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Place and Population:
A Study of Five Parishes in South Norfolk, 1551-1900

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Table of Contents

Abstract 9
Acknowledgements 10
Chapter 1: Introduction: Landscape and Historical Demography 11
Chapter 2: Sources and Methodology 27
Chapter 3: Parishes In Context 63
Chapter 4: Tracking Over Time - Reconstitution 137
Chapter 5: Tracking Over Time - Censuses 195
Chapter 6: Marriage: Concept of 'home' and that of 'community' 258
Chapter 7: Baptisms and Births 312
Chapter 8: Conclusions 364
Chapter 9: Appendix 372
Bibliography 376

Tables

Table 1: Household Size in England, 1574-1821 21
Table 2: Parish Registers and Commencement of Records 31
Table 3: Individual Biography of Marie Philomene Cartant 53
Table 4: Norfolk Sown Acreage 73
Table 5: Agricultural Statistics for 1854 76
Table 6: Occupational Structure in the Parishes in 1856 82
Table 7: Crude Marriage Rates 84
Table 8: Illegitimate Fertility Rates (per 1000 births) 84
Table 9: Percentage Ordained Candidates Born/Baptised in Norfolk 87
Table 10: New Chapels Built, in Norfolk, with Burial Grounds Attached 91
Table 11: Decennial Numbers of Permanent and Temporary Places Licensed for the Performance of Non-Anglican Worship c.1771-1850, in England 91
Table 12: Nonconformist Congregations (Religious Census of 1851) 92
Table 13: Parish Returns 1851 Religious Census 93
Table 14: House Number and Occupancy (Number houses/ Number Vacant/% Vacant) 100
Table 15: Clavering Hundred Parishes in 1864 101
Table 16: Loddon Hundred Parishes in 1864 102
Table 17: Members of Clergy, Mundham, Norfolk 106
Table 18: Members of Clergy, Thurton, Norfolk 112
Table 19: Members of Clergy, Chedgrave, Norfolk 118
Table 20: Members of Clergy, Sisland, Norfolk 124
Table 21: Members of Clergy, Bergh Apton, Norfolk 130
Table 22: The Commencement of Parish Registration in the Norfolk Sample 133
Table 23: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Bergh Apton, Norfolk 133
Table 24: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Chedgrave, Norfolk 134
Table 25: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Mundham, Norfolk 134
Table 26: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Sisland, Norfolk 134
Table 27: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Thurton, Norfolk 134
Table 28: Total Figures for Multiple Censuses 135
Table 29: Number of Register Transcriptions 138
Table 30: Number of Marriage Forms Created from Marriage Registers and Baptism Registers 140
Table 31: Register Record Linkages 142
Table 32: Full Reconstitution Data (%) 144
Table 33: Thurton Completed Marriages and Family Size 152
Table 34: Sisland Completed Marriages and Family Size 158
Table 35: Mundham Completed Marriages and Family Size 164
Table 36: Chedgrave Completed Marriages and Family Size 175
Table 37: Bergh Apton Completed Marriages and Family Size 183
Table 38: Comprehensiveness of Parochial Registration in Shepshed 200
Table 39: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents 202
Table 40: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 203
Table 41: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents 205

Table 42: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 205
Table 43: 1861 Place of Birth and Marriage Residence 207
Table 44: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents 209
Table 45: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 210
Table 46: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents 212
Table 47: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 213
Table 48: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents 213
Table 49: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 214
Table 50: Thurton Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses 215
Table 51: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses 216
Table 52: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents 216
Table 53: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 217
Table 54: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents 218
Table 55: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 218
Table 56: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents 219
Table 57: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 220
Table 58: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents 221
Table 59: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 221
Table 60: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents 222
Table 61: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 223
Table 62: Sisland Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses 224
Table 63: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses 224
Table 64: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents 225
Table 65: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 226
Table 66: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents 227
Table 67: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 228
Table 68: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents 229
Table 69: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 229
Table 70: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents 230
Table 71: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 231
Table 72: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents 231
Table 73: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 232
Table 74: Mundham Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses 233
Table 75: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses 234
Table 76: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents 234

Table 77: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 235
Table 78: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents 236
Table 79: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 237
Table 80: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents 238
Table 81: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 239
Table 82: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents 240
Table 83: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 240
Table 84: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents 241
Table 85: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 242
Table 86: Chedgrave Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses 243
Table 87: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses 244
Table 88: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents 245
Table 89: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 245
Table 90: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents 246
Table 91: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 247
Table 92: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents 247
Table 93: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 248
Table 94: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents 249
Table 95: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 250
Table 96: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents 251
Table 97: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms 251
Table 98: Bergh Apton Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses 252
Table 99: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses 253
Table 100: Individual Movements between 1851 and 1891 254
Table 101: Total Marriages All Parishes, 1550-1899 263
Table 102: Dates of Earliest Records Recording Banns and Licence Marriages 273
Table 103: Number of Irregular Marriages in Chedgrave, 1700-1759 273
Table 104: Number of Irregular Marriages in Sisland, 1700-1749 274
Table 105: Literacy and Marriage Types for All Five Parishes 275
Table 106*:* Comparative Parochial Endogamy Between Nonconformist and Anglican Congregations in 13 Norfolk Parishes, 1837 to 1914 292
Table 107: Marriage Horizons in Bergh Apton 294
Table 108: Baptism Figures for the Five Parishes 315
Table 109: Conception Data for the Five Parishes, 1551-1900 320
Table 110: Prenuptial and Postnuptial Pregnancies and Births, When Confident of First Birth, from Marriage Registers 325
Table 111: Prenuptially Conceived Births by Century 325
Table 112: Prenuptial Births 326
Table 113: Length of Marriage Prior to Baptism 327

Table 114: Prenuptial Pregnancies and Births by Occupation of Groom and Bride's Father, Where Available.....329
Table 115: Illegitimate Birth Rates 346

Figures

Figure 1: Marriage Register, Post Rose's Act 37
Figure 2: Marriage Register, Post the Introduction of National Registration 40
Figure 3: Family Reconstitution Blank Form 49
Figure 4: Reconstituted Batchelor family 50
Figure 5: Map of Study Parishes, with churches indicated (green stars) 65
Figure 6: Soilscape Map for the Five Parishes 68
Figure 7: Land Use for the Five Parishes 75
Figure 8: Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, 1934 76
Figure 9: Employment Rate in Agriculture, 1850-2020 77
Figure 10: Farmers Listed in 1851 Census with Number of Employees, Per Farm/ Holding 79
Figure 11: Total Farm Acreage, by Parish, and Total Number of Employees from the 1851 Census 80
Figure 12: Loddon Primitive Methodist Chapel 89
Figure 13: Loddon Wesleyan Methodist Chapel 90
Figure 14: Mundham Map (1880s 6 Inch OS) 104
Figure 15: Land Ownership in Mundham 105
Figure 16: Thurton Map (1880s 6 Inch OS) 109
Figure 17: Land Ownership in Thurton. 111
Figure 18: Chedgrave Map (1880s 6 Inch OS) 115
Figure 19: Land Ownership in Chedgrave 117
Figure 20: Chedgrave Vicars and Patrons 118
Figure 21: Sisland Map (1880s 6 Inch OS) 121
Figure 22: Land Ownership in Sisland 123
Figure 23: Bergh Apton Map (1880s 6 Inch OS) 127
Figure 24: Land Ownership in Bergh Apton 129
Figure 25: Reconstitution for William and Harriet Branch 141
Figure 26: Family Reconstitution Form for John Goldspring and Martha Wright 155
Figure 27: Family Reconstitution Form for William Hurn and Elizabeth Ellis 156
Figure 28: Family Reconstitution Form for James Mimms and Sarah Riches 157
Figure 29: Family Reconstitution Form for Jerimiah Francis and Sarah Tammas 161
Figure 30: Family Reconstitution Form for John Batchelor and Elizabeth Whitton (Whittup) 162
Figure 31: Family Reconstitution Form for Osmund Clarke and Mary Batchelder 163
Figure 32: Family Reconstitution Form for John Roberts and Elizabeth Hayward 169
Figure 33: Family Reconstitution Form for William Tubby and Mary Thurston 170
Figure 34: Family Reconstitution Form for William Smouton and Sarah Kerrison 171
Figure 35: Family Reconstitution Form for William King and Ann Manning 172
Figure 36: Family Reconstitution Form for James Clarke and Elizabeth Cobb 173
Figure 37: Family Reconstitution Form for Samuel Mobbs and Lydia Norman 174
Figure 38: Family Reconstitution Form for Charles Walpole and Elizabeth Mayes 179
Figure 39: Family Reconstitution Form for Joseph Armsby and Eliza Ellis 180
Figure 40: Family Reconstitution Form for Thomas Harrod and Susan Cossey 181
Figure 41: Family Reconstitution Form for Thomas Gilbert and Elizabeth Utting 182
Figure 42: Family Reconstitution Form for Benjamin Bracey and Sarah Goldspring 188
Figure 43: Family Reconstitution Form for Henry Brookes and Elizabeth Wall 189
Figure 44: Family Reconstitution Form for Charles Palmer and Lydia Blake 190
Figure 45: Family Reconstitution Form for Edward Yallop and Ann Dye 191

Figure 46: Family Reconstitution Form for Levi Loyd and Maria Flowers.....192
Figure 47: Total Marriages All Parishes, 1550-1899.....264
Figure 48: Sisland Marriage Partners, 1690-1749.....277
Figure 49: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1700-1709.....280
Figure 50: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1710-1719.....281
Figure 51: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1720-1729.....282
Figure 52: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1730-1739.....283
Figure 53: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1740-1749.....284
Figure 54: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1750-1759.....285
Figure 55: Sisland Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century.....297
Figure 56: Thurton Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century.....299
Figure 57: Bergh Apton Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century.....301
Figure 58: Chedgrave Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century.....303
Figure 59: Mundham Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century.....305
Figure 60: Baptism Data for the Five Parishes.....314
Figure 61: Population Data from Multiple Censuses.....318
Figure 62: Total Conceptions, by Month, for the Five Parishes, 1551-1900.....321
Figure 63: Legitimate and Illegitimate Children in the Yallop Family.....353
Figure 64: Average Birth Intervals in Bergh Apton.....357
Figure 65: Average Birth Intervals in Chedgrave.....358
Figure 66: Average Birth Intervals in Mundham.....359
Figure 67: Average Birth Intervals in Sisland.....360
Figure 68: Average Birth Intervals in Thurton.....361

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Abstract

This thesis examines the importance of place and community for families in rural Norfolk in a contiguous group of five parishes over a three-hundred-fifty-year period, from 1551-1900, using established Church of England population data and methodology (censuses, parish registers, family reconstitution). The aim to establish whether there was a commitment and tie to place over that period, as is the popular general perception by the public and, in particular, those interested in family history. By locating the residents of these parishes over time, although there may be a perceived commitment to place, in reality, the numbers which demonstrate this through the parish record is low. The aim to test whether these individuals, who remain long term, are the exception rather than the rule and to assess the practicalities/ other influences which may make their interaction with the church weaker than perceived. How strong was the tie of tradition and community if it was not continued through the church record? The contradiction is that the Church of England did hold not only the individual but through community and respectability a physical hold over the individual, where illegitimacy was not acceptable and public perception all important. Where people show a commitment to place, verbally and though the oral process, the thesis aims to show that this is not demonstrated as effectively through the record.

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Chapter 1: Introduction: Landscape and Historical Demography

The thesis is concerned with the experience of place at the parish level for five parishes in rural Norfolk between approximately 1551 and 1900. It will assess place using established sources, through individuals' interactions with parish registers and their census returns, to assess their commitment to a specific place over a length of time. Can an individual's exercised decisions, over either residency or personal life choices, be assessed as the representation of their commitment to that place?

Place and Community

In terms of a definition, place refers to either a specific location, or it may reference the activity that occurs at that location, such as farming, and is about living at that place. Place is the location of the lived experience, of having an address, and the place must be physically located somewhere. Place is specific and it is worth noting that places were (and are) constantly changing and evolving, both in the literal physical sense, such as changes to the natural environment and its activity, but also in the lived memory and the minds of individuals who live and have lived there. The memories generated might include actual events, as referenced in this study, as well as other activities and the emotions that are attached to them. The events in this study are in real time, in a specific place, but become part of the life history of an individual and consideration should be given to the importance that they have attached or might attach to them, either at the time or in the future. It suggests that people identify themselves with a particular locality/village/street and feel that it is their home and was

the home of their ancestors. The importance of acknowledging and trying to understand the strength of the very individual relationship that any person might have between themselves and a place is an area that this study will reflect on. It is this connection, and especially with the Church of England, that will be considered through the study of demographic resources, parish registers and the personal information on a census return.

Society and Identity

Although the focus of this study is on the residents of the five contiguous parishes, the importance of the landscape and its changing uses form part of the consideration of the population and community in the past, in terms of employment opportunity as well as tradition. There have been several historians who have contributed to the study of this aspect of landscape and, specifically, its changes when considering the national picture of the evolution of the population. One of first historians to promote this area of study was W.G. Hoskins, and it was partly through his work that the English Local History department was established at the University of Leicester.[1] When his most influential work was published in 1955, Hoskin's approach, through the lens of the formation of the landscape via human intervention, was radical and his analysis of the historical evolution of the English landscape, helped to define landscape history. Hoskins' interpretation was significant because it shifted local history away from the more traditional description of a location and its buildings towards the explanation of the development of the landscape and its population in tandem. He argued that it could be read as evidence of successive phases of human activity, thereby revealing the

[1] W. G. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (Longman, 1984).

interaction between agriculture, economics and settlement and offered a framework as to why different communities may develop at different stages and in different ways over time. However, Hoskins concentrated primarily upon reconstructing the changes in and to the landscape such that his work provides a basis to study the demographic behaviour and migration decisions that this study seeks to explore. His emphasis was on historical developments, affecting the landscape and its uses, that led to the creation of a place and location.[2] The department has continued to focus on explaining regional differences and aims to understand the interaction between society and landscape, a process which has been termed the 'Leicester approach'.[3]

Joan Thirsk's work on agricultural regions, outlining the physical factors which divide the country between lowlands and uplands, as well as defining a central Midlands zone which could support either arable or pasture (stock) farming, can be seen as part of that approach. The earliest structure of grazing, with sheep providing the fertiliser, was managed as a form of rotation using fallow and developed in Norfolk. Enclosures led to the development of the Norfolk rotation moving away from sheep, and its connected industries which had brought wealth to the region, and increasing grain production, with the consequences of changes for the labour market.[4] Thirsk's regional approach is particularly valuable because it demonstrates that economic development and, in relevance to this study, agriculture cannot be viewed as a single, national development. Instead, variations in soils, land ownership and markets produced

[2] W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1955).

[3] *Centre for Regional and Local History* (University of Leicester), https://le.ac.uk/english-local-history/about/history.

[4] Joan Thirsk, *Agricultural Regions and Agrarian History in England, 1500-1750* (Macmillan Education, 1987).

distinctive regional economies, each creating different demands for labour. For Norfolk, this has important implications. The transition from a pastoral system towards a more intensive arable one altered both the seasonal demands for labour and lead to a different social composition of rural communities. Such economic restructuring is likely to have influenced patterns of marriage, household formation and occupational mobility, themes which are central to this study.

Historian Charles Phythian-Adams developed the term 'cultural provinces', a geographical area which the people of the past identified with, and towards which they felt a sense of belonging. He argued that English local history and the historical study of local populations have a shared interest in 'place' as a unit of analysis and as a site of a group of people or community. He warns against simply using the definition of a unit of analysis but reminds us that the society or culture which informs its growth and the feeling of belonging to it needs to be informed, not on the national level, but by in-depth case studies. The definition of 'cultural provinces' looks to group counties together and he groups Norfolk and Suffolk together as the 'Dutch Sea' in terms of its cultural province, where the 'view' is towards the North Sea and the European continent. It is within these subdivisions that we may identify separate local social systems which he terms 'societies'.[5] This concept of cultural provinces is particularly relevant for a study of five contiguous Norfolk parishes because it suggests that patterns of interaction were shaped less by administrative boundaries than by shared economic, social and cultural experience. However, the broad geographical scale of Pythian-Adams' provinces, as indicated by the co-grouping of Norfolk and Suffolk,

[5] Charles Phythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces in English Local History* (Leicester University Press, 1993), 16.

raises questions about the extent to which internal variation existed within them. Even within a single county, neighbouring parishes could experience different patterns of employment and, therefore, migration according to local landownership and agricultural practice. This study therefore aims to test whether these parishes within one cultural province do demonstrate comparable demographic behaviour or whether there is much variation on a smaller, local scale.

Pythian-Adams' earlier work, *Rethinking English Local History,* suggests that the primary focus of local history should be the 'recognisable' societies which are below the concept of the nation as a whole.[6] By suggesting that these various levels of society should be self-defining leads to an understanding that the units of analysis (village) should emerge from studying the past patterns of social interaction, for example marriage horizons. Marriage horizons offer an effective means of reconstructing social networks because they reveal the geographical extent within which individuals searched for partners. They therefore provide indirect evidence for the strength of local identity and the accessibility of neighbouring communities. Narrow marriage horizons may suggest a relatively self-contained community with strong local ties, whereas wider horizons may indicate greater economic integration or improved transport connections. Marriage formed the basis for the creation of a new economic unit, which, in turn, led to population changes both in terms of total numbers and age structures. It is these personal linkages and relationships which provide the community with its stability, continuity and tradition. There are, according to Pythian Adams, a range of different neighbourhoods to be identified from the wider individual community,

[6] Charles Phythian-Adams, *Rethinking English Local History* (University of Leicester Press, 1987).

through short-range occupational dynamics to the shire/province and, finally, the nation itself.[7] Examining these changing patterns across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries allows the relationship between economic change and community cohesion to be explored empirically.

K. D. M. Snell's, member of the Centre for English Local History and author of *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950,* key themes are belonging and identity and he recognises the central role of the church in maintaining both. By taking a range of source material, different archives such as parish registers and Poor Law records, and physical materials such as gravestones, he assesses and considers subjective feelings regarding an individual's attachment to their locality. Snell demonstrates that the parish and the individuals within them have connections that are termed social, cultural and religious, not necessarily a direct but an indirect connection, one which persists through to the end of the nineteenth century.[8] For the work undertaken in this study the importance of the church relationship is being tested in a similar indirect way.

Snell focuses on a range of issues which are pertinent to this study, such as the importance of belonging as part of welfare entitlement through the concept of settlement, including the thought that this might discourage movement for the labouring poor where the burden of financial responsibility may move with them. The removal of yearly service as an entitlement to settlement occurred after the New Poor

[7] Ibid., 45.

[8] K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Law was introduced in 1834, however, the system was remarkably flexible as the continued allowance of outdoor relief has been suggested, and demonstrated, by historians such as Steven King.[9] The continued application of outdoor relief, Snell argues, helps to demonstrate the importance of local loyalty and belonging to the individual. Overseers had the right to refuse payments or relief to non-parishioners and, hence, the entitlement to belong may have been critical.[10] Moreover, this sense of belonging was an important part of life to all members of the rural society, not just the poorer ones. Other areas covered by Snell's work includes the expansion of the parochial system and the building of more urban churches; however the increased segregation of church communities and the rise of local government intervention may have done more to undermine parish identity, especially that previously demonstrated by the church in everyday decisions.[11] He suggests that there was a decline in the importance of community in the twentieth century, as W. G. Hoskins before him, but the study will look to challenge this view, of only a later decline, using the parish register records.[12]

Snell's *Spirits of Community: English Senses of Belonging and Loss, 1750–2000* has been seen by some historians as a companion volume to the earlier one, utilising different source material, such as church magazines, landscape art and the literature from Thomas Hardy to H. E. Bates. He looks for words and images to demonstrate the

[9] Steven King, *Poverty and Welfare in England, 1700-1850: A Regional Perspective* (Manchester University Press, 2000).

[10] Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950*, 137, 346.

[11] Ibid., 367.

[12] Ibid., 503.

relationship between individuals and the concept of community. [13] Applying the notion of 'home' as demonstrated by the migrant paupers' letters, Snell argues how clearly defined the concept was to those writing letters to receive support. There was an assumption, by the writer, that this location was the place that had to provide relief, even though they were no longer present. The laws of settlement made clear, to these writers, that settlement was tied to community, although this changed after the 1840s, with the introduction of parish groupings through Poor Law Unions and changes to format of relief under the Poor Law Amendment Act.[14] His work uses some other sources including the fiction of Agatha Christie to demonstrate the place of community in nostalgia but also as perceived by contemporaries. Snell's interpretation moves beyond administrative definitions of the parish by emphasising belonging as a lived experience not just as a legal status. This represents an important shift because it recognises that attachment to place was constructed through everyday relationships rather than solely through laws, such as those surrounding settlement or local administration. Having said this however, much of Snell's evidence derives from qualitative sources that illuminate perceptions of community, this study directly examines whether similar patterns of belonging can be identified quantitatively through parish register evidence.

Although Hoskins, Pythian-Adams and Snell all emphasise the importance of place, they conceptualise community differently. Hoskins viewed community largely through the historical evolution of landscape, Pythian-Adams through cultural regions, while

[13] K. D. M. Snell, *Spirits of Community: English Senses of Belonging and Loss, 1750-2000* (Bloomsbury, 2016).

[14] Ibid.

Snell emphasises individual belonging and, in particular, relationships formed by welfare entitlement. These perspectives suggest that community should be understood as both a physical and a social construct. Few studies have examined demographic reconstruction within this framework so by reconstructing the demographic history of five contiguous parishes, using their registers, I aim to reflect on whether these communities demonstrated continuity within this context of change.

Historical demography

Much has been written about the stayers, individuals who predominantly remained in the same villages all their lives, for example, this can be seen in the work of Barry Reay and Lyn Boothman.[15] These individuals and families raise wider questions concerning the balance between continuity and mobility within rural society. While a subset of individuals may have spent much of their lives within a relatively restricted geographical area; short-distance migration between neighbouring parishes could maintain strong local identities while accessing employment or marriage opportunities. Consequently, mobility and stability should not be viewed as opposing characteristics but as complementary features of many rural communities. In addition, the concept that the population lived within the context of their extended families, with more than one generation residing in the same building, as well as the close proximity of other relatives within the same street or neighbourhood, suggests a more fixed, static population. It was Peter Laslett who pioneered the use of statistical analysis in the study of population data and who challenged a number of these historical

[15] Lyn Boothman, 'Studying the Stayers: The Stable Population of Long Melford, Suffolk, over Two Hundred Years.', *Local Population Studies*, no. 95 (September 2015): 9–28; Barry Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society, and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

assumptions. Published in 1965, *The World We Have Lost*, shaped both the analysis and the historical context for the subsequent analysis of population.[16] Laslett's work represented a change because it challenged previous assumptions about the structure of the family through the use of quantitative evidence. By analysing listings of households and parish-based material, Laslett demonstrated that the predominant household form was instead nuclear, altering historians' understanding of family organisation, and the economics of dependency. In the first chapter of *The World We Have Lost: Further Explored* he outlined the family of a baker of London in 1619, which comprised the baker, his wife, his children and the workers which included journeymen, apprentices and household servants.[17] The word used to describe this group was family or, sometimes, household. The outlining definition is an important one when we consider the importance of these definitions when using parish records and the change in this definition over time to the analysis of households or families.

The evidence provided by Laslett suggests that mean household size and structure in England remained fairly constant at 4.75, or a little under, from the earliest figures, around 1500, until as late as 1911.[18] He suggested that there was no sign of a change from the large, extended co-residential family group to the small, nuclear, modern household. Laslett stated that the evidence suggested that the human family must have always been small and always nuclear in its pattern, something that can be tested and analysed in the study of Census material. If, as suggested, in pre-industrial

[16] Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (Methuen, 1965).

[17] Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: Further Explored* (Routledge, 1988), 2.

[18] Peter Laslett, 'Size and Structure of the Household in England Over Three Centuries', *Population Studies* 23 (1969): 200.

England marriage was relatively late and took place between people of about the same age, then the proportions of single persons would be higher in both sexes, considering the number of children and young adults. Other evidence also suggested that few households can be identified containing more than two generations – parents and their children as illustrated in his sample, Table 1, of 100 households from pre-industrial England and referred to in *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure.* Although it would be difficult to make an assessment of the parishes with the source material available, the concept of the small household is important to the association to parish and community if fewer intergenerational households exist. Although Laslett's conclusions were enormously influential, they have not gone unchallenged. Critics have argued that household composition would, necessarily, change and vary over time and therefore may underestimate the extent of wider kinship networks that operated beyond the immediate household.[19] An individual household could still maintain close economic and social relationships with relatives within the community. This study is less concerned with household composition itself than with the wider social networks that parish registers reveal through marriage, baptism and burial connections.

Table 1: Household Size in England, 1574-1821

% in Households	Household size
17.6	lived in households of 1-3
28.8	lived in households of 4 or 5
53.7	lived in households of 6 or more

Source: Data from Peter Laslett, 'Size and Structure of the Household in England Over Three Centuries', *Population Studies* 23 (1969): 207.

[19] Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Historical demography is the term used for the study of the population in the past and it enables historians to move beyond individual case studies towards identifying long-term patterns of behaviour. Using statistical methodology scholars examine the parish register data alongside a range of documentary evidence such as census returns to assess the behaviours of individuals as they relate to reproduction. As many historical sources were not compiled for use or examination as demographic data there are many issues and limitations to which scholars must be aware, and these will be referenced in later chapters. Historical demography requires searching for and locating a variety of sources, repurposing and frequently digitising/making them accessible through software, to create datasets for further analysis and study. Such quantitative evidence provides an important counterbalance to contemporary commentaries.

In the use of any of this demographic data the scholar must evaluate both its reliability and comprehensiveness, which would include an assessment of the appropriateness of the data to indicate what is being studied and the validity of the source. The principal methodological challenge lies not simply in the condition and completeness of the records but in understanding the assumptions required to reconstruct populations from them. Parish registers were created for ecclesiastical rather than demographic purposes and consequently contain omissions, inconsistencies and variations in recording practices. Historians such as E. A. Wrigley and Roger S. Schofield developed sophisticated statistical techniques to compensate for these deficiencies, but these adjustments inevitably introduce assumptions that influence the resulting

estimates.[20] Any possible conclusions drawn must have a caveat although validity, using the data in this study, is not as problematic as burial indicates death and baptism indicates birth, in the demographic context. In their *Introduction to English Historical Demography*, Eversley, Laslett and Wrigley noted that it is:

> within regions that we obtain the best opportunity for a study of groups of related parishes with common type of economic development and containing within them a sufficient proportion of short distance migration to offer good opportunities for both aggregation and reconstitution.[21]

The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (Campop) was founded in 1964 by Peter Laslett and Tony Wrigley to undertake quantitative research into demographic history and using family historians to support this. The early work concentrated on the use of parish registers and population listings as well as including the published work of Laslett referenced above. A key text in the development of the understanding of English demography, *The Population History of England 1541-1871*, was first published by E.A. Wrigley and Roger S. Schofield in 1981.[22] By using parish register data and in analysing the population over the long durée, the authors, applying a range of statistical analysis, introduced a series of arguments about past patterns of demographic behaviour. The well-documented limitations around the small number of parishes and their locations examined in the final analysis and the allowances made for a range of deficiencies in the data are

[20] E. A. Wrigley and Roger S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[21] E. A. Wrigley et al., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography, From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 27.

[22] Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*.

briefly referred to below.[23] However, their work presents basic demographic statistics, gained from parish registers, and utilises them in conjunction with a previously unused methodology to determine the population size, life expectation and changes in demographic rates for England and Wales. It provided the seminal text from which all further studies have emerged. In 1997 E. A. Wrigley and Roger S. Schofield, together with Ros Davies and Jim Oeppen, published a second book using parish register data from 26 parishes, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837*, this time providing an unprecedented level of information about fertility, mortality and marriage in the pre-industrial era.[24] The significance of Wrigley and Schofield's work extended beyond the publication of national population estimates. Their work has demonstrated that parish registers, despite the imperfections already referred to, could be employed to produce trends. In doing so they established family reconstitution as the principal methodology for English historical demography. Nevertheless, the methodology has attracted sustained criticism. The sample of reconstitution parishes was necessarily selective rather than statistically random, reflecting the survival and quality of parish records rather than a representation of both rural and urban parishes. Furthermore, the exclusion of families who could not be fully reconstructed, such as singles or migrants, may bias the results towards more stable and static populations. These limitations indicate that the results need to be tested and enhanced by results from a cross section of alternative locations.

[23] The original data set contained 404 parishes

[24] E. A. Wrigley et al., *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580–1837* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Alternative and supplementary population data can be obtained from the national censuses which have been taken since 1801. In 2009 a standardised version of the censuses for Great Britain for 1851 to 1911, known as the Integrated Census Microdata (I-CeM) project, produced a digitised version of these records and historians have used data from censuses to assess lifetime migration as well as family and occupational structure.[25] The present thesis contributes to that process by examining five contiguous rural parishes whose shared economic and geographical characteristics provide an opportunity to explore both continuity and local variation.

The two approaches, the study of place and individual identity, using parish register records and those produced by the Census, have enabled a micro study to be carried out at the local level. By including a total of five parishes, all contiguous, further connections and interactions can be established and highlighted which would not be possible with the study of a single unit. The contiguous nature of the sample provides a particular methodological advantage, permitting movements between parishes to be observed while retaining a coherent local context. This makes it possible to assess whether mobility weakened community identity or instead formed part of the normal functioning of rural society. What the research material and its analysis at the community and individual level allows are the ability to challenge and enquire into the questions raised around family formation, migration and settlement.

[25] Eilidh Garrett et al., *Changing Family Size in England and Wales: Place, Class, and Demography, 1891-1911* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

As marriage was key to the development of both a social and economic unit, this study will address the following questions: what do marriage horizons look like and how wide are they; does this suggest an allegiance to a parish; if movement was often frequent but also of a short distance, can identify be retained; were the parish and its continued definition/sense of belonging a key unit in people's lives? Consideration will also be given to the question of whether church records are a useful tool for analysis when considering place and identity. Finally, how closely aligned are parish and church as a unit of definition for parishioners in their lived experience in relation to identity and place? This thesis therefore seeks not only to reconstruct demographic behaviour but also to evaluate the relationship between mobility and local identity. This research argues that migration and settlement should be understood as components of community formation rather than evidence of its decline. In doing so, it offers an interpretation of rural society that neither a focus on demography or local history can provide.

Chapter 2: Sources and Methodology

Parish: Unit of Analysis

Ecclesiastically, the traditional definition of a parish was classified as one of an area of land that "committed to the charge of one person or vicar or other minister having cure of the souls therein".[26] The English parish, as an ecclesiastical unit, dates back to the late Saxon period and there were some 9,000 ancient parishes which came under the care of the twelfth-century church.[27] The parish was self-governing yet looked to the authority of the established church and was subject to local gentry influence through both patronage and the role of local landowners and role holders such as Justices of the Peace (JPs). In civic terms, a parish was the place for which a separate rate could be levied for the maintenance of the poor, as well as for a constable and highway maintenance.[28] The Tudor period saw a decline in the authoritative role of the manor and township and the development of the parish as an administrative as well as ecclesiastical unit.[29] From 1538 the parish increased its role in local government, taking on the administration of domestic affairs, maintenance of social order and regulation of welfare issues. The size of parishes was not uniform, however, and displayed considerable variety in shape and size, extending from a small nuclear hamlet to a large area of sparsely habited open heath or moorland, whereas the average area of a parish in Suffolk was two square miles, in Northumberland it

[26] W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England* (Phillimore, 1983), 45.

[27] Angus J. L. Winchester, *Discovering Parish Boundaries* (Shire, 1990), 11.

[28] For which a separate overseer could be appointed

[29] John West, *Village Records* (Phillimore, 1982), 73.

was twelve.[30]

Whilst in literature writers such as Jane Austen, Thomas Hardy and John Clare, use the parish registers to bring life and description to their community and those arriving in the community are the cause for change, the continuity of parish is seen by many in the nostalgia of the past:

> For those who have remained in the same place a parish is not an address, it is somewhere you don't need one. But if one moves away after only a few formative years there is no severing the umbilical link that feeds one with its particular parochialism.[31]

The present study has considered whether the religious rites of passage (baptisms, marriages and burials) support the claim that populations remain attached to a single place, either socially or geographically by using the source material, and consideration has been given to the role the church plays in reinforcing these stereotypes.

The interpretation of the meaning and understanding of community, by an individual, is an incredibly difficult one as the further back chronologically the harder it is to find any evidence as the written word becomes the oral one. However, the importance of community to maintain, develop and support the parish, and the church, should not be overlooked or underestimated. For the clergy who were 'charged' with the management of a parish, Blythe comments that "one of the great difficulties experienced by a priest is that his flock never really understands that their parish can

[30] Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government* (Longman, Green, 1906), 11.

[31] Ronald Blythe, *Divine Landscapes* (Viking, 1986), 15.

never be his - not in anything like the sense in which they possess it".[32] These personal allegiances to a parish, not those imposed by the state, help to define the identity, both physical and emotional, experienced by the individuals' lived experiences. It is these ties that, it is suggested, maintain the link, especially with the church, as the static and clearly identifiable building within the parish.

Parish Registers

In 1535 Henry VIII, by Act of Supremacy, appointed Thomas, Lord Cromwell, then Privy Seal, to be his Vicar General.[33] Three years later Cromwell declared:

> every parson, vicar or curate within this Diocese, for every church keep one book .... wherein he shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening and burial, ..., and so every man succeeding likewise.[34]

In effect the services, baptisms, marriages and burials, of the previous week were to be entered into a book every Sunday in the presence of at least one churchwarden. The order, dated 5th September 1538, also required the book to be kept double locked, one key with the vicar and one with a warden.[35] Failure to comply attracted a fine of 3s 4d which could be used for the repair of the church, the only cost was the purchase of the book and the additional duties included.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] He had already been Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Rolls.

[34] John Southerden Burn, *Registrum Ecclesiae Parochialis : The History of Parish Registers in England, Also of the Registers of Scotland, Ireland, the East and West Indies, the Dissenters and the Episcopal Chapels in and about London, with Observations on Bishops' Transcripts and the Provisions of the Act of the 52nd George III, Cap. 146* (J.R. Smith, 1862), 17.

[35] Ibid.

Edward VI reissued the order in 1547, with the main difference that the fine for non-compliance was now to be used for the relief of the parish poor. This was further amended in 1559 by Elizabeth I, in that local fines were to be divided equally between the poor box and the repair of the church.[36] Abortive registration bills were introduced into Parliament in 1563 and 1590 before a revised plan was enacted on October 25 1597.[37] From then, the registers were to be kept on parchment registers, into which all names from older registers were to be copied in, especially from the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Many registers thus record their first data from 1558. Not only were the registers to be read at the end of each Sunday service; but also a copy was to be returned to the diocesan registrar annually, within one month after Easter.[38] Known as the "Bishop's Transcripts", the aggregates were less accurate than their components since the "clergy were not only lax in complying but not all diocesan authorities preserved them."[39] The Bishop's Transcripts should have been returned annually from 1597, but problems arose as there was no fee either for the parish to complete the transcripts, or to forward it, or for the recipient to receive or store it. Consequently, as R. Chester Waters noted in 1883, "The Bishop's Transcripts, which ought to have formed an invaluable department of the public records, present a lamentable picture of Episcopal negligence, parochial parsimony and official rapacity."[40]

Although the introduction of registers can be dated to 1538, there is a high degree of

[36] A. Burke, *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales* (Sackville Press, 1908), 12.

[37] Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, 45.

[38] The reading part of the legislation lapsed in 1603. This Act also provided for the registers to be kept under lock and 3 keys.

[39] Burke, *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales*, 12.

[40] J. Charles Cox, *The Parish Registers of England* (EP Pub., 1974), 204.

variation in the survival of registers from across the centuries and some of the reasons for the survival will be discussed below. Although England is fortunate in possessing these series that extend far back into the past, they are often "interrupted, or unavailable…., for shorter or longer periods of time. Nor do the concrete events listed in the records always correspond with what is ideally required."[41] However, the earliest survivals do date from 1538, and a larger number from 1558 onwards, when the older, original registers should have been transferred into the new books. However, in practice, this does not appear to have systematically happened as Table 2 gives an indication of the start dates of all English parish registers.

Table 2: Parish Registers and Commencement of Records

Commencement Date	Number of Registers
Registers beginning in 1538	812
1538 to 1558	1822
1558 to 1603	2448
1603 to 1650	969
1650 to 1700	2757
1700 to 1750	1476
Since 1750	700 (approx.)

Source: Data from J S Burn, *Registrum Ecclesiae Parochialis : The History of Parish Registers in England, Also of the Registers of Scotland, Ireland, the East and West Indies, the Dissenters and the Episcopal Chapels in and about London, with Observations on Bishops' Transcripts and the Provisions of the Act of the 52nd George III, Cap. 146* (J.R. Smith, 1862), 16

The Civil war led to widespread disruption in the keeping of the records, but on the 6th December 1644 Parliament ordered that a Directory should be kept of all births, marriages and deaths. This was the first instance that distinguished births from baptisms, deaths from burials, the latter religious rites of ceremony. Under the

[41] Robert I. Rotberg et al., *Population and History: From the Traditional to the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 22.

Protectorate, the Church of England was removed as the established church and in 1645 Parliament ordered the creation of presbyteries across the country and the election of church leaders.[42] The system was not, however, ever fully introduced as Parliament never had complete control of the country. Many of the English clergy refused to conform with the changes introduced which led to the lack of completion of some registers. To counteract this, under registration clergy were required from 1653 to pass the registers to laymen, who were to be called Parish Registers and whose role was to complete the required registration of births and deaths.[43] The new "parish registers", appointed and sworn in by JPs, were to enter the details and could charge 12d for a marriage and 4d for baptisms and burials.[44] This would have been of greater significance had not the standard of record keeping become less reliable, possibly due to the cost and also the position of "religious ceremonies" during the Commonwealth period. The registers were transferred back to the clergy at the Restoration, to resume their religious role.[45]

The introduction of further Registration Acts, setting prices for the recording of events, were motivated more by financial concerns than any desire to improve the quality of the entries or the preservation of the records. The Marriage Duty Act, 1694, granted the Crown, for five years, a duty of 2s per birth, 2s 6d per marriage and 4s per burial

[42] B. Shelley, *Church History in Plain Language: Fourth Edition* (Zondervan Academic, 2013), 298.

[43] Burke, *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales*, 16.

