

**THE PROTESTATION RETURNS, 1641-1642:
PART II, PARTIAL CENSUS OR SNAPSHOT? SOME EVIDENCE FROM
PENWITH HUNDRED, CORNWALL**

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Foreword

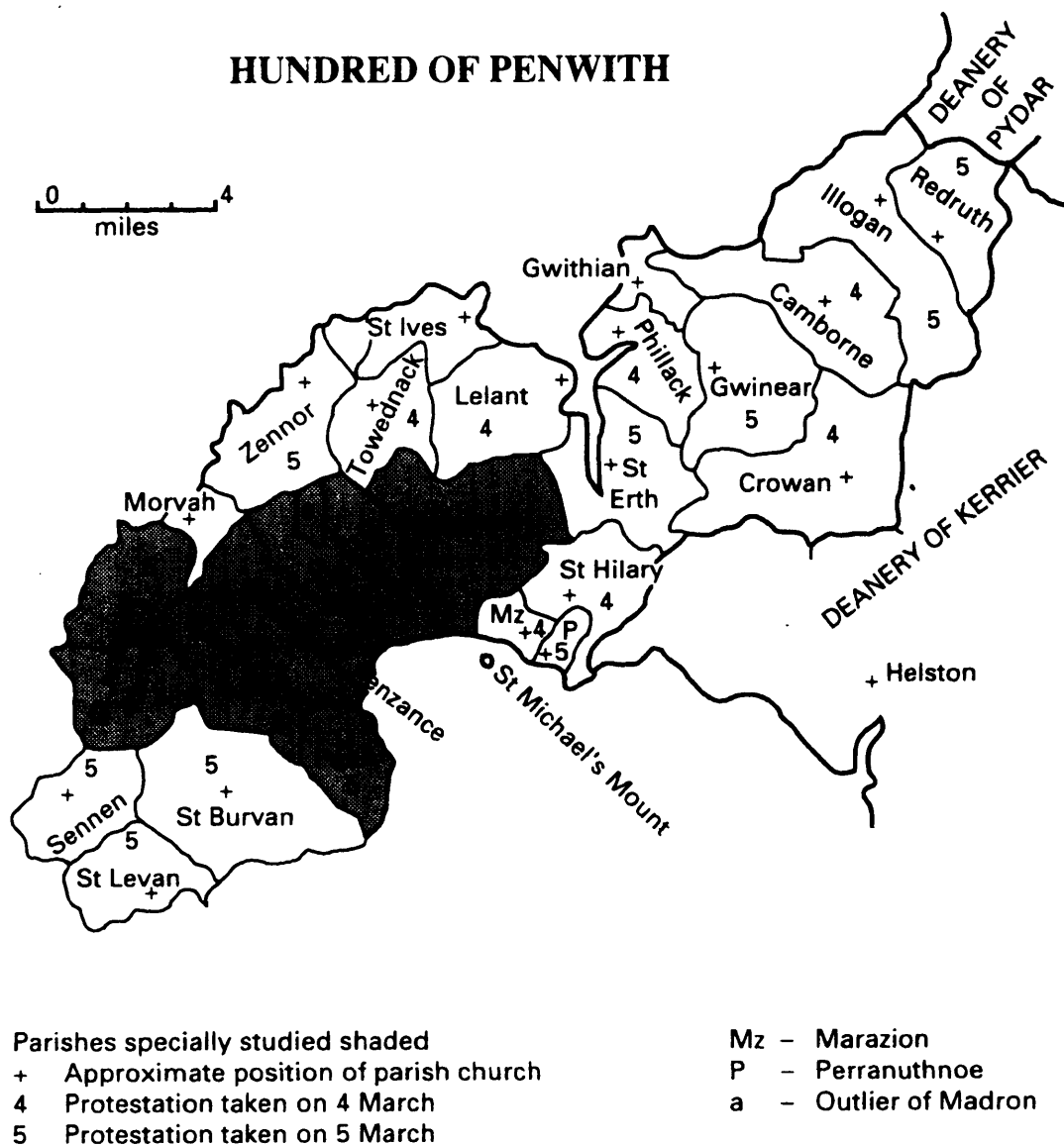
The late Vivien Russell, FSA, is best known as an archaeologist who pioneered the identification and comprehensive listing of antiquities by an intensive field study of a defined area: her 'West Penwith Survey', *Cornwall Archaeological Society* (Truro, 1971) and 'Isles of Scilly Survey', *Isles of Scilly Museum and Institute of Cornish Studies* (1980) are landmarks. At the same time she was a learned student of Cornish local history. Throughout the 1970s she worked intensively on the Penwith hundred Protestation returns and local parish registers. After her death in 1992, Anne Whiteman continued to work on the Protestation returns papers left to her by Vivien Russell, preparing them for publication. It is Anne Whiteman's intention to leave her papers on the Protestation returns to a suitable repository in West Cornwall for the use of other scholars.

