gain an insight into whether any Colyton marryers were located in the city.

Of the sample, most marriages of Colyton couples were found in Shute in the 1680s, and Seaton and Beer in the 1690s. Marriages of Colyton couples were found throughout in the Farway registers. All the registers contained a few cases where one or both partners came from Colyton. In the case of Farway, the Reverend Mallocke seems to have married Colyton people to bring the weddings he performed up to an average of five or six a year, possibly to augment his income by marriage fees, which he could not otherwise collect in such a tiny parish. As was the case in Colyton, all the parish registers in the sample show that vicars married people who were resident outside their parishes.

Some of the marriages must have taken place in other churches because of their geographical proximity to people’s homes. Colyton is a big parish, and some of the outlying farm hamlets were nearer to other churches than to the parish church. In some cases it is apparent that children married in the same parish outside of Colyton as their parents had done. Interestingly, these cases generally had their children baptised in Colyton.

However, geography was far from being the only factor influencing marriage patterns. Some of the marriage places seem to be rather irrational. Thus, on 11 February 1682, Edward Harper and Alice Hawker married in Shute, but they were both born in Colyton and resided in Colyford, thus nearer to Seaton and Beer parish if they had wanted to marry outside Colyton. The explanation is likely to be short-term, short distance migration which evades the record. Most of these weddings are of farm servants who do not seem to have generally gone ‘home’ to marry in seventeenth-century Devon.

In some cases the marriages may have taken place in other parishes to legitimise a child, or maybe immediately before one was born. For example, Robert Sweetland, son of Samuel Sweetland was baptised in Colyton on 18 September 1697. He was not recorded as ‘base’, but the marriage of Samuel Sweetland and Jane Drower took place only two months later on 22 November in Seaton and Beer. Robert Sandy and Ann Crow were married in Seaton and Beer on 23 September 1699. Two days later their daughter Ann was baptised in Colyton where they lived.
In two cases the marriages involved Colyton widows, which is fairly remarkable since only three, or possibly four, widows can be identified as remarryers in Colyton church in the period 1650-99. A few Colyton marriages could be found in the St Sidwells register, where a large increase of 'by licence' marriages of people from all over the county of Devon took place after 1660. William Hake and Ann Mills of Colyford who married at St Sidwells on 5 May 1670 were presumably new migrants to the city.

In terms of overall numbers, however, the marriages found in other parishes do little to explain the bulk of missing marriages in this period. Furthermore, linkage of this particular subset of 'dummy' marriages shows them to be either gentry or from the poor, and thus the same sort of people as those who continued to marry in Colyton church. Their age structure was also similar to those caught in the registration process, though the women were slightly older at marriage than those in the overall Colyton sample.

A further search for the missing marryers was made in the Devon marriage bonds. All the bonds for the period 1660 to 1699 were scrutinised. In thousands of bonds, only twenty-four cases were discovered involving at least one marriage partner who came from Colyton. Sample years from the eighteenth century did not reveal any Colyton cases at all. In comparison with other dioceses, the Devon documentation is disappointing. Unlike allegations, bonds do not give the spouses’ dates of birth or ages, or the occupation of the bridegroom or any details of the couple’s parents. Only two Colyton cases were marriages of widows. In eleven cases it was possible to establish the age of the bride from the reconstitution, but this varied, from 16.5 to 41.1 years. Social status was also variable but tended towards the upper end of the social scale. A few cases involved marriages of labourers or craftsmen, and these usually involved prenuptial pregnancies.

**Clandestine marriage**

One explanation for the 'missing marryer syndrome' is that Colyton could have been a centre for clandestine marriage since it was an ecclesiastical 'peculiar' and therefore lay outside direct episcopal control. This is worth considering as evidence has been increasing to indicate the importance of clandestine marriage centres in other parts of the country.

Had Colyton been a clandestine marriage centre we could expect a large number of outsiders to marry in the parish but not in the church, and also for marriages of the lower classes to be excluded from the marriage record, since they were most likely to want to take advantage of paying competitive marriage fees. The signs of a clandestine marriage centre in the register then might be a reduced number of marryers from the poorer section of the population and a drop in the number of people recorded as having just married in the parish but not participated in any other recordable event. Thus, Souden noted that Colyton had a drastically reduced proportion of couples who only married in the town in the period 1650-1750. These are the cases where the FRFs feature no baptisms or burials of the marital couple and no baptisms of
Table 4  Number and percentage of ‘marriage only’ case FRFs 1538-1799

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th>n. of ‘marriage only’ cases</th>
<th>n. of FRFs with marriages</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1538-49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>33.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-99</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-49</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-99</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>36.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5  Status of ‘marriage only’ FRFs 1538-1799

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cohort</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Gentry</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Crafts</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Labourer</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1538-49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-99</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600-49</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1650-99</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>76.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700-49</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>63.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-99</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

children. This suggested that there could have been a clandestine marriage centre in or near the parish.

As we have seen, however, generally ‘missing marryers’ were not poor. Furthermore, contrary to Souden’s observation, Table 4 shows that as a proportion of FRFs with marriages, ‘marriage only’ cases increased to form nearly half of all marriages celebrated in Colyton in the 1650-99 period. Table 5 gives the status of people involved in ‘marriage only’ cases according to the status categories, and from this table it is clear that most of the ‘marriage only’ individuals came into the ‘unknown’ category. That is, they were not people who participated in the economy or social life of Colyton to an appreciable extent. They certainly did not own or occupy any land, and none of the poor law documents indicate that they had a settlement in Colyton. They probably fitted into either the top or bottom rungs of Colyton society. They were likely to be either mobile sons or daughters from gentry families or, alternatively, they were farm servants who moved around and did not marry in their home parish. The marriage register actually states that these were ‘servants’ in many cases. This group were not likely to have made a conscious decision against marrying in Colyton church, as they were not deeply embroiled in village disputes or loyalties. Many of them seem to have been using the church rather like a civil office, as a place to get married in, rather than with any particular symbolic significance. Therefore, the evidence suggests that the sector of the population who could have been expected to use a clandestine marriage centre
were still marrying in the Anglican church. More likely, it seems that rather than being clandestine marryers the ‘missing marryers’ formed a nonconformist congregation for whom the records, if they were kept, have been lost.\textsuperscript{12}

**Who were the missing marryers?**

A profile can be drawn up of the typical ‘missing marryers’. They were fully integrated into community life in Colyton. They had more recorded entries on the index cards which formed the total reconstitution than those who married in the parish church. They were likely to have been brought up in Colyton. If not born there, they would generally live there before marriage. They were usually partially literate and had partaken of the feoffee’s education system. We find their signature on receipts for a variety of small trade deals which were commonplace in Colyton as a busy market town. The evidence that these people formed a nonconformist congregation will now be examined.\textsuperscript{13} Unfortunately it has been necessary to piece together the history of nonconformity in Colyton from a disparate set of not entirely reliable sources in the absence of any dependable records.