[44] Robert Edmond Chester Waters, *Parish Registers in England Their History and Contents, with Suggestions for Securing Their Better Custody and Preservation* (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), 13.

[45] Burn, *Registrum Ecclesiae Parochialis : The History of Parish Registers in England, Also of the Registers of Scotland, Ireland, the East and West Indies, the Dissenters and the Episcopal Chapels in and about London, with Observations on Bishops' Transcripts and the Provisions of the Act of the 52nd George III, Cap. 146*, 17.

for all non-paupers and on a sliding scale, to pay for the continuing war with France.[46] The Act, extended for a further five years, not only imposed taxes on births, marriages and burials, but also requested immediate notification of the information. It applied equally to Dissenters, and the clergy were to keep records and accounts for all the registered events. Yet such legislation, enacted to impose taxes and fines, appears to have been unpopular and was either ignored from a legislative perspective or led to problems and neglect in registration. Thus, the minister of Horsley in Gloucestershire noted in his register: "John Pegler and Ann Thomas were half married. I proceeded no further because they paid me but one half, viz. 2/6d".[47] Analysis of the data in this study should indicate whether avoidance of the costs led to subsequent under registration of events in the Commonwealth period and immediately afterwards.

More significant for the effectiveness of parish registration was the Stamp Act of 1783 which imposed a levy of 3d for every entry, all baptisms, marriages and burials, made in the register, for which the officiating Minster was allowed a commission of 10% on collection.[48] In 1785 these procedures were extended to the non-conformists registers and although the legal benefits of parochial registration were largely irrelevant to the needs of the working-class, religious dissenters felt that the Stamp Act extension arrangements confirmed an equal legal standing upon their own rites. If such measures offered an incentive for full and accurate registration, the levy involved represented a heavy burden on poor residents and placed further obligations on the clergy. In consequence the recording of baptisms and burials continued to be

[46] D. V. Glass and DEC Eversley, eds, *Population in History* (Edward Arnold, 1965), 170.

[47] David Hey, *Family History and Local History in England* (Longman, 1987), 51.

[48] Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, 50.

inadequate, and the Act was repealed in 1794.

Other clergy related problems, which included temporary parish absence, non-residence or negligence of an incumbent, could lead to under registration of events. The following entry from Brotherton in Yorkshire illustrates the point: "1651, Roger ye sonne of I know not who was baptised I know not when."[49] Similarly Parson Woodforde writing in 1768 commented:

> April 14 …. privately baptised a child born this day and dangerously ill in convulsions by name George, of Perry's a mason and a poor man in South Cary…. The poor Babe was taken with violent fit, immediately after I had named it, and I really thought it was dead, but it pleased God to restore it again
> April 15 … the poor little infant which I privately baptised last night departed this world this afternoon ….
> April 17 … I buried that little infant which I privately named two days ago ….[50]

The extract above, the baptism of a child named George, does not appear in the register for Weston Longville or surrounding parishes. Some of these examples raise questions of definition, since baptisms conducted in private settings, such as the home, may or may not have been recorded in the register. Sometimes the child may be recorded twice, privately and publicly and this would lead to both an overcount of numbers and possibly the assumption that a name, in some circumstances had been reused. Family reconstitution and direct parish transcripts can help to identify these differences by transcribing the full register and allocating births to parental marriages. Biologically the gap between children must be in the region of a certain timescale so

[49] Ibid., 62.

[50] James Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson, 1758-1802*, ed. John Beresford (Oxford University Press, 1978), 36.

two baptisms, within a couple of months, may suggest the same child.

Similarly issues of archival misfortune or neglect, such as missing registers, ineligible entries and the removal of register pages, all provide limitations to the records available during the process of reconstitution at a later period. Different periods of the year were also associated with the influence of more direct intervention or lower levels of registration of events. Thus, almanacs and calendars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave tables of the forbidden times of year for marriage ceremonies as November 27th until January 13th; from February until April 18th and from May 16th until June 5th.[51] In effect, if the periods of Advent, Lent/Easter and Rogationtide were strictly observed then marriages may have been excluded in a "forbidden" period or went ahead without being officially recorded, at least initially. The parish records under study will be assessed for these changes; does adherence to this data provide an indication of the strength of the Anglican Church during these periods? Religious festivals punctuated the seasonal agricultural cycle including Saints days and other holy days of the Christian calendar as well as secular events such as May Day.[52] In the early sixteenth century there were 50 or more holy days, though it is unclear how many of these were observed as holidays before an act of 1552 reduced the number to 27.[53]

However, it has been suggested by Krause that under registration was higher for

[51] Cox, *The Parish Registers of England*, 81.

[52] Other examples include Rogationtide (May) and Plough Monday (January).

[53] Mark Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 37.

burials than for baptism.[54] Burial totals further understated real mortality levels because some people, whether from motives of convenience or economy, interred their dead without ceremony, as was sometimes the case with children who died. Would this suggest a disconnect between the authority of the church and the population or the lack of strength in the relationship between people and place which the registers is attempting to demonstrate? Krause states that burial registers often omitted the excommunicates, unbaptised or suicides, who could not be interred in consecrated ground, and many deaths in the army or navy (or other services) might also be unrecorded. Thus, Rider Haggard noted in his diary of 1898 that, "my friend the clergyman refused to read the Burial service over the deceased parishioner, on the ground that his conduct while in life had been notoriously immoral."[55] Reconstitution can test these statements through the ability to trace parishioners in the register.

Parish registration became more systematised with the passing of Rose's Act, effective from 31st December 1812, which introduced three separate books for the recording of baptisms, marriages and burials.[56] It also introduced registration forms, with requirements for additional details, instructions for storage and methods for ensuring that duplicates were forwarded on a regular basis (Figure 1). The registers were to be completed immediately after or at least within seven days of each event. A

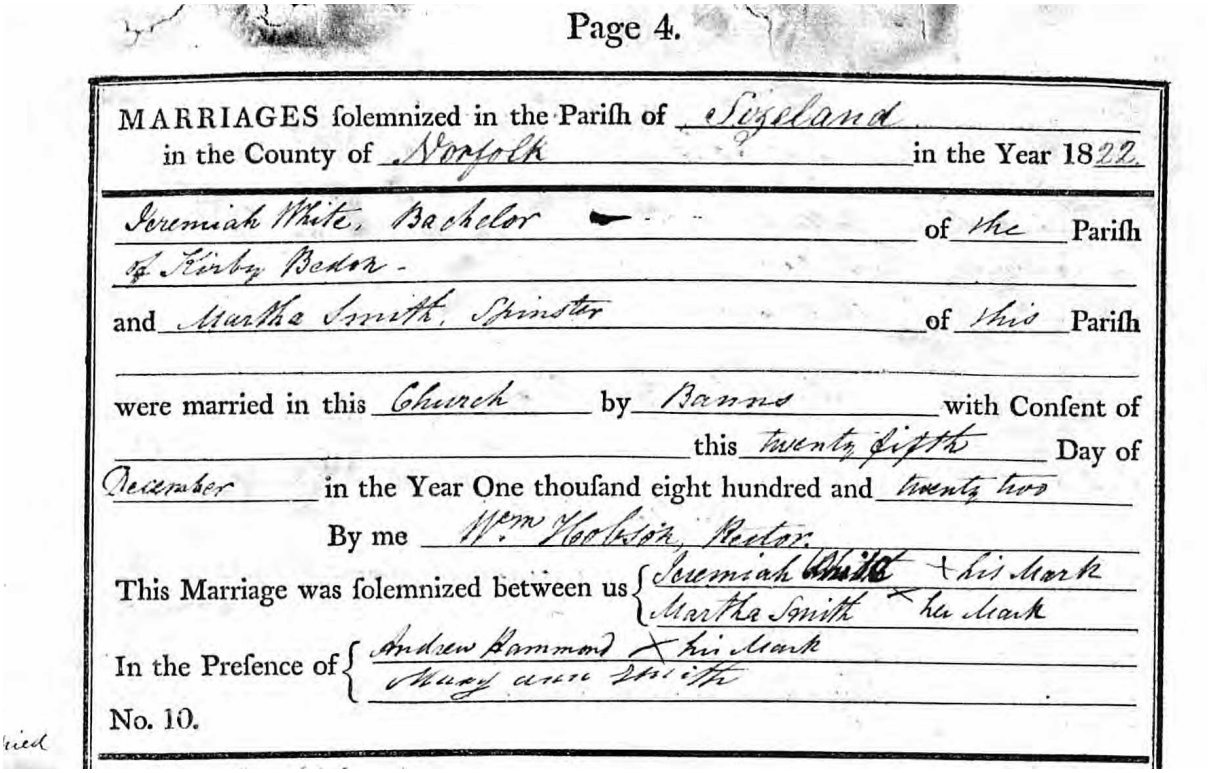
[54] J. T. Krause, 'The Changing Adequacy of English Registration, 1690-1837', in *Population in History*, by D. V. Glass and DEC Eversley (Edward Arnold, 1965), 383.

[55] H. Rider Haggard, *A Farmer's Year: Being His Commonplace Book for 1898* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 236.

[56] S. Basten, 'From Rose's Bill to Rose's Act: A Reappraisal of the 1812 Parish Register Act', *Local Population Studies* 76 (2006): 43.

further requirement was for the rector, before 1st June 1813, to provide the diocesan registrar with a list of all parish registers stating the periods at which they respectively began and ended, any which were deficient, and the places where they were deposited.[57] Although Rose's Act, in its draft stage, had attempted to address the problems of under registration and to improve representation of information, with church records, it was a Select Committee, established in 1833, which considered the parochial registration system and the merits of introducing a general registration of births, baptism, marriages, deaths and burials.[58]

Figure 1: Marriage Register, Post Rose's Act



Page 4.

MARRIAGES solemnized in the Parish of Sisland
in the County of Norfolk in the Year 1822

Jeremiah White, Bachelor of the Parish
of Kirby Bedon
and Martha Smith, Spinster of this Parish
were married in this Church by Banns with Consent of
this twenty fifth Day of
December in the Year One thousand eight hundred and twenty two
By me Wm Yoolston, Rector.
This Marriage was solemnized between us { Jeremiah White + his Mark / Martha Smith × her Mark
In the Presence of { Andrew Hammond × his Mark / Mary Ann Smith
No. 10.

Source: Image from Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Marriage Registers: 1813-1829', n.d., PD641/ 5.

[57] Burke, *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales*, 21.

[58] 'PAROCHIAL REGISTRATION. (Hansard, 28 March 1833)', accessed 18 August 2023, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1833/mar/28/parochial-registration#column_1221.

Under Rose's Act the registers of Dissenters and Roman Catholics were not admissible in court as evidence of births, marriages or deaths, only those produced by clergy from the Church of England could be provided as legal documents. Thus, the Rev F E Witts noted in his diary:

> April 30, 1839: Soon after breakfast I was visited by two professional men by whom I was served with an order from the House of Lords to attend on Monday 6 May before the Committee of Privilege and to be sworn to give evidence on the petition of James Tracy to be admitted to the title of Viscount Tracy of Rathcoole …. and produce, as vicar of Stanway, the register books of that parish from 1656 to 1800. This gentleman claims to be the male heir of the Tracy family, which was understood to terminate in a female daughter of the last Lord Tracy who died in 1797.[59]

In addition, Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which will be further explored later in the chapter, had also outlined that only those marriages taking place under the rites of the Church of England were legal. It is this demand for equality, when the growth in the number of Non-Conformists was evident, that led, according to some commentators, to the introduction of state registration of births, marriages and deaths in 1836.[60] However, the Registration Act did not create equality for these registers as it introduced a complete secular system for the registration of births and deaths and was opposed by the Church of England.[61] Some historians have noted that there was a movement for improvement in the national statistical data from early in the nineteenth century, led by John Rickman, who was central to the administration of the national

[59] D. Verey, *Diary of a Cotswold Parson* (Sutton Publishing, 1997), 146.

[60] Edward Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics: Civil Registration, Censuses and the Work of the General Register Office,1836-1952* (Local Population Studies, 2004), 3.

[61] Ibid., 5.

Census, first introduced in 1801.[62] D.V. Glass has argued that the emerging medical profession also wanted better data on causes of death.[63] Concerns raised about rising mortality levels, especially in urban areas, and the early stages of the work of Edwin Chadwick and public health officials could also have led to pressure for more detailed data. There was, however, little discussion in the Parliamentary debates on statistical analysis as more emphasis, at that stage, was placed on the protection of property rights, through the system of primogeniture and the definition of children born out of wedlock for inheritance purposes, as in the Witt example noted previously. Exact knowledge of birth date (not baptism), marriage and death (not burial) could be crucial, data which was not provided by many registers as routine.[64]

Following the Act of 1836, effective from 1837, civil registration commenced with the establishment of the General Register Office in London.[65] The country was divided into registration districts and many populous areas further divided into sub-districts. Each registration district had a Superintendent Registrar who was responsible for the compilation and forwarding of the data. Wrigley and Schofield illustrated the problems with the early period of statutory registration and note that it was not until 1874, and the imposition of penalties for failure to report births and deaths, that the system could

[62] D. V. Glass, *Numbering the People: The Eighteenth-Century Population Controversy and the Development of Census and Vital Statistics in Britain* (D.C. Heath, 1973); Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics: Civil Registration, Censuses and the Work of the General Register Office,1836-1952*.

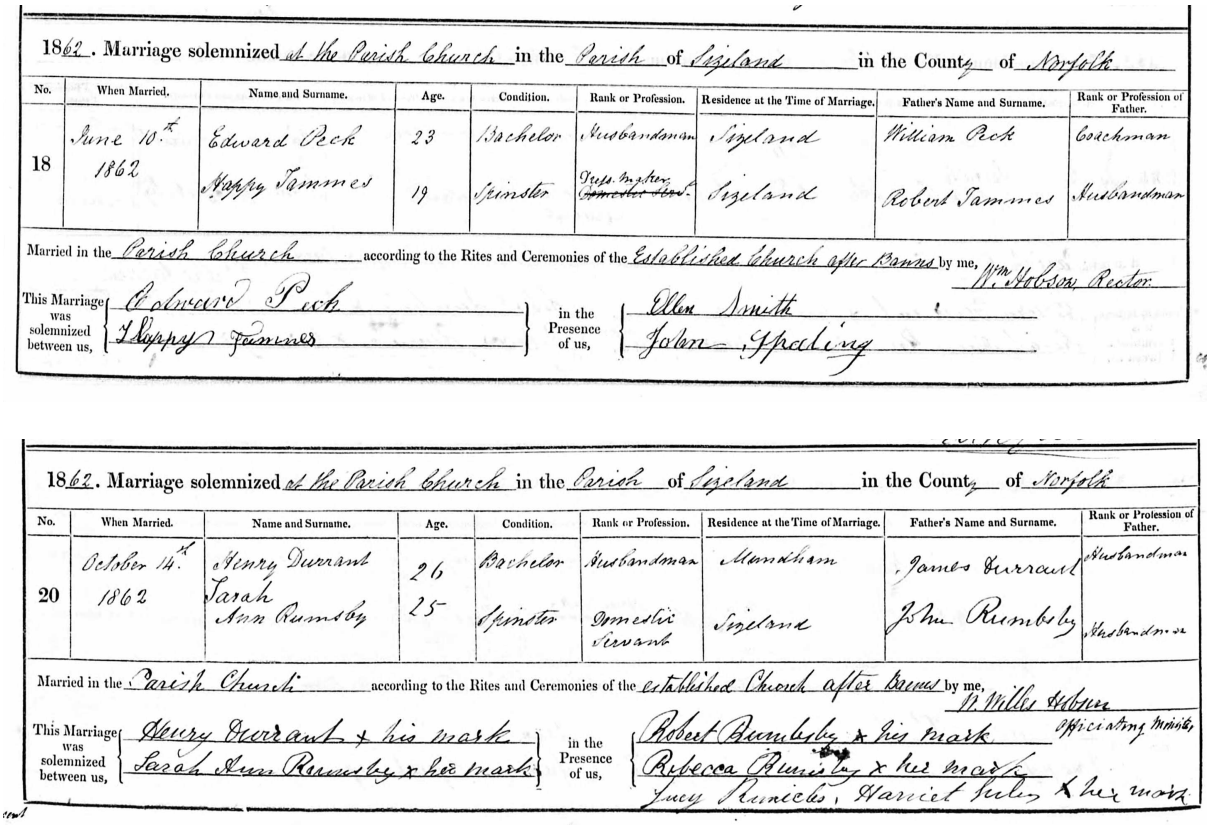
[63] Glass, *Numbering the People: The Eighteenth-Century Population Controversy and the Development of Census and Vital Statistics in Britain*, 47–57.

[64] Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics: Civil Registration, Censuses and the Work of the General Register Office,1836-1952*, 8.

[65] Ibid., 5.

be regarded as reliable.[66] However the church registers, post 1837, took the same format as the civil registration (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Marriage Register, Post the Introduction of National Registration



1862. Marriage solemnized at the Parish Church in the Parish of Sisland in the County of Norfolk

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
18	June 10th 1862	Edward Peck	23	Bachelor	Husbandman	Sisland	William Peck	Coachman
		Happy Tammes	19	Spinster	~~Dress Maker~~ Domestic Servant	Sisland	Robert Tammes	Husbandman

Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church after Banns by me, Wm Hobson Rector

This Marriage was solemnized between us, Edward Peck / Happy Tammes in the Presence of us, Ellen Smith / John Spalding

1862. Marriage solemnized at the Parish Church in the Parish of Sisland in the County of Norfolk

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
20	October 14th 1862	Henry Durrant	26	Bachelor	Husbandman	Mundham	James Durrant	Husbandman
		Sarah Ann Rumsby	25	Spinster	Domestic Servant	Sisland	John Rumsby	Husbandman

Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the established Church after Banns by me, W Miller Hobson Officiating Minister

This Marriage was solemnized between us, Henry Durrant + his mark / Sarah Ann Rumsby + her mark in the Presence of us, Robert Rumsby + his mark / Rebecca Rumsby + her mark / Lucy Runicles, Harriet Sales + her mark

Source: Image from Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Marriage Registers: 1843-2000', n.d., PD641/ 26.

Marriage Custom to Marriage Law

The marriage ceremony provides the historical demographer with the building blocks for further study. Family reconstitution in its purest form requires a marriage register entry as a point of reconstruction and household formation. At the basic level the

[66] Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, 631.

register provides a date and the names of two individuals who have chosen to create a new economic unit and interact with the government at its lowest level. The data provides a key location for the event which ties the individuals to a specific place at a specific time, and within the records associates them with details of the wider community, witness and clergy signatures. Study of marriage horizons, where the bride and groom originate from, and how wide a geographical area this was, can be assessed from these records, especially the later ones, along with a consideration for using them as defining an allegiance to a parish. How important was the choice of location, in relation to defining that place as a key location in an individual's life? Did the appearance in the written record, when regular records were not maintained or provided, demonstrate an alignment between parish and church as a unit of definition for parishioners in their lived experience in relation to identity and place?

The Marriage Duty Act, 1694, had pushed 'clandestine marriages' away from churches and chapels and, in effect, succeeded in creating alternative locations, such as that which surrounded the Fleet Prison. The study by Roger Lee Brown has estimated that by the 1740s over 6,600 marriages were being celebrated there, *per annum*, which was a figure around half of the total marriages taking place in London.[67] The large number of marriages taking place and the reasons for doing so led to demand for action to be taken to tighten the rules on marriage, to prevent bigamy and strengthen laws around primogeniture. A major change came in 1753 with the introduction of Hardwicke's Marriage Act, which attempted to prescribe a standardised form of entry for banns and marriages and to ensure that all marriages were preceded by either

[67] Rebecca Probert, *Marriage Law and Practice in the Long Eighteenth Century: A Reassessment* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 189.

banns or licence.[68] The data from parish reconstitution suggests that there was a reduction in the extra parochial (clandestine) marriages after Hardwicke's Marriage Act. One local study suggested that in Fledborough, Nottinghamshire only eleven marriages were solemnised between 1712 and 1730 but, among no fewer than 490 couples married in the following twenty-four years, a mere fifteen were resident as to one or both partners, in the parish itself.[69] At Rowney in Derbyshire between the years 1655-1754 there were 390 marriages, of which 225 were irregular since neither party lived in the parish. Between the years 1743-53 there were proportionately more (83) marriages the majority of which were irregular (47), while from 1753 to 1773 there were only 28 in all.[70]

Marriages normally took place with banns, unless a special license was issued by the Bishop or Archdeacon. There was some contention in the latter part of seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries regarding whether a marriage performed by a priest, without either banns or licence was valid. In certain prisons, such as The Fleet, clergy were apparently willing to marry couples on demand.[71] Prior to Hardwicke's Act most marriages without banns or licence were valid if performed under the auspices of the Church of England and, although parties were liable to censure and the minister to heavy legal penalties, these were often ineffective, and a wedding party had nothing to lose. The terms of Hardwicke's Act led Burn in 1862 to conclude that the marriage

[68] All marriages were to be solemnized in either church or chapel either by banns or licence, prior to this date many various forms of authority had been followed

[69] Glass and Eversley, *Population in History*, 329.

[70] Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, 49.

[71] Ibid., 64.

registers were more complete than those for baptism or burials.[72] Much later, in their monumental work, Wrigley and Schofield agreed that, after the Hardwicke Act and prior to civil registration in 1837, marriage registers were fairly accurate.[73] Key to the process of reconstitution, the comprehensive nature of the marriage record, especially after the Hardwicke Act, can be tested.

Although legislation was developed throughout the period to shape and improve registration within the parochial system, its continuing problems need to be acknowledged. Parish registration remains key to the development of theories concerning parish population movement and change, and the growth of family reconstitution methods offer new insights. The parish registers are the only main source of material available on population growth and change before censuses and national registration was introduced. Family reconstitution provides a model for further expansion and interrogation of that data by creating a new narrative from the records. Nevertheless, the reliability and comprehensiveness of parish registers is vital for family reconstitution methods. If the data is incomplete or unreliable, the information gathered, and conclusions drawn can only be tentative. Moreover, any series of undisturbed or unreliable recording is likely to be limited, affecting the availability and manageability of raw information due to the extremely small size of the sample if the numbers of records are low. Parochial registration was not designed to provide an effective measure of the population, or of demographic change, over time. Although

[72] Burn, *Registrum Ecclesiae Parochialis : The History of Parish Registers in England, Also of the Registers of Scotland, Ireland, the East and West Indies, the Dissenters and the Episcopal Chapels in and about London, with Observations on Bishops' Transcripts and the Provisions of the Act of the 52nd George III, Cap. 146*, 117.

[73] Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, 135.

many of the reasons given for the introduction of national registration related to perceived limitations of the church registration system, it was not designed to support or provide the information that governments required. In addition, for the purposes of demographic historians and reconstitutions there are other limitations as a result of the religious challenges of the data.

Non-Conformity

One of the other major areas of significance affecting the accuracy of parochial registration was the growth of religious dissent. Although the rites of passage, baptism and marriage, existed within some non-Conformist traditions they did not provide the legal documentation that was required and gained by Anglican baptism. In addition, the Woollen Act of 1666 provided for the burial in woollen cloth and the signing of an affidavit, thus requiring the presence of a Church of England clergyman.[74] The issues affecting many smaller rural congregation parishes, who in the later period may have lacked alternative burial grounds to those associated with the Church of England, will be discussed in Chapter 3. It was the development of many of the industrial areas of England and their rapid population growth often associated with Dissent, which led to the extensive use of alternative burial sites, cemeteries, and potential problems of under registration. In Norfolk, Tom Williamson suggests that the number of newly built chapels with burial grounds, fell below 50% after 1810s.[75] Of particular significance for this study, any under registration of the records of births, marriages and deaths adversely affects the ability to complete a wide scale reconstitution as the records are

[74] Glass and Eversley, *Population in History*, 382.

[75] Norma Virgoe and Tom Williamson, *Religious Dissent in East Anglia* (Centre of East Anglian Studies University of East Anglia, 1993), 70.

deficient to an unknown degree.

More than sixty years ago, J T Krause set out a number of reasons for what he regarded as the "virtual collapse" of the parochial system at the turn of the nineteenth century.[76] Initially the changing distribution of the population was consequent upon industrial growth and the search for alternative employment opportunities; a movement which produced both surges and fluxes in some resident populations, within overall population redistribution from the south of England to the north. Early in the eighteenth century the average congregation size has been estimated as 550 people per church.[77] However, there was only a limited adjustment by the Anglican Church to changes in the population structure, with the location of the clergy virtually unchanged until the 1820s.[78] The 1851 Census of Religious Worship, the only national one to have been undertaken, published its results in 1854. The increasing anxiety regarding the failure of the church to maintain its provision in the light of increasing industrialisation, population movement had led to the call for more detailed information. The religious Census asked for details on the number of places of worship belonging to each denomination, the number of sittings and the number of people present at services on Census Day, which was on 30 March 1851. There were three different schedules to be completed depending on the affiliation of the church. The Established Church (Church of England) clergy were asked for the date of construction, of the building, if erected after 1800, which relates back to the concern

[76] Glass and Eversley, *Population in History*, 385.

[77] Krause, 'The Changing Adequacy of English Registration, 1690-1837', 382.

[78] J. T. Krause, 'Changes in English Fertility and Mortality, 1781-1850', *The Economic History Review* 11 (1958): 54.

of population movement; the number of sittings/places; the number of people at morning, afternoon and evening services on Census Day; the number of Sunday school pupils at the same times. In addition, questions were asked regarding income, which was not asked of Nonconformist ministers, although a separate question enquired to whether they had sole use of the building.[79]

The results were reasonably comprehensive, in considering the issue of how far religious instruction had maintained its geographical position with the increasing population over the previous fifty years and the levels of religious adherence across all denominations. A total of 34,467 forms were returned indicating the name and denomination of each place of worship, including those of Roman Catholic and dissenting Protestants. The results indicated that attendance levels were not high but although 48% of those who attended were at a Church of England service, 41% were at Nonconformist services.[80]

Yet even if the growth of Nonconformity throughout England also affected the role and importance of the Anglican Church, in smaller rural parishes the pull of the established Church on those particular life events to be celebrated and recorded cannot be ascertained precisely but may have remained significant. For example, the influence of the larger and often more central parish church might still be critical as many isolated or smaller settlements lacked a physical chapel as an alternative site. Whereas many eighteenth-century meeting houses had their own attached churchyards this was

[79] K. D. M. Snell and Paul S. Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion. Snell, K. D. M.* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 32.

[80] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church: Part One 1829-1859* (SCM Press, 1966), 365.

increasingly less so by the mid-nineteenth century and especially so for Primitive Methodists. Describing rural Oxfordshire in the 1880s, Flora Thompson noted that:

> If Lark Rise people had been asked their religion, the answer …… would have been 'Church of England' for practically all of them were christened, married and buried as such although in adult life few went to church between the baptisms of their offspring." In the hamlet "there were also three Methodist families which met in one of their cottages on Sunday evening …… but most of these attended church as well.[81]

Thus, even with evidence for changes in the number and distribution of sites of worship, certain assumptions might still be required concerning individual circumstances, behaviour and registration in specific parishes at particular times.

Family Reconstitution

The technique of family reconstitution depends upon the fact that individuals are separately identified in the registers, and it is therefore possible to recapture the life history of an individual by linking together entries in the register concerning their birth, marriage and death. With the foundation of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure (Campop) in 1964 and, at the same time, using the methodology of sampling and family reconstitution, Wrigley and Schofield transformed the understanding of England's population history using these sources.[82] This work transformed the debate about the size of the English population, how it changed over time and considered the changes in birth and death rates that brought this about. It

[81] Flora Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford: A Trilogy* (Oxford University Press, 1954), 209.

[82] Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*.

introduced the concept of inverse population projection and took the estimates of English population back over 350 years. In 1997 E.A. Wrigley, Ros Davies, J.E. Oeppen and Roger .S. Schofield produced a second major work which focused on the data available from family reconstitution.[83] In particular, their work introduced the debate regarding the concept of the "demographic transition" and population changes introduced by fertility rather than mortality change, by the reduction in age of marriage and the total proportion of the population marrying.[84] Fundamentally they suggested the changes outlined provided the opportunities which were facilitated by the industrial revolution. In other words, a growing, demographically younger, mobile population was able to support changing work patterns and population growth in the predominantly industrialising areas of England.

Historians have played a central role in the analysis and interpretation of population since the work of Thomas Malthus in the eighteenth century.[85] When his first essay was published in 1798, he was looking at population trends and considering rates of growth. French historian Louis Henry, in the early twentieth century, has been seen as the founder of the field of historical demography, and who developed the methodology of family reconstitution which forms one of the cores methodologies of this study.[86] Family reconstitution uses the data from parish registers to reconstitute individual

[83] E. A. Wrigley, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580-1837* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

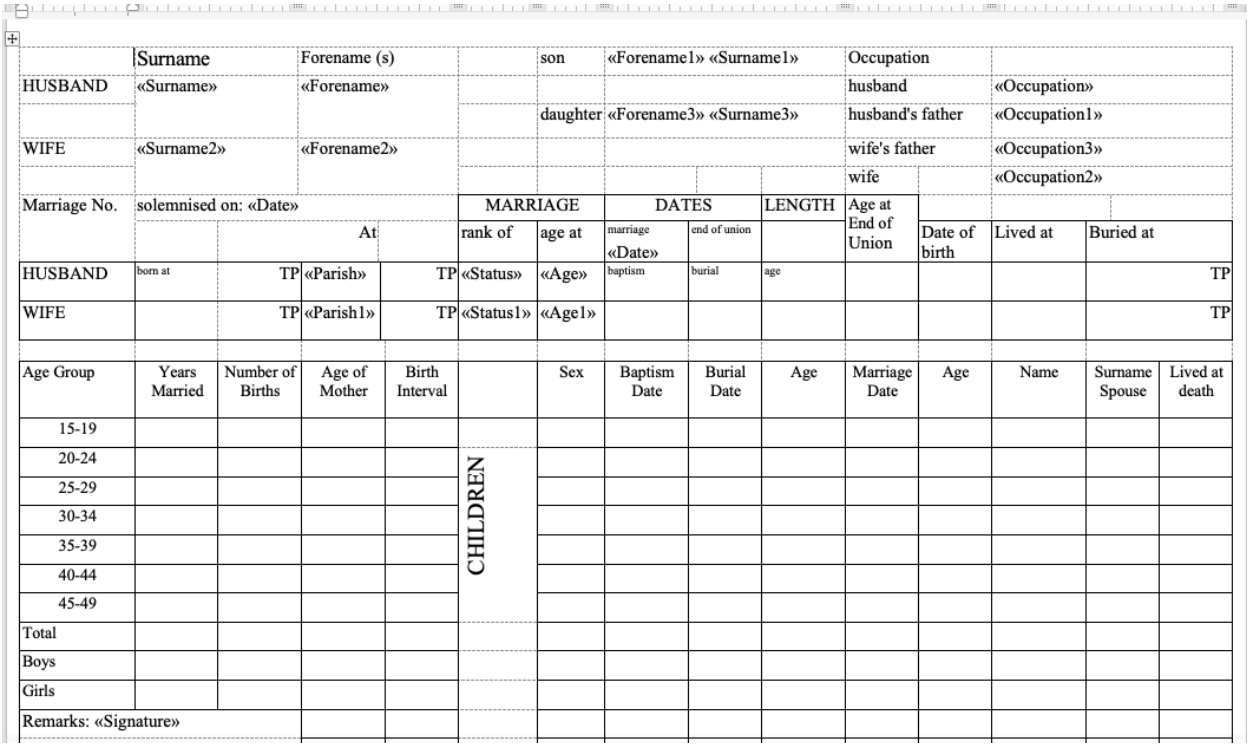
[84] 'The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure', The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, accessed 18 August 2023, https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/research/projects/firstdemographictransition/.

[85] T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, ed. Geoffrey Gilbert (Oxford University Press, 2008).

[86] Louis Henry, *Population Analysis and Methods* (Edward Arnold, 1976).

family groups within a parish. Each marriage which is recorded in the registers is transferred onto a form, see Figure 3, to create the basis of an individual family unit.

Figure 3: Family Reconstitution Blank Form



	Surname	Forename (s)		son	«Forename1» «Surname1»	Occupation	
HUSBAND	«Surname»	«Forename»				husband	«Occupation»
				daughter	«Forename3» «Surname3»	husband's father	«Occupation1»
WIFE	«Surname2»	«Forename2»				wife's father	«Occupation3»
						wife	«Occupation2»

Marriage No.	solemnised on: «Date»				MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union			
		At			rank of	age at	marriage «Date»	end of union			Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
HUSBAND	born at	TP	«Parish»	TP	«Status»	«Age»	baptism	burial	age				TP
WIFE		TP	«Parish1»	TP	«Status1»	«Age1»							TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19														
20-24					CHILDREN									
25-29														
30-34														
35-39														
40-44														
45-49														
Total														
Boys														
Girls														
Remarks: «Signature»														

Source: Data from Wrigley et al., An Introduction to English Historical Demography, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 126

From there, details of baptisms, which appear in the registers and can attributed to the couple, along with any burials from the family also noted in the register, are record linkages when you attribute an event to a specific couple and add to the form. In this study the additional linkages are created with cross referencing of all the parishes under study and all the recorded events. A complete form, when all the information has been transferred, provides a family reconstitution, such as the one for the Batchelor family from Sisland seen in Figure 4. Statistical information can be drawn from these forms which include age of marriage, age at first birth, completed family size and mortality information.

Figure 4: Reconstituted Batchelor family

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	Matthew Batchelor		Occupation				
HUSBAND	Bathchlor	John			Sarah		husband				
				daughter			husband's father				
WIFE	Whitton	Elizabeth					wife's father				
	(Wittup)						wife				
Marriage No.	solemnised on: 4/12/1774		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
3082		At Sisland	rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	26	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
					12/04/1774	17/6/1800					
HUSBAND	born at FRF 1199	TP Sisland TP	Bach	42	baptism	burial	age	68		Heddenham	Sisland TP
					1732	15/6/1819	87				
WIFE		TP Sisland TP		26	1748	17/6/1800	52	52			Sisland TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			26			M	17/4/1774	14/2/1838	64			Robert		Loddon
20-24			27	10 mths		M	19/2/1775	8/5/1775	2 mths			Charles		Sisland
25-29	4	4	28	1 year		F	4/2/1776	22/9/1826	51			Catherine	Crowe (Heddenham)	Sisland
30-34	5	2	29	1 year	CHILDREN	F	23/2/1777	15/6/1813	35			Hannah		B Aptn
35-39	5	4	31	2yr 10mth		F	1/12/1779	3/1/1865	85	25/8/1806	27	Mary	Clarke 3073	Sisland
40-44	5	1	33	1yr 8 mth		F	1/8/1781	12/1/1800	18			Esther		Sisland
45-49	5	1	35	1yr 7 mth		M	16/3/1783	25/3/1783	9 days			William		Sisland
Total	24	12	37	2yr 1 mth		M	24/4/1785					Frances		
Boys		6	37	2yr 1 mth		M	24/4/1785	29/7/1813	33			James		Loddon
Girls		6	39	1yr 8 mth		M	3/12/1786					Jonathan		
Remarks: 1st child base			43	4yr 3mth		F	27/3/1791					Susanna		
William baptised at birth			45	2yr 7mth		F	10/11/1793					Sarah		

Source: Data Form 3082, Appendix 2.5

The methodology is fundamentally unchanged here, but the advent of digitisation and transcription, especially on the major genealogy sites, have led to some of the processes being easier than previously, where manual interventions may be required to sort and process data, for example. The adoption of digitisation has aided the process of reconstitution, but the need to check and inspect the original manuscript registers is still an important part of the process as annotations from the clergy, especially relating to, for example, John 'the Elder' or 'Younger' can help in the subsequent processing and confidence in results. The use of vernacular language and the change of spelling are also a key part of using the original documentation and not just relying on transcriptions, especially in the earlier period prior to the introduction of record forms.

As in any piece of research, an assessment must be made both of the reliability and accuracy of the data as representative of the objective under consideration. Parish registers were not created for the purposes that demographic historians have been using them. The information gathered must be handled sympathetically as well as assessed for the appropriateness for the conclusions to be drawn from it. Aforesaid, validity is not a problem, however, as burial implies death, baptism implies birth.[87] Historical demography has difficulties with reliability/comprehensiveness of data, as was outlined earlier in the chapter, however arithmetical adjustments can be made to compensate for under registration. It is these adjustments made by Wrigley and Schofield in their work that historians have questioned when assumptions are made at the national level and precise calculations are applied to provide the cumulative figures for the country. The work undertaken within this study does not attempt to make national statements but to consider the rural, agricultural communities by using qualitative and quantitative analysis to develop a picture of the lived lives of the individuals under consideration.

Steven Ruggles, commenting on the 26 parishes from which the reconstitutions were compiled which formed the basis of Wrigley and Schofield's work, stated that there were "only 2,060 completed marriages, which represents perhaps 3% of all family reconstitution forms."[88] Although this may still represent a useful and accurate sample, MacFarlane has suggested that, rather than relying on a small proportion of completed

[87] Michael Anderson, 'Historical Demography after The Population History of England', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15 (1985): 599.

[88] S. Ruggles, 'The Limitations of English Family Reconstitution: "English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837"', *Continuity and Change* 14 (1999): 116.

reconstruction forms, the use of all records appertaining to a parish might be linked to provide greater statistical information. Thus, "By establishing the social and economic context of life experiences and linking the reconstitution to further details about families and individuals, it is possible to look at demographic results by status, gender and other factors such as income."[89] The use of the data sets produced by this process of family reconstitution can be used to explore a range of demographic and community orientated questions. In J. D. Chambers' classic study of the village of Cardington in Bedfordshire, the material allowed the author to demonstrate the inward population flow: of the 109 families (from the reconstitution sheets) whose place of birth was given, just seven had both parents born in the village, whereas in 51 cases both parents were from another parish.[90]

In effect, by taking the reconstitution records and supplementary or cross-referencing with further details such as census returns, it may be possible to assemble a more complete demographic map of individual parishes, and to place these within a broader national context. For example, it appears that about 20% of the people who claimed to be born in Colyton in the 1851 Census were not actually recorded in the parish registers and that the non-conformist registers only account for approximately 30% of these; leaving open the possibility that the missing others might be found in different, neighbouring parishes.[91] Eversley, Laslett and Wrigley acknowledged that, by selecting an area within a region "we obtain the best opportunity for the study of a

[89] Pamela Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton, 1540-1840* (University of Exeter Press, 2002), 10.

[90] J. D. Chambers and Alan Armstrong, *Population, Economy, and Society in Pre-Industrial England* (Oxford University Press, 1972), 46.