Introduction

As the Protestation returns were intended to record a full list of all the male inhabitants, aged eighteen and over, living in a parish, they should in effect constitute a partial census, from which demographic evidence may be drawn; the fact that temporary absentees are often noted strengthens the presumption that the lists were intended to be comprehensive.¹ But they may have elements of a snapshot too; strangers are sometimes included with an explanation why they were present in the parish on the day when the Protestation was taken, like the crews of two ships in St Ives harbour, one from London and the other from Farlam (in Cumberland, although the return reported it from Scotland), and 72 'Frenchmen' in Belton parish, in Lincolnshire, who were assisting Vermuyden with his draining activities.²

To investigate, in the case of any return, 'who was an inhabitant of a parish, and who was a 'visitor' or 'stranger', is difficult and perhaps in the last resort only partly feasible. Nevertheless the late Vivien Russell of Sennen Cove, West Cornwall, set herself the task. She chose for detailed study the six West Penwith parishes of Gulval, St Just, Ludgvan, Madron, with its chapelry of Penzance, Paul and Sancreed, which form a contiguous block in the Land's End peninsula (see the shaded area on the map).³ Deficiencies in the evidence available from the parish registers made it impossible to include a similar study of the large parish of St Buryan with its chapelries of Sennen and St Levan.⁴ But her work on the area, and on the other parishes in Penwith hundred, was

Figure 1 The Hundred of Penwith



extensive. This involved the carding and numbering of each man listed in the Protestation returns of 26 parishes and chapelries in all, and a consolidated index of the names, with a note of the parish in which they took the Protestation oath.⁵ Details of men with the same names were added from the home registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, and also from a considerable number of other surviving Penwith parish registers.⁶ Her aim was, in the main, to establish as residents those names in the returns for each parish, and to identify the remainder who do not appear in the registers of the six parishes, or elsewhere in the district, and might be considered 'strangers'. She was also concerned with examining in detail the way in which the Protestation was organised in the area, how the returns were made, and what were their special characteristics.

Taking the Protestation Oath

The Protestation returns for the hundred of Penwith are remarkable in that, of the 26 parishes and chapelries, only three (those for St Erth, Sennen and Perranuthnoe) are 'fair copies', with the names all written in one hand; that for Gwinear, probably in two or three hands, is also without signatures and marks. The remaining 22, accordingly, offer first-hand evidence of how the returns were organised at local level. All were made on 4 or 5 March, the very days after the ministers and parish officers had themselves taken the oath at Helston, a small town in the Lizard peninsula, the designated centre for Kerrier and Penwith hundreds; this was done in the presence of two magistrates, Ezekiell Grosse of St Buryan (Penwith hundred) and John Trefusis of Mylor (Kerrier hundred). Also present were Hugh Thomas of St Buryan, High Constable, and Simon Prust, of Lelant, the Hundred Constable. How well planned this meeting was is shown by the attendance at it of one minister or curate from each parish in Penwith hundred and all but perhaps one in Kerrier (with one away sick). Every parish in both hundreds also sent, for the most part, two constables, two churchwardens and two overseers of the poor, and some of them more of each. The boroughs of Marazion and Penzance, both of them chapelries, did not have separate ministers; at Helston, the vicar of St Hilary signed for the former, and the vicar of Madron for the latter.

The meeting at Helston must have been a considerable assembly, with its business presumably taking a good deal of time, since something like 47 ministers and about 316 officers, from the parishes in both hundreds, had to take the Protestation.⁷ Daylight hours at the beginning of March are not very long; it is tempting to conjecture that time may have been saved by tendering the oath to representatives of each parish together, rather than individually, but of this there is no evidence. But whatever methods were adopted, it must have been a lengthy process to collect the signatures or marks of about 360 persons. What is more, a busy programme was scheduled for the ministers and officers of the Penwith parishes on one of the two next days, when they had to supervise those required to take the Protestation oath in their respective parishes.