As in other parts of England, there is evidence of considerable ecclesiastical disruption in mid-seventeenth-century Devon. In Colyton, the vicar was ejected in 1647 and replaced by a puritan, John Wilkins. During the period 1653 to 1660 justices of the peace married people. This period of civil registration meant a minor revolution in marriage practices.\textsuperscript{14} An ecclesiastical court matrimonial case of 1672 describes the marriage of Nicholas Dowdling and Frozett Wreford of Dunchideock, who had gone to Exeter fifteen or sixteen years previously to be married by a justice ‘according to ye Law and Manner at that time’. This was an impersonal wedding which seems to have taken place as quickly and with as little ado as possible. It was a ‘group’ wedding, ‘there was a great company there, there being sev’all others then and there to bee marryed’.\textsuperscript{15}

According to Pulman, Dr Manson, (who later became one of Cromwell’s own chaplains), laid the foundations of nonconformity in Colyton in 1640.\textsuperscript{16} In 1647, the Reverend John Wilkins, a puritan, replaced the ejected Reverend Thomas Collyn, to become vicar of Colyton. The *Parish Magazine* of September 1907, which as a gossip and not unexpectedly, pro-Anglican publication indicated that this was an unwelcome change for at least some of the parishioners. It said that Wilkins was ‘forced on to people’ and that Collyn, the ‘rightful clergyman’, was persecuted. His house was plundered, he was forced into hiding and had to sell his possessions to maintain his ten children. The magazine claims that he was well loved in the town. A tailor in charity maintained one of his children, two or more were kept by weavers (whose wives nursed them), and the rest were put into service. Reading between the lines then, Collyn did not have the support of any substantial sectors of the population who could have been expected to keep him in a little more dignity.

In 1662 John Wilkins was himself ejected for refusing to sign the Act of Uniformity. He then preached at his own house forming a separate Presbyterian church until his death. Whereas neither Collyn nor his children appear in the parish registers, Wilkins’s youngest child was baptised in Colyton church after
his ejection which confirms that nonconformists only partly rejected Anglican registration.

There was a gap of three years after Wilkins's removal during which Colyton had no vicar. In 1665 Thomas Tanner was appointed. He was an Oxford academic and barrister. According to the parish magazine of June 1909 he was unpopular, being seen as 'forward' and 'conceited'. He stayed in Colyton until 1676. Robert Simson was then incumbent for a year. He was succeeded by William Salter whose ministry contains the only tendencies to occasional registration defects in Colyton's history.

By the time that Colyton produced the Sedgemoor rebels in 1685, the town was a centre of radical dissent. Earle thought that the dissent was 'underground' with meetings taking place in the hills and after dark. He maintained that this would have had no effect on the registration system. In fact, it appears that Wilkins led a viable alternative to high church Anglicanism which had quasi-political implications and appealed to the broad 'middle' of Colyton society. The original George's Meeting House was built sometime between 1685 and 1705 with John Kerridge as first minister. He had been ejected from Lyme Regis in 1662. He seems to have been an influential figure who was able to capitalise on Wilkins's lead. Wilkins died in October 1667 and it is possible to speculate that, for a decade or so after that, nonconformism was fairly shapeless and the population was united only in its rejection of high church Anglicanism. Two licenses were granted for Presbyterian meetings in Colyton at the houses of Widow Drake and Bernard Dwight.

The Sedgemoor rebels provide some indication of the make-up of the section of 'missing marryers'. About eighty-six men, around a quarter of the total adult male population of Colyton, fought for the Duke of Monmouth against Catholicism. Considering that they came from different families, the extent of support for Monmouth is remarkable. Analysis of the background of the rebels shows that they could be defined as the 'middle' of Colyton society. They were generally craftsmen, or had trade connections, and they identified with the town, rather than rural parts of the parish of Colyford. They were led by Roger Sachel, a substantial yeoman who first took up arms at Lyme.

Statements taken on the capture of the rebels reveal that they had deep seated convictions. These men were religious zealots who believed wholeheartedly in Protestantism as a cause. Joseph Speed, a shoemaker, was: 'A poor man, who could thank God that since the age of sixteen he had had the checks of conscience on me'. His whole design 'in taking up arms under the Duke of Monmouth was to fight for the Protestant religion which my own conscience dictated to me'. Clearly, Speed had been politicised during Wilkins's ministry, and this was likely to be the case for most of the rebels since their average age was over forty.

John Sprague, a mason, stated he 'Believed that no Christian ought to resist a lawful power; but the case, being between popery and protestantism, altered the matter, and the latter being in danger, he believed it was lawful for him to do what he did'. The high church Anglicanism in Colyton was not distinct from
popery. The dissenters were thus an organised movement driven underground until the Toleration Act of 1688. Only with some type of corporate backing could the individual rebels have received the necessary support to fight for their convictions.

Wilkins was probably marrying couples outside of the church after his ejection until his death. Being an essentially ‘anti-establishment’ activity, it is hardly surprising that there are no records to make this clear. To confirm this suspicion, the rebels’ marriages were analysed. The rebels can be linked to fifty marriages, only fifteen of which took place in Colyton church. The other thirty-five fall into the missing marriage category.

The rebels had to be at least in their late forties to have married at Colyton church during Wilkins’s ministry, and five of the fifteen cases fall into this category. In fact, only one rebel seems to have married outside of the church in the pre-1662 period. After 1662 and before the Act of Toleration, only six marriages of rebels took place in the church. They were the poorest rebels and it is possible that they were employed by other rebels and were caught up in the rebellion without holding any steadfast religious or political views against popery. The marriages of the remaining four rebels took place after 1688.

There is other evidence of a community of dissenters in Colyton. Through the linkage process a network of exchange and marketing can be established between them. There are indications that they gave each other mutual help. Wilkins’s son, Edward, lodged with John Clapp, a rebel and a merchant in 1678. Edward Wilkins was a plateworker and part of the very craft and workshop tradition from which the rebels sprang.

In the early eighteenth century, as nonconformity took root and was sustained in Colyton, marriages were still not always celebrated in the church. The extent of dissent is suggested by child naming practices. The names of Charity, Patience and Grace, all common among nonconformists, were frequently found in Colyton. In 1707 a Baptist church was formed after a row in the Presbyterian church, but in 1715 the Presbyterian church alone had a congregation of two hundred people. According to Eyre Evans, the popularity varied with different ministers. Only twenty-five ‘hearers’ were recorded in 1712, but this soared to 220 during Youatt’s ministry from 1714 to 1729. In July 1717 the will of Benjamin Slade, a merchant, granted ‘towards the maintenance of the meeting now held in my uncle’s, Willm Lymbry’s meeting house’. Grace Lymbrey, in 1725 left £29 towards the Presbyterian meeting in Ottery St Mary, 20s. per annum for the Presbyterian meeting in Beer for twenty years, but a triumphant £200 for supporting the Presbyterian meeting in Colyton.

Eighteenth-century nonconformity was predominantly middle class and town based in Devon, and labourers seem to have returned to marrying within the ambit of the Anglican church in the early eighteenth century. In fact, a particularly low number of labourers married outside of the established church in the 1700-49 cohort. It is also possible that more rigid enforcement of the 1662 Settlement Act underlined the need for the marriage of the labouring poor to be officially recorded. Certainly, parish registers were often consulted to determine
a person's settlement by mid-eighteenth century overseers of the poor.