[91] Sharpe, *Population and Society in an East Devon Parish: Reproducing Colyton, 1540-1840*, 69.

group of related parishes…. containing with them a sufficient proportion of short distance migration to offer good opportunities for both aggregation and reconstitution."[92] A similar exercise will be referenced in Chapter 5 for the parishes under consideration along with the Census returns for the nineteenth century. Bideau and Brunet have termed this the construction of individual life histories, stating that "We have …tried to extend family reconstitution by linking vital records and nominative census schedules".[93] Table 3 demonstrates the concept in tabular form the concept of a life history.

Table 3: Individual Biography of Marie Philomene Cartant

Date	Age of subject at time of event	Identification Number	Place of Registration	Details
07/04/1785	-24	12410	C99	Birth of father
25/05/1788	-21	10798	C99	Birth of Mother
21/01/1809	0	12427	A00	Birth of subject
02/06/1840	31	7935	A00	Marriage of subject
12/07/1841	32	12428	A00	Birth of first child
19/02/1844	35	12429	A00	Birth of second child
05/08/1846	37	1722	A00	Birth of third child
13/02/1849	40	12430	A00	Birth of forth child
23/10/1849	40	7935	A00	Death of subject spouse
23/10/1849	40	7935	A00	End of Union
12/09/1855	46	12410	A00	Death of subject father
04/08/1874	65	10798	A00	Death of subject mother
16/11/1878	69	12427	A00	Death of subject
04/04/1908	99	12428	C00	Death of first child

[92] Wrigley et al., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography, From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, 27.

[93] David Sven Reher and Roger Schofield, *Old and New Methods in Historical Demography* (Clarendon Press, 1993), 111.

10/12/1912	103	12429	A00	Death of second child
05/06/1922	113	1722	A00	Death of third child
22/01/1932	123	12430	A00	Death of fourth child

Source: Data taken from Reher and Schofield, *Old and New Methods in Historical Demography (Clarendon Press, 1993), 113.*

By undertaking studies in five adjoining villages, mapping marriages of inhabitants and then constructing these individual life histories, family patterns can be identified across a group of parishes. Migration or family moves can rarely be attributed to a singular motive, but Clark and Souden have suggested four overlapping types of migration which they categorise as local, career, circular and chain.[94] Local is migration that centres on the immediate area and is within the area with which the migrant is familiar. Career is a significant change of local environment and would involve relocation. As suggested circular would be a return to the original location after several previous moves. A circular move may be added to anyone buried in an original birthplace or family plot. The final definition would involve a number of moves along a path, within an established pathway, maybe through family connections. Although it is often difficult to attribute any specific move to a particular pathway as the information available is often limited and the reason interpreted rather than the original reason for moving.

Settlement

Everyone had a “designated settlement”, which they had variously earned or derived as a result of custom or law and, theoretically, provided for them when they became

[94] Peter Clark and David Souden, *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (Hutchinson, 1988), 16.

in need.[95] Using the Settlement Act to define an individual's place of settlement has been acknowledged as an important component part of the work of the understanding of locality and sense of place. Many contemporaries commented that it was the parish to which the poorer rural classes were primarily attached, to which they felt that they belonged. Developments in poor law legislation and relief systems appeared, to the poor at least, to violate the principle that the poor should be relieved in their own parishes.[96]

There were several possible ways to achieve the right to settlement. To be born in the parish would provide settlement, as well as to be hired for over a year and one day within a parish. In effect this led to shorter hire periods, in order to reduce the risk of additional costs, even if annual employment contracts would be effective, so that settlement was not obtained. If you held office in the parish or rented a property worth £10 per year or paid the equivalent in taxes, these also provided evidence of settlement rights. Previously gained poor relief from the parish officials or holding a seven-year apprenticeship with a settled resident also provided you with the right of settlement in a parish. Finally, a woman gained settlement rights by marrying a man from a different parish, who had settlement rights in that location. This could lead to a woman being defined as belonging to a parish that she had never entered or been resident in and no longer having the rights of her home or original settlement. Marriage for a woman, paternity or birth - the latter two applying respectively in the absence of

[95] K. D. M. Snell, 'Settlement, Poor Law and the Rural Historian: New Approaches and Opportunities', *Rural History* 3 (1992): 146.

[96] K. D. M. Snell, 'The Culture of Local Xenophobia', *Social History* 28 (2003): 5.

others and in illegitimacy cases provided settlement rights.[97] This is illustrated by an account from the Reverend F E Witts:

> April 27th, 1821: the overseer of Halling brought up two gypsies, casual poor in their parish in order to their being examined to their settlement. Merach Lock the husband swore that he was born under an oak on Halling Down as he'd heard from his mother being an illegitimate child and knowing nothing of his father: also that he was recently married to his wife Mary with whom he had cohabited 20 years having by her six children. It seems the parish of Halling has little or no chance of proving him settled elsewhere. On examining the woman, she swore all the children to be his - Lucas and Adam being born like their father in the parish of Halling - Eve at Cold Ashton - Sarah at Brimpsfield - Temperance at Hawkesbury - Joanna at Cranham. The law was strictly interpreted, and removal orders were made in respect of the last four children sending them to their respective places of birth.[98]

In the footnote, the editor of the diary states there are numerous examples of the making of removal orders in the diaries, perhaps the harshest was heard at North Leach concerning this family. The orders were upheld following an appeal by the parishes of Hawkesbury and Cranham at the Trinity Quarter Sessions in 1821, which Witt himself attended. The 1795 Settlement Act which restricted removal mainly to those chargeable under the Act, tightened even further the already strong connection between settlement, parish and poor law. Residency was not based simply on custom, and people were seemingly quite willing to move, for example, if they were presented with better financial opportunities. However, their mobility did not necessarily imply that they had withdrawn from the Anglican Church's registration system but, rather, that they used several churches in the course of their lives.

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[97] Snell, 'Settlement, Poor Law and the Rural Historian: New Approaches and Opportunities', 150.

[98] Verey, *Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, 18.

Challenges

The reliability and comprehensiveness of parish registers is not simply a reflection of national legislation or the financial issues surrounding parochial registration, but can the information included be influenced by local factors to a greater degree than previously assumed? Usage of the parish registers involves certain problems of definition, including for example the inclusion of baptism entries (or otherwise) of services performed privately at home. Thus, in the parish of Bergh Apton, for example, twins Charles and Edward Yallop were baptised at home, on the 13th July 1862 and in church on 7th September 1862, with both events being recorded in the register.[99] The common perception of a delay in baptism, and subsequent loss of figures for infant mortality, may be of less importance if other records, such as home baptisms, can be followed through. Indeed, Charles Yallop was buried on the 27th March 1863 at eight months old in Bergh Apton.[100] Only by close study of a group of parishes can these duplicates (and omissions) be identified as well as features such as the relationships within families, regularity of family events and mobility patterns be investigated.

Methodology and Data Processing

Prior to the establishment of the national registration of births and deaths, historical demographers have, by necessity, relied on the ecclesiastical records of baptisms, marriages, and burials. This approach to family reconstitution, using a group of

[99] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1813-1867', n.d., 88, PD497 /5.

[100] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Burial Registers: 1813-1918', n.d., 48, PD497/ 8.

parishes, looks to test both the effectiveness of interpreting the data as well as illustrating some distinctions between the importance of the parish and community at the micro level. As K.D.M. Snell has observed, community, in its historical form, was set within a limited area in which, theoretically, almost everybody knew each other and an area in which people felt they belonged.[101] In England, during the period under study, the ecclesiastical parish had the potential to be such a location or such a place of community. The parish was the place to which all members of the population belonged and to whom attachment was defined by the parish church. The church had the ability to play a key role in both these definitions, however whether the tie was as strong as some historians have suggested and whether the records demonstrate this should be tested.

The original register data, and the newly created data sets, can be used for a range of statistical analysis at the individual and parish level. However, family reconstitution does not provide information about individuals who do not participate in procreation and, as such, is a limitation of the process. A key component of the information to be gained relates to those who have cause to interact with the church through the key rites of marriage and baptism. The digitisation of data, for various interest groups, the ability to devise simple databases and utilise the power of computer programming and the development of records for genealogical studies have all allowed this study to be undertaken on both an individual and small scale. Barry Reay in his work on microhistories states “the advantage of placing a small community under the microscope is that it becomes possible to see and explore the complexity of social

[101] Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950*, 10.

interaction and social and economic processes".[102] It is the advancement of technology and the access to it that allows the development of the parish micro history which can be used to supplement and support national analysis of the work undertaken by Campop and other historians.

The family reconstitution process allows the study to consider a range of demographic variables, albeit accepting that the information was neither collected for that purpose nor designed to be interpretated in that way, for example Wrigley and Schofield do not look at what was happening to the mean age of women at the birth of their last child. A fall in the age at the birth of the last child of two years could 'cancel out' the fertility effect of a lowering of the age at first marriage by one year. The consequences of the lowering of the age at first marriage could be somewhat muted if the age of family completion is lowered in return.[103] The age at first marriage is a key determinant when considering the length of the reproductive period within marriage, and, following from that, the number of children born. The mixture of marriage partners from within and outside a parish indicates a degree of mobility, but for both partners to come from outside the parish suggests some alternative reason for using that particular church, which will be considered later in this study. In premodern populations stopping was probably the least chosen method and spacing behaviour was widely practised as an alternative form of fertility relief, so the question needs to be posed, what happens to

[102] Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society, and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*, 258.

[103] M. W. Flinn, 'The Population History of England, 1541-1871', *The Economic History Review* 35 (1982): 452.

the population if the spacing changes?[104] The data can be interrogated to ascertain whether the birth intervals within a completed family were increasing as well as taken into account the gap between the penultimate and final birth, both of which may affect completed family size and fertility rates. In addition, as the data is analysed on a family basis, but within one household, consideration can be to the behaviours practised within actual families – sisters and sisters, mothers and daughters is never considered.[105]

Social historians of the 1960s and 1970s suggested that the population was surprisingly mobile. Charles Phythian Adams has emphasized the need to abandon the study of a simple administrative entity, such as the parish, and to refocus on looking at alternative cultural and other local levels of social identity and belonging within a community.[106] Such analysis could include the study of surname repetition, marriage horizons, endogamy and exogamy and other kin networks; if in effect, to look at the population as a total rather than to over concentrate on the core families who provided the stability of a community. Stable families also provided the core for some of the industrial rural communities, such as Norton in Derbyshire. Between January 1560 and December 1562, the Norton register recorded 1319 burials, 27 surnames accounted for 48% of the entries, the remaining 52% contained 258 different

[104] David Levine, 'English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 28 (1998): 615.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Phythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces in English Local History*.

surnames, of which 125 occurred only once.[107]

Armstrong's study of the population of Victorian Norfolk has concluded that "further investigation of what happened to nuptiality and procreation in Norfolk in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century awaits studies based in the parish registers, of which, so far, there has been a dearth in the county."[108] By looking, in depth, at changes in a group of Norfolk parishes, it is hoped to address the questions around marriage horizons and migration, endogamy and exogamy as well as pre-nuptial conceptions. Although the parish registers were never designed to provide future historians with demographic records, they remain the main source for reconstructing the lives of most people before civil registration. Their limitations, outlined previously, including under-registration, legislative changes, clerical limitations and the effects of time on their survival, mean that they must be treated with caution when used for this interpretation. However, those records which survive provide details of the individuals, through baptism and burial and couples, through marriage who lived in the past in these villages. They are a representation of the rites of passage and indicate some of the changes through mobility which occurred over the main period of this study. By using family reconstitution and the five contiguous parishes, this study seeks to confirm that the parish was not just an administrative boundary or parish entity, but it was the environment that individuals witnessed and negotiated. The parishes were not simply a unit of analysis but the framework through which the population and its community can be explored. The key characteristics of these parishes will be

[107] David Hey, *The Grass Roots of English History: Local Societies in England Before the Industrial Revolution* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 183.

[108] Alan Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk* (Centre of East Anglican Studies, University of East Anglia, 2000), 83.

described in the following chapter and will demonstrate the importance of community rather than simple parish in the lived experience.

Chapter 3: Parishes In Context

> Every man and woman and child old enough to understand anything looks upon his parish as being partly his.
>
> William Cobbett [109]

The area which this study focuses on comprises five parishes in South Norfolk: Bergh Apton, Chedgrave, Mundham, Sisland and Thurton. This chapter will look at both the common and unique features of this group in the way that they were experienced by the population over a 300-year period including land utilisation, occupational structure, housing, transport and communication as well as interactions with authorities (Poor Law and the Church of England). This study will focus on the parish, in particular using church registers and censuses and assessing them as a source for effective analysis of the identification of parish by the individual, married couples and families. Consideration will also be given to the specific clergy including non-residency; the condition and status of their registers as well as assessing the fullness of the entries and consistency which may limit some of the effectiveness for full reconstitution.

Norfolk is a county on the eastern edge of England and, in some ways, largely isolated. Bounded on the north and east by the North Sea and, for southern Norfolk, the river Waveney serves as the boundary with Suffolk. Other than the county town and city of Norwich, the other larger towns of Kings Lynn and Great Yarmouth are located on the edges of the county, to the North and East. The remainder of the county is composed

[109] William Cobbett and Ian Dyck, *Rural Rides* (Penguin, 2001), 161.

of hundreds of rural settlements interspersed with small market towns, such as Loddon and Wymondham.[110] The county has remained largely rural as the lack of mineral resources or fast flowing water supply meant that many of the drivers of industrialisation were not present. Norfolk remains a county dominated by this settlement pattern for a large period under consideration. Although it would be a mistake to assume that Norfolk is an entirely isolated region, as trade with continental Europe has been fundamental to its development, in the context of this study its rural structure will be tested with regard to its evolution of the nature of place and the loyalty of its population.

[110] John Patten, 'Population Distribution in Norfolk and Suffolk during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 65 (1975): 61.

Figure 5: Map of Study Parishes, with churches indicated (green stars)



Location of Parish Church

Map Created by RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

The parishes under study are situated approximately seven miles south-east of Norwich and six miles from the Suffolk town of Beccles. The parishes are all a small size without main service functions which were provided by the nearby market town of Loddon. The parishes are contiguous, as highlighted on the map (Figure 5), and the specific nature of their structure and form will be described in this chapter. One of the primary reasons for selecting these parishes was the desire to focus on a group of interconnected parishes which had suitable early parish registers and would allow for the ability to assess some of the interconnectivity between assumed similar populations and economic backgrounds. A group of small parishes also offers the opportunity to compare and contrast between the units, to observe any differences in behaviour between agricultural workers on a micro scale as well as review/examine the similarities.

Topography

The area under consideration is flat to a gently undulating landscape which rises from the River Chet. The landscape varies from open farmland through to smaller valleys formed by the river tributaries, with pockets of trees and winding roads. The higher ground contains the more open farmland, whereas the valleys are characterised by small bridges, village ponds and tree lines influenced by the water course. The water course is not clearly perceptible, nor accessible, but would have been key to earlier farming, illustrated in these parishes by a mill on the conjunction between three of the villages. In the twentieth-first century this area is predominantly open arable farmland, with limited remaining hedgerows and field boundaries. Although some of the large, former hedgerow trees now remain, in an early period these divisions would have been more pronounced. There are patches of grass or common land, in particular in

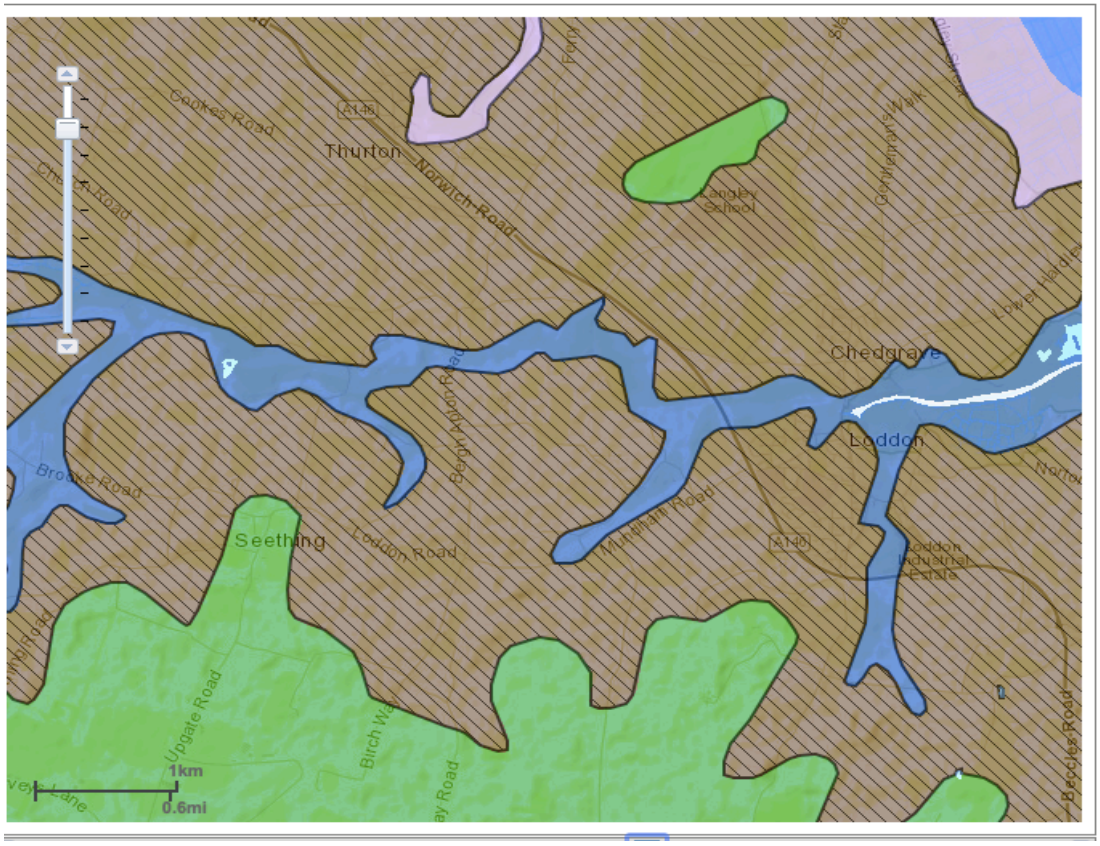
Mundham, Bergh Apton and Sisland, the latter now managed by the Woodland Trust and no longer grassland. The woodland is concentrated along the river tributaries. The settlements are evenly distributed, and the church towers are a key feature of the landscape.

Soils

South Norfolk and the area in which these parishes are located are found on the claylands. The claylands do not form a homogenous zone but are located between the central area of Norfolk and in the area around north Suffolk and south Norfolk, in which the study area sits (Figure 6). The pattern of settlement on the claylands is traditionally dispersed with predominantly scattered farms, hamlets and a few nuclear villages.[111]

[111] Susanna Wade Martins and Tom Williamson, *Roots of Change: Farming and the Landscape in East Anglia, c.1700-1870* (British Agricultural History Society, 1999), 21.

Figure 6: Soilscape Map for the Five Parishes



Source: Data taken from http://www.landis.org.uk/soilscapes/

KEY:
Green: Slowly permeable seasonally wet acid loamy and clayey soils
Blue: Loamy and sandy soils with naturally high groundwater and a peaty surface
Brown: lightly acid loamy soils, slightly impeded drainage

There are two soil types within the study area, firstly Beccles 1, of which the main characteristics is that it is slowly permeable, although can be seasonally waterlogged, with a fine loam over a clayey soil. [112] This soil type was predominantly used for the growing of winter cereals, but also as grassland, although on undrained soil the ground can become more waterlogged in winter. The soil type is very extensive around the watershed of Norfolk and Suffolk and found on predominantly level or slightly sloping ground. The often appropriately variable climate and moderately fertile soil supported the increasing change to arable crops during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The second soil type is Burlingham.[113] Its main characteristics are a deep coarse and fine loamy soil with slowly permeable subsoils and less seasonal waterlogging than the Beccles type. The soil can be used for the growing of cereals as well as legumes. Found in Norfolk and on the gentle slopes which drain into the rivers which flow from the east of Wymondham towards Lowestoft and covers much of the area under study. This land can be worked in both autumn and spring and, as such, is used for general arable farming. Although there is little grassland on this soil type, there is a tradition of

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http://www.landis.org.uk/soilsguide/mapunit.cfm?mu=71118&sorttype_association=map_unit_name Cranfield University 2023. *The Soils Guide.* Available: www.landis.org.uk. Cranfield University, UK. Last accessed 03/01/2023

113

http://www.landis.org.uk/soilsguide/mapunit.cfm?mu=57214&sorttype_association=map_unit_name Cranfield University 2023. *The Soils Guide.* Available: www.landis.org.uk. Cranfield University, UK. Last accessed 03/01/2023

dairy farming south of Norwich, possible encompassing some of the study parishes, which economically may have encouraged it.[114]

The claylands were generally fertile but originally had poor drainage. They are areas of 'ancient' countryside characterised by dispersed settlement, early enclosure, and woods and commons. They display a certain social structure, of minor gentry/yeoman and the landless labourer, importantly not the extreme social differentiation that can be found elsewhere in Norfolk, thus large estates are never prominent as they are on the light soils of northeast Norfolk. Although the study area is not recognised for large estates the Langley estate, although less than 10,000 acres in size, was important to the structure and representation of the parishes of Chedgrave and Thurton and does provide some influence, which will be explored later in the chapter. Sisland is the only parish in the group to have had a market, which was granted a charter in 1265, although no longer in existence by the seventeenth century. Loddon the closest market town which had been granted a market in 1245, which was still active into the middle of the twentieth century.[115]

By about 1700 most open fields had disappeared from the claylands leaving only areas of common grazing to be removed by later, usually by parliamentary enclosure. In part the removal of these open fields was associated with changing farming, in particular farmers specialising in dairy production so much of the land was laid to permanent pasture. Sheep were less important than cattle throughout this area. However, on the

[114] Bruce M. S. Campbell and Mark Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming c.1250-c.1850', *Past & Present* 141 (1993): 82.

[115] Peter Wade-Martins et al., *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, 2nd ed. (Norfolk Museums Service, 1994), 77.

claylands the area under the grass declined rapidly after 1770 as private pastures were ploughed, commons were enclosed, and land was under drained on a large scale. By 1850 the claylands had ceased to be an area of pasture farming, and they had become what they are today as an intensive arable region.[116]

By the nineteenth century large landowners had acquired much of the land, though still in scattered blocks as the Tithe return data shows for these parishes (Figure 7). The area was a rural one of fields, farm and villages, with the bulk of the workforce engaged in farming. There were no Turnpike Acts which affected this group of parishes, the only one leaving Norwich in a southeasterly direction was awarded in 1770 and went as far as Bixley. Although fundamentally located in this area, one parish, Chedgrave, does form a boundary with the Broads network through its location on the River Chet. Tributaries of the River Chet also define the boundaries of Sisland and Mundham and, with the exception of Chedgrave and Sisland, the parish settlements are located fairly centrally within their respective boundaries. The railways did not intersect these parishes, and the closest stations would have been Norwich or Reedham, which is on the opposite side of the River Yare.[117] Scattered settlements were linked by complex and intricate mesh of lanes and tracks. Most of the roads in these districts were in place by 1300.[118] By the end of the period it was a primarily an arable region, with around 80% of the cultivated acreage being devoted to crops or

[116] Tom Williamson, *England's Landscape: East Anglia* (Collins, 2006), 69.

[117] Wade-Martins et al., *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, 147–49.

[118] Williamson, *England's Landscape: East Anglia*, 159.

rotational grass.[119] As yet, the large-scale mechanisation, transportation on a personal level or alternative occupations were not widespread. People worked on the land and their social and geographical horizons reflected much of that limitation.

Agriculture and Employment

> An affiliation to parish, township, hamlet or estate was characteristic to many agricultural or related workers, and such extremely local units of belonging often eclipsed any larger rallying points for loyalty. This is by no means to rule out an attachment or sense of community that related perhaps to country.[120]

Snell comments above on the ties that agricultural work and the rural landscape brought to parishes and individuals. Although Norfolk was an early adopter of many of the changes associated with the agricultural revolutions, the evidence for the parishes under study implies that they continued to operate a mixed economy, although the use of the labourer changed over the period. One observer of farming methods in the nineteenth century noted that the 'living-in' system was not prevalent in Norfolk and the alternative was not attractive for the labourer. He stated that 'There is no such thing as a yearly labourer, no boarding aid by the farmer and, in short, no connection between master and man except work on the one hand and payment on the other'.[121] The lack of an established 'living-in' structure, at this stage, may be an important

[119] Susanna Wade Martins and Tom Williamson, *The Countryside of East Anglia: Changing Landscapes, 1870-1950* (Boydell Press, 2008), 10.

[120] Snell, 'The Culture of Local Xenophobia', 4.

[121] Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850*, 185.

consideration to the type of households and structures that may appear in these parishes.

The twin achievements of agriculture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the ability to feed a growing population, by raising production, and structural changes demonstrating rising labour productivity.[122] A major change in Norfolk productivity came after 1740, a period traditionally termed as an agricultural revolution, when the proportion of crops grown in the county changed and the yields dramatically increased. A response to changing demands of the market led to different specialisations and discontinuing of some crops in some areas. Table 4 demonstrates the substantial changes which occurred after the 1740s.

Table 4: Norfolk Sown Acreage

	1584-1640	**1660-1739**	**1836**	**1854**
Grain	86.9	83.4	48.8	52.1
Legumes	9	13.7	26.9	24.4
Fodder	12.7	16.6	51.2	46.5
Turnips	0.1	7.2	24.3	22.1
Buckwheat	1.0	1.6		
Clover	0	2.3	25	21.4
Hemp, Flax, Hops	0.27	0.05		0.03

Source: Data taken from Campbell and Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming c.1250-c.1850', 54

[122] Campbell and Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming c.1250-c.1850', 39.

One form of non-parliamentary enclosure was that of 'piece-meal' kind. A process where the owners of land agreed, amongst themselves, to consolidate small amounts of land, from the open fields or common, to farm with their own land. These were private closures rather than Parliamentary ones and a process which had been practiced over a long period of time.[123] Alternatively, the enclosure of common land, manorial 'waste' and grassland took place by Act of Parliament, becoming more common after 1750. With the exception of the parish of Chedgrave, enclosure took place in the parishes in the early nineteenth century, but with a clear focus on marginal land. In 1801 an act for dividing, allotting, and inclosing the commons and waste grounds in the parishes of Bergh Apton, Thurton, Yelverton, Alpington, and Holveston was passed.[124] For Mundham and Sisland an act for enclosing lands within the parishes of Seething, Kirstead, Mundham, and Sisland was dated 15th April 1813.[125] The Tithe returns, see Figure 7, show from the early to mid-nineteenth century that the area had become largely arable, with pasture remaining in the more marginal soils, which retained moisture and can be found on the flat, lower lying areas. The changes to agricultural employment, the roles and the ability to create household units is important in this regard, where living in did not exist and general labouring remained the norm.

The majority of land is used as arable, according to the Tithe returns, except in Chedgrave where pasture dominates especially along the river Chet. In Mundham just

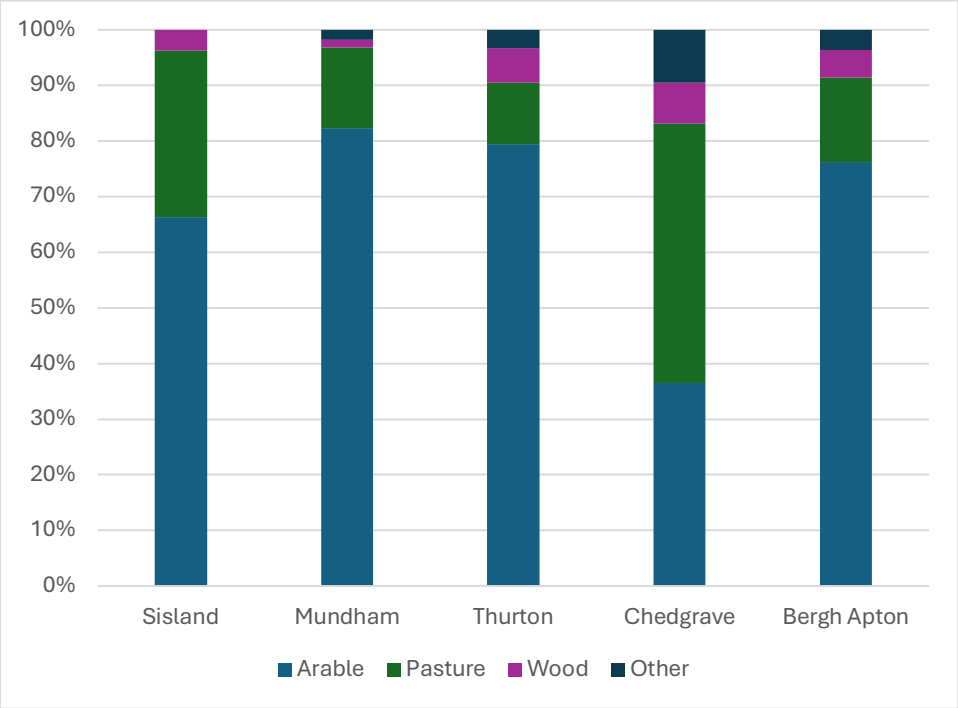
[123] G. E. Mingay, *Parliamentary Enclosure in England: An Introduction to Its Causes, Incidence, and Impact, 1750-1850* (Longman, 1997), 12.

[124] Norfolk Record Office, 'Enclosure Award: 1806, Bergh Apton and Thurton', n.d., C/Sca 2/29.

[125] Norfolk Record Office, 'Enclosure Award, 1813, Sisland, Seething, Kirstead and Mundham', n.d., C/Sca 2/260.

over 80% was arable, the highest of any of the parishes and a further 15% pasture.[126] In Thurton just under 80% was arable.[127] Sisland had 66% arable but no 'other' category.[128] Bergh Apton had 76% arable and 4% of the other category which included Trustees of the Poor and land owned by Bergh Apton Town.[129] Chedgrave had the least arable (37%) and within the other category Chedgrave also has 7.5% meadow.[130]

Figure 7: Land Use for the Five Parishes



Source: Data from The National Archive, Tithe Apportionment maps

A detailed set of statistics, Reports on Poor Law Inspectors on Agricultural Statistics, was produced in 1854, based upon data from almost all farms in the county (Table 5).

[126] The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Mundham', 1839, IR29/23/386.

[127] The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Thurton', 1838, IR29/23/574.

[128] The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Sisland', 1838, IR29/23/497.

[129] The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Bergh Apton and Holveston', 1839, IR29/23/59.

[130] The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Chedgrave', 1838, IR29/23/136.

Therefore, with the exception of Chedgrave, the other parishes have arable land use above the county average.

Table 5: Norfolk Agricultural Statistics for 1854

	1854 Board of Trade Agricultural Statistics
Arable (per 1000 acres)	620 (41%)
Wheat (per 1000 acres)	158 (11%)
Cattle (per 1000 acres)	75 (5%)
Sheep (per 1000 acres)	650 (43%)

Source: Data from Philip Dodd, 'The Agricultural Statistics for 1854: An Assessment of Their Value', *The Agricultural History Review* 35 (1987): 170.

Figure 8: Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, 1934[131]

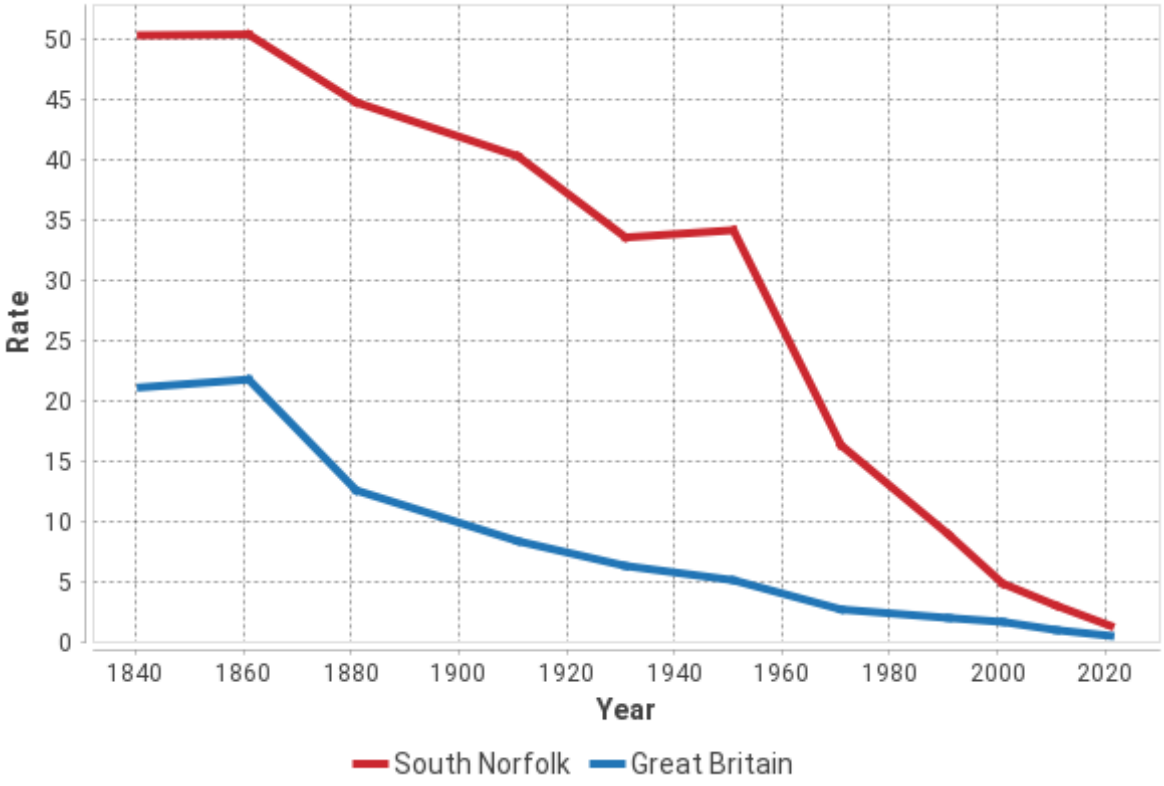


Source: Data from Land Utilisation Survey of Britain, 1934, map 67

[131] 'View Map: Land Utilisation Survey, Sheet 67 - Norwich & Great Yarmouth - Land Utilisation Survey, 1931-193', accessed 18 August 2023, https://maps.nls.uk/view/241043323.

Land utilisation surveys in the mid-twentieth century indicate that the parishes were predominantly arable in land use, although permanent pasture predominated along the river Chet tributaries, as indicated by Figure 8. The domination of agriculture, as the main industry and employer, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is also illustrated by the employment rate in agriculture for South Norfolk (Figure 9), where the rate does not fall below 40% for the period under study.

Figure 9: Employment Rate in Agriculture, 1850-2020[132]



Source: GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, South Norfolk District through time | Historical Statistics on Industry | Rate: Agriculture

[132] GB Historical GIS / University of Portsmouth, South Norfolk through time | Historical Statistics on Industry for the District/Unitary Authority | Rate: Agriculture, A Vision of Britain through Time [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/unit/10080642/rate/IND_AG]. Accessed: 14 October 2020

However, broad generalisations must be seen in the context of local variations. Census material from 1851 indicates that smaller, family run farms were still in existence. Larger farms, those of 200 or even 300 acres, existed alongside the numerous small farms of 50 acres or less. Howkins outlines the importance of the small family farm in the nineteenth century, but although these may be numerically high, the total area farmed must also be considered in this context.[133] Williamson indicates that this figure, farms in excess of 150 acres, accounted for 41.5% of the land in the central claylands.[134] In the parishes under consideration, the figures taken from the 1851 Census indicate that for Chedgrave and Bergh Apton, 42% of the famers have larger holdings of over 200 acres, for Sisland and Mundham this is 57% and Thurton much higher at 64%.[135] Figures 10 and 11 provide the data from these parishes.

[133] Alun Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A Social History 1850-1925* (Routledge, 1991), 39.

[134] Wade Martins and Williamson, *Roots of Change: Farming and the Landscape in East Anglia, c.1700-1870*, 77.

[135] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Norfolk, England', 1851, PRO HO107/ 1820; The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England', 1851, PRO HO107/ 1820; The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England', 1851, PRO HO107/ 1820; The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Sisland, Norfolk, England', 1851, PRO HO107/ 1820; The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Thurton, Norfolk, England', 1851, PRO HO107/ 1820.