Men over eighteen in the parishes nearer to Helston met their officers on 4 March, a Friday. These were Camborne, Crowan, St Hilary and its chapelry of Marazion, Phillack, Lelant and its chapelry of Towednack. It seems likely that the same day was appointed for Gwithian and perhaps St Ives, though the returns for these parishes are not dated. Those living further away took the Protestation on Saturday, 5 March. The parishes are known to have been St Buryan with its chapelries of Sennen and St Levan, St Erth, St Just, Paul, Sancreed and Zennor; although the returns are undated, this was almost certainly also the day for Gulval, Ludgvan, and Madron with Penzance and Morvah chapelries. The returns for Illogan, Perranuthnoe and Redruth, though all in East Penwith, are dated 5 March. From Helston to Penzance is approximately 13 miles; St Just, St Buryan, Sennen and St Levan are at least seven to ten miles further to the west. Most of the parishes for which 4 March must have been arranged for the oath-taking lay no more than ten miles or so from Helston, so perhaps it was not unreasonable to expect the ministers and

officers to supervise the proceedings in their parishes the day following the hundred meeting, although a good deal of travelling was involved. Officers living west of Penzance had at least an extra day before they met their parishioners.

It must be presumed that warning of the proceedings, with the day and time of assembly, had already been given to those liable to take the oath, but unfortunately how far ahead this was announced, and by what means, is not known. The place of meeting was probably the church, and is so specified in the return for Zennor. The vicar of St Just, however, refers to 'our usual place of meeting', which Vivien Russell suggested might be an indication that it was not the church but the Plain-an-Gwary, the area in the middle of St Just where once miracle plays had been performed. The extent of the West Penwith parishes, and the siting of the 'church town', meant that the distance even from the most remote settlements or farms seldom entailed a journey of more than two or three miles, and often less; it is reasonable to suppose that there were convenient church paths, even where the terrain was rough, as much of it must have been. Accordingly there would not appear to have been any particular difficulties in assembling the men of the parish, providing they were fit enough and young enough to come. What the weather was like on 3, 4 and 5 March is not recorded, but as the ink on some returns is blotted, sometimes showing the imprint in reverse of another sheet (eg some sheets for Camborne, St Ives, St Just and Ludgvan) showers or longer periods of rain may have occurred.

All the Protestation returns for parishes in Penwith hundred are written on paper, either on double or single foolscap sheets. They do not follow exactly the same form. Three, for St Just, Gwithian and Sancreed, begin with the wording of the Protestation itself, in a scribe's hand. Several have an initial statement, often with the date, and sometimes with a list of officers; a certification by the minister and officers that the above-named have taken the oath, and none has refused it, is often at the end. That for St Just is more informative. The minister and officers state that all the men in the parish of eighteen years and over have complied, except for certain old and sick men willing but not able to come, and also some tanners and others who were 'at the bloweing-houses and elsewhere' out of the parish 'before we had order given to us to warne them, and are not yet returned'. The order to give this warning must have come from outside the parish, and presumably pre-dated the Helston meeting of 3 March. Most of the returns do not record that the list of names is in fact of men of eighteen and over, but this is specified in the case of Crowan, St Just, St Levan, Sancreed and Redruth, and it is a reasonable presumption that this was the intention everywhere. Of course some under eighteen may have been included; not everyone necessarily knew his own age. At least one person listed in the St Just returns appears to have been too young to sign.

The appearance of the returns varies widely. Some are tidy lists, the names written neatly in one, two or three columns, bearing witness to an orderly procedure and careful supervision; among these are the returns for Madron and Gulval. Others are very untidy, with names all over the place, like the return for Lelant and part of that for Illogan; wavy lines, trying to shape the names into columns, run down the sheets for Crowan. The return for Sancreed is

unique in consisting of three ruled columns, each with its narrow space on the left for the mark, if needed, with a larger space for the name on the right; this was carefully marked out with horizontal lines, giving each name one space. Unfortunately there turned out to be more persons to give assent to the Protestation than there were spaces, so that the second sheet ends with a number of names, somewhat squashed into four columns at the foot, but nevertheless neatly written. It was obviously difficult to supervise the proceedings in some of the more populous parishes, like Paul, where a great deal of paper was wasted; perhaps more than one sheet was being completed simultaneously to save time. The return for Perranuthnoe, in East Penwith, suggests by the bunching of surnames that the Protestation oath may have been taken by the inhabitants of each farm in turn or even, as Vivien Russell wondered, by the officers going round to each settlement. Unfortunately it is a fair copy, probably in the curate's hand, so that the order of the surnames may have been rearranged later, and how the names were taken at this time cannot be established.