In 1761 a new Unitarian chapel was built to replace the old George's Meeting house. The registers of this chapel are still extant but take in only 9 per cent of Colyton's population.\textsuperscript{26} Polwhele's 'History' records eighty dissenters in Colyton in 1793.\textsuperscript{27} Clearly, nonconformism was losing popularity amongst all classes in the second half of the eighteenth century and this trend seems to have continued. In the first half of the nineteenth century one of the ministers of George's Meeting died of starvation. An Independent chapel was built in 1814 for a working class congregation. Their register contains just a few entries, relating to a small section of the population. It has now been incorporated into the reconstitution. Nonconformity was thus most popular in Colyton during the period 1650 to 1750, when marriage registration deficiencies can be identified. Other Devon historians have found that nonconformism has seriously affected registration to the point of making reconstitution impossible.\textsuperscript{29} However, although the reconstitution of Colyton did prove possible, what is the significance of its results for those who were 'missing'?

The impact of missing marryers on reconstitution studies

If the theory about missing marryers being nonconformist marryers is correct, an assumed marriage date calculated by subtracting nine months from the baptism of the first child on the dummy FRFs, would be fairly accurate in a large proportion of cases. So it is possible to incorporate these new cases into age at marriage data, where the baptism date of the spouses can also be established. Since dummy FRFs constituted between a quarter and a third of all Colyton FRFs in the period 1650-1749, this addition is potentially very significant. Without these cases, which were generally craftspeople or labourers, a demographic analysis by status reflects only the top and bottom of parish society.

The inclusion of these 'missing marryers' contributes most to the male marriage figures, since it is much easier to link males to their own baptism than females, because their names were always given when their children were baptised. How does the age at marriage calculated for these extra 'dummy marryers' compare with the ages analysed for men? This is considered in Table 6 which shows that ages of the missing marryers are so near to the ages for the men who married in church that they can be used with confidence to extend the sample size by looking at 'all men'.

Unfortunately, the results for women cannot add many cases to the analyses. Only in 34 per cent of dummy FRFs in the period 1630 to 1700 was any indication given of the wife's name at all. In this minority sample, the women's christian name could be established from either a child's baptism or from another document which was used in the total reconstitution. If the dummy marriages took place in Colyton, but are not recorded there, there is reason to believe that a number of the women would be Colyton born. Since these cases could not be incorporated into the full analysis of marriage age, a separate
attempt was made to discover their age at marriage. Of these named female missing marriers, a sample of seventeen with unusual christian names was chosen. Examples of these names are Dorcas, Bashaba, Urith and Tephany. Eleven of the seventeen cases could be linked back to a baptism in Colyton. This produced a range of marriage ages from 21.9 years to 38.2 years. The mean age, however, was 28.7 years which is similar to the mean of 28.8 for women marrying in Colyton church in this cohort. This test indicates that as far as can be proven, the excluded women’s marital behaviour did not differ significantly from the women in observation.

Conclusion

It would appear that the age at marriage of the Colyton nonconformists was not markedly different from their Anglican-marrying counterparts. As we know, they continued to baptise and bury within the established church. In the absence of any detailed records it is difficult to speculate as to why marriage was unusual, especially as the nonconformists did not separate themselves from the community in terms of social and economic interaction. As all the known Colyton records have not been examined, only the chance discovery of missing documents can enlighten us further. A more hopeful prospect is the result of research on other communities with significant nonconformist congregations.

NOTES

4. The marriage registers were searched in Devon Record Office (hereafter D.R.O.) for Avmouth, Branscombe, Farway, Honiton, Musbury, Offwell, Seaton and Beer, Shute and Widworthy.
5. Axminster marriages do not start until 1695. Kilmington has no marriages recorded between 1589 and 1727. Northleigh parish registers only commence in 1697 and Southleigh’s only begin in 1754.
7. J. Caffyn, Sussex believers: baptist marriage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 1988, p.60 found that Baptists in Sussex in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries sometimes formalised marriages in parish churches after the birth of a child to establish the validity of the union in the civil court.
8. D.R.O. boxes 1 to 6, 42.
12. Personal communication with Mrs Angela Doughty and Mrs Margaret Rowe at Devon Record Office and with Mrs Audrey Erskine formerly archivist at Exeter Cathedral library has convinced me that there is no evidence of an established clandestine marriage centre in Colyton.
13. M. Spufford, Contrasting communities, 1974, p.303 found that the Willingham dissenters constituted the 'middle' of society. Caffyn, Sussex believers, 1988, pp.99, 166 found that Baptists were fully integrated into their Sussex communities in terms of officeholding and social life.
18. This might explain the Compton census' deficiency in recording nonconformists. All the population shortfall of an estimated 600 were likely to be nonconformists. See estimates in T. Arkell, 'Nonconformity and population in late seventeenth century Devon - the 1676 Compton census', (offprint in the Cambridge Group library, no. date).
19. F. Bate, The Declaration of Indulgence 1672: a study in the rise of organised dissent, 1908, pp.20-25, 62-65. I am grateful to Dr Jeremy Boulton for suggesting this reference.
20. I was fortunate to have had access to the correspondence from Peter Earle to Tony Wrigley about the Sedgemoor rebels, and the convicted men's statements given below are drawn from Earle's research.
24. S. Anderson Smith, Extracts from wills proved in P.C.C. relating to the parishes of Colyton and Shute, 1901.
25. A.A. Brockett, Nonconformity in Devon in the eighteenth century, 1958, pp.31-59.
28. B. Clapp, 'The place of Colyton in English population history', The Devon Historian, 1982, pp.4-9. Also personal communication with Mrs Ena Cummings concerning her reconstitution of the parish of Morchard Bishop. More generally, Wrigley and Schofield, Population history, 1981, pp.89-95 and J. Landers, 'Mortality and metropolis: the case of London 1675-1825', Population Studies, 41, 1987, pp.59-76 comment on Quakerism affecting registration patterns. The evidence presented here suggests that other nonconformist groups also had this effect. Caffyn, Sussex believers, 1988 uses Baptist genealogies and finds that Baptists certainly married into their own community before 1753. He associates nonconformity with a non-resident marriage pattern which is also indicated by the registers of Devon churches, since these may have had incumbents who were willing to tailor their wedding services to the requirements of nonconformists in order to validate their marriages in civil law. Seventy per cent of Baptists in Sussex married in an Anglican church.
RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

AFRICAN ANCESTRY IN BRITAIN

Paul Hair

For obvious reasons, interest has been growing recently in the history of individuals in Britain of Black African extraction and of the Afro-British 'community' in general. A fundamental aspect of the inquiry is demographic, starting with the question of how many such persons lived in Britain at particular periods. Most of the statements on the history of Blacks in Britain so far in print derive from Black Studies sources and tend to be polemical, for instance, in presenting seemingly wild over-estimates of total numbers. Although the search for 'Roots' in Africa initiated by the misleading claims of the late Alex Haley is largely an impossible exercise, the search for family roots within Britain is practical and one to be encouraged and assisted. Here, at Liverpool, for instance, families with African forebears go back some four or five generations.