Figure 10: Farmers Listed in 1851 Census with Number of Employees, Per Farm/ Holding, in the study parishes

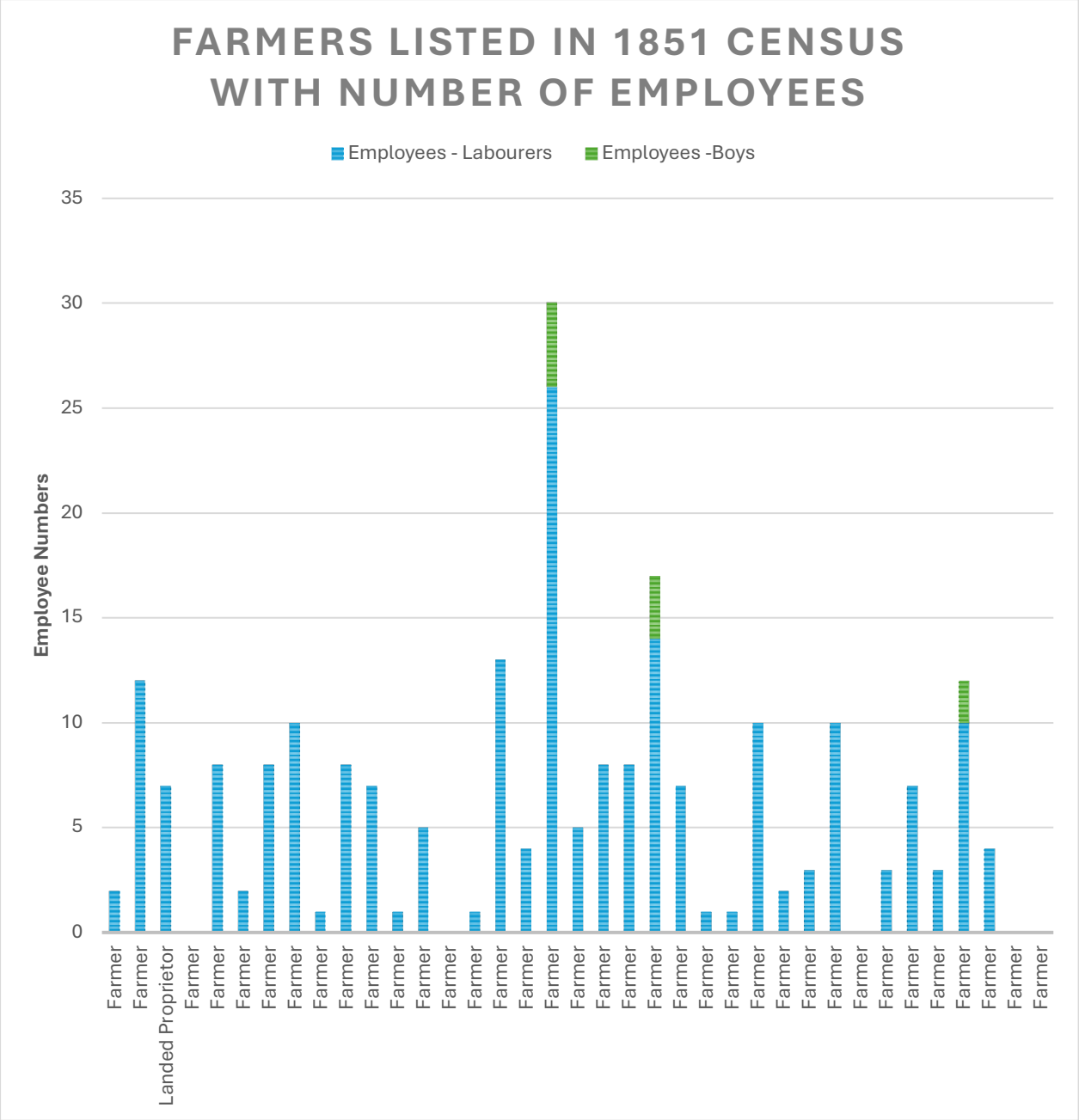
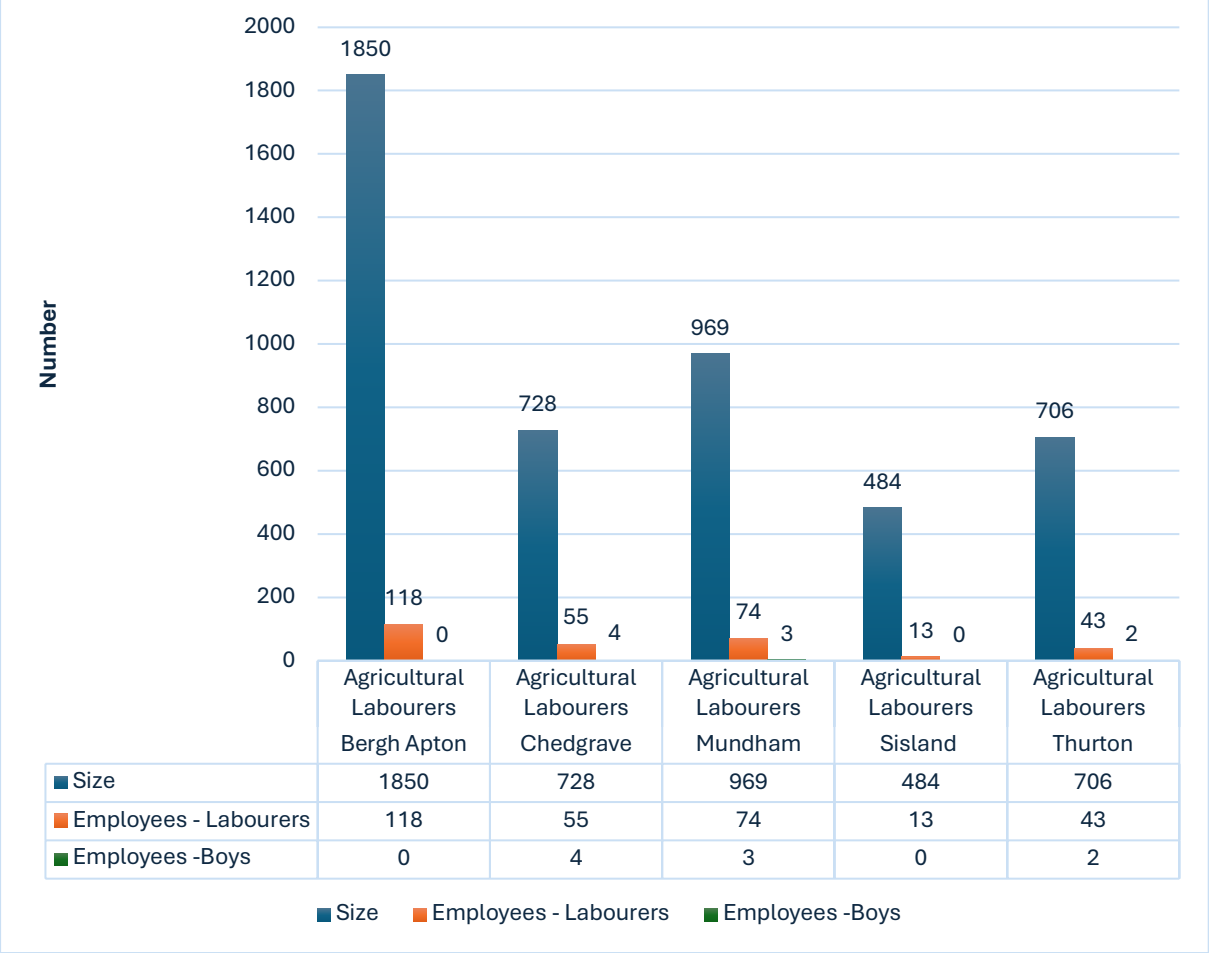

FARMERS LISTED IN 1851 CENSUS WITH NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES
Employees - Labourers
Employees -Boys
Employee Numbers
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Farmer
Farmer
Landed Proprietor
Farmer
Farmer
Farmer

Figure 11: Total Farm Acreage, by Parish, and Total Number of Employees from the 1851 Census



	Agricultural Labourers Bergh Apton	Agricultural Labourers Chedgrave	Agricultural Labourers Mundham	Agricultural Labourers Sisland	Agricultural Labourers Thurton
Size	1850	728	969	484	706
Employees - Labourers	118	55	74	13	43
Employees -Boys	0	4	3	0	2

Source: Data taken from The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Chedgrave, Mundham, Sisland and Thurton, Norfolk, England'

It would, however, be unwise to ignore the range of occupations that accompany the agricultural employment sector, so not just the labourers, husbandmen and famers but the other primary occupations required to maintain the rural agricultural economy. Those engaged in farming, through their inventories in Norfolk between 1580 and 1740, noted the following occupations; baker, basket maker, blacksmith, brazier, bricklayer, carpenter, cooper, cordwainer, fisherman, joiner, mason, reed layer, rope maker, shoemaker, thatcher, weaver and wheelwright. As well as those traditional

areas, south Norfolk also indicated occupations of more specialist farming nature such as drover, fisherman, gamekeeper, grazier, groom, market gardener, marshman, ploughman, shepherd, straw bonnet maker, and well sinker. In order to support the agricultural economy there were also a range of professional occupations such as the bailiff, clergy, clothier, farm steward, schoolmaster and watch maker and further accompanied by brewer, butcher, carrier, chandler, draper, grocer, innkeeper, miller, seaman/sailor, tailor, victualler and waterman.[136] The parish registers also referred to occupations which included Esquire, Gentleman, Gentlewomen, singlewomen, spinster, pauper and widow. Many of these listed under 'occupation' for women noted in the registers but did not necessarily imply that other work was not being undertaken by these individuals, as these 'occupations' are more consistent with what we would consider to be social status. These occupational descriptions and allocations would, however, suggest that the skills were transferable within the parishes and would not, act as a barrier to movement or relocation, through choice or necessity.

As predominantly agricultural parishes the main occupational structure of the parishes reflects these characteristics. The occupational structure of the communities is illustrated in Table 6 and indicates the range of associated roles which supported this industry, from those with direct links to those farming the land such as blacksmith and miller, to those maintaining the parish structure, such as the Parish Clerk, and some wider roles needed within any community, such as butcher, shop keeper and victualler.

[136] Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy, 1500-1850*, 36.

Table 6: Occupational Structure in the Parishes in 1856

Occupation	Thurton	Mundham	Sisland	Chedgrave	Bergh Apton
Blacksmith	1			1	1
Bricklayer				2	
Butcher				1	1
Cooper				1	
Drill Owner	1				
Farm Ballif				1	
Farmer	5	7	3		9
Gardener	1				1
Gentry				5	4
Marshman				1	
Miller		1			1
Parish Clerk				1	
Rector			1	1	1
Relieving Officer		1			
School Mistress				1	2
Shoemaker	1			1	3
Shopkeeper	1	1		1	2
Straw Bonnet maker				1	
Tailor					1
Victualler	2	1		1	
Wheelwright				1	
Total	**12**	**11**	**4**	**20**	**26**

Source: *Craven & Co.'s Commercial Directory of Norfolk, 1856* (Craven & Co, 1856)

In 1831 a Norfolk committee of magistrates, who had conducted an inquiry into employment of the agricultural poor, reported that more than one in eight of the men in rural Norfolk were partly or totally unemployed. Returns from 426 parishes revealed that 2,714 out of 23,148 were without work.[137] Norfolk farmers wanted a surplus of labour because they needed it at harvest time but were less keen to retain it by either occasional employment or poor rates for the rest of the year. The provision of more

[137] Anne Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, Studies in Economic History (Routledge and K. Paul, 1978), 100.

expensive indoor relief led to a short-lived participation in the emigration and migration schemes which were financed through the poor rate. Between 1835 and 1837 Norfolk villages sent out a total of 3,354 emigrants under the scheme of the Poor Law Commission. This was the highest number sent by any county and was over half the national total of 6,403. The emigrants were mostly agricultural labourer, though there was some village tradesmen.[138] In addition, the Migration Scheme of 1835-7 sent an estimated 583 migrants to the northern manufacturing areas which were short of factory hands, often from the strong weaving areas around Norwich. However, these figures underestimated the total amount of independent parochial migration, which may be illustrated by the population turnover indicated in the Chapter 5.[139]

Norfolk: Population Trends

Between 1751 and 1831 the population of Norfolk rose by approximately 80%, less than the average for England at approximately 120%, but faster than at any other time in the county's history.[140] Subsequently Norfolk declined from being the seventh most populous county in 1831 to nineteenth in 1911.[141] Migration was a major feature, and, from the 1851 Census onwards, it is possible to identify lifetime migration, with internal movements towards urban areas but also some out-migration from the county. Although contemporaries did not necessarily recognise the mobility of the Norfolk population, all the parishes show a decline after 1851, although their peak maximum population was not always the Census prior to 1851. Norfolk tended to have low death

[138] Ibid., 101.

[139] Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, 28.

[140] *Cambridge Group for History of Population and Social Structure*, December 2024, https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk.

[141] Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, 5.

rates by contemporary standards and while marriage rates reflected nationwide changes, they were also lower than national averages which may have been influenced by the availability of prospective spouses and the migration of individuals. (Table 7).

Table 7: Crude Marriage Rates

Years	England and Wales	Norfolk
1849-1853	8.6	7.5
1854-1863	8.3	7.3
1869-1873	8.4	7.1
1879-1883	7.5	7.0
1889-1893	7.6	6.6
1899-1903	8.0	7.1

Source: data from Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, 85

Analysis of migration may shed light on these low marriage rates, as depleted numbers of younger men and women could affect total marriage rates and subsequent birth rates. In contrast, Norfolk's illegitimacy rates were high, though the overall fertility rates were low during the nineteenth century (Table 8).

Table 8: Illegitimate Fertility Rates (per 1000 births)

Years	England and Wales	Norfolk
1879-1883	14.1	22.2
1889-1893	10.5	16.7
1899-1903	8.5	13.4
1911-1913	8.0	11.3

Source: data from Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, 117

The various rates of births, marriages and deaths ensured that there was a natural rate of increase in Norfolk, but the population totals indicate a substantial outflow of the 'surplus' population. Between 1841 and 1911 the potential increase of population, the number of births recorded over deaths, was 30,000-40,000 per decade, yet the

county grew by one quarter overall and only nine counties grew less.[142] The importance of migration is reflected in these figures and tracking changes in location and movement for the study families will be clear. The censuses can illustrate that although many people remained within Norfolk, movement was still an important consideration. In addition, Norfolk did not have a large surplus of immigration into the county, given the lack of industry/technical changes to facilitate the need for higher numbers of workers.

Church of England

The Church of England was more secure in the southern counties of England, where it enjoyed higher social standing; hence, the parishes tended to be better endowed, and incumbencies were preferred by the clergy. In parishes that were often rural but still of considerable population density, the Church had a strong community role and there were long established forms of order. In contrast, the northern rural parishes were often scattered over a wider area and isolated and the Church had much less of a pivotal community role (particularly beyond established centres of influence). The movement of population to the newer industrial areas, where the strongest levels of Methodism were also to be found, compounded these problems.

The Church of England clergy could potentially impact on a number of areas of the lived experience, including popular culture and custom, administrative interaction (through the Poor Law, for example) and the maintenance of power relationships within the parish.[143] As Lee states 'What did the Oxbridge scholar – perhaps having

[142] Ibid., 129.

[143] In the Loddon and Clavering district, by 1910, 25% of the guardians were clergy in the Poor Law Union.

spent the previous three years conversing in Greek and Latin with his peers - find to say to the agricultural labourers now in his pastoral care'.[144] The rites of passage (baptism, marriage and burial) however are a clear demonstration of the clergy role and the attachment formed between place and location.

Bishop Bagot (Bishop of Norwich, 1783-1790) noted the 'narrowness and insufficiency' of a high proportion of livings in his diocese as a major reason for pluralism and non-residence. In 1810 only 460 incumbents were resident in their parish (42%), although a high number claimed to be doing their duty so were presumably in a parish close by.[145] In his publication, Chadwick describes the problems for the Rev William Andrew in locating a property in the parish of Ketteringham and his eventual solution to reside at Wood Hall in the parish of Hethersett, which was nearby.[146] Many Norfolk parishes had small populations, and clergy could be underemployed and, therefore, lived in neighbouring towns for social and intellectual reasons.[147] The clergy of the established church could have been born in Norfolk but more than 50% were not (Table 9). This was not the case for their congregations, which could have influenced the allegiances the families felt or the understanding that the clergy garnered. For many years the Norwich diocese had suffered from clerical absenteeism under Dr Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich (1805-1837). The bishop's death at the age of 93 enabled the appointment of

[144] Robert Lee, 'Customs in Conflict: Some Causes of Anti-Clericalism in Rural Norfolk, 1815-1914', *Rural History* 14 (2003): 197.

[145] Jeffrey S. Chamberlain and Jeremy Gregory, *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Boydell, 2002), 190.

[146] Owen Chadwick, *Victorian Miniature* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 49.

[147] Chamberlain and Gregory, *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800*, 193.

Bishop Stanley a more active member of the clergy, who insisted on his clergy remaining in their parish, which was important for relationships as well as for effective record keeping.[148] The authority of the incumbent appeared to be increasingly undercut by the reforms of the Poor Law, the appointment of Boards of Guardians, and the emergence of rural policing in the 1830s, decreasing the role of the parish vestry, which had previously looked after poor expenditure as well as law and order. There was further erosion of the relationship, from the 1870s over the right of Dissenters to be buried in the parish churchyard and the increasing sectarian nature of education provision.[149]

Table 9: Percentage Ordained Candidates Born/Baptised in Norfolk

Dates of Ordinated candidates in Norwich diocese	% Candidates Born/baptised in Norfolk
1765-1774	39
1775-1784	33
1785-1794	44
1795-1804	43

Source: Chamberlain and Gregory, *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800 (Boydell, 2002)*, 188

All these pressures on the authority of the Church of England came, especially after the 1780s, in combination with the marked deterioration in Anglican coverage countrywide, although the impact of these changes may have had less impact in rural Norfolk. Wrigley and Schofield suggest “At the worst point in the 1810s only 68% of all

[148] Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 27.

[149] Ibid., 202.

live born children received an Anglican baptism."[150] These deficiencies were not nationally or evenly spread, thereby compounding the problems of making some allowances, and particular reference should be made to likely rural and urban differences. The Civil Registration Act of 1837 may have led to an improvement in the parochial registration system, as the Church sought to maintain its position within the community.

Catholics and Nonconformity

The 1676 Compton Census lists just 379 Roman Catholics in Norfolk, of which 317 were located in rural areas.[151] Roman Catholics were reported in only 16 parishes outside of Norwich in 1784.[152] The nineteenth-century development of agricultural trade unions, the increasing focus on the 'crime' of poaching and, in the 1830s, the devasting effects of the Swing Riots culminated in confirming the lack of deferential respect for certain members of the rural community and the increasing non passive nature of protest in society. The growth of non-conformity is another illustration of these changes and, in particular for rural Norfolk, the growth of rural Methodism. Between 1711 and 1721 only 56 places of dissenting meeting were registered in 39 parishes in Norfolk, however none of these were in the parishes under study as most registrations were in the market towns and in the eastern edge of the county. [153] The

[150] Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*, 153.

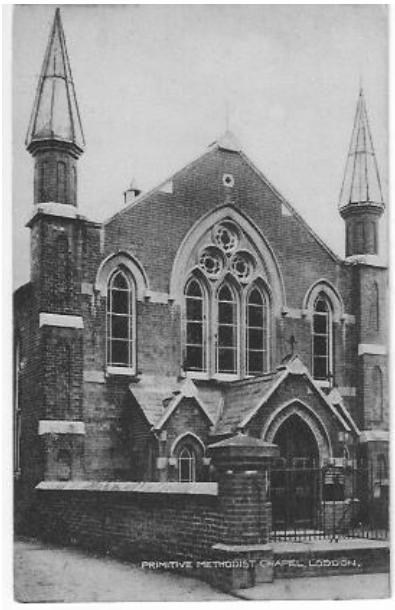
[151] Anne Whiteman and Mary Clapinson, *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition* (Oxford University Press, 1986), 191.

[152] Chamberlain and Gregory, *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800*, 177.

[153] Virgoe and Williamson, *Religious Dissent in East Anglia*, 37.

records for the later eighteenth century show that between 1751 and 1760, 52 properties were registered; in the 1760s only 34; but the numbers started to increase such that from 1771 to 1780 the number rose to 86; dipping between 1781 and 1790 to 73; but increasing rapidly from 1791 to 1800 where 173 properties were registered.[154] Of these 316, six were in Loddon. By 1800 about a third of Norfolk parishes had a property registered for Dissenting worship.[155] Yet even by 1851, 327 (45%) parishes in Norfolk had no dissenting or Methodist chapel.[156] However, a lack of meeting place in a specific location does not imply a lack of a dissenting congregation as the details from the 1851 Census illustrate (Table 13). An early indication of independent attitudes was the adoption of many rural labourers of more democratic from of religion.

Figure 12: Loddon Primitive Methodist Chapel



Source: Image author's own, 1910

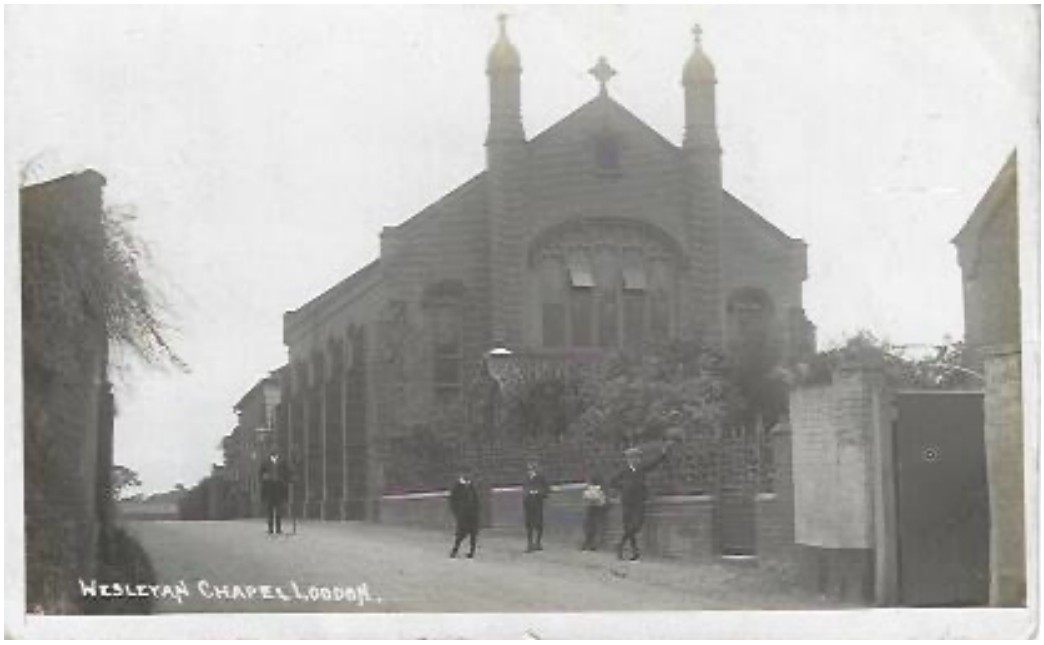
[154] Ibid., 39.

[155] Ibid., 40.

[156] Chamberlain and Gregory, *The National Church in Local Perspective: The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800*, 177.

The Primitive Methodist building in Loddon (Figure 12) is adjacent to the parishes under study, is thought to have opened in 1850 although the foundation stone has been defaced, and the porch is dated 1899.[157] A Wesleyan Methodist chapel (Figure 13) was opened in 1835 and was enlarged in 1893 with the addition of chapel and school room.[158]

Figure 13: Loddon Wesleyan Methodist Chapel



Source: Image author's own, 1910

Many early meeting houses had their own burial ground, either adjacent to or surrounding the building. In the decades after 1800 the number of these began to decline. A building set within a burial ground is more obviously a separate community than one where the burial ground was shared with the Anglican community. The living

[157] Christopher Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in Eastern England* (English Heritage, 2002), 251.

[158] Ibid.

and the dead sharing a plot represented both distinctiveness and continuity. A decline of the former may represent inclusion within the community (Table 10).

Table 10: New Chapels Built, in Norfolk, with Burial Grounds Attached

Decade	Number of new churches built	Number of New Churches with burial grounds	% of new churches with burial grounds attached
1780	5	4	80
1790	3	3	100
1800	2	2	100
1810	5	4	75
1820	10	5	50
1830	20	7	32
1840	20	4	20
1850	37	6	18
1860	25	1	4
1870	62	4	7
1880	54	1	2
1890	35	0	0
1900	32	1	3

Source: Virgoe and Williamson, *Religious Dissent in East Anglia (Centre of East Anglia Studies, 1993)*, 71.

The study of mobility, and its associated effects on the coverage of the Anglican Church, has led to a focus in the response of the Dissenter movement. Table 11 shows the increasing number of places granted a licence for the performance of non-Anglican worship.

Table 11: Decennial Numbers of Permanent and Temporary Places Licensed for the Performance of Non-Anglican Worship c.1771-1850, in England

Decade	Houses, Dwelling Houses, Rooms or other as Temporary Buildings	Chapels, Buildings, Meeting Houses or others as Permanent Buildings	Total Number of Places established in each period
1771-1780	1,107	175	1,282
1781-1790	1,266	332	1,598

1791-1800	3,479	915	4,394
1801-1810	3,975	1,485	5,460
1811-1820	7,497	2,644	10,141
1821-1830	7,675	2,910	10,585
1831-1840	4,550	2,872	7,422
1841-1850	3,090	2,720	5,810

Source: Data from Krause, 'Changes in English Fertility and Mortality, 1781-1850', Economic History Review, 11 (1958), 54

1851 Religious Census

There has been considerable dispute over the quality of the returns to the Religious Census as filling in the census returns was not compulsory, but for the area under study the returns appear comprehensive.[159] The 1851 Religious Census indicated how strong Dissent had become in Norfolk and is illustrated in Table 12. Nationally there was concern for the decline of the Church of England in the urban areas, but the rural county of Norfolk also reflected this change.

Table 12: Nonconformist Congregations (Religious Census of 1851)

Congregation	Norfolk	Suffolk
Independent	49	90
Baptists	91	91
Society of Friends	15	6
Unitarian	7	3
Wesleyan Methodists	218	84
Primitive Methodists	254	72
Bible Christians	2	
Wesleyan Methodist Association	2	2
Wesleyan Reformers	44	3
Lady Huntingdon's Connexion	2	
Sandemanians	1	
New Church	1	
Brethren		3
Isolated congregations	19	10
Latter Days Saints	13	3

[159] Snell and Ell, *Rival Jerusalems: The Geography of Victorian Religion. Snell, K. D. M.*, 51.

Source: Data from British Sessional papers, House of Commons, 1852/3, vol lxxxix, p48

The numbers attending a religious service throughout the country on Census Sunday has been estimated as 60.8% of the population.[160] In an analysis of the figures listed by county, Norfolk was 21st out of the 42 counties in the proportion of the population which attended church at 65.3%, so just above the national figure, with 34.2% at a Church of England service and 29.3% at a Nonconformist one.[161] Placing these figures into context, for Norfolk, 52.3% visited an Anglican Church, 31.3% a Methodist one, 5.2% an Independent/ Congregational congregation and 8.2% a Baptist one. The Roman Catholic attendance was a small at 0.7%.[162] For the parishes under study here 42% of attendance in 1851 was at a Nonconformist place of worship and only one of the parishes in the study had facilities other than those provided by the Church of England (Table 13), therefore a caveat must be included as some of the population may be located in another parish.

Table 13: Parish Returns 1851 Religious Census

Parish	Total 1851 Census Population	Number of Free Sittings	Number of Other Sittings	Total Number of Sittings	Number present, in Church, on Census date	Number Present in Sunday School
Bergh Apton	604	335	70	405	233	57
Chedgrave	379	161	54	215	80	35
Mundham – CoE	293	158	38	196	110	42

[160] Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-Houses in Eastern England*, 14.

[161] Janet Ede and Norma Virgoe, *Religious Worship in Norfolk: The 1851 Census of Accommodation and Attendance at Worship* (Norfolk Record Society, 1998), 14.

[162] Ibid., 15.

Mundham – Primitive Methodist		24	80	104	20	
Mundham – Baptist		36	60	96	140	
Sisland	77	44	40	84	21	
Thurton	242	70	50	120	45	

Source: Data from Janet Ede and Norma Virgoe, *Religious Worship in Norfolk: The 1851 Census of Accommodation and Attendance at Worship* (Norfolk Record Society, 1998), 181–86.

Chedgrave returned one Anglican church and 115 attendees, which was 30% of the population. [163] Sisland had one Anglian church with 84 seatings and an attendance of 21 in the morning, which was 27% of the population. Following the same pattern, Thurton retuned the attendance at one Anglican church with a figure of 19% which was significantly below the average for Norfolk. The return was signed by William Hobson, vicar of Sisland and curate in Thurton, and presumably explains one morning and one afternoon service in each parish. Bergh Apton, an Anglican church returned a morning service with 88 attendees and 57 Sunday school scholars, followed by an afternoon service with 145 attendees and 57 Sunday school scholars. The latter would suggest that these were the same children as the figure is identical. With 145 in the morning and 202 in the afternoon, from a population of 604 in 1851, suggesting an attendance figure of 57%, placing it close to the Norfolk figure. Finally, Mundham shares a similarity with Sisland and Thurton in that the parish shares a curate with a neighbouring parish of Seething and, hence, the attendance reflects the shared nature. Mundham's Anglican Church had an afternoon service with 152 attendees of which 42 were Sunday School scholars and 110 others. The population was 293 in 1851. However, the return also listed a Primitive Methodist chapel, erected in 1833,

[163] Free indicates where neither a pew rent was received or a pew which was not allocated under custom or directly to a church official, indicating the social hierarchy

with an attendance of six in the morning and fourteen in the afternoon. In addition, a Baptist chapel built in 1849 gave attendance of 141 during the day, 30 in the morning, 69 in the afternoon and 41 in the evening. Given the size of the population an assumption that the attendees came from beyond the village can be made confidentially as an attendance figure, for all three, would reflect 107% of the population and supports the possible absence of some from the other parishes.

Poor Law/Settlement

The existence of five Norfolk and nine Suffolk rural incorporations meant that East Anglia was the most heavily incorporated part of England in the early nineteenth century. The hundreds of Loddon and Clavering were united, the first in Norfolk and where the parishes studied here were located, under local act in 1764.[164] The guardians and directors appointed a governor and a matron to be in charge of the routine management of the workhouse, while a chaplain instructed the children and the other inmates in religion and also baptised the infants and buried the dead. The chaplain appointed was Rev William W Hobson, from Sisland.[165] The Loddon and Clavering incorporation was reported as the most neglected, corrupt, and disorderly one by the time of the New Poor Law in 1834. Yet in its early days its administration had been of a high standard, which had combined an efficient and humane system of relief to the poor (especially during the smallpox epidemic of 1773-4) and financial accountability. In 1766, a pest house had been erected, at one end of the workhouse,

[164] Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 34.

[165] William White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk, and the City and County of the City of Norwich: Comprising...a General Survey of the County of Norfolk. White, William*, 2nd ed. (W. White, 1845), 805.

for 20 “persons afflicted with the smallpox or other infectious disorders”.[166] The first inspector, Sir Edward Parry, was assaulted by a pauper, while his successor, Dr James Kay, found the following on Sundays:

> The paupers had made abundant provision for the enjoyment of this license; it was found profitable to erect two beer shops in the immediate neighbourhood, which were usually crowded with paupers on this day. The women had boxes in the neighbouring cottages containing dresses, which, as soon as they were released, they exchanged for workhouse garb, and thus, dressed in a more attractive style, flaunted about the neighbourhood with the young men.[167]

In addition, the paupers in the Heckingham workhouse, before 1834, were better fed. The diet analysed in 1836 had reduced the amount of solid food to 70%, the number of meat meals reduced from four to one, beer was removed and women, who had been treated the same before 1834, now had butter not cheese and less meat for dinner.[168] The workhouse was a divisive institution within parishes and the connections which clergy developed through its administration served to further highlight the divisions between church and congregation. In the evidence given to the Royal Commission in 1905, the Norfolk Guardians confirmed that outdoor relief continued to be given whenever possible; by then the workhouse was the almost exclusive preserve of the aged and infirm, the feeble minded, a few bad characters and some unmarried mothers. In a description of the Heckingham workhouse in 1898 by the

[166]Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 45.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid.

writer H Rider Haggard, who had served as a guardian of the Loddon and Clavering Union, commented:

> In truth to whatever extent it may be brightened…, one can not pretend that a workhouse is a cheerful place. The poor girls, with their illegitimate children creeping, dirty faced, across the floor of brick; the old, old women lying in bed too feeble to move; others vacuous and smiling – a little gone….. It is not the place that is so melancholy, it is this poignant example of the sad end of life and its toilings.[169]

Pauperisation through sickness and recourse to poor law medical assistance also concerned the poor law administrators. A notable, but short-lived result of this, were the medical clubs for the poor which had been set up by the Guardians and medical officers in about half of the Norfolk Unions. The medical club for the Loddon and Clavering Union was set up in 1836. It was open to all members of the labouring classes provided that their weekly income did not exceed 18 shillings. In return the poor received free medical treatment during illness, free vaccination and attendance at confinement for half the usual medical fee. They were not, however, a success as they were designed to be self-supporting, but the subscriptions were too high for labourers to afford.[170]

Many poor law reformers lamented 'it was very often the parish which the poorer rural classes were primarily attached, to which they felt that they belonged'.[171] The workhouse, however, was not a single parish entity nor seen as parish support, when delivered to an inmate due to the amalgamation of parishes used to deliver relief. In

[169] Haggard, *A Farmer's Year: Being His Commonplace Book for 1898*, 428.

[170] Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 176.

[171] Snell, 'The Culture of Local Xenophobia', 4.

mid-nineteenth century Norfolk one fifth of workhouse inmates were over the age of 60. Some 234 of those in Norfolk workhouses in 1861 had been inmates continuously for the previous five years or more and almost two-thirds of these were aged and infirm and among them men outnumbered the women by three to two.[172] The expectation of only an unmarked grave in the workhouse burial ground, and not in the parish churchyard, was not an attractive one, as the following extract from Rider Haggard's *A Farmer's Year* illustrates:

> It lies in an open meadow, about two acres, on which cows grazed, …. see long lines of little mounds, some of them sunk below the level owing to a collapse of the coffin beneath, and some …. being trodden flat by the hooves. There, with never a stone or even a wooden cross to mark their place, rest the bones of those unclaimed paupers who, for the last century, have passed through the portals of Heckingham.[173]

However, there is evidence of return to the original parish of settlement for some, as the registers of Bergh Apton, for example, include a number of burials where the place of death was given as the workhouse so on the 25th December 1720 Ann Brightly was buried accordingly, as was John Brightly (her husband) on the 23rd July 1724.[174] Private burial grounds also grew in number, with an estimated 2,000 or more such

[172] Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 164.

[173] Haggard, *A Farmer's Year: Being His Commonplace Book for 1898*, 428.

[174] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1720-1791, Marriage 1721-1753 and Burial 1720-1793 Registers', n.d., PD497/ 2. In the register the vicar has written that the workhouse gave the age of John Brightly as 64, but the vicar states he was only 59.

sites outside the parish returns by 1810.[175] However, the growth of non-Anglican burial grounds is no indication of total abandonment of the registration system, especially in counties such as Norfolk, where demand for these new grounds would have been limited due to the smaller size of rural parishes. Illegitimacy may also account for high levels of under-registration, not only for baptism figures but also higher levels of unrecorded infant mortality. The high level of illegitimacy concerned many Guardians as in the 1830s nearly a third of all children in the workhouses were illegitimate.[176]

Housing

To the rural labouring poor the parish boundaries mattered. John Clare's poetry and prose illustrates this, as he referred to those people beyond his parish as 'out of the world'.[177] Parish boundaries affected settlement, militia balloting, registration, tithes, access to fuel, boundary rights and rights of way as well as responsibility for road repairs.[178] Given that the population size was different in each parish and, therefore, the influences on population change were also varied, the following data on the number of houses in the parishes also provides some interesting insights in the population distribution, in combination with occupational structure. Although the number of houses increased in all the parishes these do not reflect some of the population changes and, in some of the Census returns, for example Bergh Apton in 1881 16% of the properties were given as vacant (Table 14). The data analysis should

[175] Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation: The Economic History of Britain, 1700-1914* (Routledge, 2001), 167.

[176] Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 153.

[177] Snell, 'The Culture of Local Xenophobia', 5.

[178] Ibid., 6.

reflect some of the pressures of family formation, and the strength of kin and community meant that families could remain in the same parish as accommodation appears to be available. Occupational changes can affect the type of accommodation available, supported by the number of vacant houses in 1901, when Lady Day was on the 25th March and the Census Day on 31st March. Lady Day was the date in the agricultural calendar of changing contract and, with tied housing, property as well.

Table 14: House Number and Occupancy (Number houses/ Number Vacant/% Vacant)

Year	Sisland	Mundham	Chedgrave	Thurton	Bergh Apton
1831	10/0 (0)	46/2 (4)	76/1 (1)	41/0 (0)	77/0 (0)
1841	12/0 (0)	29/1 (3)	74/2 (3)	53/0 (0)	120/1 (1)
1851	13/0 (0)	68/2 (3)	82/0 (0)	50/1 (2)	124/7 (6)
1861	13/0 (0)	61/3 (5)	85/3 (4)	55/4 (7)	126/1 (1)
1871	12/1 (8)	63/4 (6)	78/7 (9)	52/8 (15)	123/10 (8)
1881	13/0 (0)	62/4 (6)	82/3 (4)	50/1 (2)	113/18 (16)
1891	11/2 (18)	59/5 (8)	72/2 (3)	48/3 (6)	111/11 (10)
1901	11/4 (36)	52/10 (19)	77/1 (1)	47/3 (6)	103/9 (9)

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901, Parishes indicated

Parishes: Diocese Structure

The individual parishes under study are part of the larger administrative units of both Hundreds and deaneries. The latter, deaneries, are small subdivisions of a larger area known as an archdeaconry. An archdeacon administered these areas on behalf of the diocese. In Norfolk the diocese was divided into the Norwich and Norfolk archdeaconry areas and all the parishes are part of the Norwich diocese and the Norfolk

archdeaconry.[179] Historically all the parishes were in the same deanery, Brooke.[180] The hundred served an administrative function and covered an area of land to which parishes were combined for the support of functions such as poor law. The organisation of hundreds, prior to 1764, had all the parishes under study within the Loddon Hundred, except for Bergh Apton, which was in the Clavering Hundred.[181] After 1763 an Act of Parliament created the Loddon and Clavering Incorporation which all parishes were a part of. After the introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act in 1834 all the parishes in this study became part of the Loddon and Clavering Union.[182] The Clavering Hundred comprised 20 parishes and the Loddon Hundred, in the mid-nineteenth century, comprised 21 parishes. Tables 15 and 16 shows the parishes in this study and an indication of their size.

Table 15: Clavering Hundred Parishes in 1864

Parishes	Population Size	Annual Rateable Value (£)	Total Acres
Burgh-Apton (Bergh Apton)	564	3,380	1,924
TOTAL for Hundred (20 parishes)	6,698[183]	47,641	29,844

Source: Data from William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk, and the City and County of the City of Norwich: Comprising a General Survey of the County of Norfolk and the Diocese of Norwich* (William White, 1864), 466

[179] 'Deaneries', Diocese of Norwich, accessed 18 August 2023, https://www.dioceseofnorwich.org/about/deaneries/.

[180] Frederic Youngs, *Local Administrative Units of England: Southern England* (Royal Historical Society, 1979), 379.

[181] Ibid.

[182] 'Former Workhouse, Yarmouth Road, Heckingham, Norfolk | Educational Images | Historic England', accessed 18 August 2023, https://historicengland.org.uk/services-skills/education/educational-images/former-workhouse-yarmouth-road-heckingham-9116.