Assessing literacy

It is not by any means easy to decide which in the lists of names are signatures. Respect for the more honourable persons in a parish is often shown by the grouping of what are undeniably signatures at the top of a column or columns, generally on the first page. Thus the return for St Buryan begins with eight signatures, four of them members of the prominent Noy family; the second column has eight, with four members of the Levelis family; Francis Godolphin heads the list for St Hilary, two members of the Arundel family at Camborne, and the stylish signature of Thomas Tresilian begins the return for St Levan. Signatures are scattered throughout the lists in a number of parishes; sometimes two consecutive names are apparently in the same hand, so perhaps a man signed for his less literate brother or neighbour.⁸ Respect is also paid to borough officials; the mayors of Penzance, Marazion and St Ives are all prominent at the beginning of the respective returns, with others of the corporation. The body of every return is in the hand of one or more scribes not, in general, easy to identify, though not, except in the cases of the returns for Sennen and Perranuthnoe and perhaps St Erth, clearly professional ones. Sometimes it is the incumbent or curate who wrote part or most of the return; the distinctive hand of John Kete, the vicar, is at the beginning and the end of the return for Madron, and also as scribe for most of the names in that for Morvah, a chapelry of Madron. John Smyth, vicar of Sancreed, wrote out some of the names, as did Samuel Sweete, vicar of Zennor. Sometimes others in the parish shared the burden; at Ludgvan, for example, as well as the rector, one of the churchwardens and an overseer of the poor probably did their part. In many cases, however, it is difficult to identify the hand of the scribe with certainty.

A man unable to write his own name was required, in theory at least, to put a mark beside it on the return. Some lists preface the name with the words 'the signe of' or 'the sine of', with the mark between the Christian name and the surname; sometimes the mark preceded the name; sometimes the mark is placed to the right of the name. There is little uniformity, and indeed none

Table 1 Percentages' of signatures and marks on the Protestation Returns of Penwith parishes

Parish	% definite signatures	% doubtful signatures	% marks
St Ives	33	7	60
Penzance	31	2	67
Camborne	21	9	70
Crowan	21	1	78
Lelant	21	2	76
St Hilary	20	2	78
Gwithian	19	3	79
Morvah	19	5	76
Madron	18	11	71
Marazion	18	11	71
Gulval	17	0	83
Sancreed	17	14	69
Illogan	16	2	82
St Levan	16	2	81
St Just	14	3	84
Zennor	14	10	76
Redruth	13	1	85
Towednack	12	0	88
Paul	9	9	81
Phillack	8	0	92
Total (3127 names)	19	5	76

Notes: Parishes omitted in the above lists are St. Buryan, St. Erth, Gwinear, Ludgvan, Perranuthnoe and Sennen, totalling 775 names.

could be expected. The marks themselves vary from lines at various angles, crosses, a variety of abstract patterns, and attempts, more or less successful, to write one or both of the initials of the man's name. These last are often at a peculiar angle, and appear sometimes upside down, as if the scribe wrote the name sat on one side of a table, and the man making his mark on the other side: thus we find a capital M by the name of Wedge, on the return for Towednack. The return for St Just has CE for Charles Ellis, O for Lawry Ottes, IV for John Ustick, B for Bennet Sacerly and what appears to be a P on its head for Francis Peares. A flicker of independence is shown by a firm H by the scribe's rendering of the name written as Omfrie Martin, of Gulval. These letters may have been made by men who had a smattering of the ability to write, but used it seldom except on solemn occasions. How desirable it seemed to be able to write one's own name is perhaps uncertain; John Gelbart, an overseer at Zennor, signed himself in the parish but made his mark at Helston, though it is possible someone else did it for him.

It is clear that a number of those who should have made their mark did not do so. Some returns have a number of signatures, a number of names with marks beside them, and a number of names which are not signatures but are without marks, often written in the hand of one of the scribes for the parish. The extreme case is the return for Ludgvan, which out of 187 names includes four signatures, eighteen names with marks beside them and 165 without any marks

at all; that for St Buryan also has a number of names in a scribe's hand without marks, and examples may be found elsewhere. The cynical might assume that these are the names of men known to live in the parish but not actually present on the appointed day at the church or other place of assembly: this can be neither confirmed nor contradicted. In Table 1, the percentage of names which cannot be established as either signatures or having marks by them are classified as 'doubtful'; these have been added together to suggest an overall percentage of the illiterate, but is likely to be an overestimate. It is however worth noting that the percentage of those able to write their own names is markedly higher in the two boroughs of St Ives (33 per cent) and Penzance (31 per cent) than in the rural parishes. The re-examination of the returns has not in all cases confirmed Cressy's percentages of illiterates in the Penwith parishes, but there are few significant differences when the difficulties of interpretation are taken into account.⁹ If the parishes of St Buryan, St Erth, Gwinear, Ludgvan, Perranuthnoe and Sennen are left out of the calculation as providing little or no reliable evidence of literacy, the mean percentages for the remaining parishes and chapelries work out to 19 per cent signatures, 76 per cent with marks against them, and 5 per cent difficult or impossible to classify.