Census returns and parish registers are the normal sources for such studies. Two Liverpool theses on topics relating to Blacks in Britain include investigations of a sample of parish registers for the critical period 1700-1850. Before 1700 it is highly unlikely that any significant number of 'Blacks' was to be found in Britain. The number increased and became significant during the eighteenth century, and then probably declined after the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807. Thus, the Liverpool families mentioned above do not, in my view, go back to slave trade days but were founded by African sailors and other arrivals who stayed in Britain after 1850. (At Liverpool the picture is not complicated by Caribbean arrivals until the present century). Whether there was continuity elsewhere between the pre-1807 'black community' and the present day Afro-British one is controversial and needs to be explored. It is, however, plausible that in the early nineteenth century a considerable degree of genetic assimilation occurred and that, while the 'black community' virtually disappeared for a time, the genes of pre-1807 Africans were dispersed in the general white population, from which it would follow that a slight degree of African ancestry is widespread in Britain today.

To date investigations have, to the best of my knowledge, been limited to London and Liverpool. While it is unlikely that references to Blacks occur in the registers of rural parishes, the registers of many other sea ports and urban centres could reasonably be searched. Family reconstitution studies covering several generations might be particularly revealing. The purpose of this note is merely to stimulate interest and begin a discussion. There may well be existing local studies I have overlooked, and if so this indicates the need for a preliminary bibliographical inquiry. Is there a volunteer?
NOTES

1. Some indication of what can be learned from parish register studies can be found in Stephen J. Braidwood, 'Initiatives and organization of the Black Poor 1786-1787', *Slavery and Abolition*, 3, 1982, pp.211-27. This article was part of a larger study which is now in preparation for publication, and a more recent study (of blacks and criminality) also using parish registers, by Dr Norma Myers, is currently under consideration for publication.

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MISCELLANY

FAMILY NOMENCLATURE IN ENGLAND AND WALES

An extract from the Registrar General’s Sixteenth Annual Report, published in 1856 (pp.xvii-xxviii), prepared by Tom Arkell

In former reports I have described the nature and important use of the indexes prepared in this department, by means of which the entry of any registered birth, death, or marriage can be generally referred to, on the mere mention of the name, in a very short space of time. These indexes, which are separately prepared for the births, deaths, and marriages registered in each quarter, receive a yearly addition of upwards of 1,350,000 names; and at the end of the year 1854 they contained the names of 4,828,464 persons married, of 9,598,276 children born, and of 6,622,108 persons who died during the period of 17½ years from 1st July 1837, when the system of general registration commenced. More than 21,000,000 of the names of the immediate subjects of one or more of the important events of birth, death, and marriage were thus inscribed in the indexes to the registers, which thus form a nominal list of no inconceivable number of the people of England, living or deceased.

The personal or family nomenclature of the inhabitants of any country is a subject of considerable interest. Much that is illustrative of their early condition, customs, and employments is often discoverable in the names which have been handed down to them from bygone generations, and an investigation of the origin and character of these names will always afford matter for curious speculation and useful inquiry. English surnames have already to some extent engaged the attention of antiquaries and others, who have brought to light many interesting facts on the subject; but several curious questions as to the number and extension of particular surnames have never, owing doubtless to the want of a sufficient collection of observations, been fully examined. As a contribution in aid of such inquiries, it may prove not uninteresting to notice here a few of the more obvious facts derived from the indexes to the registers, leaving the application of them to those whose tastes may lead them to follow up the subject.

The most striking circumstance presented by the indexes is the extraordinary number and variety of surnames of the English people. Derived from almost every imaginable object, – from the names of places, from trades and employments, from personal peculiarities, from the Christian name of the father, from objects in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, from things animate and inanimate, – their varied character is as remarkable as their singularity is often striking. Some of the terms which swell the list are so odd and even ridiculous that it is difficult to assign any satisfactory reason for their assumption in the first instance as family names, unless indeed, as has been
conjectured, they were nicknames or sobriquets, which neither the first bearers nor their posterity could avoid.

The probable number of surnames in England and Wales have been the subject of conjectural estimates based on a small collection of facts. I have ascertained the number of different surnames contained in one quarterly index of births, and in another of deaths; the former selected with reference to the period of the last census and the latter without premeditation. The following are the results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Persons registered</th>
<th>Different surnames</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Births</td>
<td>Quarter ending 31st March 1851</td>
<td>157,286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaths</td>
<td>Quarter ending 31st March 1853</td>
<td>118,119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to these numbers, there were for every 100 of the births registered about 16 different surnames, and for every 100 of the deaths about 18, reckoning every surname with a distinctive spelling, however slightly it may differ from others, as a separate surname. Taking the two indexes together, and by a careful collation eliminating all duplicates, the numbers stand thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons registered</th>
<th>Different surnames</th>
<th>Different surnames to every 100 persons</th>
<th>Persons to one surname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>275,405</td>
<td>32,818</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An alphabetical list of 32,818 surnames, the largest collection yet made, is thus obtained; and as this result is furnished by two quarterly indexes only, it may be assumed as a rough estimate that the whole number in England and Wales is between thirty-five and forty thousand. It is important, however, to remember that the list includes a large number derived from the same roots as others, commonly agreeing in sound, but differing in orthography often only to the extent of a single added or substituted letter. By these trifling variations the number is immensely increased. The name of Clerk, for instance, is also commonly spelt Clark and Clarke, one and the same primary name (from clericus) being implied in the three forms; but three separate items necessarily appear in the list, for practically as surnames they represent different and distinct persons and families. Again, the widely spread name of Smith appears in family nomenclature also as Smyth, Smythe, and even as Smijth. It is not usual, however, to regard these divers forms as representing one name only, nor would their bearers probably all concur in admitting the common origin of the several variations. Until a comparatively recent period, an entire disregard of uniformity and precision in the mode of spelling family names prevailed, even amongst the educated classes, and many family Bibles and writings might be adduced as evidence that this was apparently less the result of carelessness than of affectation or design. While the sound was in a great measure preserved, the number of different surnames become greatly multiplied, by these slight orthographical variations, as well as by other corruptions: and if, in reckoning the number, each original patronymic with its modifications were counted as one, the list of 32,818 would be considerably reduced.
The contribution of Wales to the number of surnames, is very small in proportion to its population. Perhaps nine tenths of our countrymen in the principality could be mustered under less than 100 different surnames; and while in England there is no redundancy of surnames, there is obviously a paucity of distinctive appellatives in Wales, where the frequency of such names as Jones, Williams, Davies, Evans, and others, almost defeats the primary object of a name, which is to distinguish an individual from the mass. It is only by adding his occupation, place of abode, or some other special designation, that a particular person can be identified when spoken of, and confusion avoided in the ordinary affairs of life. The name of John Jones is a perpetual incognito in Wales, and being proclaimed at the cross of a market town would indicate no one in particular. A partial remedy for this state of things would perhaps be found in the adoption of a more extended range of Christian names, if the Welsh people could be induced to overcome their unwillingness to depart from ancient customs, so far as to forego the use of the scriptural and other common names usually given to their children at baptism.

From the circumstance of their common British origin it might be supposed that the Welsh people and the inhabitants of Cornwall would exhibit some analogous principles in the construction of their surnames; such, however, is not the case. The Cornish surnames are mostly local, derived from words of British root, and they are often strikingly peculiar. A large number have the prefix Tre, a town; the words Pol, a pool, Pen, a head, Ros, a heath, and Lan, a church, are also of frequent occurrence in surnames.