[183] Includes 138 residents in the workhouse

Table 16: Loddon Hundred Parishes in 1864

Parishes	Population Size	Annual Rateable Value (£)	Total Acres
Chedgrave	348	2,318	1,395
Mundham	308	2,316	1,527
Sisland	64	726	459
Thurton	246	1,346	748
	--	--	--
TOTAL for Hundred (21 parishes)	7,692	46,340	27,838

Source: Data from William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk, and the City and County of the City of Norwich: Comprising a General Survey of the County of Norfolk and the Diocese of Norwich* (William White, 1864), 466

Understanding how an individual experiences parish community is a difficult problem as it leaves little, or no evidence archaeologically or historically, in the form of written evidence from the individual, and consequently is often overlooked. However, the importance of the community to the development and continued existence of the parish cannot be underestimated. The parish continues to be associated with mainly rural villages and, in the nostalgic imagination, to embody what is frequently understood by community. However, Reay in his work in Kent has cautioned against mistaking usage of the word parish for a declaration of community identity.[184] Community could be much broader than the immediate locale, for instance, does it include occupation, common outlook and opportunity or similar life cycles? In the past, when the church was more clearly defined in an administrative role, community may have been defined as that associated with a specific member of the clergy. With higher proportions of clergy given the number of parishioners and the visible nature of the role, a clergyman might expect to know and be known by everyone through the

[184] Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society, and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*, 13.

administration of the rites of passage and by visiting the sick and supporting the poor. The vicar, in this situation, may come to believe and define what constituted that community. However, the community was often made up from a diverse group of leaders – Squire, schoolmaster, farmer – and if these operated together then the concept of parish and community may be closer. However, disharmony between these groups, protest or different opinions could undermine the community, but have less effect on the parish, which was so closely aligned to the church. The data gathered looks to assess the importance of community not just parish recognition in the population life cycle by repeated use of the same church even if the place of residence changes.

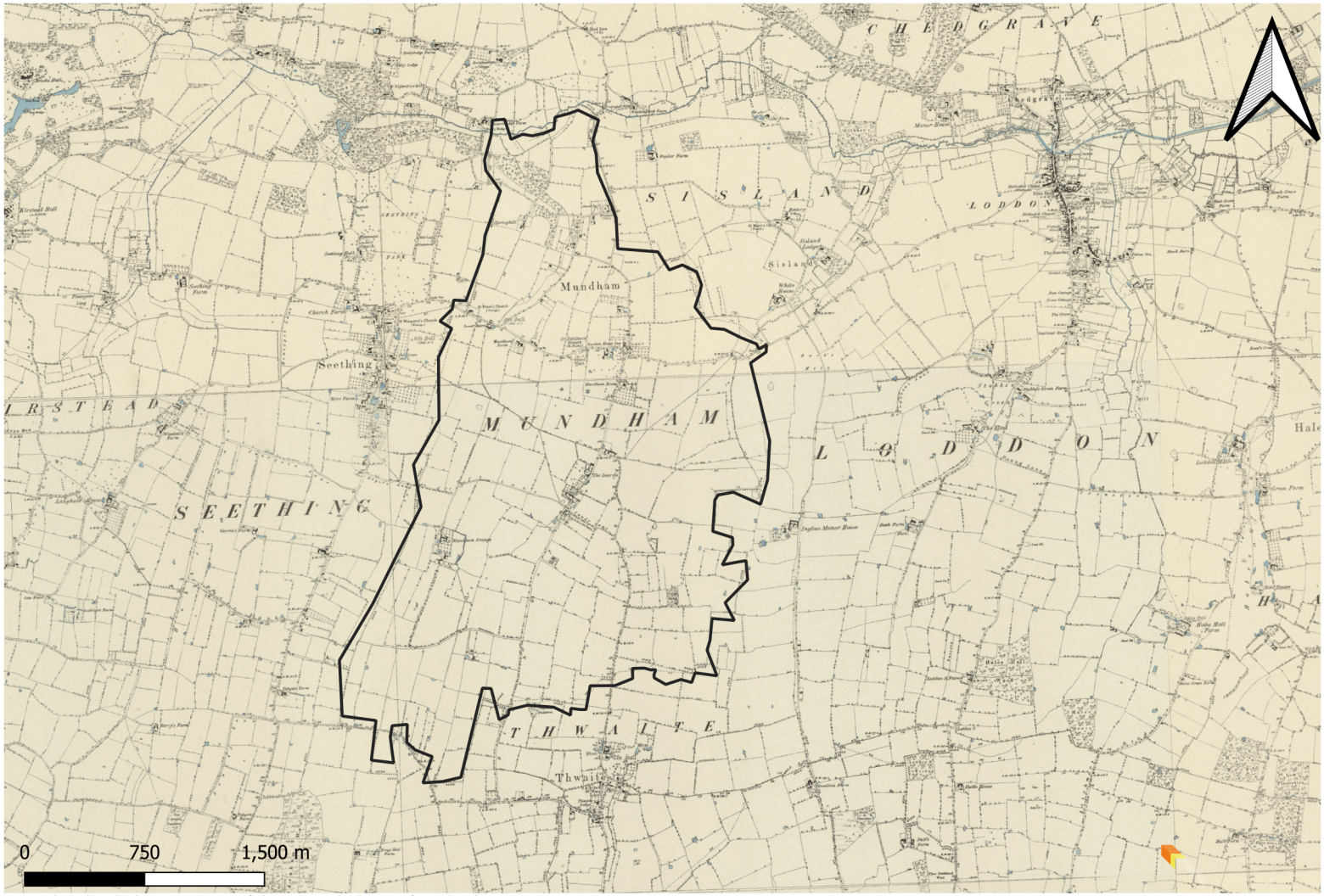
Land Ownership/Patronage/Clergy

Mundham

Figure 14 indicates the size and layout of the parish using the 1880's 6" OS map. According to the 1864 edition of William *White's History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk* the main landowner in Mundham was G.S. Kett, Esq. of Brooke House, Brooke, which is a parish located within five miles.[185] Figure 7 provided land use data for the parishes and indicated the dominance of arable cultivation. A breakdown of the landowners from the Tithe return is illustrated in Figure 15 and provides evidence of the high percentage ownership by the aforementioned Kett as well as the Clarke family, although not directly employed on the land, there are, however, many small landowners which would support the idea of a more inclusive community.

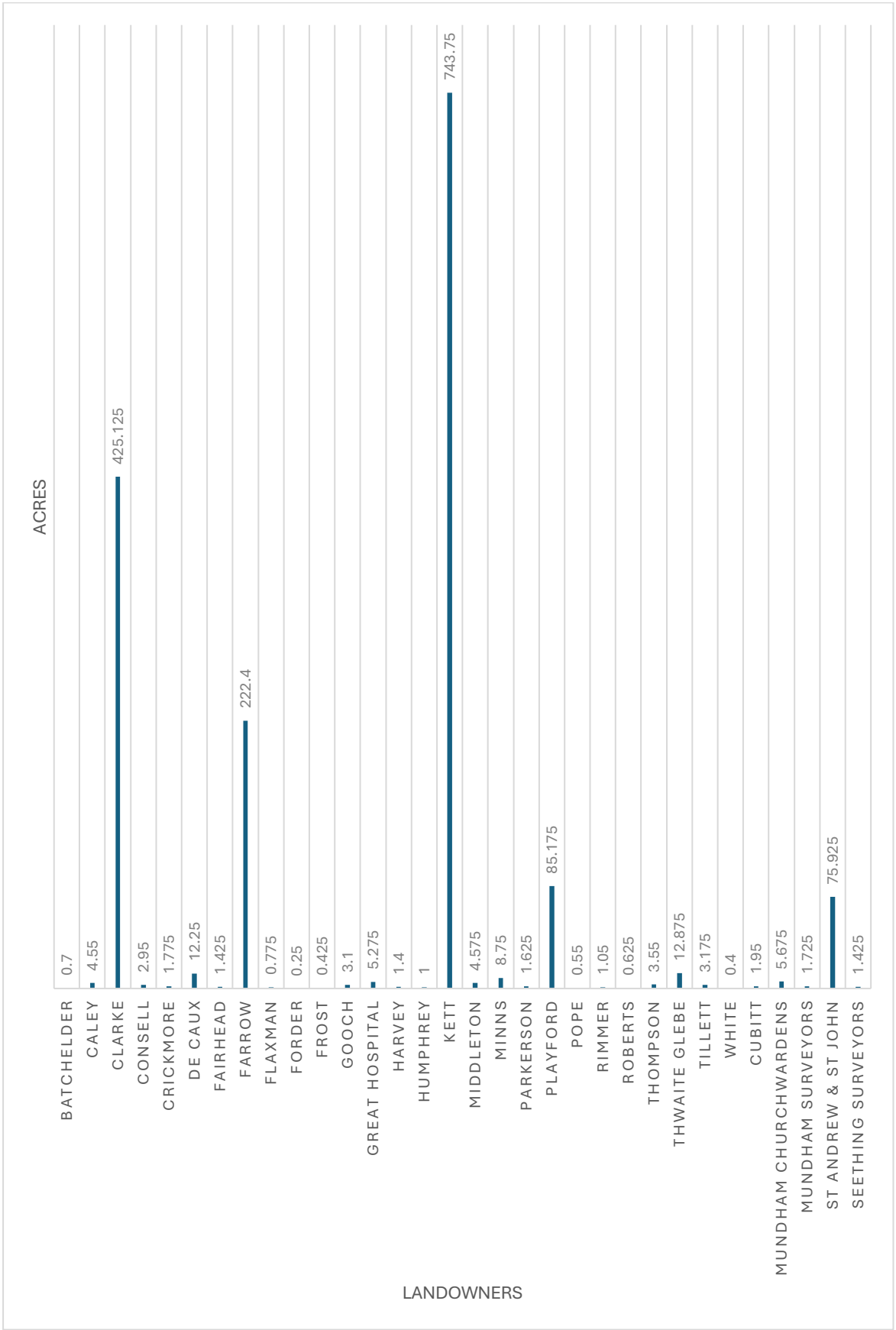
[185] https://archive.org/details/historygazetteer00whit/page/492/mode/2up?q=mundham

Figure 14: Mundham Map (1880s 6 Inch OS)



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Figure 15: Land Ownership in Mundham



Source: Data from The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Mundham', 1839, IR29/23/386.

The ability to make the clerical appointment lay with the Great Hospital in Norwich, who also owned a small amount of pasture as well as the church and churchyard.[186] The owners of the patronage were not geographically located in the parish so their influence may have been reduced. The issues which relate to the reliability of parish records in the period under consideration are often, in historiography, related to either the non-residency or the dual residency of clergy. Table 17 indicates that there are periods when this applies, in this parish, but that many of the distances involved were not high. Seething, as already mentioned, is the parish next to Mundham where Charles Hocking Hicks, and others, shared an appointment. Seething can be seen clearly on Figure 14.

Table 17: Members of Clergy, Mundham, Norfolk

Name	**Dates**	**Reason for Leaving (if known)**	**Role**	**Other appointments/ Notes**
Robert SEDGEWICKE	1636 – *still 1678*		Curate then Rector	Thwaite (1637-)[187] Seething (1662-)[188]
Abraham CLARKE	1706-		Curate	Thurton (1706-)[189] Seething (1706-)[190]

[186] White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk, and the City and County of the City of Norwich: Comprising...a General Survey of the County of Norfolk. White, William*, 802.

[187] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thwaite', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=20046.

[188] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Seething', n.d., accessed 2 March 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19943.

[189] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thurton', n.d., accessed 30 November 2021, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=20044.

[190] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Seething'.

William BURWOOD	1714-		Curate	Seething (1714-)[191]
Jeremiah Ives DAY	1797-		Curate	Seething (1797-)[192] Yelverton (1800-)[193]
William CASTELL	1814-		Stipendiary Curate	Brooke (1795-)[194] Mundham stipend £40 (1797-)[195]
John DAY	1826-		Stipendiary Curate	Mundham stipend £50 plus fees[196] Bramerton (1827-, £80 plus fees)[197]
Armine HERRING	1834-		Stipendiary Curate	Mundham stipend £50 plus fees[198] Thwaite (1825-, £60 plus fees)[199] Thurning (1826-, £80 plus fees)[200] Horsham St Faith (1830-, £120 plus fees)[201] Horsford (1830-, £120 plus fees)[202] Seething (1834-, £50 plus fees)[203]
John Toll BURT	1838-1882	Died	Stipendiary Curate, £148 living	Seething (1837-1882)[205]

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid.

[193] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Yelverton', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=20151.

[194] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Brooke', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19479.

[195] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Mundham', n.d., accessed 18 August 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19799.

[196] Ibid.

[197] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Bramerton', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19464.

[198] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Mundham'.

[199] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thwaite'.

[200] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thurning', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=20042.

[201] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Horsham St Faith', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19705.

[202] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Horsford', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19704.

[203] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Seething'.

[205] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Seething'.

			then Rector[204]	
Charles HOCKING HICKS	1881-1918	Retired	Stipendiary Curate, then Rector	Seething, Whites Directory 1883[206], Retired 1918[207]

Source: Data from 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Mundham

[204] John Venn and J. A. Venn, 'Cambridge Alumni Database', 1954, https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk.

[206] 'History, Gazetteer & Directory of Norfolk, 1883', accessed 1 December 2021, https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/218281.

[207] Hal G. f Hicks, *Memoirs of the Bishop of the North Sea* (Private, 1930), 93.

Figure 16: Thurton Map (1880s 6 Inch OS)



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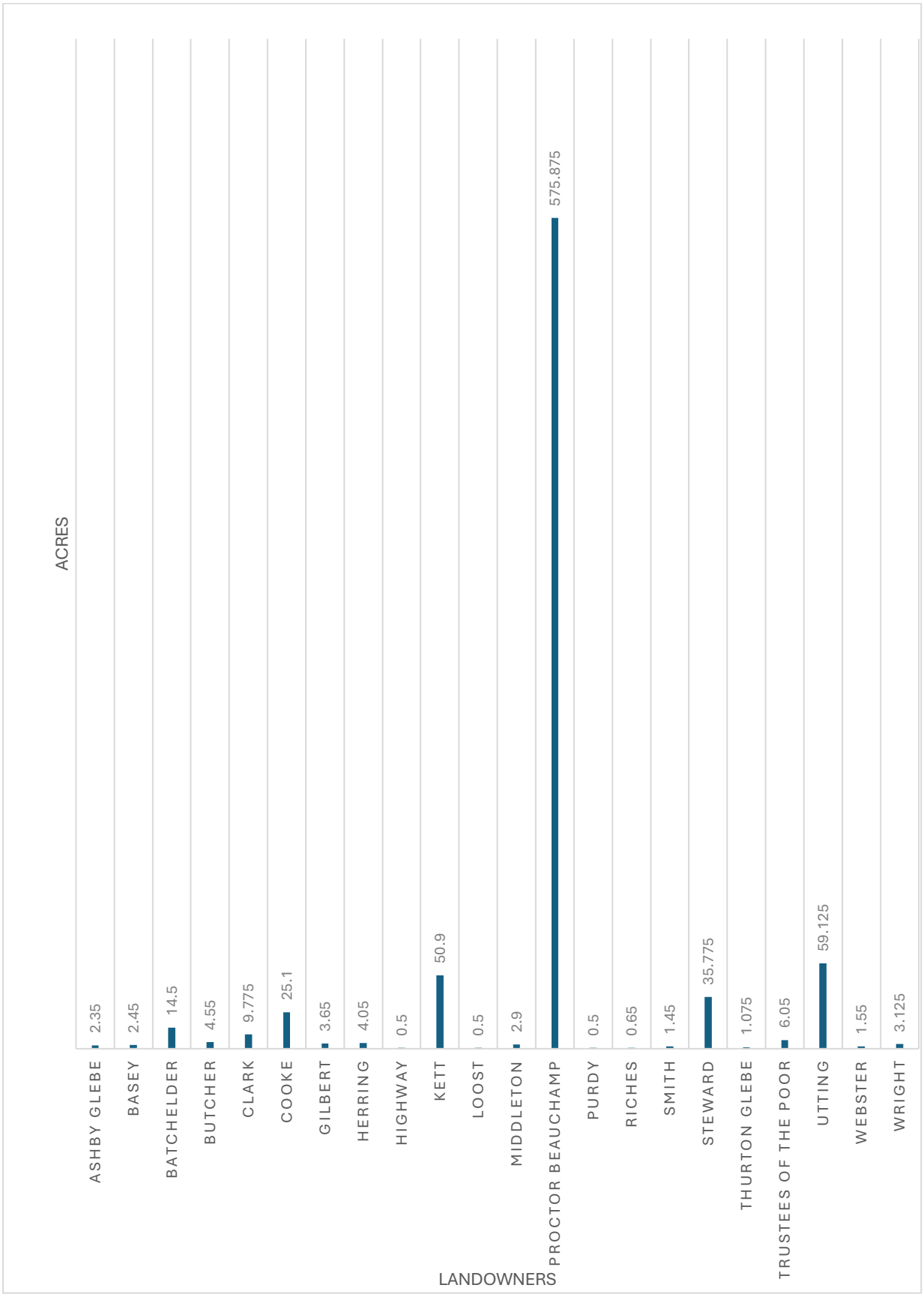
Thurton

Figure 16 indicates the size and layout of the parish using the 1880's 6" OS map. The Beauchamp-Proctor family of Langley Park were Lords of the Manor, and Patrons of the church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[208] Langley Park was built in the 1730s on land previously belonging to Langley Abbey and the estate was purchased in 1738 by George Proctor. In 1745 the estate passed to Sir William Beauchamp-Proctor who completed the building work.[209] The Proctor-Beauchamp's remained at Langley Park until the estate was sold after the Second World War. The estate is the only one of its kind within these parishes and would have had an effect on the community, employment and structure of some of the villages. Figure 7 provides land use data for the parishes and emphasises the dominance of arable cultivation in Thurton. Figure 17 provides a breakdown of the landowners from the Tithe return and the dominance of the chief landowner, the Proctor-Beauchamp family, who although owning large tracts of land, are only listed as the occupier of woodland and part of the parklands which were in the parish. They dominate the total land ownership with very few small-scale landowners. The other name of note is that of Kett, who although not the owner of a large amount of land in the parish, is the same Kett who is found in Chedgrave, Mundham and Sisland, with a larger proportion of land in these parishes.

[208] White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk, and the City and County of the City of Norwich: Comprising...a General Survey of the County of Norfolk. White, William*, 803.

[209] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001008

Figure 17: Land Ownership in Thurton.



Source: Data from The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Thurton', 1838, IR29/23/574.

As patrons of the church, the family was also key to the relationship of parishioners to the church as well as the land. In the case of Thurton, the connection between parishes is illustrated by clergy relationships (Table 18), such as the early shared curates with Sisland and Mundham as well as later with Chedgrave.

Table 18: Members of Clergy, Thurton, Norfolk

Name	Dates	Reason for Leaving (if known)	Role	Other appointments/ Notes
Laurence BEIGHTON	1593-		Rector	Also, Sisland (1572-1595)[210]
Michael NICHOLSON	1603-1623	Died[211]	Curate	Also, Sisland (1595-1623)[212]
Abraham CLARKE	1706-		Curate	Seething (1706-)[213] Mundham (1706-)[214]
Francis JOHNSON	1723-1729	Resigned	Curate	Moved to Brooke (1729-)[215]
John BLANCKS	-1784	Died 11/1/1784[216]	Curate	Sisland (Rector, 1734-1784)[217]

[210] Francis Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Launditch (Concluded). Loddon. Mitford. Smethdon. Taverham* (London, 1809), 10:180–82.

[211] Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1584-1765', n.d., PD641/ 1.

[212] Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Launditch (Concluded). Loddon. Mitford. Smethdon. Taverham*, 10:180–82.

[213] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Seething'.

[214] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Mundham'.

[215] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Brooke'.

[216] Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Baptism 1559-1813, Marriages 1559-1753 and Burial 1559-1824 Registers', n.d., PD604/ 1.

[217] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Sisland', n.d., accessed 2 January 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19960.

Joseph HARRISON	1784-1805	Died	Curate	Rector Fordley and Westleton (1754-1805)[218] Letheringham (1762-1805)[219] Hoo (1775-1805)[220] Charsfield (1775-1805)[221]
Stephen, WEBSTER	1814-1837	Died	Curate	Vicar Claxton (1791-1837)[222] Norwich All Saints (1800-1825)[223]
Hunting JOLLY	1826-		Curate	Curate Loddon (1827-)[224] Broome £100 and fees (1829-)[225]
Thomas HARRISON	-1828	Died	Curate	
William HOBSON	1828-1868	Died[226]	Perpetual Curate, £70 living	Curate Chedgrave stipend £60 (4/1/1814-)[227] Curate Langley, stipend £40 (4/1/1814-)[228] Curate Hardley stipend £50 (4/1/1814-)[229]

[218] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Fordley and Westleton', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=21248.

[219] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Letheringham', n.d., accessed 12 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=21063.

[220] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Hoo', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=21006.

[221] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Charsfield', n.d., accessed 12 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=20858.

[222] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Claxton', n.d., accessed 12 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19527.

[223] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Norwich All Saints', n.d., accessed 2 January 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19811.

[224] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Loddon', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19753.

[225] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Broome', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19480.

[226] Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Burial Registers: 1813-2013', n.d., PD641/ 4.

[227] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Chedgrave', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19526.

[228] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Langley', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19742.

[229] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Hardley', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19657.

				Curate Thwaite stipend £50 (6/4/1826-)[230] Rector Sisland (10/7/1819-)[231]
Charles LAWRENCE	1869-1873		Vicar	[232]
Thomas CAWLEY	1873-1876		Vicar	[233]
Charles Bowring RATCLIFFE	1876-1880		Vicar	[234]
G W DAUNBERY	1881-1883		Curate	[235]
Robert WHITMARSH	1880-1900 plus		Curate	[236]

Source: Data from 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thurton

[230] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thwaite'.

[231] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Sisland'.

[232] *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1885*, Seventeenth (Horace Cox, 1885), 852.

[233] *Ibid., 306.*

[234] *Ibid., 986.*

[235] *Ibid., 213.*

[236] *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1908*, Fortieth (Horace Cox, 1908), 1537.

Figure 18: Chedgrave Map (1880s 6 Inch OS)



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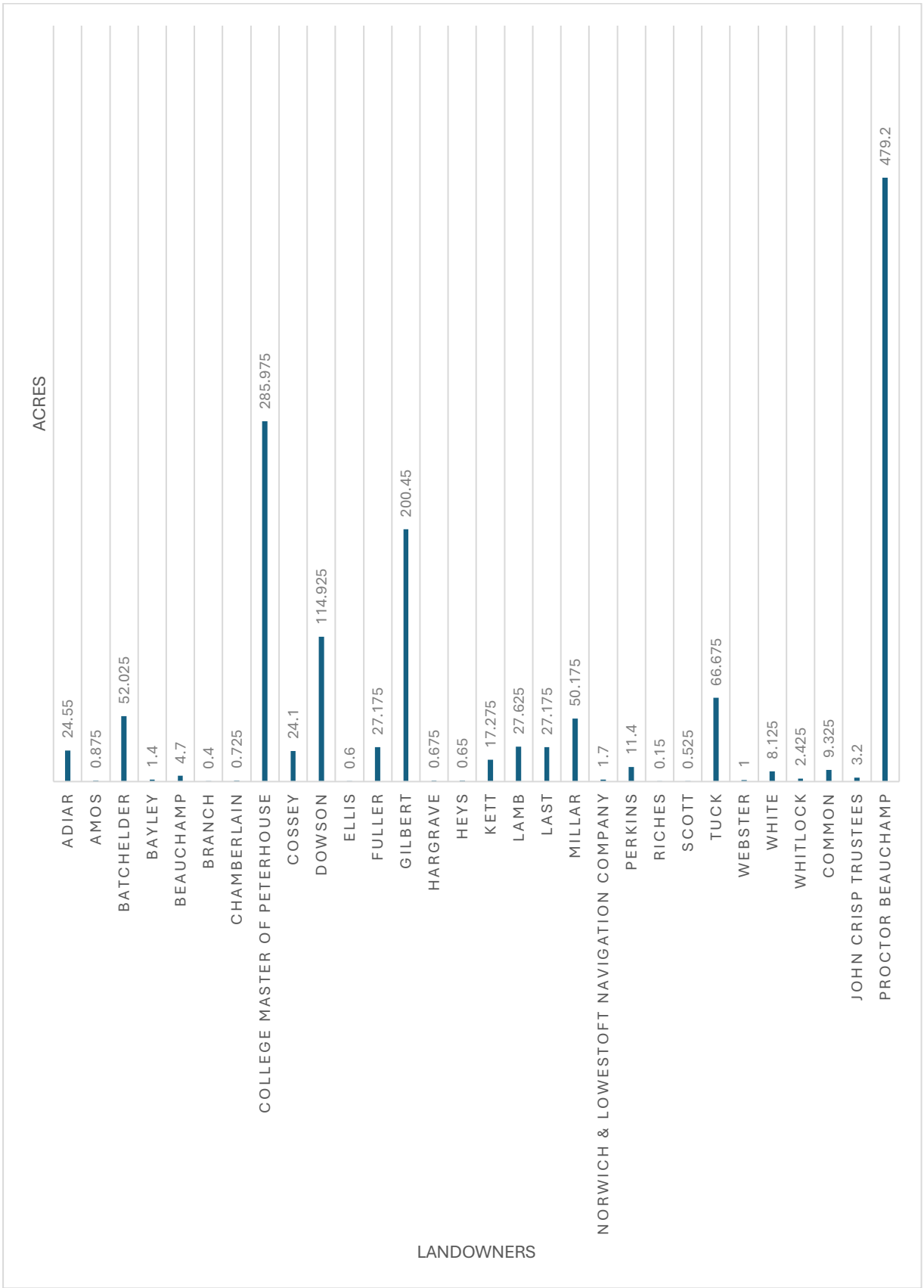
Chedgrave

Figure 18 indicates the size and layout of the parish using the 1880's 6" OS map.The 1845 White's directory listed the principal landowners as Rev. J.W. Gilbert (Rector of Hellington), G.S. Kett and the Proctor-Beauchamp family of Langley Park. G.S. Kett was also a major landowner in Mundham, Thurton and Sisland. The connection and importance of the Proctor-Beauchamp family, as chief landowner, Lord of the Manor, Patron of the church as well as Lord of the Manor of Thurton, is highlighted again. [237] One notable difference in Chedgrave was the existence of a National School which was built with a teacher's residence in 1856. Upon foundation it had 40 scholars and a school mistress.[238] Given the earlier references to the importance of prominent members of society which could drive or divide a sense of community and belonging, the existence of a school in one of the parishes may indicate a different dynamic for the population. Figure 7, above, provided land use data for the parishes and the dominance of pasture alongside the river, which was different from the other parishes under study. Figure 19 provides a breakdown of the landowners from the Tithe return and, in particular the chief landowner, Proctor-Beauchamp, who owned some parkland, wood and a 'home' farm within the parish boundary of Chedgrave. Peterhouse College owned a large area of pasture alongside the river Chet and the Rev Gilbert has a mixture of wood, pasture and arable land.

[237] White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Norfolk, and the City and County of the City of Norwich: Comprising...a General Survey of the County of Norfolk. White, William*, 797.

[238] *Craven & Co.'s Commercial Directory of Norfolk, 1856* (Craven & Co, 1856), 316, https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/278512/.

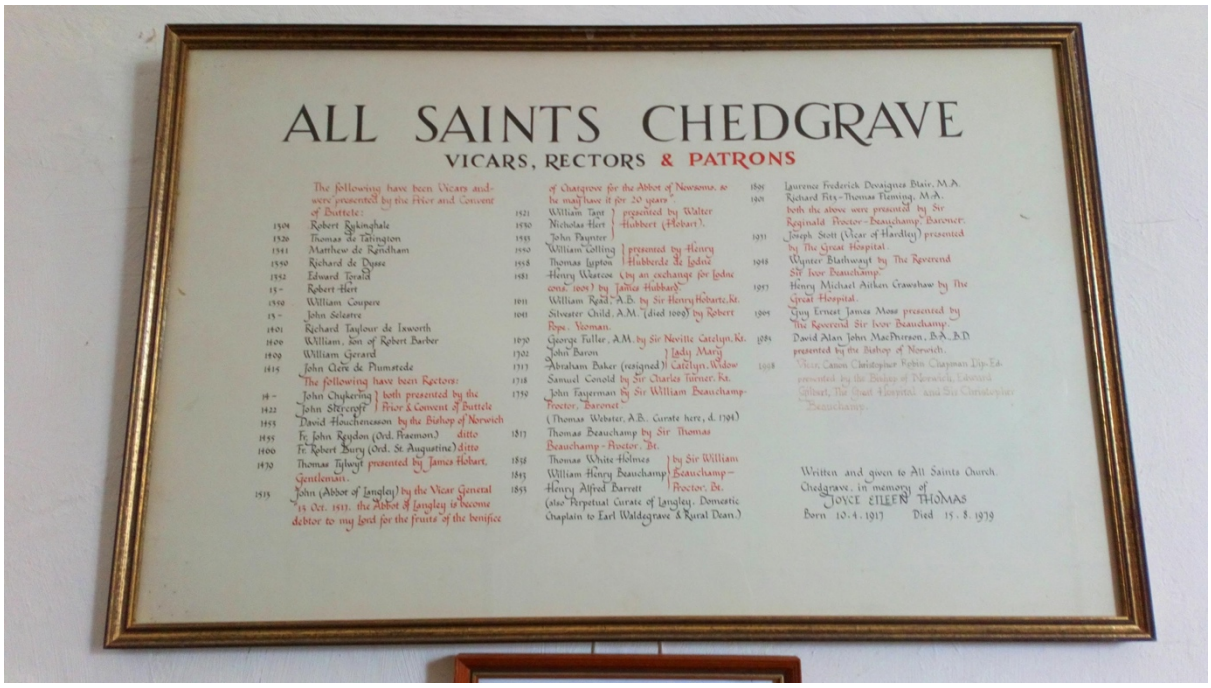
Figure 19: Land Ownership in Chedgrave



Source: Data from The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Chedgrave', 1838, IR29/23/136.

However, unlike Thurton, the Proctor-Beauchamp family placed the younger sons in the Chedgrave living. Figure 20 and Table 19 indicate the members of Church of England clergy for Chedgrave.

Figure 20: Chedgrave Vicars and Patrons



Source: Author's Own Image

Table 19: Members of Clergy, Chedgrave, Norfolk

Name	Dates	Reason for Leaving (if known)	Role	Other appointments/ Notes
John, PAYNTER	1533-			
William, COLLING	1550-			
Thomas, LUPTON	1558-			
Henry, WESTCOE	1581-			
William, READ	1611-			

Silvester, CHILD	1641-1670	Died 11/1/1670 [239]	Rector	
Samuel, FULLER	1670-1678		Rector	
William, FULLER	1670-1702	Died	Rector	Also, Loddon (1670-1678)[240]
John BARON	1702-1717	Resigned	Rector	Also, Broome (1701-1718)[241]
Abraham, BAKER	1717-1719	Resigned	Rector	Also, Kirby Cane (1700-1734)[242] Langley (1715-)[243] Ditchingham (1718-1752)[244]
Samuel, CONOLD	1719-1759	Died	Rector	Also, Loddon (1702-1759)[245]
John FAYERMAN	1759-1817	Died	Rector	Also, Geldeston (1754-1816)[246] Langley (1772-1817)[247]
William HOBSON	1814-1819	Resigned	Curate	Curate Langley (1814-) £40 income[248] Curate Hardley (1814-) £50 income[249] Chedgrave £60 income[250] Thwaite £50 income[251] Rector Sisland (1819-1868)[252]

[239] Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1670-1723, Marriage 1670-1723 and Burial 1670-1724 Registers', n.d., PD213/ 2.

[240] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Loddon'.

[241] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Broome'.

[242] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Kirby Cane', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19734.

[243] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Langley'.

[244] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Ditchingham', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19569.

[245] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Loddon'.

[246] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Geldeston', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19632.

[247] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Langley'.

[248] Ibid.

[249] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Hardley'.

[250] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Chedgrave'.

[251] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thwaite'.

[252] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Sisland'.

Thomas BEAUCHAMP	1817-1838	Resigned	Rector	Langley and Carleton (1817-1838)[253] Buckenham with Hassingham (1817-38)[254]
Jonathan MALCHETT	1822-		Stipend Curate	Curate Langley £50 (1822-)[255]
Thomas White, HOLMES	1838-			
William Henry, BEAUCHAMP	1843-1853	Died	Rector	[256]
Henry Alfred, BARRETT	1853-1895	Died	Rector	Also, Perpetual Curate of Langley[257] Domestic Chaplin to Earl Waldegrave[258]
Laurence, BLAIR	1895-1902	Resigned	Rector	Left to become Chaplain Bellary, Madras, then Bishop Falklands Islands[259]

Source: Data from 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Chedgrave

[253] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Langley'.

[254] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Buckenham with Hassingham', n.d., accessed 12 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19484.

[255] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Langley'.

[256] Venn and Venn, 'Cambridge Alumni Database'.

[257] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Langley'.

[258] *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1885*, 67.

[259] Venn and Venn, 'Cambridge Alumni Database'.

Figure 21: Sisland Map (1880s 6 Inch OS)



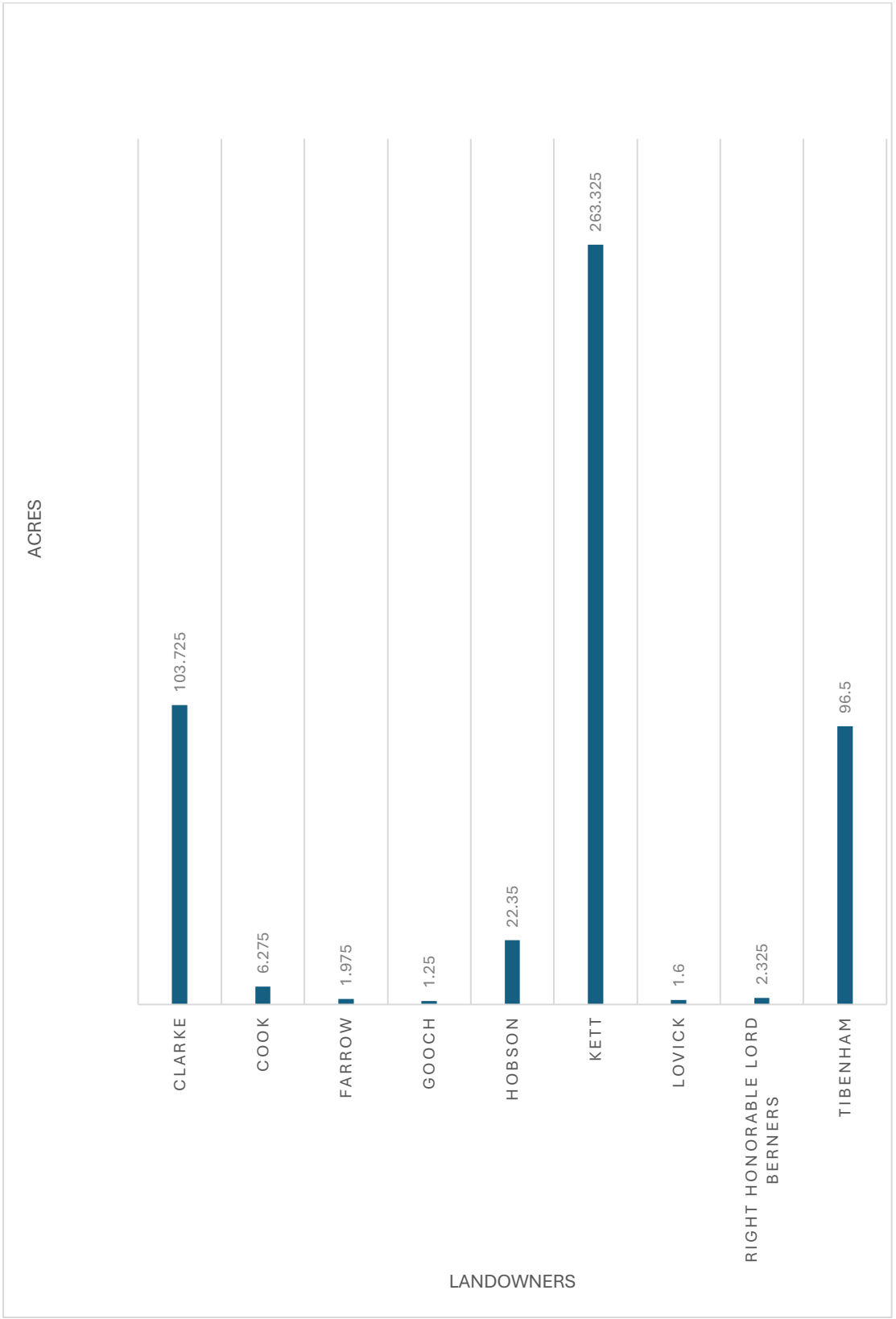
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Sisland

Figure 21 indicates the size and layout of the parish using the 1880's 6" OS map. The 1883 White's Directory stated that Sisland had a number of landowners but lying in the manors of Lord Berners (main house at Ashwellthorpe) and G.S. Kett Esq. (main house at Brooke), the latter was also a major landowner in Chedgrave, Mundham and Thurton.[260] The rectory was in the patronage and incumbency of the Rev. William Willes Hobson, with a substantial rectory built in 1816, he also held a number of curacies in other adjacent parishes, including some in this study. Figure 7 provided land use data for the parishes and the dominance of arable cultivation. Figure 22 provides a breakdown of the landowners from the Tithe return and the high ownership of Lord of the Manor, Kett, as well as the rector, Hobson, whose land is indicated as glebe as well as the rectory and church. Two other landowners, Tibbenham and Clarke, owned predominantly pastureland. The former is also the occupier of the land, but the Clarkes rent their land to others in the parish.

[260] *Craven & Co.'s Commercial Directory of Norfolk, 1856*, 367.

Figure 22: Land Ownership in Sisland



Source: Data from The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Sisland', 1838, IR29/23/497.

The clergy responsible for the parish can be summarised in Table 20. Those present in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries hold several positions, although predominantly local this was not true for Rev. Bransby Francis, whose parishes were in north Norfolk. The absence may have affected both the quality of the register and the development of relationships with the members of the parish.

Table 20: Members of Clergy, Sisland, Norfolk

Name	**Dates**	**Reason for Leaving (if known)**	**Role**	**Other appointments/ Notes**
James, GREENE	1535-			[261]
George, LESBERY	1567-1568	Deprivation	Rector	Absence and neglect after visitation
William JACKSON	1568-			[262]
John MORLAND	1572-			[263]
Laurence, BEIGHTON	1572-1595			Also, Thurton (1593-)[264]
Michael, NICOLSON	1595-1623			Also, Thurton (1603-)[265]
William, MYLESBY	-1641	Died	Rector	[266]
Geoffrey, LONE	1641-		Rector	[267]
George, CHAROLD	-1662	Died	Rector	[268]

[261] Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Launditch (Concluded). Loddon. Mitford. Smethdon. Taverham*, 10:179.

[262] Ibid.

[263] Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Launditch (Concluded). Loddon. Mitford. Smethdon. Taverham*, vol. 10.

[264] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thurton'.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1584-1765'.