Identifying the oath takers

What evidence is there to establish that those named in a parish return lived in that parish and which men over eighteen who might be expected to be listed are not included? These are two questions Vivien Russell had in mind when she began her detailed investigation of the six parishes. Taking each Protestation return as her base, she extracted the names on the list which also occurred in the baptismal registers of each parish; those of eighteen years of age in 1642 should have been baptised no later than 1624. She also noted from the marriage and burial registers any reference to men with the same name; these might, or might not, refer to the same person.¹⁰ Also incorporated on the card for each man named are any references to the same name from the surviving registers for other Penwith parishes she was able to consult, and any other contemporary records, especially the lists, mostly by parish, of those who served in Slanning's regiment in 1643.¹¹ Correct identification is of course a crucial problem.

There is, first of all, the question of names. Some surnames in Penwith hundred are distinctive, like Noy, Jacka and Madderne, but it is by no means the case that they were largely confined to a specific parish or district, though some may have been, such as Bosince in Sancreed and Vellenoweth in Ludgvan. Moreover, Vivien Russell noted that the Protestation returns show that not all surnames were hereditary by 1642. In Zennor a churchwarden was called Andrew Bodinned in the list of those who were present at Helston, and Andrew Noye alias Bodinner in the parish one, and an overseer was Francis White at Helston and Francis Madderne in the parish. In Gwinear a churchwarden was similarly George Browne and George Eedes. She also drew attention to the point made by Canon Taylor in his commentary on the St Just Easter Book of 1588 to 1596,¹² that in some instances the father's Christian name becomes the son's surname, and though admitting that the Protestation returns do not give actual proof of the continuance of this custom, pointed out that

there are frequent occurrences of pairs of names entered consecutively which would bear this out if father and son came to sign or make their mark together: e.g., in St Buryan, Jenken Dennis and Arthur Jenkin; in St Just, Wearen Richard and Edmond Wearen.¹³ In addition, the mishearing or misinterpretation of a name may complicate identification still further; she instanced in the St Buryan list, Nicholas Parrye and David Harrye and Thomas Carne and Robert Barne, juxtapositions which may be co-incidental, but probably are not. Baptismal names might be unusual; St Just, for example, boasted of exotics like Arcules (Hercules) and Ogustin (Augustine), whereas at St Buryan were to be found Hanibal, Peroclis (Pericles) and Diogenes. But most men had common or relatively common names.

Secondly, the limitations of parish registers in supplying names of local inhabitants are generally accepted. A man who lived all his life in the same parish and died unmarried might leave at most two entries, those of his baptism and burial, and even these might go unrecorded. The care with which each incumbent or curate kept his registers must have varied widely. The quality of recording during the lifetime of men born before about 1624, and still active in the 1640s, defies generalisation, but coverage in the registers of Gulval, Ludgvan, Madron with Penzance chapelry, Paul and perhaps Sancreed (though perhaps less so after the Restoration), seems good, as is that for St Just except for the baptismal registers. But for St Buryan and St Ives, two large parishes with chapelries, registers only survive from the 1650s; those for Zennor are patchy, and a number begin only in the late seventeenth, and early eighteenth century (see endnote 4). Entries in the baptismal, marriage and burial registers may all help to identify a man, but do not give any information whether he was in a parish in or around 1642.

Vivien Russell's indexing of the names in each Protestation return for the six parishes and in Penzance chapelry makes it possible to say how many of these can be found in the registers of the home parish, though when more than one man with the same Christian and surname occurs in the Protestation returns, the entries in the registers do not always make it clear whether the references apply to one or more persons. Baptism and burial dates are sometimes helpful in such cases. Vivien Russell's own research led her to the conclusion, which she would almost certainly have regarded as tentative, that about 88 per cent of all the names in these Protestation returns are to be traced in their home registers.¹⁴ As Table 2 shows, a reworking of the evidence suggests that it is maybe a little higher: 89.5 per cent. In Sancreed and Gulval it is probably 93 per cent: in Madron and Penzance chapelry (they share the same register), 85 per cent. It cannot of course be assumed that all those whose names occur in both sources refer to the same person, but it is reasonable to presume that the majority do. A detailed examination suggests that, overall, identification is probable in 56 per cent, and possible in 33.5 per cent, of the men listed; but many of the judgements which go to make up the classification set out in Table 2 are necessarily subjective.