While it is obvious that the original adoption of a particular surname was the result in most cases of arbitrary circumstances, — since John Smith, instead of being called after his occupation, might equally have chanced to become John Johnson from his father's Christian name, or John Wood from the situation of his abode, or John Brown from his complexion, — it is curious to remark the predominance of certain names, which seem to have been adopted preferentially by large numbers of the people, or conferred upon them by others, and now prevail in every county of England.

The subjoined list (Table 1), of 50 of the most common surnames in England and Wales is derived from 9 quarterly indexes of births, 8 of deaths, and 8 of marriages; and although the inquiry might have been extended over a more lengthened period, it was found that the results were in general so constant as to render a further investigation unnecessary. When arranged according to the numbers in each index, the names appeared almost always in the same order, and the variations, when they occurred, rarely affected the position of a name beyond one or two places. These 50 names embraced nearly 18 in every 100 of the persons registered. The 3 names at the head of the list, Smith, Jones, and Williams, are, it will be observed, greatly in advance of the others; and if the numbers may be taken as an index of the whole population, it would appear that on an average one person in every 28 would answer to one or other of these 3 names.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Surnames</th>
<th>Number of Entries of each Surname</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Surnames</th>
<th>Number of Entries of each Surname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>33,557</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>7,042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>33,341</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>6,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>21,936</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>6,742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>16,775</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>6,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Davies</td>
<td>14,983</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>6,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>14,346</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>6,084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>13,017</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>6,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Evans</td>
<td>12,555</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>5,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Roberts</td>
<td>10,617</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Morris</td>
<td>5,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>9,468</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>5,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Robinson</td>
<td>9,045</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td>5,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>8,917</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>5,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>8,476</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>5,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>8,238</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Clarke</td>
<td>5,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>8,188</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>5,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Walker</td>
<td>8,088</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Moore</td>
<td>5,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>8,010</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>5,230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>7,996</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>5,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td>7,959</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Phillips</td>
<td>5,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>7,916</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Watson</td>
<td>4,771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>7,839</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Shaw</td>
<td>4,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>7,808</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>4,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>7,659</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Bennett</td>
<td>4,671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>7,549</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>4,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>7,192</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Griffiths</td>
<td>4,639</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 440,911

Regarded with reference to their origin, it seems that of the 50 most common names more than half (27) are derived from the Christian or forename of the father, and are thus literally sire-names or surnames. This is the most primitive form of a second name, and it was extensively used amongst the Anglo-Saxons as well as by other European nations. Names derived from occupations are next in number, and contribute 13 to the list. (Table 1). Seven of the 50 surnames belong to the class of local surnames, and are expressive of situation, as Wood, Hall, Green, &c.; and two (Brown and White) are derived from personal peculiarities.

Upon the facts derived from the indexes of the registers for the year 1853, the probable number of persons in England and Wales bearing each of the 50 most frequent surnames have been computed. The results will be found in the subjoined Table 2. From this estimate it appears that the persons by whom
Table 2  Estimated number of persons in England and Wales bearing the under-mentioned Fifty most common Surnames. (Deduced from the Indexes of the Registers of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, and the estimated Population in the Year 1853.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surnames</th>
<th>Estimated Number of Persons in 1853</th>
<th>Of the entire Population One in (%)</th>
<th>Surnames</th>
<th>Estimated Number of Persons in 1853</th>
<th>Of the entire population One in (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen</td>
<td>40,500</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>35,200</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>43,600</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>Lewis</td>
<td>58,000</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bennett</td>
<td>35,800</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>43,900</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>105,600</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>Moore</td>
<td>39,300</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>33,400</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td>41,000</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark</td>
<td>50,700</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>Morris</td>
<td>43,400</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke</td>
<td>38,100</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>39,100</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>38,100</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>Phillips</td>
<td>37,900</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>48,400</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>Price</td>
<td>37,900</td>
<td>486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies</td>
<td>113,600</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>Roberts</td>
<td>78,400</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>43,700</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>Robinson</td>
<td>66,700</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwards</td>
<td>58,100</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>Shaw</td>
<td>36,500</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evans</td>
<td>93,000</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>253,600</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>59,400</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>Taylor</td>
<td>124,400</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffiths</td>
<td>34,800</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>94,000</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>60,400</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>Thompson</td>
<td>60,600</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>51,900</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>Turner</td>
<td>56,300</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>47,200</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>Walker</td>
<td>59,300</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>52,200</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>Ward</td>
<td>45,700</td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes</td>
<td>59,000</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>Watson</td>
<td>34,800</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>55,800</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>56,900</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>43,100</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>159,900</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>69,500</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>66,800</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>242,100</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>61,200</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>42,300</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>Wright</td>
<td>62,700</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | | | Total of 50 Surnames | 3,253,800 | 5.7 | 17.54 |

these 50 surnames are borne amount to about 3,253,800: nearly one sixth of the entire population of England and Wales. On an average, it seems, one person in 73 is a Smith, one in 76 a Jones, one in 115 a Williams, one in 148 a Taylor, one in 162 a Davies, and one in 174 a Brown.

It is sometimes useful, in dealing with an extensive list of names, to know the proportionate numbers commencing with each letter of the alphabet. With such information, the names may be subdivided, according to the initial letters, in groups, large or small, so as to secure tolerably equal numbers in each group. The experience of the department in this respect, derived from the registration indexes, is given in Table 3. It appears that the letter B is the most frequent.
Table 3  Proportion per cent of Surnames indexed under each initial letter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial letter</th>
<th>Proportion per cent</th>
<th>Initial letter</th>
<th>Proportion per cent</th>
<th>Initial letter</th>
<th>Proportion per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>I and J</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>U and V</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Thus if divided into four groups, it would be convenient to take the letters A to D, E to J, K to R, S to Z; for three groups A to F, G to O, P to Z; for two groups, A to J, K to Z, &c.

Initial of surnames amongst us, comprising more than a tenth of the whole (11 per cent). Next in number are the surnames ranked under the letter H (9.5 per cent); then those under S and W (8.9 and 8.7 per cent).

Such are a few of the principal results presented by the registration indexes. A more extended examination of these large collections of surnames would doubtless develop other facts of equal interest.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your faithful Servant,
GEORGE GRAHAM.
Registrar-General.

NOTES

1. First and Sixth Annual Reports of the Registrar General.

Editors' note

The table numbers have been changed from the original, which were, respectively tables XVI, XIX and XX. It should also be noted that the columns headed (%) in Table 2 have been added to the original.
SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Notes on articles compiled by Terry Gwynne, reviews by Peter Franklin and notices by Kevin Schürer

W.A. Armstrong
'Some counter currents of migration: London and the south in the mid-nineteenth century', Southern History, 12, 1990, pp.82-113.

Professor Armstrong uses census data from the published census volumes and from the enumerators' books to examine the counter currents that carried people from London into other parts of England and Wales in the mid-nineteenth century, and argues for a symbiotic relationship between London and the southern counties which entailed flows of resources in both directions.