[267] Rowena Bryce, 'Sisland Church Guide', 2012.

[268] Ibid.

Robert BELL	1662-1670	Died	Rector	[269]
John HOLMES	1670-1674	Died	Rector	[270]
Anthony BUXTON	1674-1713	Died	Rector	Also, Vicar Swardeston (1676-1690)[271] Thwaite (1690-1713)[272]
Charles, OSBORNE	1713-1728	Died	Rector	Also, Rector Kirstead (1701-1728)[273]
Charles, WADESWORTH	1728-1734	Resigned	Rector	Also, Rector Howe (1729-) [274] Rector Yelverton (1733-67)[275] Poringland (1734-67)[276]
John BLANCKS	1734-1784	Died	Rector	Also, Curate Thurton (-1784)[277]
John BLANCKS	1778-		Curate	Son above Framingham Earl (1800-)[278]
Bransby FRANCIS	1784-1819	Resigned	Rector	Rector Edgefield (1764-1829) Chaplin John Wallop, 2nd Earl of Portsmouth (1782-1786) Briston (1814-1829)[279]
Valentine BERNARD	1814-1816	Died	Curate	Rector Stockton (1794-1816)[280] Loddon (1808-1816)[281]

[269] Ibid.

[270] Ibid.

[271] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Swardeston', n.d., accessed 12 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=20009.

[272] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thwaite'.

[273] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Kirstead', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19735.

[274] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Howe', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19712.

[275] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Yelverton'.

[276] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Poringland', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19880.

[277] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thurton'.

[278] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Framingham Earl', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19613.

[279] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Briston', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19477.

[280] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Stockton', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19985.

[281] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Loddon'.

William HOBSON	1816-1868	Died[282]	Curate then Rector £136 living	Curate Chedgrave £60 (1814-) [283] Curate Langley £40 (1814-)[284] Curate Hardley £50 (1814-)[285] Curate Thwaite £50 (1826-)[286] Curate Thurton (1828-)[287]
William Wiles HOBSON	1864-1899	Death	Curate Rector	Son of above[288]
Frederick BUSSELL	1899-1914		Rector	[289]

Source: Data from 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Sisland', n.d., accessed 2 January 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19960.

[282] Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Burial Registers: 1813-2013'.

[283] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Chedgrave'.

[284] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Langley'.

[285] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Hardley'.

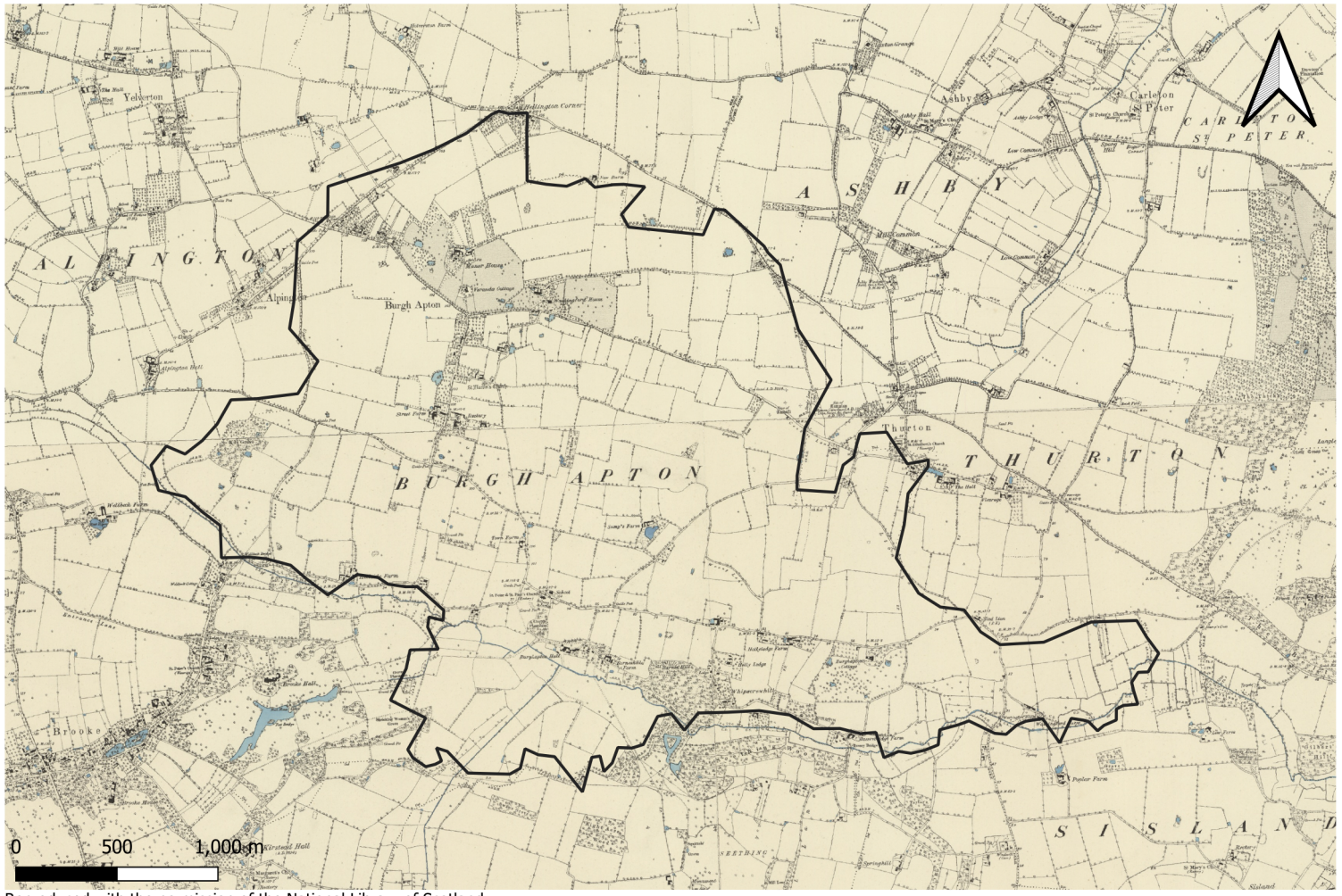
[286] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thwaite'.

[287] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thurton'.

[288] *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1898*, Thirtieth (Horace Cox, 1898), 650.

[289] *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1932* (Horace Cox, 1932), 187.

Figure 23: Bergh Apton Map (1880s 6 Inch OS)



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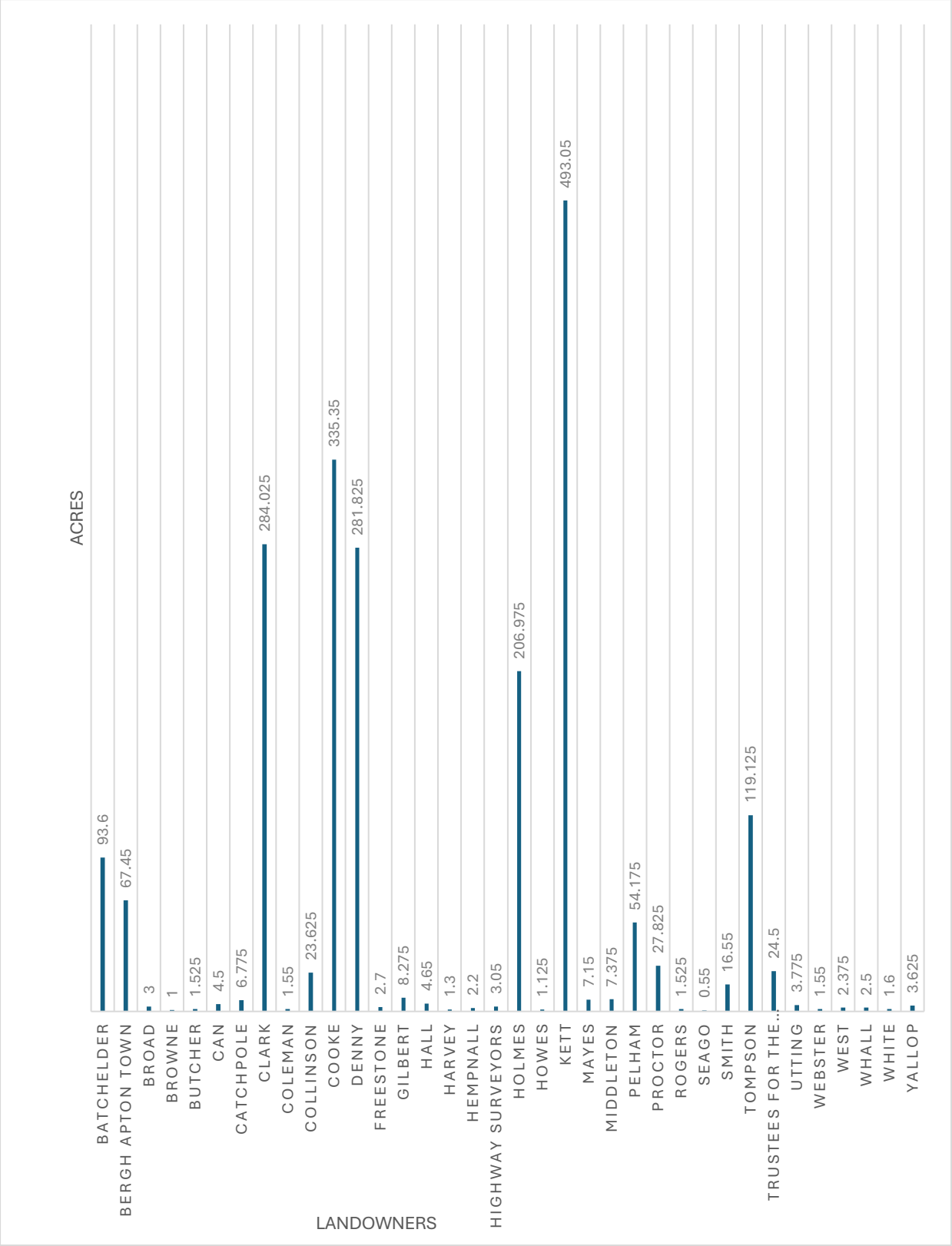
Bergh Apton

Figure 23 indicates the size and layout of the parish using the 1880's 6" OS map. The final village in the study had a number of landowners, some of whom were resident, see Figure 24. The main landowner, Kett, who was a dominant owner in most of the parishes, was High Sheriff, a magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for Norfolk, his interest and influence would have been wide. In 1864 the Earl of Abergaveney was Lord of the Manor, and the Neville family held the living. However, by the late nineteenth century, the Rev. R.C. Denny had taken the role as Lord of the Manor. Unlike the other parishes the patron of the church in the late nineteenth century was the Rev. William Thursby, of Burnley in Lancashire.[290] His son, William Thursby, was the rector until his death in 1893. As with the parish of Chedgrave there was a National School, built in 1839, with 80 scholars in 1856.[291]

[290] William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk, Including the City of Norwich, and Comprising a General Survey of the County and Separate Historical, Statistical, and Topographical Descriptions of All the Hundreds, Boroughs, Towns ... / by William White. [1883]*, 4th edition (1883), https://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/247192/.

[291] *Craven & Co.'s Commercial Directory of Norfolk, 1856*, 201.

Figure 24: Land Ownership in Bergh Apton



Source: Data from The National Archive, 'Tithe Apportionment of Bergh Apton and Holveston', 1839, IR29/23/59.

The clergy responsible for the parish of Bergh Apton are summarised in Table 21. A number of the clergy held offices that could lead to some limitation with the role and position within the parish. Thus, for example, at the start of the nineteenth century the vicar was John Neville, Chaplin to the Prince Regent, who resigned on the death of his father and became Right Honourable John Lord Viscount Neville, 3rd Earl Abergavenny.[292] In addition John Pelham was Chaplain to Queen Victoria from 1847.

Table 21: Members of Clergy, Bergh Apton, Norfolk

Name	**Dates**	**Reason for Leaving (if known)**	**Role**	**Other appointments/ Notes**
John, MATCHET	1545-1561			[293]
John, OSBORNE	1562-1582			[294]
Henry, KEDDINGTON	1582-1606	Died	Rector	[295]
Robert, BATE	1606-1613		Rector	[296]
Thomas KEMP	1620-1627	Died	Rector	[297]
Thomas, HORSEMAN	1613-1627-1658	Died	Curate/ Rector	[298]

[292] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Bergh Apton', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19434.

[293] Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Launditch (Concluded). Loddon. Mitford. Smethdon. Taverham*, 10:100.

[294] Geoffrey Kelly, *The Book of Bergh Apton: A Rural Ride in Norfolk* (Halsgrove, 2005), 57.

[295] Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Launditch (Concluded). Loddon. Mitford. Smethdon. Taverham*, 10:100.

[296] Kelly, *The Book of Bergh Apton: A Rural Ride in Norfolk*, 58.

[297] Ibid.

[298] Blomefield, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk: Launditch (Concluded). Loddon. Mitford. Smethdon. Taverham*, 10:100.

Samuel, STEED	1659-1668	Died	Rector	Rector from 1662[299]
Robert CONOLD	1668-1715	Died	Rector	Washbrook (1666-1669) Buried 31/10/1715[300]
Thomas, DUNCH	1718-1720	Died	Rector	Antingham St Mary (1717-1719)[301] Also Canon Norwich cathedral (1718-1720)[302]
Richard, FRENCH	1719-1764	Died	Rector	Also, Curate Dunston and Intwood (1719-)[303] Rector Framingham Pigot (1725-1765)[304] Buried 11/11/1764[305]
Neville, WALTER	1765-1802	Died	Rector	Also, Rector Otley (1769-1802)[306] Chaplin 2nd Earl of Abergaveney - Henry Neville[307]
Augustus, BEEVOR	1802-1818	Died	Rector	Also, Rector Otley and West Barsham (1802-1818)[308]
William MOORE	1809-1814	Resigned	Curate	Stipend £50
James, CARLOS	1810 - 1814		Curate	Stipend £50 Rector Thorpe by Haddiscoe (1804-44)[309]
Thomas, BARLING	1816 - 1836	Died	Curate, stipend £54	Also, Rector Howe (1793-)[310]

[299] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Bergh Apton'.

[300] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1556-1720', n.d., PD497/ 1.

[301] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Antingham', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19380.

[302] 'Clergy of Norwich Cathedral, Minor Canons', n.d., accessed 25 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=235200.

[303] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Dunston and Intwood', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19575.

[304] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Framingham Pigot', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19612.

[305] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1720-1791, Marriage 1721-1753 and Burial 1720-1793 Registers'.

[306] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Otley', n.d., accessed 13 July 2025, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=21106.

[307] Geoffrey Kelly, *The Book of Bergh Apton* (Halsgrove, 2005), 83.

[308] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Otley'.

[309] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Thorpe by Haddiscoe', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=20036.

[310] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Howe'.

				Curate Stoke Holy Cross stipend £50 (1814-)[311] Bedingham, stipend £50 (1819-)[312]
John, NEVILLE	1818-1831	Resigned	Rector	Also, Rector Otley[313]
Henry, NEVILLE	1831-1837	Died	Rector	Also, Rector Otley[314]
John, PELHAM	1837-1852	Resigned	Rector	[315]
Wyndham, MADDEN	-1864	Death[316]	Curate £575 living [317]	
William, THURSBY	1864-1893	Death[318]	Curate/ Rector	
Thomas, LLOYD	1893-1897	Resigned	Curate/ Rector	Became Rector of Bramerton[319]
Harvey, THURSBY	1897-1920	Retired		[320]

Source: Data from 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Bergh Apton'

Registers

The earliest registers currently available to access for the parishes in this study are shown in Table 22.

[311] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Stoke Holy Cross', n.d., accessed 12 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19988.

[312] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Bedingham', n.d., accessed 13 July 2023, https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/locations/index.jsp?locKey=19426.

[313] 'Clergy of the Church of England Database: Otley'.

[314] Ibid.

[315] Kelly, *The Book of Bergh Apton*, 89.

[316] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Burial Registers: 1813-1918'.

[317] *Craven & Co.'s Commercial Directory of Norfolk, 1856*, 201.

[318] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Burial Registers: 1813-1918'.

[319] *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1898*, 843.

[320] *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1908*, 1426.

Table 22: The Commencement of Parish Registration in the Norfolk Sample

Parish	Date of Earliest Register
Burgh Apton/ Bergh Apton	1556
Chedgrave	1550
Mundham	1559
Sisland/ Sizeland	1558
Thurton	1559

Source: Data from A. Burke, *Key to the Ancient Parish Registers of England and Wales* (Sackville Press, 1908), 21.

Tables 23-27 indicate which registers and Bishops/ Archdeacons transcripts are held in the Norfolk Record Office. The registers or microforms/fiches for the various dates are indicated in the tables below, including any transcripts available for cross referencing.[321] For Bergh Apton the earliest registers were in a poor condition, badly water damaged and illegible. The earliest transcription possible was the decade 1600-1610 and the study transcriptions start from this period. However, the current register books being used by the parish start in 1867 and the transcribing was made direct from the original material.[322] For Chedgrave the latest set of baptism registers are still used by the church and access was granted to them in the church.[323]

Table 23: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Bergh Apton, Norfolk

Primary Source Material	Births	Marriages	Deaths
Original registers	1556-1867	1556-2005	1556-1918
Archdeacon's and Bishop's transcripts	1691-1877	1691-1837	1691-1877

[321] For a discussion of these issues see early chapter as well as the specifics within the data analysis.

[322] With thanks to the Rev Chris Ellis

[323] With thanks to the Rev David Owen

Source: data from Appendix 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3

Table 24: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Chedgrave, Norfolk

Primary Source Material	Births	Marriages	Deaths
Original registers	1551-1661, 1679-1887, 1970	1551-1813, 1813-1991	1551-1948
Archdeacon's and Bishop's transcripts	1691-1893	1691-1837	1691-1893

Source: data from Appendix 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6

Table 25: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Mundham, Norfolk

Primary Source Material	Births	Marriages	Deaths
Original registers	1560-1909	1559-1641, 1660-1696, 1714-1965	1559-1641, 1658-1702, 1714-2001
Archdeacon's and Bishop's transcripts	1691-1918	1691-1837	1691-1918

Source: data from Appendix 1.7, 1.8 and 1.9

Table 26: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Sisland, Norfolk

Primary Source Material	Births	Marriages	Deaths
Original registers	1584-1901	1584-1753, 1813-1829, 1843-2000	1584-1812
Archdeacon's and Bishop's transcripts	1691-1893	1691-1837	1691-1893

Source: data from Appendix 1.10, 1.11 and 1.12

Table 27: Availability of Registers/ Bishops Transcripts, Thurton, Norfolk

Primary Source Material	Births	Marriages	Deaths
Original registers	1559-1967	1559-1651, 1674-1680, 1695-1727, 1738, 1752-2005	1559-1992
Archdeacon's and Bishop's transcripts	1691-1920	1691-1837	1691-1920

Source: data from Appendix 1.13, 1.14 and 1.15

Censuses

The population totals for the parishes under study can be seen in Table 28 and demonstrate the changes to the population totals over the nineteenth century.

Table 28: Total Figures for Multiple Censuses

Year	Sisland	Mundham	Chedgrave	Thurton	Bergh Apton
1801	54	242	247	164	304
1811	55	265	260	160	312
1821	101	304	302	170	388
1831	85	314	353	193	509
1841	64	308	348	246	564
1851	77	293	379	242	604
1861	76	286	387	246	544
1871	75	269	356	219	521
1881	71	295	368	199	464
1891	69	282	332	219	465
1901	69	233	337	209	418

Source: Data from the National Archive, Census Returns 1801-1901

All parishes, except Mundham, show an increase in population size over the period. Sisland's increase was 27% over the century, although it had increased 94% by 1821, before falling away by 1901. Mundham, the only population to fall in total over the century, saw a decrease of 3% between the earliest Census and the one taken in 1901. However its peak, in 1831 saw a 29% increase in the population from the 1801 figure. Chedgrave's percentage increase over the century was 36%, however its peak population was seen in 1861, which was different from all but Thurton. The peak in 1861 indicates an increase of 57% on the earliest Census figure. Thurton, which also saw a peak in 1861, witnessed a 27% increase over the century which mirrored Sisland's over the same period. Bergh Apton's peak was reached in 1851. The

increase over the century for Bergh Apton was 37%, however at its peak the increase was 99%, higher than any of the other parishes in the study. The Census material was used as a cross reference to establish dates and ages, in some instances and, subsequently, to enable analysis on place of birth to be assessed in combination with the parish registers as well as marriage horizons and migration levels. These changes help to inform the changing dimension and dynamics of the parishes as both defined and constantly changing communities.

The five parishes examined in this study are located in a rural landscape. Although there are some minor differences around soil type, land use and communication channels, they had much more in common. These similarities include their agricultural economic structure, and, like much of Norfolk at a distance from Norwich, the relative absence of industrial development. The main services were also all shared with the neighbouring market town of Loddon, which led to a degree of local movement for economic and social reasons. This common structure suggested by occupation, family ties and parish connections were part of everyday life. However, differences in land use, landownership and the distribution/management of farms mean that these communities were not entirely uniform and this affected the outcomes for many, especially the young. The parishes, although individual administrative units, were part of an interconnected rural landscape, whose inhabitants and clergy crossed parish boundaries through work and marriage. Acknowledging these similarities, geographical and economic, is important in interpreting the demographic evidence presented in later chapters and to assessing the extent to which boundaries influenced the lived experience of community and parish.

Chapter 4: Tracking Over Time - Reconstitution

Although parish registers provide us with a snapshot in time of the connection to place and community, reconstitution can help to draw a complete image of the family and their interactions over a longer period. The following chapter is concerned with family reconstitution as referenced in the earlier work of Wrigley and Schofield.[324]

Methodology

Initially a register transcript was required for all the chosen parishes. Problems with parish registration and parish registers have been discussed above, but the data can then be cross referenced with the Bishops and Archbishops transcripts. These were copies of the original registers which were made on an annual basis, and the transcript (signed by the incumbent and the church wardens) forwarded to the bishop's office. The transcripts can be invaluable where the original register has been destroyed or is ineligible. Unfortunately, these returns do not exist in their entirety for many parishes, and they also suffer from many of the problems associated with the registers themselves such as regarding poor storage, ineffectual completion and destruction over time. However, the ability to check and enhance the transcripts provide an additional level of confidence in the data available. Table 29 provides information on the number of register transcriptions undertaken in the parishes in this study and cross checked with Bishops' transcripts. A full manual transcription was taken from the original registers, where available, supplemented by microfiche copies held at the

[324] Wrigley et al., *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580–1837*.

Norfolk Record Office. A full cross reference was undertaken with the Bishop and Archbishop transcripts, as above, to both cross check and enhance the information available.

Table 29: Number of Register Transcriptions

Number of Register Transcriptions (1551-1900)			
	Marriages	Burials	Baptisms
Thurton	283	947	1424
Sisland	181	373	616
Mundham	360	1009	1982
Chedgrave	851	1245	1940
Bergh Apton	576	1590	2489

Source: Data Appendix 1

Wrigley and Schofield's test for completeness was to exclude a parish from their data analysis if in any consecutive run of 40 years there were 20 years without a recorded baptism/burial. While for marriages the parish was excluded if there were 20 blank years in any period of 30 consecutive years. A failure in any one series caused the exclusion of the parish tabulation as a whole.[325] The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate that it is possible to use all register data to make observations about a range of community and demographic changes. For the parishes under study only Mundham has a run of 40 years, with 20 years of no burials, but there are both marriages and baptisms for these dates so these have been included.[326] Reher and Schofield note that "the strengths of family reconstitution derive from an appreciation

[325] M. Gutmann, 'Gold from Dross? Population Reconstruction for the Pre-Census Era', *Historical Methods* 17 (1984): 8.

[326] We are not specifically using burial data in this study, except where it may relate to completed family reconstitutions

of the importance of relationships between events within an individual's life".[327] Tight family reconstitution rules, only including those documents which have all information included on the template, leads to a high loss of data. Nonetheless much interpretation can take place with the data collated and to help further with interpretation supplementation of parish register data with information from the censuses was used.

Upon the completion of a transcription and its checking, for each parish it is possible to create a set of marriage documents. Excel was used initially to sort and group surnames within each parish, providing a preliminary means of identifying potential connections between individuals appearing in the baptism, marriage and burial registers. This initial sorting was not treated as evidence of familial relationship in itself. Each potential linkage was subsequently examined individually, using a combination of surname similarity, first names, location, dates, marital information and, where available, maiden names. The purpose of this second, visual stage was to test whether the relationships suggested by the initial sorting were consistent with the wider evidence contained within the registers. This process was particularly important because variation in spelling presents a significant challenge. Surnames were not consistently recorded, and the same individual could appear under different spellings. Consequently, surname similarity was treated as an indicator for further investigation rather than as a sufficient basis for linkage. These documents were then used to create a family unit/household and chart its development over time (Figure 3). Once all possible births have been allocated to marriage records, the remaining baptisms, which have not been allocated to these marriages are recorded on additional forms,

[327] Reher and Schofield, *Old and New Methods in Historical Demography*, 160.

the same as those illustrated in Figure 3. Table 30 illustrates the number of marriage and non-marriage births forms created in this process.

Table 30: Number of Marriage Forms Created from Marriage Registers and Baptism Registers

Marriage forms (1551-1900)		
	From Marriage Registers[328]	From Baptism Registers with No Prior Marriage (in Sample Churches)
Thurton	283	452
Sisland	188	189
Mundham	358	642
Chedgrave	848	655
Bergh Apton	574	905

Source: Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

This enables further analysis of family size and structure as the relocation of a family to a parish, often after marriage, can lead to many births being recorded for a specific couple, as exampled in Figure 25.

[328] There is not a direct correlation with the total marriages as a few do not provide any information about the couple to facilitate a useful form.

Figure 25: Reconstitution for William and Harriet Branch

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Branch	William				husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE		Harriet				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on:		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union			
3227		At	rank of	age at	marriage	end of union 19/10/1861			Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
HUSBAND	born at TP	TP			baptism 1807	burial 19/10/1861	age 54	54		Sisland	Sisland TP
WIFE	TP	TP			1814	4/11/1874	60	47		Sisland	Sisland TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			23			F	1/5/1837			7/10/1862	25	Caroline	Howlett (3036)	
20-24		1	26	2yr 10mth		F	21/3/1840			22/9/1875	35	Harriet	Gooda (3030)	
25-29		2	28	2yr		M	20/3/1842					William		
30-34		2	30	1yr 11mth	CHILD	M	16/2/1844					John		
35-39		2	33	3yr	REN	M	14/3/1847					Albert		
40-44		2				M	27/2/1749	30/4/1849	2 mths			Henry		Sisland
45-49			38	2yr		M	29/3/1852					Richard		
Total		9	40	2yr 2mth		F	28/6/1854					Alice		
Boys		5	43	2yr 7mth		F	11/2/1857	6/7/1857	5 mths			Helen		Sisland
Girls		4												
Remarks:														

Source: Data form 3227, Appendix 3.4

The process was repeated for each parish before the individual parish datasets were brought together at group level. This enabled potential movements between the five contiguous parishes to be examined rather than treating each parish as an isolated population. The resulting family forms were checked by examining baptisms against the marriage registers to establish whether children could be associated with particular marriages, such as appropriate dating, and to identify possible movement between parishes. This checking was intended to reduce the likelihood that a family relationship was created solely because a name appeared similar in two records. Where the available evidence was insufficient to make a secure connection, no linkage was made.

The treatment of women, illegitimacy and remarriage presented additional challenges. Changes of surname following marriage can challenge a sequence of records, while

maiden names are not consistently provided in the registers. Illegitimate births can be particularly difficult to incorporate into a family reconstruction where the father is not identified or where the mother subsequently marries. In such cases, the linkage between individuals was dependent upon the combination of available names, dates, locations and subsequent records rather than on surname alone. Table 31 illustrates the number of linkages made within the forms and where no further linkages could be established. Thus, for example, for the 283 marriages in Thurton, 182 had only the marriage record in the register and the remaining 101 had 415 additional records attached to the marriage, which could have been baptism or burials, of parents or children. For the 452 non-marriage forms in Thurton, 191 records were for that single baptism only. The remaining 261 baptisms had at least one other record attached, which could be a birth or death of either the child or parents or for further siblings' baptism.

Table 31: Register Record Linkages

Linkages	**Number of Marriages**	**Number of Linkages On Marriage Forms (% of marriages)**	**Number of Non-Marriage Forms**	**Number of Linkages On Non-Marriage Forms (% more than one baptism)**
Thurton	283	415 (36%)	459	843 (58%)
Sisland	181	359 (46%)	213	329 (64%)
Mundham	360	503 (49%)	668	980 (48%)
Chedgrave	851	795 (29%)	677	1042 (49%)
Bergh Apton	576	921 (47%)	945	1281 (59%)
No additional Linkages		**On Marriage Forms (single record/marriage)**		**On Non-Marriage Forms (single record/ baptism)**
Thurton		182 (64%)		191 (42%)
Sisland		98 (54%)		80 (36%)
Mundham		184 (51%)		349 (52%)

Chedgrave		604 (71%)		345 (51%)
Bergh Apton		306 (53%)		384 (41%)

Source: Data Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

The merging of parish datasets allowed baptisms to be associated with marriages recorded in another parish. This provided a way of identifying movement between the five parishes that would not have been apparent when assessing the registers separately. The reconstruction then proceeded to a second generation of families. Children associated with the first generation of marriages were matched against subsequent marriage records in the five parishes, initially using Excel to identify potential matches and subsequently checking these manually against the original records.

The figures for Chedgrave are influenced by the number of irregular marriages which, by definition, are single events and will be studied further in the chapter on marriage below. The figure for Thurton, where 64% of all marriages were a single event only is much higher than for the other parishes. Both Mundham and Chedgrave show higher levels of a single baptism record, which in the latter may suggest the nature of the settlement but is less clear for the reasoning in the former. The agricultural domination of the parish of Sisland may explain why there are higher numbers of children born to static labouring families, even if they do not marry in that location.

In Wrigley's original family reconstitution study in Colyton, Devon, only 6% of the records were fully completed.[329] The figures for these parishes can be seen below,

[329] i.e. marriages, births and deaths of individual couples

Table 32, where the lower figures for Chedgrave and Thurton are a reflection of the data in Table 31.

Table 32: Full Reconstitution Data (%)

Location	% of full reconstitutions
Bergh Apton	5%
Chedgrave	4%
Mundham	6%
Sisland	8%
Thurton	4%

Source: Data Appendix 1, Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

An important balance within the methodology is therefore between the identification of positive evidence and the treatment of uncertainty. A linkage was made only where the available combination of evidence provided sufficient confidence; where the evidence remained ambiguous, the individual was left unlinked. This approach inevitably produces some false negatives, since genuine family relationships may remain unidentified because of spelling variation, missing records or migration

Parish Results

Sisland

The reconstitution data for the parish of Sisland is comprised of 189 marriage forms and 188 non-marriage forms. The latter are the forms created when a baptism is identified but it is not accompanied by a marriage record in the registers under study. The reconstitution data includes 17 base born baptisms (3% of births), suggesting that they were not excluded from recognition in the parish and appear in the registers

although their status is noted, using words which included natural born, bastard, base and illegitimate. There are 33 marriage forms which have interactions with other parishes in the study, with a total of 99 additional events and the highest total figure, indicating the connectivity of a small parish. Therefore 17% of all marriages in Sisland have an event recorded in one of the other parishes. There are interactions with all the other parishes, but the majority are seen with Mundham (68%) and Bergh Apton (20%). With the non-marriage forms there are 14 with records outside the parish and 16 events, which is 7% of all these forms. The majority of these interactions (56%) are with Mundham which suggests a close interaction between these two locations. Of the total marriage records/reconstitutions available, 65% do not produce any further records associated with them in the form of a baptism, which is skewed by the number of irregular marriages in Sisland. Removing the irregular marriages gives a figure of 49% of marriages which do not produce a further interaction. A further 10% of marriages only had one baptism in the church, and 41% non-marriage reconstitutions were for the baptism of one child only and are the only interaction with the parish church. Combining both the single marriages and single births 53% of the records are for only one register entry. These 200 couples did not see Sisland church as central to their sense of belonging if we use the minimum interaction as a proxy for this. There are 24 records (6%) where there are six or more baptisms, suggesting that the long-term community in Sisland was composed of a small number of families with a larger number of children. Further supported by evidence from the burial register where 29% of surnames only occur on one occasion. Sisland has the highest number of singular occurrences in the burial register of all the parishes studied.

Thurton

The reconstitution data for the parish of Thurton is compiled of 282 marriage forms and 451 non-marriage forms. The reconstitution data includes 51 base born baptisms, 4% of births, suggesting that they were not excluded from recognition in the parish. There are 20 marriage forms which have interactions with other parishes in the study, with a total of 72 events, so 7% of all marriages in Thurton have an event recorded in one of the other parishes, which is lower than the numbers found in Sisland. There are interactions with parishes, except Sisland, but the majority are seen with Mundham (50%) and Bergh Apton (30%). With the non-marriage forms there are 26 with records outside the parish and 75 events, which is 6% of all these forms, which is a similar figure to Mundham and Sisland. The majority of these interactions (52%) are with Bergh Apton which suggests a close interaction between these two locations, though not the parish with the most marriage interactions. Of the total marriage reconstitutions available 69% do not produce any further records associated with them. Although there are no 'irregular' marriages in Thurton the figure is a similar one to Sisland. A further 8% of marriages only had one baptism in the church, and 38% of baptism were for one child only, without a marriage and are the only interaction with the parish church. In Thurton 50% of all named couples had only one interaction with the church, which is slightly lower than for Sisland at 53%, without the irregular marriages. There are 53 records (7% of all forms) where there are six or more baptisms, suggesting that the long-term community in Thurton was also composed of a small number of families with large numbers of children. The number of single name burials was lower than Sisland, at 25%, and similar to the figures recorded by David Hey.[330]

[330] Hey, *The Grass Roots of English History: Local Societies in England Before the Industrial Revolution*, 183.

Mundham

The reconstitution data for the parish of Mundham is compiled of 360 marriage forms and 653 non-marriage forms. The reconstitution data includes 61 base born baptisms, 3% of births which was similar to the Sisland figure and again suggests that they were not excluded from recognition and registration. There are fifteen marriage forms (4%) which have interactions with other parishes in the study, with a total of 67 events, which is lower than the numbers found in both Sisland and Thurton. There are interactions with all parishes, but the majority are seen with Sisland, 60% of the records and 71% of the total additional events. With the non-marriage forms there are 12 with records outside the parish and 36 events, which is 5% of all these forms, which is also lower than Thurton and Sisland. Most of these interactions (72%) are with Chedgrave which is a different location to the marriage relationships. Of the total marriage reconstitutions available 59% do not produce any further records associated with them in the form of a baptism. Although there are no 'irregular' marriages in Mundham and this may be reflected in the lower number of marriages without a baptism. A further 11% of marriages only had one baptism in the church, and 50% of baptisms were for one child only, without a marriage. 53% of couples had only one interaction with the parish church, a figure identical to Sisland. There are 72 records (7% of all records) where there are six or more baptisms, suggesting that there are a number of large and relatively static families in Mundham and a percentage identical to Thurton. However, Mundham has the lowest number of single name burials at 188 different names (19% of the total), in contrast 54 surnames (49%) appear more than five times.

Chedgrave

The reconstitution data for the parish of Chedgrave is compiled of 851 marriage forms and 670 non-marriage forms. For this parish the number of marriage forms is higher than non-marriage ones, but this is a reflection on the number of 'irregular' marriages that took place. Irregular marriages will be considered further in Chapter 6. The reconstitution data includes 77 base born baptism, 4% of births and the same as Thurton. There are only six marriage forms which have interactions with other parishes in the study, with a total of 14 events, which is far lower than the numbers found in the smaller villages of Mundham, Sisland and Thurton. Therefore only 1% of all marriages in Chedgrave have an event recorded in one of the other parishes. There is no interaction with Bergh Apton and the most activity is with Sisland at 50%. With the non-marriage forms there are also six with records outside the parish and 14 events, 2% of all these forms, which is also the lowest. The majority of these interactions (71%) are with Thurton which is a different location to the marriage relationships. Of the total marriage reconstitutions available, 80% do not produce any further records associated with them in the form of a baptism. If the irregular marriages are removed, this falls to 70%, which is closer to the other parishes, for example with Thurton at 69%. Again, a relatively high figure (64%) of couples only interaction with the parish church was through either single birth or marriage. There are 73 records (5%) where there are six or more baptisms, which is lower than the other parishes. This would suggest that the population of Chedgrave was more mobile than the other parishes in the study and had less connection to the parish church as an identifier of community location. However, the burial register presents figures that indicate that 49% of surnames occur more than five times and only 20% occur on one occasion only. These figures reflect similar numbers to both Mundham and Bergh Apton.

Bergh Apton

The reconstitution data for the parish of Bergh Apton is compiled of 576 marriage forms and 663 non-marriage forms. The reconstitution data includes 51 base born baptism, as 2% of births the figure is the lowest of the group which could be related to parish structure or community pressure. There are 23 marriage forms which have interactions with other parishes in the study, with a total of 81 events, only Sisland had more (99 events). Therefore 8% of all marriages in Bergh Apton have an event recorded in one of the other parishes. There are interactions with all parishes, but the majority are seen with Thurton (43%). With the non-marriage forms there are 24 with records outside the parish and 45 events, which is 7% of all these forms, which is similar to Sisland. The majority of these interactions (58%) are with Thurton which is the only occasion when both marriage and non-marriages forms demonstrate the same majority parish relationships. Of the total marriage reconstitutions available 53% do not produce any further records associated with them in the form of a baptism. A further 7% of marriages only had one baptism in the church, and 71% of baptism were for one child only, without a marriage, therefore a total of 63% of couples had no further relationship with Bergh Apton church. This is a similar figure to Chedgrave (64%) suggesting that the larger parishes have population which are less static and less connected to the church. There are 74 records (6%) where there are six or more baptisms, a similar figure for Chedgrave but lower than the smaller parishes as a proportion. The number of repeating surnames, in the burial register, is highest in Bergh Apton at 56%, although 302 names (20%) only appear once, as can be found in the larger parishes.