Perhaps the most reliable evidence of the presence of a man in a parish just before and just after 1642 is a record in the home register of the baptism of his

Table 2 Identification of names in the Protestation Returns

Parish	Gulval	St Just	Ludgvan	Madron	Penzance*	Paul	Sancreed	Total
Number of names in Protestation Returns (PR)	151	259	187	183	241	277	120	1418
Probable identification of same person in PR and home registers (%)	65.6	60.2	58.3	55.2	57.3	48.0	46.7	55.9
Possible identification of same person in PR and home registers (%)	27.8	31.7	29.4	33.9	25.3	43.0	46.7	33.6
Same names occurring in home parish registers (%)	93.4	91.9	87.7	89.1	82.6	91.0	93.3	89.5
Names in PR not found in home parish registers but possibly associated with one or more persons in PR, or connected with parish (%)	0.7	2.7	1.6	2.2	0.8	2.2	1.7	1.8
Names in PR not in home registers but in other West Penwith registers (%)	3.3	0.4	7.0	5.5	4.2	3.6	0.8	3.5
Names not traced in West Penwith registers (%)	2.7	5.0	4.7	3.3	12.5	3.3	4.2	5.2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Names found in home parishes but not in PR, although apparently of suitable age (18 years)	22	28	22	44*	37	18	171	

Notes: * = Penzance was a chapelry of Madron and as such entries for Penzance are included in the Madron parish registers.

children. At least 22 out of the first 60 entries in the Protestation return for St Just share the same name as men in the parish who had children baptised in the crucial period; it is probable that they can be identified as the same people. A similar sample for Gulval, a smaller parish, discloses that about 23 names of a sample of 60 men listed in the Protestation return are also to be found in the home register as having had children baptised in or near 1642, and these men seem likely to have been resident in Gulval at the time. Such evidence is useful in showing that a number of identifications are probable, as are a miscellany of references in the registers of marriages, although it is not clear whether there was any current convention that the ceremony should take place in the bride's or bridegroom's parish. Dates of burial may also be useful, sometimes suggesting that two men of the same name may have been in the parish, rather than the one perhaps indicated. That about 44 per cent of names in the

Protestation returns are also to be found in one or more of the surviving parish registers of Penwith hundred presents a problem, but many of these references do not appear relevant as an indication of where a man was living in 1642, and in general evidence from the home registers has been preferred in making the classification in Table 2, though of course not necessarily correctly in all cases. Other instances in which the evidence is conflicting or incomplete have been classified as tending to possible rather than probable identification.

Each of the Protestation returns for the six parishes and Penzance chapelry includes some names which are not found in the registers of the home parish. A few of these are possibly associated with one or more persons in the same Protestation return, or connected with the parish in a special way. Another group of names, again not found in the home parish, occurs in the registers of other Penwith parishes, but identifications are often very doubtful. A third group consists of names not traced in any surviving Penwith registers at all. The number in all the groups is very small, totalling only about 10.5 per cent of the total number of those named in the returns.

The first of these groups is directly related to the completeness of the registers as a guide to the inhabitants of a parish. There are a number of names in each Protestation return which seems to be closely associated with men whose identification with names in the registers seems probable or possible: they share a surname, and signed or made their mark in the return next to that name, suggesting some relationship and perhaps habitation in the same parish. Thus in Paul parish, Noall Thomas's name appears next to that of Will Thomas, Sampson Pender's name next to that of Robert Pender, Edward Nicholas's next to that of John Nicholas. Seven men in the return for St Just are recorded next to someone with the same surname, whose position may of course merely indicate a welcome extended to a relation outside the parish, but it may equally point to a fellow inhabitant whose name has somehow escaped inclusion in the registers. There may also be some argument with a surname found, according to the Protestation returns and parish registers, solely in that parish. Single persons with the name of Chelew, Vellenoweth and Cadwedres seem likely to be inhabitants of Ludgvan, the Protestation return for which records four with the name Chelew, five with that of Vellenoweth, and one other with that of Cadwedres. Also candidates for inclusion are William Isaak and George Wheare, both overseers of the poor in Paul parish, since it seems unlikely that this office would be held by someone who was not an inhabitant of the parish, although their names do not appear in the registers. A total of 25 is a conservative estimate of those who should be placed in this group; the number might easily be extended by a rather more liberal interpretation of 'association' in the returns. But the fact that none of the names in question is found in the registers of neighbouring parishes is some indication that the men lived in the parish whose Protestation they signed or to which they put their mark, and seems to justify their separate grouping.

A second group, about 3.5 per cent of the total returns, consists of those which are not found in the home registers, but may be traced in the registers of neighbouring Penwith parishes, some with assurance, some very tentatively. Whether these point to men who had migrated, or to temporary visitors who

found it more convenient to take the oath in the parish in which they found themselves – as must have done James Incleton, of St Keverne parish in Kerrier hundred, noted in the return for Camborne – is unknown. But what they do indicate is that those recorded were predominantly men of West Penwith, as their surnames overwhelmingly suggest.