R.A. Davies

R.A. Davies provides a brief but revealing examination of the effects of the Black Death on parish priests, rectors and vicars on the basis of the evidence of the episcopal registers of Coventry and Lichfield. This reveals the dramatic extent to which these beneficed parish clergy suffered in the outbreak of plague, e.g. in total 208 parish priests of the diocese died in the six months of the Black Death April-September 1349. He calculates a death rate among beneficed clergy of about 36 per cent, although such a figure conceals significant variation. It is possible to discriminate between rectors and vicars who suffered mortality rates of 33 per cent and 46 per cent respectively.

Klaus-John, Dodds

The author examines Reading's relatively limited experience of cholera in the nineteenth century in the context of local borough politics and public health provision by drawing upon a wide variety of sources including cholera deaths reported in the local newspaper.

Richard J. Evans

Given the increasing interest in twentieth century demography this review article provides a useful entry into the debate over the effects or otherwise of the Great War on demography in general and family life in particular.
Simon Fowler

The author examines how the records created by the Richmond Poor Law Union and central government can be used to show how vagrants passing through an area were treated. In 1849 the monthly average of vagrants relieved in Richmond was 6; in 1863 it was 459.

Clare Gittings

This is a very useful introductory survey of sources which the author describes as ‘virtually neglected by historians’. Although not of great relevance to strictly demographic studies there are references for example to action by the authorities to deal with plague, the treatment of orphaned children, immigrant families and communities.

C.S. Hallas

Dr Hallas presents the nineteenth-century migration pattern identified in Wensleydale and Swaledale in the context of the dynamics of migration. She makes combined use of census enumerators’ books, Registrar General’s Reports and local material.

S. Ryan Johansson

This article undertakes an examination of how best to account for historical variability in differential mortality, and includes references to the statistical work of John Graunt in the seventeenth century and William Farr in the early nineteenth century.

E.D. Jones

Dr Jones replies to Dr Bailey’s criticism of the demographic value of the Myntling Registers (see LPS 46, p.62 and pp.62-3).

Ellen Jordan

The author draws upon the published censuses 1851-1911 which give age-breakdowns of the numbers within each occupation to examine the assumption
that changes in employment structure caused by industrialism did not bring in their wake any major long-term problems of unemployment. It is the author's conclusion that certainly in the case of women such an assumption is erroneous and that there was endemic female unemployment in the period 1851-1911. The argument is based upon the interpretation of the census figures for 15-19 year olds and includes discussion of their validity.

Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos

The Bristol apprenticeship registers are used to examine the careers of about two-thirds of the apprentices 1600-45 who failed to obtain the freedom of the town when their apprenticeships came to an end. For the majority of apprentices the normal pattern was one of a relatively short apprenticeship followed by migration to the countryside or overseas.

Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos

Using Bristol’s records of apprenticeship supplemented by evidence from autobiographies and diaries, the author examines the training, formal and informal, of young women in Bristol in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Norma Landau

In this article, an earlier version of which was delivered to a seminar at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Norma Landau investigates the way in which parish officers used the laws of settlement to regulate the immigration of the poor into their parishes. The article focuses upon the administration of the settlement laws in eighteenth-century Kent: the sources used are notes of settlement business recorded in the minute books of Kent’s petty sessions. The extent to which hypotheses based upon settlement documents in some areas of one county can be applied to English society and economy in general is considered.

Graham Mayhew

Using evidence from sixteenth and seventeenth century muster rolls for Rye and the 1660 poll tax the author explores issues of apprenticeship and service, and casts doubts upon many assumptions regarding their extent as a life-cycle institution for town dwellers, as distinct from the rural experience.
Diana O'Hara

Using evidence of depositions in Canterbury's consistory court the author seeks a definition of kinship and examines its ideological importance in structuring social relations.

Richard Oliver

A usefully brief guide to the Ordnance Survey likely to be of use to any LPS reader who needs to select or make reference to Ordnance Survey maps.

Barry Reay

The author examines the historian's functional definition of literacy based on the ability to sign or make a mark in the context of a local study which suggests that the simple dichotomy between literate and illiterate is inadequate and that to understand literacy it is essential to enter the cultural environment of the time under study.

James C. Riley

The author compares four groups in terms of health and survival and concludes that life expectancy at working ages has improved substantially since the eighteenth century, but the probability of survival in health shows much less substantial improvement. The groups are chosen on the basis of availability of data, and the sources include the records of a committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, 1824, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows Manchester Unity 1866-70 and 1893-97, and the General Household Survey 1985-87.

Pamela Sharpe

Some twenty-five years after Tony Wrigley's pioneer family reconstitution study of Colyton Dr Sharpe continues the search for answers to questions raised by this reconstitution, in this instance the dip in late seventeenth-century marriages and baptisms and the fall in female age at marriage from a high at the beginning of the eighteenth century which led to the broad hypothesis that age at marriage and marriage chances were crucially affected by broad trends in real wage levels (see, Wrigley and Schofield, *Population history*, pp.420-54). Dr
Sharpe focuses on Colyton spinsters to look at the demographic data in a sex-specific manner which suggests the conclusion that the late eighteenth-century fall in female marriage ages occurred in a context of de-industrialization, i.e. in Colyton rural industry grew in circumstances which discouraged marriage.

Pamela Sharpe

Dr Sharpe again returns to the well-known parish of Colyton to carry out an investigation into patterns of pauper apprenticeship over two centuries based upon data drawn from the parish.

Humphrey R. Southall

Recognising both the contribution of census studies to the history of internal migration in Britain and their limited horizons, the author turns to the records of the Steam Engine Makers’ Society for empirical data on which to base a study of the responsiveness of migration to economic circumstances, and the frequency and nature of successive movements. These records, too, have their drawbacks and these are discussed. The extent to which results based upon them can be applied to other groups is also considered.

Denis Stuart

The author examines definitions of literacy and uses probate wills and inventories in the Lichfield Joint Record Office relating to the parish of Yoxall, Staffordshire, to estimate levels of literacy.

John M. Theilman

Using medieval miracle lists from the eleventh to the fifteenth century the author focuses upon 1575 putative miracles to investigate in the general context of peasant society health problems, parent-child relationships and male-female relationships.

Kate Thompson

This is a timely article, of interest to LPS readers, by a county archivist which considers the future of county record offices under proposed local government re-organisation against the background of increased demand for their services.
P.R. Coss

Lordship, Knighthood and Locality. A Study in English Society c.1180-c.1280,
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for Past and Present Publications,

Knights have traditionally been the "poor relations" of medieval historiography,
less obvious in their appeal than the great nobles and less well documented
than the peasants on great estates. Not that this has prevented their changing
fortunes from becoming a bone of contention, especially since R.H. Hilton put
forward the theory that they went through a period of social and economic
crisis in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

Since the mid-1970s, a series of local studies have begun to remedy the neglect
and contribute to the debate. These have usually taken the county as a unit,
following the practice of medieval kings who saw knights as potential county
administrators and justices. P.R. Coss's book tries to break this mould by
undertaking a study of a much smaller area which had a specifically feudal
structure, the Honour of Coventry, which was made up of properties around
and in that town. Once the possessions of Countess Godiva (the Lady Godiva
of legend), by the end of the eleventh century they had come into the hands of
the powerful earls of Chester. This was an area of late colonisation, with a
population scattered among tiny settlements and a strong free peasantry. Coss's
main concern is with the petty lords of these free peasants, and his major
sources are a number of collections of deeds which survive from this area. (He
edited some of these in The Early Records of Medieval Coventry, published
for the British Academy in 1986). The economics of the earl's tenants must be
studied largely from these because only a single manorial account roll has
survived from the whole Honour, and the author handles their evidence well to
present a picture of a group of small lords whose estates often consisted of
scattered rents and dues, sometimes including urban property, who had little or
no demesne land, and who often did not hold by military tenures. The book's
wealth of local detail is made more accessible with the help of good maps.