Completed Families/ Community Ties

The technique of family reconstitution depends upon the fact that individuals are separately identified in the registers, and it is therefore possible to recapture the life history of an individual by linking together entries in the register concerning their birth, marriage and death. Tables 33–37 present the number of completed families identified through the family reconstitution process outlined earlier in this chapter. The examples of reconstituted families provide a basis for examining marriage horizons, short-term migration and connections to the parish over time. In addition, as the data is analysed on a family basis but within one household, consideration can be given to the behaviours practised within actual families – sisters and sisters, mothers and daughters. The numbers of completed families are low as total reconstitution requires the ability to confirm the date of death of the first individual in a pair, which can be difficult as individuals may have relocated, and different generations use the same name. Although the parish register data may indicate one death for the couple, if we cannot be sure it is the first it will be excluded from confirming a completed family unit. We are illustrating not only the levels of migration, even if over short distance, but also the lack of continuity of the parish community and connection to a specific parish church. The reconstituted data also allows us to study pre-marital fertility, not just that which may be indicated in the register, but also those where the marriage occurs less than nine months before the baptism. Family reconstitution allows us to develop these familial units, those who leave and those who remain, to assess the importance of place in the lived experience.

Much demographic projection relies on numbers and counts from registers, but reconstitution provides a more detailed and nuanced picture. In addition, it allows the ability to track couples and families over parish boundaries in a way that a single

reconstitution does not. The importance of these cross-boundary movements, where especially children are concerned, is to expand horizons and develop wider bands of community especially when it is not a family in the same location. It provides more advantages than focusing on a single parish without losing the ability to identify the 'remainers' or core families from a location.

Although one can assume interactions between parishes, especially when the location of the bride or groom is specified in the register, reconstitution allows us to check their reliability but also to make assumptions about the marriage horizons of individuals over time. The non marriage interactions are recorded in these reconstitution forms, and the importance, range and number of connections can be assessed, whether they change over time and to what degree couples return to their original parish. [331] These studies build on and challenge earlier research by providing further evidence of the population's mobility. In particular, they demonstrate that marriage and family formation contributed to a lack of geographical stability.

[331] K. D. M. Snell, 'English Rural Societies and Geographical Marital Endogamy, 1700-1837', *The Economic History Review* 55 (2002): 262.

Thurton

Table 33: Thurton Completed Marriages and Family Size

Record No.	Year	Marriage Date	Total Children	Boy	Girl	Total years married	Notes
7018	1841	31/05/1841	2	2	0	5	Wife died
7029	1879	28/10/1879	0	0	0	2	Husband died
7045	1804	02/01/1804	1	1	0	0	Death in childbirth?
7046	1855	13/10/1855	2	0	2	4	Husband died
7058	1745	06/06/1745	4	2	2	8	Wife died
7059	1757	06/12/1757	7	3	4	43	Husband died 1801 aged 81, Wife died 1813 aged 78
7080	1843	18/10/1843	0	0	0	0	Wife died
7082	1819	14/06/1819	8	3	5	14	Wife died
7091	1809	31/07/1809	7	5	2	7	Husband died
7098	1865	17/10/1865	3	1	2	7	Husband died
7167	1832	12/07/1832	3	0	3	9	Wife died

Source: Data from Appendix 2.5

The total reconstitutions for Thurton are given in Table 33 and account for 4% of total marriages. The two highlighted examples, provide the contrasts for the parish and provide an illustration of the information which can support the argument made here.[332] The marriage of John Goldspring and Martha Wright, was recorded on 14th June 1819. We do not have an age for John, but Martha is recorded as 19. We do not have the parish of residence at the time of the marriage nor any occupational detail. She was buried, in Thurton, on 20th March 1834 at 34 years. During their 14 years of marriage, they had eight children who are represented in Figure 26 and remain in Thurton this whole period. This couple illustrate pre-marital fertility, the creation of the next

[332] To note that Thurton record 7059 has been utilised in the earlier chapters and so is not reused at this stage.

generation of reconstitution in their daughter Harriet as well as a high level of child mortality. Only their daughter Harriet forms a new economic unit, aged 22, also in Thurton as the other five children all die in childhood. We have no locational data for John or the two remaining children after that. Harriet has four children baptised in Thurton so remains there for at least 15 years after the death of her mother but is then no longer recorded in any of the parishes.[333]

Figure 27 provides the history of William Hurn and Elizabeth Ellis who married on 17th October 1865. William and his first wife, Elizabeth, appear in the 1861 Census in Thurton though Langley is given as place of birth, which is an adjacent parish. William was already a widower at the age of 32. Their marriage was not a long one at seven years and we have the burial for both of them in 1873 and 1886 respectively, noting that Elizabeth was a resident of Langley, not a parish under study, at the time of her death, although she was returned to Thurton for burial with William. Two of their children predeceased her and, if their son James survived, we do not have a new generational form for him as he does not reappear in these registers. He is resident in Thurton in the 1881 Census, with his mother, and by 1911 he is a single unemployed labourer living on Ashby Common [334]

As already noted, if we do not have the burial of either half of a couple then we do not, technically, have a complete reconstitution. However, where a couple are resident for a long period and the women appears to complete her reproductive period within that time frame then the information can be useful for our study. James Minns and Sarah

[333] Figure 26

[334] Figure 27

Riches married on 22nd November 1839, and their reconstruction form is seen at Figure 28. Although they choose to use the 'group baptisms' option, the clergy noted the dates of birth so we can ascertain the birth intervals and, as the register noted the age of the bride and groom, we can also see the age at which Sarah had her children. This methodology does not allow us to see if they moved around so ages are useful but separate baptisms would have had another advantage for this work. However six children died under the age of one and all of them are buried in Thurton. One son, Arthur, married to start another family unit which is noted as Thurton 7117 in the files. There are no further records for either him or his bride.[335]

[335] Figure 28

Figure 26: Family Reconstitution Form for John Goldspring and Martha Wright

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Goldspring	John				husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Wright	Martha				wife's father	
						wife	
Marriage No.	solemnised on: 14/6/1819		MARRIAGE	DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
7082	At	Thurton	rank of	age at	marriage 14/6/1819	end of union 20/3/1834	14				
HUSBAND	born at	TP	Thurton	TP	Bachelor		baptism	burial	age				TP
WIFE		TP	Thurton	TP	Spinster	19		20/3/1834	34			Thurton	Thurton TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19	1	1	19	2 mths		F	05/09/1819			9/5/1841	22	Harriett	Whenn	
20-24	5	2	21	1yr 11mth		F	12/08/1821					Martha		
25-29	5	2	23	2yr 1mth		M	05/10/1823	24/10/1827	4			Jeremiah		Th
30-34	3	2	26	2yr 3mth	CHILD	F	22/01/1826	25/10/1827	1			Elizabeth		Th
35-39		1	28	2yr 1mth	REN	F	24/02/1828	7/9/1834	7			Elizabeth		Th
40-44			31	2yr		M	11/03/1830					Samuel		
45-49			33	1yr 3mth		F	12/6/1831	27/8/1839	9			Susannah		Th
Total	14	8	35	2yr 2mth		M	25/8/1833	1/12/1833	3 mths			Jerimiah		Th
Boys		3												
Girls		5												
Remarks: s/m														

Source: Data from Thurton form 7082, Appendix 2.5

Figure 27: Family Reconstitution Form for William Hurn and Elizabeth Ellis

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	James Hurn		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Hurn	William					husband	Labourer
				daughter	John Ellis		husband's father	Labourer
WIFE	Ellis	Elizabeth					wife's father	Labourer
							wife	Servant

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 17/10/1865			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
7098		At	Thurton	rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	7	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
						17/10/1865	6/5/1873					
HUSBAND	born at	TP	Thurton TP	Widower	32	baptism	burial	age			Thurton	ThurtonTP
							6/5/1873	41				
WIFE		TP	Thurton TP	Spinster	24		17/11/1886	44			Langley	Thurton TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			27	3yr 3mth		F	01/02/1869	20/6/1886	19			Emma		Lowestoft
20-24	1				CHILDREN	M	01/02/1869					James		
25-29	5	3	29	1yr 10mth		F	4/12/1870	31/5/1883	12			Jane		Th
30-34	1													
35-39														
40-44														
45-49														
Total	7	3												
Boys		1												
Girls		2												
Remarks: s/s														

Source: Data from Thurton form 7098, Appendix 2.5

Figure 28: Family Reconstitution Form for James Mimms and Sarah Riches

	Surname	Forename (s)			son	Robert Mimms		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Mimms	James						husband	Labourer
					daughter	William Riches		husband's father	Carpenter
WIFE	Riches	Sarah						wife's father	Farmer
								wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 22/11/1839				MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
7116		At		Thurton	rank of	age at	marriage 22/11/1839	end of union		Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
HUSBAND	born at Hellington	TP	Thurton	TP	Bachelor	22	baptism	burial	age				TP
WIFE	Thurton	TP	Thurton	TP	Spinster	21	19/9/1819						TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			22			M	24/1/1847	2/4/1847	4 mths			James		Thurton
20-24	4	3	22			M	17/10/1847					William		
25-29	5	2	24			M	17/10/1847					Samuel		
30-34	5	4	26		CHILD	F	17/10/1847					Emily		
35-39	5	3	28	9 mths	REN	F	17/10/1847					Hephzibah		
40-44	5	2	30	10mths		M	11/8/1848					James		
45-49			31	2yr 7mth		M	17/6/1849	20/3/1850	9 mths			Arthur		Thurton
Total		14	33	9 mths		M	25/1/1852	2/5/1852	3 mths			Benjamin		Thurton
Boys		9	34	2 yrs		M	5/9/1852			24/6/1879	26	Arthur	Waterston (7117)	
Girls		5	36	1yr 5mth		M	15/9/1854	21/9/1854	1 week			Benjamin		Thurton
Remarks: m/s			37	1yr 4mth		F	17/2/1856	2/9/1856	6 mths			Charlotte		Thurton
James baptized as adult 1848			39	1yr 4mth		F	1/7/1857	8/7/1857	1 week			Sarah		Thurton
			40	1yr 4mth		M	26/11/1858					Harvey		
			44	3yr 6mth		F	8/6/1862					Edith Elizabeth		

Source: Data from Thurton form 7116, Appendix 2.5

Sisland

Table 34: Sisland Completed Marriages and Family Size

Record No.	Year	Marriage Date	Total Children	Boy	Girl	Total years married	Notes
3024	1885	02/05/1885	1	1		6	Husband died
3037	1862	10/06/1862	2	0	2	5	Wife died
3039	1859	15/02/1859	10	5	5	47	Wife died
3048	1852	08/05/1849	4	2	2	36	Husband died
3052	1845	23/02/1845	10	3	7	24	Wife died
3057	1829	27/10/1825	14	7	7	29	Both died within 5 months
3073	1809	25/08/1806	2		2	28	Husband died
3082	1774	12/04/1774	12	6	6	26	Wife died
3091	1751	24/04/1749	6	3	3	38	Husband died
3099	1735	04/11/1735	2	1	1	5	Husband died
3118	1706	17/10/1706	3	1	2	7	Both died in 12 months
3143	1695	27/05/1695	4	1	3	14	Both died in 14 months
3144	1671	26/05/1670	2	1	1	2	Wife died
3194	1590	08/10/1585	1	1		8	Wife died

Source: Data from Appendix 2.5

Table 34 illustrates 9% of marriages which are the reconstituted couples and reflect either quite short marriages or reflect substantial marriages, longer than those shown in Thurton. Long lived couples appear to be a feature in Sisland as is the number of completed marriages. This will be tested further in the Chapter 5, on the censuses, in relation to movement of individuals and parish remainers. The size of the parish may influence these averages as a smaller number of farms and limited alternative occupations increase the migration of many young adults, and children when working ages were young. However, some choose to return for the rights of passage, especially marriage, which may support the importance of ‘birth’ and the feeling of ‘home’.

Three examples examine the long-lasting marriages in Sisland and the number of children that a family may be composed of so, Jerimiah Francis and Sarah Tammas married on 27th October 1825 when he was 24 and she was 20. Figure 29 reflects their marriage, which lasted for 29 years until Jerimiah died in April 1854 at 53 years. Sarah died only five months later in September 1854 at 49 years. Although both were resident in Sisland before their marriage, they were born in Brooke and Thwaite respectively according to the 1851 Census. They had 13 children, the first arriving before they married in September 1825 followed by a further five boys and seven girls. The Francis family only buried a couple of their children in childhood, though one child, Daniel, appears not to have been baptised first. There are no records of their children in the future registers to reflect another generation of forms, but they provided an excellent example of a 'stayer family' who maintained their connection with the church through baptisms and their death and burial.[336]

Figure 30 reflects another marriage of over 20 years in length, John Batchelor and Elizabeth Whittup married on 12th April 1774 and it ended with the death of Elizabeth in June 1800, when she was 52 years. Unlike the previous example, John lived on until the age of 87, dying in 1819 in Heddenham, but returning to Sisland for burial. They had twelve children in the 24 years and unlike other examples many of them remained in and around Sisland as their burials testify too, between the ages of 18-85. Two children, Catherine and Mary, also created family units in the parish (see next

[336] Figure 29

example for the onward story). This is a family, in the small percentage of large ones who remain and continue to appear in a range of parish registers.[337]

To demonstrate these connections Figure 31 shows the marriage of Mary Batchelor to Osmund Clarke on 25th August 1806. Mary was 26 on her marriage but Osmund, a widower, was 20 years her senior at 47 years. They had two daughters, Mary born in 1809 and Catherine in 1814. They were married for twenty-seven years until Osmund died in February 1834. All three women were buried in Sisland between 1835 and 1896, without any of them marrying.[338] This is an excellent example of a long marriage, with a clear commitment to place, but a limited family size. The Census returns show the two Marys as land holders and although the younger Mary is resident in Southtown (Great Yarmouth) at her death her burial is recorded in Sisland. As she was only 20 at her death in 1835, we do not have a Census record to follow.

[337] Figure 30

[338] Figure 31

Figure 29: Family Reconstitution Form for Jerimiah Francis and Sarah Tammas

	Surname	Forename (s)		son			Occupation		
HUSBAND	Francis	Jeriemiah					husband		
				daughter			husband's father		
WIFE	Tammas	Sarah					wife's father		
							wife		
Marriage No.	solemnised on: 10/27/1825		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
3057		At Sisland	rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	29				
					27/10/1825	21/4/1854					
HUSBAND	born at Brooke	TP Sisland TP	Bach	24	baptism	burial 21/4/1854	age 53	53		Sisland	Sisland TP
WIFE	Thwaite	TP Sisland TP	Spin	20		28/9/1854	49	49		Sisland	Sisland TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
				-1mth		M	25/9/1825					William		
15-19			24	3yr 5mth		F	22/3/1829					Mary		
20-24	5	1	25	1yr 2mth		M	23/5/1830					Anthony		
25-29	5	3	26	1yr 4mth		M	18/9/1831					James		
30-34	5	4	28	1yr 8mth	CHILD	M	26/5/1833					Edward		
35-39	5	1	30	2 yr	REN	F	10/5/1835	4/6/1840	5			Ann		Sisland
40-44	5	1	31	1yr 7mth		F	11/12/1836					Lucy		
45-49	4	2	33	1yr 6mth		M	10/6/1838	20/4/1882	44			John		Hardley
Total	29	13	34	1yr 2mth		M	11/8/1839					Jerimah		
Boys		6	38	4yr 8mth		F	1/4/1844					Emma		
Girls		7	43	5yr 7mth		F	27/11/1849	21/3/1850	4 mths			Ellen		Sisland
Remarks:						M	1849	30/4/1849				Daniel		Sisland
Charlotte 1841, Elizabeth 1842			45	2yr 4mth		F	28/3/1852					Charlotte		
1st birth before marriage, listed as base			45	-		F	28/3/1852					Elizabeth		

Source: Data from Sisland form 3057, Appendix 2.4

Figure 30: Family Reconstitution Form for John Batchelor and Elizabeth Whitton (Whittup)

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	Matthew Batchelor	Occupation	
HUSBAND	Bathchlor	John			Sarah	husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Whitton	Elizabeth				wife's father	
	(Wittup)					wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 4/12/1774			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of				
3082		At Sisland		rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	26	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at	
						12/04/1774	17/6/1800						
HUSBAND	born at FRF 1199	TP	Sisland	TP	Bach	42	baptism 1732	burial 15/6/1819	age 87	68		Heddenham	Sisland TP
WIFE		TP	Sisland	TP		26	1748	17/6/1800	52	52			Sisland TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			26			M	17/4/1774	14/2/1838	64			Robert		Loddon
20-24			27	10 mths		M	19/2/1775	8/5/1775	2 mths			Charles		Sisland
25-29	4	4	28	1 year		F	4/2/1776	22/9/1826	51			Catherine	Crowe (Heddenham)	Sisland
30-34	5	2	29	1 year	CHILD	F	23/2/1777	15/6/1813	35	na		Hannah		B Aptn
35-39	5	4	31	2yr 10mth	REN	F	1/12/1779	3/1/1865	85	25/8/1806	27	Mary	Clarke 3073	Sisland
40-44	5	1	33	1yr 8 mth		F	1/8/1781	12/1/1800	18			Esther		Sisland
45-49	5	1	35	1yr 7 mth		M	16/3/1783	25/3/1783	9 days			William		Sisland
Total	24	12	37	2yr 1 mth		M	24/4/1785					Frances		
Boys		6	37	2yr 1 mth		M	24/4/1785	29/7/1813	33			James		Loddon
Girls		6	39	1yr 8 mth		M	3/12/1786					Jonathan		
Remarks: 1st child base			43	4yr 3mth		F	27/3/1791					Susanna		
William baptised at birth			45	2yr 7mth		F	10/11/1793					Sarah		

Source: Data from Sisland form 3082, Appendix 2.4

Figure 31: Family Reconstitution Form for Osmund Clarke and Mary Batchelder

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Clarke	Osmund				husband	
				daughter	John Batchelder (No 3082)	husband's father	
WIFE	Batchelder	Mary			Elizabeth Batchelder	wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 8/25/1806				MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
3073		At Sisland			rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	27	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
							25/8/1806	8/2/1834					
HUSBAND	born at Mundham	TP	Sisland	TP	Widower	47	baptism	burial	age	75			Sisland TP
							29/7/1759	8/2/1834	75				
WIFE		TP	Sisland	TP	Spin	26	1/12/1779	3/1/1865	85	54			Sisland TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			29	2yr 6mth		F	11/2/1809	29/12/1896	84			Mary		Southtown
20-24			34	5yr 10mth		F	19/12/1814	22/4/1835	20			Catherine		Sisland
25-29	4	1												
30-34	5	1			CHILD									
35-39	5				REN									
40-44	5													
45-49	5													
Total	24	2												
Boys														
Girls		2												
Remarks: 1st marriage Elizabeth														
Plummer: 2 children 1795/1797														

Source: Data from Sisland form 3073, Appendix 2.4

Mundham

Table 35: Mundham Completed Marriages and Family Size

Record No.	Year	Date	Total Children	Boy	Girl	Total years married	Notes
6017	1587	01/01/1587		1	1	1	Wife died
6075	1665	10/05/1665	1	1	2	5	Husband died
6114	1735	28/09/1735	0	0	0	1	Husband died
6123	1739	02/10/1739	1	2	3	11	Husband died
6131	1749	04/12/1749	7	7	14	67	Husband died
6137	1757	09/10/1757	2	6	8	18	Husband died
6153	1770	29/04/1770	5	4	9	28	Wife died
6176	1786	18/09/1786	1	2	3	3	Wife died
6182	1789	16/03/1789	5	3	8	28	Husband died
6190	1794	15/10/1794	3	10	13	27	Wife died
6215	1809	14/02/1809	2	3	5	18	Wife died
6227	1816	15/10/1816	3	5	8	56	Both died
6229	1820	30/05/1820	4	2	6	14	Wife died
6234	1827	14/03/1827	1	0	1	2	Wife died
6255	1841	12/10/1841	0	1	1	1	Wife died, Childbirth?
6258	1843	06/06/1843	3	1	4	9	Husband died
6262	1846	16/11/1846	0	2	2	8	Wife died
6286	1861	15/07/1861	3	2	5	9	Wife died
6308	1871	07/11/1871	9	4	13	19	Wife died
6321	1879	25/12/1879	1	1	2	8	Wife died

Source: Data from Appendix 2.3

As Table 35 suggests Mundham also illustrates both ends of the spectrum, so long and short marriages and these figures represent 5% of the total marriages. The number of completed marriages is a slightly higher number than Thurton but not Sisland. While averages cannot demonstrate these changes effectively ten of the marriages were under ten years, and two above 30 at 56 and 67 years in length respectively. When John Roberts and Elizabeth Hayward married on 4th December 1749, we only have an age for Elizabeth as she was underage at only seventeen

years, though the burial register gives John an age of death which would suggest he was 29 in 1747. We do not have any locational information for them other than the place of marriage and no occupations. They had 14 children, seven boys and seven girls, in their sixty-seven years of marriage, see Figure 32. They both remained in Mundham for that time. According to the register John was 96 when buried on 13th August 1816 and Elizabeth 93 when laid to rest on 10th November 1823. We do not have Census corroboration and, if she was baptised at birth, Elizabeth would have been 91 in 1823, which allowing for actual birth date appears to have been fairly accurate. She was the daughter of William Nelson and Mary Utting who married in June 1731 and was born eight months into their marriage.[339] Four of their children appear, from the register to be buried in childhood and the youngest, and a further three in adulthood and in Mundham, one of these, James, was living in Ditchingham but returned for burial. [340] Michael was buried at the age of 82 in 1855 and is the only one with to create the next generation in the Mundham register when marrying in October 1805. This family maintained a lifelong commitment to the village and which fully reflects three generations.

In contrast the three-year marriage (Figure 33) of William Tubby and Mary Thurston began on 18th September 1786 and ended with Mary's death on 27th April 1790. She was married at 18 and her first child, Samuel, was baptised two months after the wedding. She had two further daughters in the three years, Honor and Tabitha, before dying twenty days after the latter's birth.[341] There appears to be no further interaction

[339] Figure 32

[340] Figure 32

[341] Figure 33

with the register from William, even though he was the product of a previous Mundham marriage, or his two surviving children, so the death of the mother led to their relocation, possibly to his original parish of Seething for support.[342]

Both had been resident in Mundham prior to their marriage when Sarah Kerrison, 35, married William Smouton, 24, on 14th March 1827 (Figure 34). Already expecting, her son was baptised on 27th May 1827 and buried on 31st May, although his age was given as three weeks. It was their only child as Sarah was buried, aged 37, on 22nd November 1829. William died in April 1835 and although living in Loddon was buried in Mundham with the other two.[343] This example provides an illustration of the return to an original location, in death, and the connection with the church and place.

Although two marriages may appear from the reconstitutions to follow a similar pattern, the following two illustrations from Mundham demonstrate the importance of the record details. The marriage of William King and Ann Manning lasted for 27 years from October 1794 until September 1822. Ann was buried, aged 48, on 1st September 1822. She had had 13 children in that time, ten girls and three boys. Figure 35 illustrates that two children died in early childhood and a further three before they reached the age of 20.[344] The family's interaction with the parish church was regular and as a couple they were resident in Mundham prior to marriage, throughout their lives and at their death. One daughter, Maria, married William Randlesome in 1820 and had six children in

[342] Figure 33

[343] Figure 34

[344] Figure 35

Mundham, before her death aged 34 on 18th November 1834.[345] Of those six children, two, Charlotte and John both married and continued the link with Mundham as a family – the third generation. Charlotte had four children in nine years before her husband died aged 33.[346] We have no further records for them, but John had 16 children, one baptised in Mundham and the remaining 15 in Sisland, although six died in infancy.[347] The Mundham baptism, Emma, married Elijah Whitwood in 1875, in Mundham, rather than Sisland where the family were located.[348] A further two King sisters also maintained the link with Mundham, Mary who married Solomon Lacey in 1824 and Phoebe who married David Chettleburgh in 1846, with one her of children, Harriet, marrying in 1880 in Mundham.[349] A total of five generations were linked to Mundham church. Whereas James Clark and Elizabeth Cobb (Figure 36) were married 28 years from 29th April 1770 until Elizabeth's burial in May 1798 at 54. Although they had nine children, five boys and four girls, during their marriage there is no record of any of the children after their baptisms.[350] The regular baptisms suggest that they remain local but with no burials, and a gap before the mother's death, was the connection as strong?

If we do not have the burial of either half of a couple then we do not, technically, have a complete reconstitution. However, where a couple can be traced in two separate

[345] Mundham form 6229, Appendix 2.3

[346] Mundham form 6258, Appendix 2.3

[347] Mundham form 6278, Appendix 2.3

[348] Mundham form 6315, Appendix 2.3

[349] Mundham form 6231 and 6323, Appendix 2.3

[350] Figure 36

registers over a period of time and we have a burial record for them both, the data produced can be equally useful for this study. We do not know when or where Samuel Mobbs and Lydia Norman married as their first entry into the Mundham register was the baptism of a son, Samuel, on 28th October 1792. The next two children appear in the Mundham register, as illustrated by Figure 37, but the next three are to be found in the Chedgrave register, as are the deaths of three of the children in late childhood. Lydia was buried in Chedgrave on 22nd May 1810 at the age of 43 and Samuel appears six years later. The youngest child would only have been ten years old at that point.[351] Here we have an illustration of the value gained from two separate parishes and being able to trace a family, over time, and their migration pattern.

[351] Figure 37

Figure 32: Family Reconstitution Form for John Roberts and Elizabeth Hayward

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation		
HUSBAND	Roberts	John				husband		
				daughter	Thomas	husband's father		
WIFE	Hayward	Elizabeth			Elizabeth	wife's father		
						wife		
Marriage No.	solemnised on: 4/12/1749		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
6131	At	Mundham	rank of	age at	marriage 4/12/1749	end of union 13/8/1816	67				
HUSBAND	born at TP	TP			baptism	burial 13/8/1816	age 96				TP
WIFE	TP	TP		17	29/10/1732	10/11/1823	93				TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19		2	17	4 mths		M	29/4/1750	10/6/1783	33			William		Mundham
20-24		2	19	1yr 10mth		F	12/2/1752					Sarah		
25-29		2	21	1yr 9mth		F	25/11/1753					Elizabeth		
30-34		3			CHILDREN			19/6/1757				Daniel		
35-39		2	26			M	9/7/1758	23/3/1760	18mths			Daniel		
40-44		2	28	2yr 3mth		F	26/10/1760					Mary		
45-49			30	12yr 2mth		M	9/1/1763	4/11/1821	59			James		Ditchingham
Total		14	33	2yr 7mth		F	14/7/765					Anna		
Boys		7	34	1yr 7mth		M	1/2/1767	21/9/1767	8 mths			Robert		
Girls		7	36	1yr 10mth		M	11/12/1768	13/12/1843	75			Samuel		Mundham
Remarks:			39	3yr		M	29/12/1771	7/8/1774	2yrs			Roger		
			41	2yr 2mth		M	20/2/1774	3/2/1855	82	23/11/1805	30	Michael	Mann (6209)	Mundham
			44	2yr 11mth		F	2/2/1777					Hannah		

Source: Data from Mundham form 6131, Appendix 2.3

Figure 33: Family Reconstitution Form for William Tubby and Mary Thurston

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	Thomas Tubby	Occupation	
HUSBAND	Tubby	William			Mary Flurry	husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Thurston	Mary				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 18/9/1786			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
6176		At	Mundham	rank of	age at	marriage 18/9/1786	end of union 27/4/1790	3				
HUSBAND	born at	TP	Seething TP		23	baptism 31/7/1763	burial	age				TP
WIFE		TP	Mundham TP		18	1768	27/4/1790	21				Mundham TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19		2	18	2mths		M	12/11/1786					Samuel		
20-24		1	19	1yr 4mth		F	23/3/1788					Honor		
25-29			21	2yr		F	4/4/1790	24/4/1791	1			Tabitha		Mundham
30-34					CHILD REN									
35-39														
40-44														
45-49														
Total		3												
Boys		1												
Girls		2												
Remarks:														

Source: Data from Mundham form 6176, Appendix 2.3

Figure 34: Family Reconstitution Form for William Smouton and Sarah Kerrison

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Smouton	William				husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Kerrison	Sarah				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 14/3/1827			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
6234		At	Mundham	rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	2	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
						14/3/1827	22/11/1829					
HUSBAND	born at	TP	Mundham	TP	24	baptism	burial	age	30		Loddon	Mundham TP
						1803	29/4/1835	32				
WIFE		TP	Mundham	TP	35	1792	22/11/1829	37	37		Mundham	Mundham TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			35	2mths		M	27/05/1827	31/5/1827	3 weeks			John		Mundham
20-24														
25-29														
30-34					CHILD REN									
35-39	2	1												
40-44														
45-49														
Total		1												
Boys		1												
Girls														
Remarks:														

Source: Data from Mundham form 6234, Appendix 2.3

Figure 35: Family Reconstitution Form for William King and Ann Manning

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	King	William				husband	Husbandman
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Manning	Ann				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 15/10/1794			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
6190		At	Mundham	rank of	age at	marriage	end of union		Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
						15/10/1794	1/9/1822	27				

	born at						baptism	burial	age				
HUSBAND		TP	Mundham	TP		25	1769	23/11/1850	81	52		Mundham	Mundham TP
WIFE		TP	Mundham	TP		20	1774	1/9/1822	48	48		Mundham	Mundham TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			22	2yr		F	6/11/1796	11/5/1798	18 mths			Maria		Mundham
20-24	5	3	23	1yr 2mth		M	21/1/1798	11/5/1798	15 weeks			William		Mundham
25-29	5	3	24	1yr 1mth	CHILDREN	F	17/3/1799	6/8/1815	17			Phoebe		Mundham
30-34	5	3	26	1yr		F	16/3/1800			20/5/1820	20	Maria	Randlesome (6229)	Mundham
35-39	5	3	27	1yr 2mth		F	24/5/1801					Sarah		
40-44	5	1	29	1yr 8mth		M	20/2/1803					William		
45-49	2		30	1yr 3mth		F	13/5/1804			18/9/1824	20	Mary	Lacey (6231)	
Total	27	13	32	2yr 1mth		F	15/6/1806	30/4/1823	18			Charlotte		Mundham
Boys		3	34	1yr 6mth		F	10/1/1808	9/3/1828	20			Amy		Mundham
Girls		10	36	1yr 11mth		F	10/12/1809					Harriet		
Remarks:			38	1yr 11mth		M	17/11/1811					George		
Phoebe had 2 illegitimate children			39	1yr 5mth		F	16/05/1813					Caroline		
			42	3yr 5mth		F	27/10/1816			25/12/1846	30	Phoebe	Chettleburgh (6263)	

Source: Data from Mundham form 6190, Appendix 2.3

Figure 36: Family Reconstitution Form for James Clarke and Elizabeth Cobb

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Clarke	James				husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Cobb	Elizabeth				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No. 6153	solemnised on: 29/4/1770			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
	At	Mundham		rank of	age at	marriage 29/4/1770	end of union					
HUSBAND	born at	TP	Loddon	TP			baptism	burial	age				TP
WIFE		TP	Mundham	TP		26	1744	2/5/1798	54				Mundham TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			26	3mth		M	8/7/1770					James		
20-24			28	1yr 5mth		F	13/12/1771					Elizabeth		
25-29		2	31	2yr 7mth		M	10/7/1774					William		
30-34		3	32	1yr 6mth	CHILD	F	21/1/1776					Ann		
35-39		3	33	1yr	REN	M	19/1/1777					James		
40-44		1	35	1yr 1mth		M	23/2/1778					Robert		
45-49			37	2yr 9mth		F	26/11/1780					Mary		
Total		9	38	1yr 3mth		F	20/1/1782					Sussanna		
Boys		5	41	3yr 5mth		M	5/6/1785					George		
Girls		4												
Remarks:														

Source: Data from Mundham form 6153, Appendix 2.3

Figure 37: Family Reconstitution Form for Samuel Mobbs and Lydia Norman

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation			
HUSBAND	Mobbs	Samuel				husband			
				daughter		husband's father			
WIFE	Norman	Lydia				wife's father			
						wife			

Marriage No.	solemnised on:		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
6631	At		rank of	age at	marriage	end of union					
HUSBAND	born at TP	TP			baptism	burial	age	43			ChedgraveTP
						29/9/1816	49				
WIFE	TP	TP			1767	22/5/1810	43	43			Chedgrave TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			25			M	28/10/1792	11/3/1808	15			Samuel		
20-24			28	2yr 5mth		M	5/4/1795	16/10/1808	14			George		
25-29			30	1yr 11mth		F	19/3/1797					Hannah		
30-34			32	2yr 2mth	CHILD REN	F	19/5/1799	3/12/1815	17			Lydia		
35-39			34	2yr 4mth		F	11/10/1801					Mary		
40-44			39	4yr 7mth		M	1/6/1806					Edmund		
45-49														
Total														
Boys														
Girls														
Remarks:														

Source: Data from Mundham form 6131, Appendix 2.3

Chedgrave

Table 36: Chedgrave Completed Marriages and Family Size

Record No.	Year	Date	Total Children	Boy	Girl	Total years married	Notes
4032	1879	27/05/1879	3		3	6	Husband died
4033	1879	28/04/1879	4	3	1	4	Wife died
4055	1871	26/12/1871	2		2	7	Husband died
4060	1869	07/04/1869	5	1	4	5	Wife died
4067	1867	04/02/1867	0			2 mths	Wife died
4068	1867	22/01/1867	0			19	Married 54/59
4080	1861	28/01/1861	1	1		4	Husband died
4092	1853	08/11/1853	4	4		10	Wife died
4104	1844	07/08/1844	9	5	4	45	Husband died
4120	1838	01/11/1838	4	3	2	54	Both within 3 mths
4128	1836	21/11/1836	12	6	7	40	Wife died
4153	1832	07/02/1832	5	3	2	15	Husband died
4154	1832	23/01/1832	10	3	7	53	Both within 2 mths
4160	1826	12/11/1826	7	4	3	38	Wife died
4163	1827	25/05/1827	7	4	3	18	Husband died
4167	1825	25/11/1825	8	6	2	53	Wife died
4214	1784	16/12/1784	8	3	5	44	Wife died
4228	1775	19/02/1775	9	6	3	52	Husband died
4232	1773	30/05/1773	2	2		5	Husband died
4564	1717	24/11/1717	5	2	3	20	Husband died
4587	1716	11/08/1710	1		1	5	Husband died
4607	1703	23/12/1703	1		1	6	Wife died
4610	1701	06/10/1701	1	1		8	Husband died
4639	1696	30/09/1696	8	4	4	41	Husband died
4713	1683	15/10/1683	4	2	2	9	Husband died
4778	1647	09/08/1647	0			10 mths	Wife died
4807	1624	29/08/1624	3	1	2	16	Wife died
4813	1613	17/01/1613	0			1 mth	Wife died
4815	1612	26/07/1612	3	2	1	13	Husband died
4844	1564	16/02/1564	7	5	2	18	Wife died

Source: Data from Appendix 2.2

Table 36 shows the number of completed families in Chedgrave, as well as demonstrating both ends of the spectrum, so long and short marriages. Total number of completed families is 5%, excluding the irregular marriages, which is similar to Mundham but lower than Sisland. Figure 38 illustrating the marriage of Charles Walpole and Elizabeth Mayes, in November 1836, is an excellent example of a family reconstitution which provides not only family details but also the creation of a further three individual, next generational subsets of data. Their twelve children in 40 years of marriage includes two young infant burials and the marriage of three of their daughters in Chedgrave.[352] A clear example of remaining family, who can be traced through church interactions, and their connection to the place, however moving forward those connections dissipate. Firstly, in 1856, daughter Lydia married James Bellward, from Hardley, as a maltster we assume she relocated and did not return to the records.[353] Second daughter, Martha, in 1877 married Joseph Cox but as the groom was an ironmonger from East Dereham (20 miles) we can assume that she also relocated as there are no further records.[354] Finally, daughter Alice marries in 1883, Albert Knights a salesman from Birmingham so although a child, Blyton, was baptised in August 1887 in Chedgrave, we cannot be sure if there were other children as there are no further records.[355] All three daughters had wide marriage horizons with the not unexpected result of a lack of future connections.