The third group, just over 5 per cent of the 1418 persons named in the Protestation returns of the six parishes, consists of names found neither in the home parish registers nor in those of neighbouring parishes. Of these 77 persons, 31, perhaps 33, have a surname found in the home Protestation return, and 29 in the Protestation returns of other Penwith parishes. Only 15, less than a quarter of the group, have surnames not found in any Protestation return or registers (so far examined) of any parish in Penwith hundred. Among these 15 are some surnames which may be found as those of men who made their Protestation in other parts of Cornwall; this seems to be the case in 11 out of the 15 names, some of them common or relatively so in the centre and east of the county. Only four of the 15 names do not otherwise figure in the Index to the printed edition of the Cornwall Protestation returns,¹⁵ and even of these, three have a Cornish ring about them (Polpeare, Chelenros and Treffulack). These Cornish names may be compared, significantly, with those of the crews of two ships, previously mentioned, as in St Ives harbour, names unmistakably those of men from areas far from Cornwall.¹⁶ Unfortunately there is no indication why these strangers were in West Penwith in March 1642, but it is noticeable that the highest number of these names are to be found in Penzance, an urban centre likely to have attracted men from other parts of the county.

Vivien Russell also set herself the task of scanning the registers of the six parishes in the hope of identifying men over eighteen in 1642 who might have been expected to appear in the Protestation returns, either in the parish where some event of their life had been recorded, or in a neighbouring parish. She compiled a list of these 'missing persons', totalling them to 171; inclusion or exclusion in some cases inevitably becomes a matter of subjective judgement. There is, of course, a possibility that some of these were already dead but their burial had not been registered, or that they had moved away from the area. Thus the total 171 is a potential maximum, although of course under-registration must also be taken into account; but if it or some similar figure is accepted, the proportion of males aged eighteen and over in each parish might have to be inflated by something like 10 to 15 per cent (see Table 2). But unless a full list of those who were not present was given on the return, and this is often not included, there is no direct evidence about who could have been present and was not. We have to make do with the imperfect statement about absentees at St Just, reports from St Buryan, Gulval and Sancreed that there were no 'refusers' or 'neglecters', and declarations from Crowan, Gwinear, St Hilary, St Levan, St Just, Ludgvan and Sancreed that those who had taken the Protestation were all the men over eighteen in the parish or, alternatively, that all the names in the return were of those over eighteen in the parish: the interpretation of the wording – whether they mean the same thing – is an open question. In none of the parishes in the hundred was a single Catholic recusant reported, and not a single dissenter.

Table 3 Estimated population in certain West Penwith parishes, 1642 and 1676

Parish	Protestation return, 1642			Compton Census, 1676 ^a			Ratio, CC/PR
	n.	x 3.0	x 3.5	n.	1.4 ^b	1.7 ^b	
St Just	259	777	907	773	1082	1314	2.98
Ludgvan	187	561	655	430	602	731	2.30
Madron with Penzance ^c	424	1272	1484	1000 ^c	1400	1700	2.36
Paul	274	822	959	700	980	1190	2.55
Sancreed	120	360	420	165	231	281	1.38

Notes: ^a = 1676 figures from A. Whiteman (ed.), with the assistance of Mary Clapinson, *The Compton Census of 1676: a critical edition*, (British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, NS 10, London, 1986), 285-6. There was no return in 1676 for Gulval, the other parish specially investigated.

^b = For the use of 1.4 and 1.7 for the multipliers of the 1676 figures see T. Arkell, 'A Method for estimating population totals from the Compton Census returns', in K. Schürer and T. Arkell, (eds), *Surveying the People*, (Oxford, 1992) 97-116, esp. 114.

^c = See *Compton Census*, 286, fn. 143.

Population estimates

Each Protestation return must, of course, be assessed on its merits in trying to decide how far it is a partial census and how far a snapshot. There can be little doubt that, on the remarkable foundations which Vivien Russell laid her study of these six parishes of West Penwith, it is reasonable to conclude that identification of a considerable number of men listed on the returns with men found in the home registers is either probable or, a lesser number, possible, and that the returns may accordingly be taken as evidence for the population in the parishes in 1642. Such a calculation needs the help of suitable multipliers. What these should be remains a matter of conjecture, but it is suggested that, as the number of men of eighteen and over in a parish is likely to have constituted about 30 per cent of the population, a multiplier between 3 and 3.5 is probably appropriate. It is certainly misleading to suggest that a more precise figure would be any more likely to provide accurate results, since the margins of error are considerable. Table 3 suggests that a comparison of the number of men over eighteen who assented to the Protestation in five out of the six parishes in West Penwith for which a return is also available in the Compton Census of 1676 points to considerable agreement about the size of the populations in 1642 and 1676 in all except Sancreed, where a marked discrepancy is found which cannot at present be explained. In making such comparisons, changes in population cannot of course be ruled out, but it is more likely that some returns are misleading, as one of those for Sancreed may be. Nevertheless, the care with which the Protestation returns were compiled in 1642, as demonstrated in both parts of this article, points clearly to the view that they constitute a partial census. Further work on them, as pioneered by Vivien Russell, will bring about greater clarification and enable demographers to use them with greater confidence.