Local studies of this quality have strong implications for wider history, and this
one provides considerable support for Hilton's view. Coss finds that in the
earlier part of his period the local society of the Honour included large
numbers of petty knights ("milituli"), some of them so obscure that they are
difficult to trace in the records. Growing inflationary pressures put many of
them under strain, producing sharp conflicts within the group over the control
of natural resources, court profits and other sources of income. As might be
expected, these led them to put greater pressure on their peasant tenants, but
local conditions were unsuited to the spread of serfdom: indeed, serfdom was
in decline in this area in the early thirteenth century. As time passed, there was
a turnover in the personnel of the knightly group, as we should expect to find in
any local population, but Coss argues that there was real social change at work.
It was the petty lords whose properties were more scattered who were more
likely to "drop out" and cease to become knights. For some, not taking up
knighthood can itself be seen as part of a kind of planned retreatment,
reflecting their concern to husband their resources in an age when the costs of
knighting ceremonies and military equipment were rising to levels which many
found insupportable. Their neighbours who possessed more compact properties had more success in consolidating these and exploiting their resources more intensively, increasing the chances that their descendents would remain knights and become members of the emerging gentry of later times. It is a conclusion which should stimulate further research.

The book’s production upholds the usual high standards of the Cambridge University Press except for the single plate, which reproduces part of the Caludon Account Roll at a scale which will send many readers searching for a magnifying glass. (Peter Franklin).

C. Carpenter

Locality and Polity. A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp.xviii + 793. £75.00)

Whereas Dr Coss’s book Lordship, Knighthood and Locality explores the origins of the gentry in a Warwickshire honour, Dr Carpenter’s presents a survey of the gentry of the whole county two centuries later, after ‘honours’ had lost much of their importance. And what a survey it is! ‘Carpenter has undertaken a huge task, and one which must have given her very great intellectual pleasure over the past twenty years. The result is a feast of learning, but one must ask whether it was necessary to provide quite so many courses, for this study of not many more than one hundred families has grown into a book of some 800 pages. This reviewer has counted some 2,378 footnotes and can remember when the author of a local study of the peasantry was taken to task for providing more than 800. The result of this treatment is that the book is extremely expensive, and it is a great shame that so good a work should be beyond the pockets of many interested parties.

The size of the book does make it possible to look at length at the structure of gentry society, their incomes, and how they fared during a time of great political instability. One of the most fascinating parts of Carpenter’s discussion concerns the linked questions of how to define the medieval ‘gentry’ and how to interpret the rich collection of Latin, French and English names which late medieval society used to describe people within or just outside this group. There was a clear break in sizes of incomes between Warwickshire’s knights and the noblemen above them, so this can be used as the dividing line at the ‘top end’ of the gentry. At the bottom end, the Arden area, in particular, had witnessed the rise of some rich peasants into the gentry in an earlier period, but the author argues that very little of this was still going on in the fifteenth century. In that century the minor gentry of Warwickshire (as elsewhere) were beginning to award themselves the title of ‘gentleman’, and Carpenter argues that these people were not successful peasants who had crossed the divide into landed society, but the bottom end of the already established landowners who were anxious to mark themselves off from the ‘uppity peasants’ (a good phrase) who were doing so well at this time. This contrasts with Nigel Saul’s view of social mobility in Gloucestershire, expressed in his Knights and Esquires (OUP, 1981), though his work was mainly concerned with the fourteenth century. So how did one break into the ranks of a group which was increasingly anxious to mark off its own special standing? Possibly by marrying an heiress or widow,
though the preference of these ladies (or of their families) seems often to have been for husbands from their own class. This route seems to have been mainly for successful administrators and lawyers, leaving us to ask whether the 'uppity peasants' route to social promotion had been largely blocked off by this time.

The book is a fine addition to studies of the medieval gentry. Local Population Studies readers would like to have more strictly demographic information about the lives of these people, but the sources, alas, preclude that for this period. But they will find much of interest (and perhaps some things to challenge) in the author's use of listings and in her analysis of social mobility. Its production is, in general, excellent, with clear and well-chosen illustrations. These are only let down by a map of the county (p.26) which shows such a mass of place-names in small type that readers unfamiliar with the details of Warwickshire's topography will probably turn to an atlas instead. (Peter Franklin).

J. Gibson and M. Medlycott
Local Census Listings, 1522-1930. Holdings in the British Isles, Federation of Family History Societies, 1992, pp.60, ISBN 1872094 40 6 (available from FFHS, Benson Room, Birmingham and Midland Institute, Margaret Street, Birmingham, B3 3BS. £2.50 plus p&p.)

Compiled primarily as a finding-aid for family historians and genealogists, this small booklet is the most comprehensive guide to local listings of inhabitants to be published to date. This is a great improvement on the 'List of Listings' published by county in Local Population Studies nos.1-47, not only because it pulls the information together in a single publication, but also due to Mervyn Medlycott's tremendous effort in tracking previously 'unknown' listings in local record offices and in some cases private collections. Like most of the guides in this series the information is given in a concise, easy-to-use form, organised by county. For anyone wishing to know about the availability of listings material, this publication is a must. KS

M. Gregson

This short essay about the mill-owning and mill-working Docwra's of Kelvedon, Essex, is a remarkable piece of work given that it was initially written as a sixth-form 'A' level project. Tragically, its author Mark Gregson subsequently died a few years later in a car-accident, and this publication issued by the Local History Museum forms a fitting tribute. Quakers are well-known for their business acumen - Barclays Bank, Lloyds Bank, Cadbury's and Fry's chocolate, Clarks shoes; the list goes on. Indeed, Quakers were also very prominent in the milling industry, a local Essex example being provided by the Marriages, a large and important firm of millers based at Springfield, Chelmsford. The Docwra family never secured the same degree of success as the Marriages, in part because Kelvedon is not as favourably situated as Chelmsford, but also because the Kelvedon Docwra's failed to produce a male
heir, the family finally becoming extinct in the early twentieth century. However, their story is still an interesting one – one which the author sets out in three distinct phases, each governed by a strong Quaker moral and ethical viewpoint. In the eighteenth century the family experienced what the author terms a disciplinarian phase, this was followed in the early nineteenth century by a business-orientated phase, with the last fifty years of the family’s presence being marked by a philanthropic phase. The text is concise, readable and the sources are well-used; it is a publication which any small local history group can be proud of. KS

C.D. Rogers and J.H. Smith

This volume will have great appeal for many Local Population Studies readers. In some respects this is very much a ‘how-to-do-it’ book, yet unlike some books of a similar nature an even balance is maintained between the presentation of previous findings and the description of the research process. The first part of the volume entitled ‘The History of the Family, 1538-1914’ provides a very solid introduction to the subject, in a style which is both highly informative and easy to read. This is followed by a section entitled ‘The Exploitation of Source Material’ which covers much of the ground already well-trodden by Local Population Studies – aggregative analysis, family reconstitution, census analysis. Yet the way in which the authors combine the strictly demographic approach with what might be termed the local history approach is admirable. A final section focuses on the issues currently under the scrutiny of academic researchers, and in posing the question ‘what to investigate’ sets out a handy research agenda for those anxious to get their ‘hands dirty’. In summary, following the traditions of Local Population Studies, this volume proves a useful bridge between the professional researchers and the local demographic historian, and as such is highly recommended to the readers of this journal. KS
CORRESPONDENCE

Letters intended for publication in LPS should be sent to Kevin Schürer, 27 Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1QA

Editors' note

LPS readers are reminded that the editorial board is always prepared to offer advice on subjects within the scope of LPS. Sometimes queries which have been raised are discussed in print in this section of the journal but there are many others which are not published, so if you think we can help do not hesitate to contact us.

A call for help

Dear Sir,

This is both a letter of thanks and an appeal for help. LPS readers who have known me since my student days will know that I have an illness of twenty years standing which has frequently prevented me from working for long periods. This has only been correctly diagnosed and treated in the last two years as Myalgic Encephalomyelitis (ME) and, as a result, I am now left severely disabled, housebound and frequently bedridden. The situation is that sometimes may brain works and my body does not; sometimes my body works and my brain does not; sometimes neither work; and sometimes both function together and I am relatively well. It is unlikely that this will change much from now on and there is no possibility of my returning to full-time research.

I have managed to write to a few people who have been of particular help to me but I'm afraid it is an impossible task to write to everyone personally. I owe many notes of thanks and many of you will have put me down as a bad correspondent. But I am not ungrateful, it is just that it has become more and more difficult to carry on, especially during the last five to six years. So, this is a general 'thank you' to everyone who has offered or provided me with accommodation; helped me to apply for grants; find publishers for my books; sent me reprints, illustrations and references; commented constructively on my work; and encouraged me to carry on research in a subject which is so wide and multidisciplinary that it often seemed impossible that one person alone could complete it. I would like to assure the grant committees, to whom I owe end of grant reports, that their money has been well spent and that I am always careful to acknowledge their financial assistance in my publications.

Now to my request for help. I would like to continue my research from home during the periods when I am well enough to work and, particularly, to write up the material I was working on before I became too ill to continue in 1989.
My greatest problem is keeping up with the literature because I cannot travel to libraries. I can only continue if you will help me by sending me reprints, references, illustrations, publishers' catalogues, information about relevant theses and reports, library accession lists, notices of conferences and symposiums and their proceedings, and any publications of computer searches you think might be useful. Because I will only be able to work at a slow pace I need to receive this information on a long-term basis.

My main areas of interest are the feeding and care of infants in all countries and all periods, but particularly Britain, the British Empire, Europe and USA in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: infant feeding vessels, nipple shields and breast pumps, human milk banks, breastfeeding and Aids, breastfeeding and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome, wet nursing, nurse children, fertility and lactation, the effect of women's work on feeding methods, maternal nutrition and welfare; infant welfare; infant morbidity and mortality; maternal mortality; foundlings and foundling hospitals; infanticide, abuse and overlaying of infants; swaddling; history of nutrition, particularly nutritional deficiency diseases (Rickets, infantile Scurvy, infantile Beri-Beri, Kwashiorkor, etc.); diarrhoeal disease; history of paediatrics, childhood and the family. I also need to know about current research on breastfeeding, artificial feeding and weaning worldwide.

If you feel you could help me liaise with publishers or notice any grants for which I might be eligible to help cover research expenses, and/or could help me to apply for them, please let me know. Also, if any of you are throwing out books, papers or office equipment which might be of use to someone working at home please think of me. Anything would be helpful. All I have at present is an Amstrad PCW 8256 (with no software) and a calculator.

In return, I would like to use my sixteen years of knowledge and experience to help people researching in the same field. I often receive letters requesting information but as I am frequently unable to write or type I have great difficulty in replying to these. Instead, if people would telephone me during the day, preferably in the morning, then I could deal with request in a few sentences. If anyone would find it helpful to discuss their research they are welcome to visit me at home provided they telephone first to make sure I am well enough (Junction 10 on M1; Junction 8 on A1(M); A10 and A505 from Cambridge). I am unable to give lectures, present papers in person, or commit myself to any deadlines but I do hope to meet several outstanding commitments to books and publishers. I hope very much that editors will still feel I have something to offer but it will need to be on the understanding that if I am too ill to meet the deadline they will need to have a second string in mind. I am also able to comment on, or edit, papers; referee papers for journals, and do the occasional book review, but only of they are central to my subject and one at a time. If you think I could help in this, please telephone me first to check the current situation. As I cannot afford reprints unless the journal or publisher provides them free I'm afraid I cannot respond to casual reprint requests but I shall continue to send reprints or copies of my publications to those on my reprint list and those to whom I have promised copies.
If you work in a department please leave a copy of this letter with the secretary and librarian and post it on your notice board, and if you are going to a conference please put a few copies in your briefcase to distribute to interested parties. My ability to continue at all depends entirely on whether, and how much, other people are prepared to help me.

Yours faithfully
Valerie Fildes

Holt View, Lye Hill, Breachwood Green, Hitchin, Herts. SG4 8PP. Telephone (0438) 833 244.

Small Towns in England - ESRC Research Project

Dear Sir

The Small Towns Project, based at the Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester, has been running under the direction of Professor Peter Clark since 1985. Funded by the ESRC, the European Commission, and the Nuffield Foundation, the Project has been collecting and computerizing historical data for England’s "small towns", for the period 1600-1850. Following our previous notices in LPS, interested individuals and local history groups have kindly helped us by providing information. Our volunteer and Leicester-based research teams have now helped assemble over 100 parish register aggregations. These have been added to the 97 aggregations generously donated by the ESRC Cambridge Group to the Project from their collection of 404.

The Project has steadily built up information for a historical database, to allow the changing fortunes of England’s 800-plus "small towns" to be charted during the early-modern period. Data has thus far been collected in two principal areas: demographic information from parish registers, using the Cambridge Group methodology; and occupational data, transcribed using forms and protocols designed at Leicester, in consultation with Loughborough University. Data collection has now begun in a third field, looking at a range of "socio-cultural" indicators – numbers and types of societies, schools, local publications, etc. This combination of information will form the basis for future micro and macro studies on the development of England’s small towns. Preliminary findings, from Professor Clark and Dr Wilson, will be published in a forthcoming Cambridge University Press volume on European Small Towns, edited by Peter Clark.

We would be glad to hear from other local historians or groups who would be interested in taking part in the Project.

Yours faithfully
Emmett Sullivan

Centre for Urban History, College House, Leicester University, Leicester, LE2 1XE. Telephone (0553) 522591.
An LPS Supplement

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