NOTES

1. The original Protestation returns, in the custody of the Clerk of Records, House of Lords Record Office (hereafter HLRO), are filed by county and hundred or division, etc. For further details see the first part of this article published in the previous issue of this journal; A. Whiteman, 'The Protestation Returns of 1641-1642: Part I, The General Organisation', *LPS* (1995), note 1, 25. I am grateful to the Clerk and his staff for allowing me access to the returns over the years, making me various photocopies which I was permitted to lend to the late Vivien Russell, and giving me help of various kinds. The returns for Cornwall are printed: see T.L. Stoate, (ed.), *Cornwall Protestation Returns, 1641* (Bristol, 1974). See also Jeremy Gibson and A.J. Dell, (ed.), *The Protestation Returns of 1641-2 and Contemporary Lists* (Federation of Family History Societies, 1995) for a recent survey of existing returns.
2. Stoate, *Cornwall Protestation Returns*, 65 (the heading, 'A note for the names of strangers', is misleadingly placed, implying that it refers to all three columns and not only to the first one); W.F. Webster, (ed.), *Protestation Returns 1641-2, Lincolnshire* (Nottingham, 1984), 73.
3. HLRO, Cornwall, Penwith Hundred, has returns for all the parishes and chapelries. Those generally regarded as in West Penwith are St Buryan, with St Levan and Sennen chapelries, Gulval, St Just, Lelant with St Ives and Towednack chapelries, Ludgvan, Madron with Penzance and Morvah chapelries, Paul, Sancreed and Zennor; in East Penwith, Camborne, Crowan, St Erth, Gwinear, St Hilary with Marazion chapelry, Illogan, Perranuthnoe, Phillack with Gwithian chapelry, and Redruth.
4. For a survey of the dates covered by the registers of the parishes in the Deanery of Penwith (co-terminous with the hundred) and their location, see Hugh Peskett, (ed.), *The Guide to the Parish and Non-Parochial Registers of Devon and Cornwall 1538-1837*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, Extra Series, 2 (1979). It should be noted that Vivien Russell only recorded the names of men in her search of the registers.
5. It is probably impossible to arrive at a satisfactory total of those who assented to the Protestation in Penwith hundred, partly because of obscurities in the returns, and partly because some names may be duplicated. Vivien Russell thought that the number was about 3,800, but suggested that it might be higher, by up to 27, because of the problem of deciding whether a man who signed a list was, or was not, the man of the same name who acted as a parish officer. A count of all entries in the returns, ignoring probable or possible duplications, comes to 3,899; 3,921 names are recorded in her consolidated index for the hundred, but this almost certainly includes a number of duplications. Her analysis of Christian names totals some 3,891, but of course entries which are illegible are omitted, and there may again be some duplication.
6. It should be noted that entries for the chapelry of Penzance are included in the Madron registers, but Morvah, another chapelry of Madron, kept its own registers. Morvah is not included in the detailed study below.
7. HLRO, Cornwall, Penwith and Kerrier hundreds: list of those who took the Protestation at Helston, 3 March 1642.
8. For example, Thomas Robert and John Robert, at St Levan; Bennet Tremellion and John Ballamy, at Redruth, is less certain.
9. David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge, 1980), 73, 192.
10. On the problems of nominal record linkage, see E.A. Wrigley, (ed.), *Identifying People in the Past* (London, 1973).
11. Royal Institution of Cornwall, Truro, Courtney Library, PET/1/1.
12. J. Taylor, (ed.), 'The Easter Books of St Just in Penwith 1588 to 1596', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 20, 230-1.
13. Other examples are: at Camborne, Humphrey Townen and Richard Humphrey, Olliver Wade and John Oliver; at Crowan, James Breay and Thomas James, Walter Hugh and John Walters; at Gwithian, Richard Michell and Percie Richard; at Ludgvan, Nicholas Davie and Richard Nicholas; at Paul, Nicholas Cock and Thomas Nicholas; at Zennor, Thomas Phillip and John Thomas, David Udy and Richard Davye, Thomas Nennis and Mathew Thomas.
14. Vivien Russell's further research on the returns and on the parish registers for Redruth, Gwithian and Perranuthnoe, though not on the same scale and through the same scrutiny of the registers of neighbouring parishes, revealed much the same tentative results; 93 per cent of the names in the Protestation returns for Redruth and Perranuthnoe and 90 per cent of the names for Gwithian, occur in the parish registers.
15. Stoate, (ed.), *Cornwall Protestation Returns*, 281-324.
16. See above, endnote 2.