[352] Figure 38

[353] Chedgrave form 4087, Appendix 2.2

[354] Chedgrave form 4040, Appendix 2.2

[355] Chedgrave form 4023, Appendix 2.2

Even if there is no evidence of subsequent child marriages some of the marriages do indicate the commitment of a couple to one location in their lifetime. Figure 39 outlines the marriage, and lives, of Joseph Armsby and Elizabeth Ellis. Elizabeth was born in Chedgrave and baptised on 26th December 1802. She marries Joseph on 25th November 1825, and they have eight children in 53 years of marriage. She is buried at 76 on 24th April 1879 and Joseph in May 1884. Elizabeth had been born to Clement and Elizabeth Eliis in December 1802, in Chedgrave, and her parents had lived there since the time of their marriage and were also buried there.[356] Joseph came from Hardley, an adjacent village, but we do not have any occupational data for them. Their son Leonard was the man who adopted the orphan child Lewis referred to in a later chapter, and was, therefore, in Chedgrave in the 1901 Census, demonstrating a century long family connection to the village. [357]

Although short marriages can indicate the death of one half of the couple at an early age, these completed forms can also provide some indication of changes in family constitution and size. Figure 40 is the marriage of Thomas Harrod and Susan Cossey in December 1871. They were married for seven years until Thomas' death in August 1879. They had two daughters during that period but the gap between them (and their marriage) is longer than many at this time which may suggest that was the result of his occupation as a mariner.[358] Thomas Gilbert and Elizabeth Utting (Figure 41) have thirteen children, in 22 years, between 1727 and 1750. However, the last baptism, on 21st April 1750, was eight years after the penultimate one so, in effect, they had 12

[356] Figure 39

[357] Chedgrave form 4167, Appendix 2.2

[358] Figure 40

children in 15 years. Three of them were buried as babies in Chedgrave, but none of the others appears again in the register. Both parents appear in the burial register, but it would appear a connection and allegiance to place remained, including the burial of three infants, but not beyond their immediate lifetime. [359]

[359] Figure 41

Figure 38: Family Reconstitution Form for Charles Walpole and Elizabeth Mayes

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Walpole	Charles				husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Mayes	Elizabeth				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 21/11/1836		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
4128	At Chedgrave		rank of	age at	marriage 21/11/1836	end of union					
HUSBAND	born at TP	Chedgrave TP	Bachelor		baptism	burial	age				TP
WIFE	TP	Chedgrave TP	Spinster	23	1813	5/11/1877	64			Chedgrave	Chedgrave TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			24	4mth		F	19/3/1837			27/5/1856	19	Lydia	Bellward (4087)	
20-24	2	1	26	1yr 9mth		M	2/12/1838					Samuel		
25-29	5	2	28	2yr		M	6/12/1840					Robert		
30-34	5	3	30	2yr 5mth	CHILD	M	14/5/1843					William		
35-39	5	2	32	2yr 3mth	REN	F	19/8/1845					Matilda		
40-44	5	3	34	1yr 10mth		F	13/6/1847					Charlotte		
45-49	5	1	36	2yr		M	12/6/1849					Charles		
Total	27	12	38	1yr 11mth		M	11/5/1851	18/2/1852	10 months			Alfred		Tp
Boys		6	40	1yr 7mth		F	2/1/1853					Harriet		
Girls		7	42	2yr 1mth		F	21/2/1855	30/3/1855	6 weeks			Alice		Tp
Remarks: m/m			43	1yr		F	2/3/1856			6/12/1877	21	Martha	Cox (4040)	
			46	2yr 10mth		F	16/1/1859			3/7/1883	24	Alice	Knights (4023)	

Source: Data from Chedgrave form 4128, Appendix 2.2

Figure 39: Family Reconstitution Form for Joseph Armsby and Eliza Ellis

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation		
HUSBAND	Armsby	Joseph				husband		
				daughter	Clement Ellis	husband's father		
WIFE	Ellis	Eliza			Elizabeth Brown	wife's father		
						wife		

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 25/11/1825		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
4167	At Chedgrave		rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	53	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
					25/11/1825	24/4/1879					

HUSBAND	born at	TP	Hardley	TP	Bachelor	21	baptism	burial	age	75		Chedgrave	Chedgrave TP
							1804	2/5/1884	80				
WIFE	Chedgrave	TP	Chedgrave	TP	Spinster	22	26/12/1802	24/4/1879	76	76	23/12/1802	Chedgrave	Chedgrave TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			22	4mth		M	16/4/1826					Robert		
20-24	3	1	27	4yr 3mth		M	1/8/1830					William		
25-29	5	1	30	1yr 8mth	CHILDREN	M	15/4/1832	7/6/1845	13			Clement		Tp
30-34	5	2	32	2yr 4mth		F	7/9/1834			2/6/1859	25	Elizabeth	Browne (4082)	
35-39	5	2	35	2yr 7mth		M	9/4/1837	30/1/1840	2			Leonard		Tp
40-44	5	2	38	3yr 2mth		F	21/6/1840					Anne		
45-49	5		40	1yr 11mth		M	22/5/1842			9/3/1876	34	Leonard	Pitcher (4046)	
Total		8	43	3yr		M	19/5/1845					Ellis		
Boys		6												
Girls		2												
Remarks: s/s														

Source: Data from Chedgrave form 4167, Appendix 2.2

Figure 40: Family Reconstitution Form for Thomas Harrod and Susan Cossey

| | Surname | Forename (s) | | |

Figure 41: Family Reconstitution Form for Thomas Gilbert and Elizabeth Utting

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Gilbert	Thomas				husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Utting	Elizabeth				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on:		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
5106	At		rank of	age at	marriage	end of union		Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
HUSBAND	born at TP	TP			baptism	burial 17/09/1759	age 56				Chedgrave. TP
WIFE	TP	TP				27/12/1775					Chedgrave. TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19						F	2/4/1727					Elizabeth		
20-24				11mth		M	18/3/1728					Robert		
25-29				1yr 4mth	CHILDREN	M	26/7/1729					Thomas		
30-34				1yr 4mth		F	2/12/1730					Sussanah		
35-39				1yr 6mth		M	26/6/1732					John		
40-44				1yr		F	30/6/1733	26/7/1733	1 mnth			Mary		Ched
45-49				1yr		M	25/7/1734					William		
Total				1yr 11mth		M	2/6/1736	7/10/1736	4 mnths			James		Ched
Boys				1yr 4mth		F	20/10/1737					Mary		
Girls				1yr 6mth		M	5/5/1739	6/6/1739	1 mnth			James		Ched
Remarks:				1yr 2mth		M	14/7/1740					Henry		
				1yr 7mth		F	1/3/1742					Ann		
				8yr 1mth		F	21/4/1750					Sarah		

Source: Data from Chedgrave form 5106, Appendix 3.2

Bergh Apton

Table 37: Bergh Apton Completed Marriages and Family Size

Record No.	Year	Date	Total Children	Boy	Girl	Total Years	Notes
1018	1830	28/10/1830	5	2	3	40	Wife died
1024	1777	22/12/1777	2	1	1	1	Wife died
1034	1863	01/10/1863	0			8	Wife died
1035	1872	24/10/1872	3	2	1	5	Remarriage above, wife died
1037	1859	18/01/1859	4	2	2	7	Wife died
1039	1792	01/07/1792	8	4	4	48	Husband died
1043	1879	18/02/1879	0			10	Age 60 at marriage
1053	1872	27/02/1872	0			1	Husband died
1067	1865	11/07/1865	0			31	Wife died
1068	1817	05/06/1817	4	3	1	50	Husband died
1081	1834	14/10/1834	0			19	Age 56 at marriage, husband died
1083	1815	25/07/1815	7	2	5	27	Wife died
1088	1854	05/12/1854	8	6	2	19	Husband died
1094	1846	12/11/1846	5	2	3	22	Husband died
1095	1854	23/11/1854	1	1		2	Wife died
1099	1836	09/02/1836	7	1	6	41	Husband died
1104	1794	10/05/1794	0			2	Wife died
1111	1825	30/01/1825	5	3	2	53	Wife died
1147	1867	04/12/1867	0			24	Age 44 at marriage
1150	1831	19/10/1831	6	2	4	58	Wife died
1151	1859	10/12/1859	8	3	5	33	Wife died
1163	1848	25/01/1848	10	4	6	36	Husband died
1165	1855	31/05/1855	8	2	6	18	Wife died
1181	1854	19/10/1854	4	1	3	14	Husband died
1195	1822	09/06/1822	1		1	1	Wife died
1210	1868	10/11/1868	0			8	Age 58 at marriage
1233	1859	22/09/1859	0			26	Age 46 at marriage, husband died
1262	1861	05/04/1861	0			9	Wife died
1274	1838	26/11/1838	15	7	8	50	Husband died
1308	1675	20/05/1675	3	1	2	5	Husband died

Source: Data from Appendix 2.3

Table 37 illustrates that the total number of completed families are low, but it also illustrates both ends of the spectrum, so long and short marriages; eleven of the

marriages were under ten years, and only seven above thirty. The 5% of marriages shown in the Table reflect similar figures to all the other parishes other than Sisland, where the figure is higher. Additionally, five marriages listed were for couples who were both above childbearing age, so the average number of children is affected by this fact. The length of the marriage, even if it is short, does not necessarily indicate the number of children who may have been born within the relationship, as illustrated by Figures 42 and 43. The marriage of Benjamin Bracey and Sarah Goldspring on 24th October 1872 lasted for five years until Sarah's burial on the 22nd October 1878. During their almost six years they had three children, two boys and one girl.[360] Both were residents of Bergh Apton at marriage, although only Benjamin was baptised there in 1840. He had also married, in 1863 to Maria Wright, who died in May 1871. At that point Benjamin was a Brooke resident and there is no evidence of children from the first marriage. The second example is the marriage of Henry Brookes and Elizabeth Wall on the 18th January 1859 and their marriage which lasted for seven years until the death of Elizabeth, aged 28, in August 1866. They had four children during their marriage, two boys and two girls, one daughter died in 1865. Although both give Bergh Apton as place of residence at marriage, in the 1861 Census Henry gives Woodton and Elizabeth gives Yelverton as place of birth. Both of these parishes are local but not immediately adjacent.[361]

When Charles Palmer married Lydia Blake at Bergh Apton on 9th June 1822, he was 22 and she was 24, see Figure 44. Their daughter was born ten months later and baptised on 6th April 1823. Tragically Lydia was buried on 25th November 1823 and

[360] Figure 42

[361] Figure 43

her daughter, at nine years old, in 1832. Charles, however, did not die until July 1881 when he was eighty-one years old.[362] He remarries in Thurton to Martha Rackham, with whom he has four children in Bergh Apton between 1826 and 1837, but there is no further interaction until his death.[363] A more classic example, see Figure 45, of a complete family reconstitution is the marriage of Edward Yallop and Ann Dye. They married, at Bergh Apton on 26th November 1838. In fifty years of marriage, they had 15 children, seven boys and eight girls. The first one only three months into their marriage when Ann was 18 years old. Their last was born when Ann was 42 years old in 1862. Four children were buried in childhood, ages ranging from two months to nine years.[364] Three daughters marry in Bergh Apton in 1858, 1868 and 1872. Maria marries William Hambling on 25th December 1858, the groom was from Woodton and no further record is seen.[365] Ellen marries William Charlish on 19th March 1868 and has twelve children, seven in Bergh Apton and five in Mundham, in the middle period of the marriage.[366] Finally, Mary Ann marries in September 1872; George Rumsty comes from Seething and, again, there is no further contact with the registers.[367] Family reconstitution allows the ability to see aspects of community/place that would be less likely to be seen without this detailed analysis. They are records incorporating a range of the population and not a small self-selecting group.

[362] Figure 44

[363] Bergh Apton form 7129, Appendix 2.1

[364] Figure 45

[365] Bergh Apton form 1122, Appendix 2.1

[366] Bergh Apton form 1061, Appendix 2.1

[367] Bergh Apton form 1208, Appendix 2.1

Figure 46 demonstrates the evolution of a family and provides evidence of some movement and some consistency that can be ascertained from the reconstituted records. Levi Loyd and Maria Flowers married on 31st May 1855. Their marriage lasted eighteen years until Maria died in July 1873 at 37 years old. They had eight children and only one was buried in childhood, Levi in 1881, at eight years old. Their oldest two, Charles and Hannah, both married from Bergh Apton in 1877 and 1884 respectively and those marriages create new family forms to be able to plot these changes. The 1881 Census lists Levi as a widower, with children and he is buried, in Bergh Apton, in 1899.[368]

In contradiction however there are examples where the death of young children takes place in different parishes, and these are not drawn together in one defined location hence suggesting the definition of community was not as strong in some of these cases, albeit its needs to be remembered that these parishes are contiguous and, in some cases, sharing clergy. The movement of one family between two parishes is a good illustration of the fluid nature of the lived experience but also the possible pull that a parish may have on them, though the reasons for it may not be clear. We do not have the baptisms or marriage for William Bickers and Eliza but we do have the baptism records in Bergh Apton for eleven children. The first Alana baptised on the 31st December 1882, then Florence in August 1884, Edward in September 1885, Jeanette in April 1887, Hilda in June 1888, Henry in December 1889, Harriet in March 1891, Samuel in September 1892, George in September 1894, Gladys in November 1897 and finally Ethel in April 1899. Eleven births in less than 17 years. Six of the

[368] Figure 46

children died at one year old or less but what is interesting is the location of these deaths from the register. When Florence was buried on the 20th April 1886 at 21 months she is given as living in Thurton but is buried in Bergh Apton. You will note that family had two baptisms, in 1885 and 1887, in Bergh Apton either side of this one. When Henry was buried at two months old in December 1889 his place of death was also given as Thurton, although his baptism at the start of the month was in Bergh Apton. However, when Harriet was buried in 1891 at three months the parish of death was the same as her baptism. Eighteen months later the burial of Samuel was given as Thurton and one year later George, at ten weeks, was given as Bergh Apton, a further year later. The family appear to have moved but continued to use Bergh Apton church for baptisms and burials. The last burial in October 1894 was the last interaction with either register.[369]

[369] Bergh Apton form 8015, Appendix 3.1

Figure 42: Family Reconstitution Form for Benjamin Bracey and Sarah Goldspring

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	James Bracey	Occupation	
HUSBAND	Bracey	Benjamin			Mary Bracey	husband	Postman
				daughter	Goldspring	husband's father	Labourer
WIFE	Goldspring	Sarah				wife's father	
						wife	Cook

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 24/10/1872			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
1035		At Bergh Apton		rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	5	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
						24/10/1872	22/10/1878					
HUSBAND	born at Bergh Apton	TP	Bergh Apton TP	Widower	32	baptism 12/7/1840	burial	age				TP
WIFE		TP	Bergh Apton TP	Spinster	33		22/10/1878	39			Bergh Apton	Bergh Apton TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			34	1yr 2mth		M	18/12/1873					Benjamin		
20-24			35	1yr 2mth		F	28/2/1875					Hezeikah		
25-29			37	1yr 9mth		M	17/12/1876					George		
30-34		1			CHILD REN									
35-39		2												
40-44														
45-49														
Total		3												
Boys		2												
Girls		1												
Remarks: s/s														
1st marriage 1034														

Source: Data from Bergh Apton form 1035, Appendix 2.1

Figure 43: Family Reconstitution Form for Henry Brookes and Elizabeth Wall

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	Stephen Burgess		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Brookes	Henry					husband	Gardener
				daughter	Thomas Wall		husband's father	Labourer
WIFE	Wall	Elizabeth					wife's father	Tailor
							wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 18/1/1859		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
1037	At Bergh Apton		rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	7	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
					18/1/1859	26/8/1866					
HUSBAND	born at TP	Bergh Apton TP	Bachelor	25	baptism	burial	age				TP
WIFE	TP	Bergh Apton TP	Spinster	21		26/8/1866	28			Bergh Apton	Bergh Apton TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			22	12 mth		F	5/5/1864					Lucy		
20-24		1	25	3 yr		M	5/5/1864					Robert		
25-29		3	26	1yr 5mth		M	5/5/1864					Arthur		
30-34			27	9 months	CHILDREN	F	1/1/1865	10/7/1865	7 months			Elizabeth		BApton
35-39														
40-44														
45-49														
Total		4												
Boys		2												
Girls		2												
Remarks: s/s														
Age given on registers														

Source: Data from Bergh Apton form 1037, Appendix 2.1

Figure 44: Family Reconstitution Form for Charles Palmer and Lydia Blake

	Surname	Forename (s)		son		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Palmer	Charles				husband	
				daughter		husband's father	
WIFE	Blake	Lydia				wife's father	
						wife	

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 9/6/1822		MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of				
1195	At Bergh Apton		rank of	age at	marriage	end of union	1	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at	
					9/6/1822	25/11/1823						
HUSBAND	born at	TP Bergh Apton TP	Single	22	baptism	burial	age	23		Bergh Apton	Bergh Apton TP	
						10/7/1881	81					
WIFE		TP Bergh Apton TP	Spinster	24		25/11/1823	25	25		Bergh Apton	Bergh Apton TP	

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19			25	10 mth		F	6/4/1823	17/6/1832	9			Patience		B Apton
20-24	1	1			CHILDREN									
25-29														
30-34														
35-39														
40-44														
45-49														
Total	1	1												
Boys														
Girls		1												
Remarks: m/s														

Source: Data from Bergh Apton form 1195, Appendix 2.1

Figure 45: Family Reconstitution Form for Edward Yallop and Ann Dye

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	John Yallop		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Yallop	Edward					husband	Labourer
				daughter	William Dye		husband's father	Labourer
WIFE	Dye	Ann					wife's father	Labourer
							wife	Servant

Marriage No.	solemnised on: 26/11/1838			MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at
1274		At Bergh Apton		rank of	age at	marriage 26/11/1838	end of union					
HUSBAND	born at	TP	Bergh Apton TP	Bachelor	25	baptism	burial 24/12/1888	age 82			BA	BA TP
WIFE		TP	Bergh Apton TP	Spinster	18		16/4/1889	76			BA	BA TP

Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19	2	1	18	3 mths		F	3/3/1839			25/12/1858	20	Maria	Hambling (1122)	
20-24	5	2	21	2yr 3mth		M	6/6/1841					John		
25-29	5	3	23	1yr 9mth	CHILDREN	M	5/3/1843	26/4/1852	9			Edward		BA
30-34	5	2	24	1yr 7mth		F	6/10/1844					Christiana		
35-39	5	3	25	1yr 6mth		F	3/5/1846	1/2/1847	8 mths			Maryanne		BA
40-44	5	3	27	1yr 6mth		F	5/12/1847			19/3/1868	20	Ellen	Charlish (1061)	
45-49	5	0	29	1yr 10mth		F	14/10/1849					Mary		
Total	32	15	32	2yr 10mth		F	22/8/1852					Emily		
Boys		7	33	1yr 5mth		F	5/2/1854			5/9/1872	18	Maria Anne	Rumsty (1208)	
Girls		8	35	1yr 6mth		M	11/8/1855	20/10/1855	2 mths			Edward		BA
Remarks: m/s			37	2yr 3mth		M	6/12/1857					... Edward		
			38	1yr 3mth		F	6/3/1859					Eliza		
			40	1yr 7mth		M	7/10/1860					George		
			42	1yr 9mth		M	13/7/1862	27/3/1863	8 mths			Charles		BA
			42			M	13/7/1862					Edward		

Source: Data from Bergh Apton form 1274, Appendix 2.

Figure 46: Family Reconstitution Form for Levi Loyd and Maria Flowers

	Surname	Forename (s)		son	Henry Loyd		Occupation	
HUSBAND	Loyd	Levi					husband	Labourer
				daughter	Charles Flowers		husband's father	Labourer
WIFE	Flowers	Maria					wife's father	Labourer
							wife	

Marriage No.	Solemnised on: 31/5/1855	MARRIAGE		DATES		LENGTH	Age at End of			
1165	At Bergh Apton	rank of	age at	marriage 31/5/1855	end of union 19/7/1873	18	Union	Date of birth	Lived at	Buried at

	born at													
HUSBAND		TP	Bergh Apton	TP	Bachelor	21	baptism	burial	age	39			TP
WIFE		TP	Bergh Apton	TP	Spinster	19		19/7/1873	37	37		Bergh Apton	Bergh Apton TP

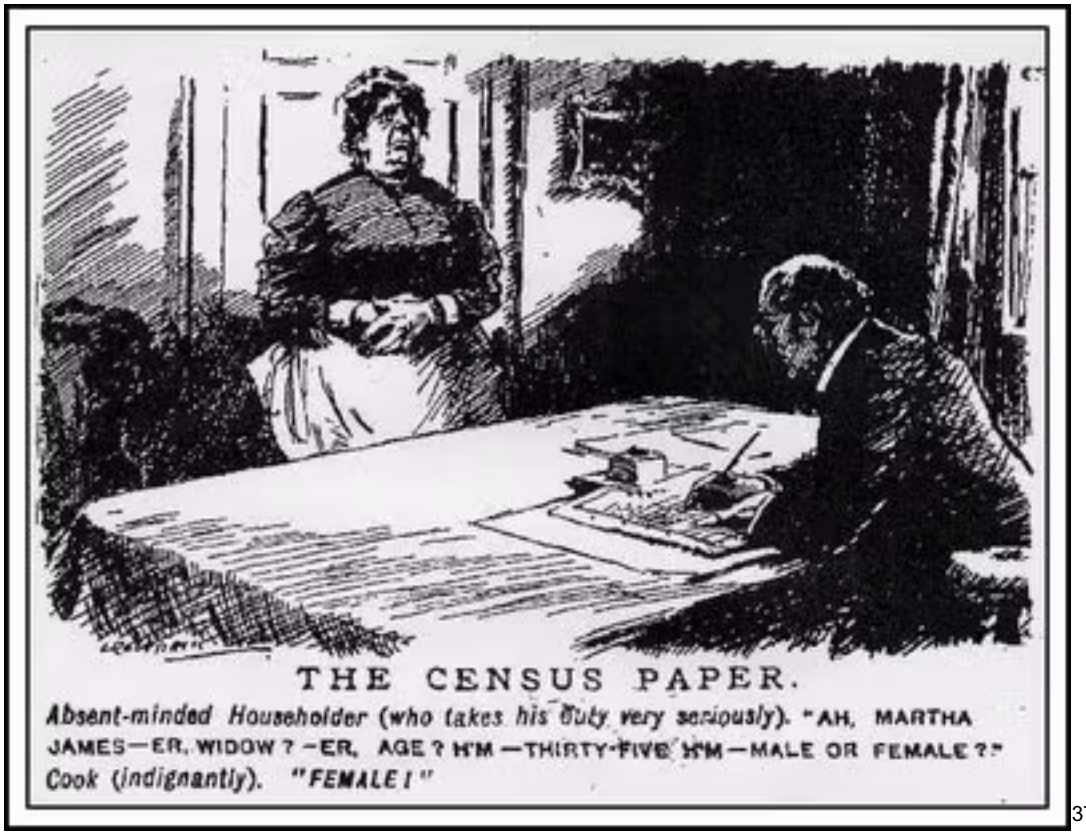
Age Group	Years Married	Number of Births	Age of Mother	Birth Interval		Sex	Baptism Date	Burial Date	Age	Marriage Date	Age	Name	Surname Spouse	Lived at death
15-19	1		20	1yr		M	4/5/1856			27/2/1877	21	Charles	Black	
20-24	5	2	22			F	1860			13/11/1884	24	Hannah	Dye	
25-29	5	2	25	1yr 6mth		F	3/11/1861					Ann Maria		
30-34	5	2	29	1yr 6mth		F	3/11/1861					Clara		
35-39	2	1	31	4yr		F	5/11/1865					Rhoda		
40-44			34	2yr 3mth		F	23/2/1868					Minnie		
45-49			36	2yr 6mth		F	29/8/1870					Elizabeth		
Total	18	7		2yr 4mth		M	29/12/1872	15/8/1881	8			Levi		BApton
Boys		2												
Girls		5												
Remarks: s/s, Black 1170, Dye														
Levi remarriage														

Source: Data from Bergh Apton form 1165, Appendix 2.1

Many of the established families and reconstitutions allow for future generations to be connected to place for three generations or more. Unfortunately, there is not much occupational data for these families to draw any conclusions to the nature of the work of those remaining. However, the reconstitutions demonstrate the range of interactions, baptisms, infant mortality, economically active children and, in some cases, a long life of the individuals regardless of the number of children they may have. Family reconstitution has demonstrated that parish registers provide considerably more than the simple entries relating to births, marriages and deaths. When linked together, they allow the reconstruction of a family unit and reveal patterns of continuity, mobility and community. Across the five study parishes, the evidence suggests that while a relatively small number of families remained closely associated with a single parish over several generations, a much larger proportion had only a limited relationship with the parish church, often appearing in the registers on a single occasion before disappearing from the surviving records. The low number of completed families is reflected by not only the limitations of the records, needing to confirm the first death of a married couple, but also the mobility of the population as it traverses the parish boundaries. This movement confirms that these parishes should not be viewed in isolation but as part of the wider social and economic landscape. The reconstitution data identifies movements between neighbouring parishes illustrating that marriage, family formation and childbearing frequently crossed administrative boundaries. These short-distance movements challenge traditional assumptions of static rural populations while reinforcing the importance of understanding movement between contiguous parishes.

More broadly, the findings support the methodological argument advanced throughout this thesis. Family reconstitution extends the value of parish registers beyond counting by reconnecting individuals into families and families into communities. It enables questions of identity, belonging and migration to be explored through lived experience rather than aggregate statistics alone. Although there must be a note of caution raised by the lack of some records, reconstitution remains an effective means of investigating both the persistence of local family and movement within a wider rural neighbourhood. The following chapters build upon these reconstructed family histories to examine more closely how marriage horizons and patterns of migration shaped the relationship between people, parish and place over the three centuries under study.

Chapter 5: Tracking Over Time - Censuses



[370]

Censuses - Background

Informal Census Returns

A listing of inhabitants, or an informal 'census', of a particular place was occasionally conducted for a variety of purposes at different times, normally by interested residents, incumbent clergymen or local officials, such as the overseers of the poor. These informal censuses were the sources used by Peter Laslett and his colleagues in their analysis of the structure of the English household in the past, for reference

[370] Cruickshank, George, *Taking the Census*, n.d., https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/28244/.

purposes.[371] A collection of these lists has been created at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, but there are many others, which have been listed and catalogued by Jeremy Gibson and Mervyn Medlycott.[372] The parishes in the study do not appear in any of these composite lists or informal censuses.

The Compton Census

The Compton census set out to record communicants (those who undertook communion and were practicing members of the church; in the seventeenth century these would be males over 16 years) of the Church of England, Roman Catholics (or papists) and Nonconformists on a parish-by-parish basis. The list usually comprised of males aged 16 or over but there are some rare lists which include women and children.[373]

Marriage Duty Lists

As previously noted, the Marriage Duty Act of 1695 imposed a tax on vital events (births, marriages and burials) and also required annual payments by bachelors aged over 25 years and childless widowers. To assist with the administration of the tax, it was expedient for parishes to compile lists of their inhabitants, and the resulting documents are, perhaps, the nearest attempts at a complete census of population that

[371] Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, *Household and Family in Past Time; Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group Over the Last Three Centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and Colonial North America, with Further Materials from Western Europe.* (Cambridge University Press, 1972).

[372] J. S. W. Gibson and M. T. Medlycott, *Local Census Listings: 1522-1930: Holdings in the British Isles* (Federation of Family History Societies, 1992).

[373] Whiteman and Clapinson, *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*.

we possess for the period before 1801. The Act proved complex and difficult to administer and was abandoned in 1706.[374]

National Census

The first national census was taken in 1801 and has been repeated every ten years since, excluding 1941.[375] The first proposal for a national census was made in 1753, but the attempted Bill was not successful. However when Rickman introduced his proposal in 1796 there was an increasing awareness of population growth and the subsequent pressure of importing food stuffs. Passing into law by the end of 1800 the early censuses were interested in population numbers and growth trends, the overarching figures rather than specific details regarding individuals.[376] The administration of the early census returns (1801-1831), at the parish level, was the responsibility of the Overseers of the Poor and the clergy and, with some minor exceptions, the full records no longer exist.[377] The use of these recognised authorities within the rural community supported a further church and government connection. Many of the early censuses were unsatisfactory, for demographic purposes, as they failed to complete some basic information such as a full list of names and addresses for the whole population or the fulfilment of the exercise on one specific date.

The 1841 Census was different from the previous censuses in two important respects.

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[374] Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, 48.

[375] Due to the Second World War, although a full civilian population record was taken in 1939.

[376] Richard Lawton, *The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to Nineteenth Century Censuses for England and Wales* (F. Cass, 1978), 12.

[377] David Hey, *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History*, Oxford Paperback Reference (Oxford University Press, 1996), 72.

Firstly, the administration passed into the hands of the Registrar General and the Superintendent Registrars, posts which had been established as part of the introduction of the national registration system. Secondly, the emphasis changed from questions solely concerned with population size, occupational data and housing stock, to closer analysis of individuals and families.[378] The Census material available from and after 1841 will be used to supplement record linkages in this study. Although the 1841 Census listed entries by address and names of those present, an improvement on the previous data, there were problems with the new information format. In particular it is acknowledged that a lack of named family relationships within the enumerators returns, thus son, daughter, grandchild, and the use of age rounding are obstacles to family reconstitution techniques as specific individuals cannot be cross referenced effectively and with confidence.[379] The 1851 Census corrected these omissions and included details of place/ country of birth, so that the 1851 Census is recognised as the first comprehensive one for statistical and data analysis. Subsequent censuses, during the nineteenth century, requested similar information and maintained a similar format style.

Several issues have been also highlighted by the analysis of Census returns, including the reliability of data on birthplace and the age of the members of the household. For each Census an enumerator delivered a form to each household head, who was instructed to provide the details of each person who had slept within that dwelling on Census night. These forms, known as schedules, were later collected by the

[378] Higgs, *Life, Death and Statistics: Civil Registration, Censuses and the Work of the General Register Office,1836-1952*, 42.

[379] Ibid., 40.

enumerator and the information transferred into enumeration books. Most schedules were then destroyed, and it is the enumerator books which we currently have access to. If the householder could not write then the enumerator filled in the schedule, which could lead to misinterpretation as well as inaccurate details.

In addition, the Census can illustrate the high turnover of families. Beckett and Foulds, writing on the 1851 and 1861 Census for Laxton in Nottinghamshire, detected a high turnover of families. Although Laxton's population only fell from 534 in 1851 to 500 in 1861, only 247 people appeared in both returns. Another 61 featured in the parish registers as burials but the remaining 226 had disappeared. The 247 recorded in 1861 included 125 children, but a roughly equal total were newcomers. Somewhat confusingly, it appears that 75 of the 99 households were sustained over the decade, such that at least one member of a household may be represented in a subsequent Census although the total number of individual inhabitants may have changed. Only one seventh of the farms had changed hands and one quarter of the cottages.[380] The Census returns for the parishes under study here have been analysed for similar household patterns, to consider the number of residents who remain over the six censuses transcribed as well as the movement between the parishes.

Levine's work on the reliability of parochial registration involved a comparison of individuals who told the 1851 Census enumerators that they had been born in "Shepshed" with entries in the Anglican and Baptist registers, the results summarised in Table 38. Whereas only one in five among those born before 1780 (then aged 70+)

[380] John V. Beckett and T. Foulds, 'Beyond the Micro: Laxton, the Computer and Social Change Over Time', *The Local Historian* 16 (1985): 451–56.

did not appear in the parochial registers, roughly three out of every five born in the 1840s were not recorded in baptism registers, as being baptised in the location of their birth.[381]

Table 38: Comprehensiveness of Parochial Registration in Shepshed

Age in 1851	Birth Date	% Baptism Registered
0-5	1846-1851	38.5
6-9	1841-1845	43.0
10-9	1831-1840	60.5
20-9	1821-1830	59.0
30-9	1811-1820	55.0
40-9	1801-1810	59.0
50-9	1791-1800	62.5
60-9	1781-1790	71.0
70+	Pre 1780	83.3

Source: Data from David Levine, 'The Reliability of Parochial Registration and the Representativeness of Family Reconstitution', Population Studies 30 (1976), 110.

Comparative work using census and parish register data demonstrates a range of issues regarding the reliability of either source, for example Mary Clark, a 65-year-old widow in the 1851 Census in Sisland appears in the 1841 Census as a 62-year-old widow. In the ten years between the censuses she has only aged three years. However, from the register we know that she was the daughter of John Batchelder and was baptised in 1779 so she was 72 at the time of the 1851 Census.[382] Albeit fragmentary, such evidence suggests that any family reconstitution study based solely on a single source is likely to be deficient, insofar as the parish appears to be a rather an artificial entity in terms of the reality of some people's lives, at least before the early

[381] David Levine, 'The Reliability of Parochial Registration and the Representativeness of Family Reconstitution', *Population Studies* 30 (1976): 110.

[382] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Sisland, Norfolk, England'.

nineteenth century.

The Census allows us to validate and check a number of the assumptions that have been made with some of the register material and enhance both the data and some of the reconstitutions. Table 28 indicates the number of records which the seven censuses provide for the five parishes. Firstly, we can look to cross reference the forms, marriage and non-marriage, to look for discrepancies in either date or place of birth to help us to appreciate some of the changes. These could include alternative locations for families at the time of a birth; confirmation of the delay or changes to the baptism process, such as group baptism and the role that a specific parish may play at important periods. Secondly, with family reconstitutions, that a partner may be alive in a subsequent Census even if we do not have a burial for them means that the other partner was definitely the first one to die and allow us the initiate further data analysis. Thirdly, looking at the numbers/names of those who remain and those who leave a parish, between Censuses, helps to gain an indication of the percentage changes, and the registers allow us to assess some of the reasons for change, such as burial. Fourthly we can look at the confidence levels of those who indicated their place of birth with the appearance in the registers, which could help to establish confidence in the primary sources. Finally, we can look at the range of locations where the members of the parish originate to help to assess marriage horizons and the role of community as well as migration, short or medium distance.

Thurton Census Analysis

1841 Census[383]

Nineteen out of 246 (8%) individuals listed in the 1841 Census were not born in Norfolk. As previously noted, the 1841 Census was not more specific regarding the actual parish of birth and therefore the ability to check the number born in the parish and having a record in the register is not possible in the way that this information was recorded in the subsequent censuses. Ages are not given specifically in the 1841 Census and although data is provided the figures were often rounded so variations in age between the parish reconstitution forms and Census are to be expected. Twenty-four individuals (9.8%) can be traced with confidence onto the reconstitution forms, on only nine different forms, thus some children appear on the same form as would be expected where a married couple remain resident in one location.

1851 Census[384]

Table 39: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents

	Count of County
Cornwall	1
Dorset	2
Middlesex	1
Norfolk	229
Suffolk	8
Surrey	1
Grand Total	**242**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

[383] The National Archive, '1841 Census Return for Thurton, Norfolk, England', 1841, PRO HO107/ 779/ 17.

[384] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Thurton, Norfolk, England'.

Out of the 242 who appear on the 1851 Census, 229 individuals were born in Norfolk (95%) and of these 84 (37%) were not born in one of the sample parishes, see Table 39. Of the remaining 145, the majority should appear within the registers as a possible baptism, given that they indicate one of the five parishes as their place of birth.

Table 40: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

Place of Birth Indicated	Bergh Apton	Chedgrave	Mundham	Sisland	Thurton
Number indicating	13	8	2	1	121
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	7	6			11
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form					
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			1		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				1	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	2	1	1		76
Not traced	4	1			34

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Table 40 indicates the place of birth given in the Census and tracked onto parish reconstitutions forms. Thirteen indicated that they were born in Bergh Apton from eight different households. As the census does not provide a maiden name it is not always possible to trace a wife within the baptism register as we cannot be certain of her identity, especially if she has a more common forename. Of the thirteen, one cannot be identified for this reason. Two individuals can be traced from their baptism through to their marriages. Ellen Waterson was born, baptised and married in Bergh Apton, although these events are all Bergh Apton based, she was living in Thurton until the 1891 Census. The other dual reconstituent, Elizabeth Waterson, although noting as born in Bergh Apton was baptised and married in Thurton and remained there until her death in 1894. The remaining three are not present in the register, two are children from two families and one a widower born around 1800. The reason for those missing may be that they were baptised in the Nonconformist tradition, which may mean a

further distance from the home parishes. Alternatively they may have been baptised in the mother (bride's) home parish as some traditions dictate. It is interesting to consider that they may not have been baptised at all which is an area which historical demography acknowledges as part of the relocation of people or the reduced access within an urban environment but not as regularly as part of the rural south and east. These individuals only appear on the Census, and though the children may appear in the national register, when registration was introduced in 1836, older residents would not.

The one person not found in the registers, who gave Chedgrave as their place of birth was not located in the birth registers, but can be found in Thurton burials on 1st May 1851, one month later. Only three people indicated Mundham and Sisland.[385] These changes indicate the importance of the reconstitution of a group of parishes as we can trace the baptisms into different places, highlighting short distance migration and the range of church interactions which one parish would not demonstrate.

For those listing Thurton as their place of birth only six (5%) of those were not related to the Head of the family, directly or indirectly, including the Head themselves, therefore the number of visitors or servants was low. Three of the servants were not in the registers which may suggest that their actual place of birth was not known or asked for by the enumerator, but an assumption made as the last member of the household. There are twelve individuals who appear on two reconstitution forms, six male and eight female. It would suggest that the Census can be used to cross

[385] Thurton form 7650, Appendix 3.5; Sisland form S3258, Appendix 3.4

reference the entries in the church records. Also, by linking the Census returns with the reconstitution forms it enables us to check the ages quoted. In one case, Hannah Browne is listed as 14 in the Census although her baptism record would suggest that she was 17.[386] In addition two individuals who appear on a Thurton marriage form were baptised in Bergh Apton as well as Thurton so movement was clearly fluid and baptism duplicated, which will be referenced further in a later chapter.

1861 Census[387]

Of the 247 residents from the 1861 Census, 103 were born in Norfolk but not in the study parishes, which is higher than the figure for 1851 (42% in 1861 as opposed to 36% in 1851). Fifty parishes were represented from all geographic corners of Norfolk and not just those in the immediate area of South Norfolk, indicating a wide pattern of movement, see Table 41.

Table 41: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	241
Surrey	2
Suffolk	4
Grand Total	**247**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Table 42: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

[386] Thurton form 7031, Appendix 2.5

[387] The National Archive, '1861 Census Return for Thurton, Norfolk, England', 1861, PRO RG 9/1229.

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	7	4		1	126
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	4				12
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		3			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form					
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				1	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	1				95
Not traced	2	1			19

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Seven individuals listed Bergh Apton as their place of birth, see Table 42, only one was a child and she was the only individual from Bergh Apton to still be in Thurton in 1861 after appearing in 1851. The 126 individuals who listed Thurton as their place of birth come from 40 families, seventeen individuals appear on two and one on three reconstitution forms. Of these three are Bergh Apton forms where the marriage took place in the bride's parish and so the children, although born and living in Thurton, appear on the Bergh Apton forms. They account for twelve births. One of the births, Maria Blake, is listed as a Bergh Apton not a Thurton birth in the 1871 Census so illustrates a change of record between censuses. Her baptism is on a Bergh Apton form although gives residence as Thurton in the register.[388] By bringing together these two sets of records and not relying entirely on the information provided by one explains one of the children apparently missing from a family group. Jonathan Harwood, who was seven in 1861, and listed as a son of the householder. However, the register shows that he is the grandson, and son of their eldest daughter (not listed in the Census), a token of respectability added to the Census which the church records do not afford as listing a base child. In contrast, one individual Emily Harvey appears on three reconstitution forms: once as the child of her parents, once as having a base

[388] Bergh Apton form 1615, Appendix 3.1

child where the father was not named and, then, her subsequent marriage and children from that marriage.[389] Interestingly the base child is living with the rest of the family at the 1861 Census and is listed as son of the head of the household, which suggest that the base child in the register was a child born before the marriage of the same two individuals. A further fourteen individuals appear on two reconstitution forms, see Table 43. These are their own baptisms within their parents' marriage and then their subsequent marriage and formation of a family unit, however, twelve of the marriage registers suggest that both were resident at the time of marriage in Thurton, but the Census suggests only three couples were both born there. The marriage would suggest a narrow horizon, the Census return suggest something more nuanced.

Table 43: 1861 Place of Birth and Marriage Residence

Reference Number	Residence at Time of Marriage Groom and Bride	1861 Census Place of Birth	Notes
7088	Thurton and Thurton	Thurton and Loddon	
7072	Thurton and Thurton	Thurton and Beddingham	
7180	Thurton and Thurton	Loddon and Thurton	
7117	Orpington and Thurton	Both born in Thurton	
7019	Langley and Thurton	Langley and Thurton	
7076	Thurton and Thurton		Susannah a widow so no reference check
7012	Thurton and Thurton	Rockland and Thurton	
7184	Thurton and Thurton	Both born in Thurton	
7089	Thurton and Thurton		Child so cannot check 1861 Census
7028	Thurton and Thurton	Both born in Thurton	
7029	Thurton and Thurton		Child so cannot check 1861 Census
7087	Thurton and Thurton		Child so cannot check 1861 Census
7066	Thurton and Thurton	Beccles and Thurton	

[389] Thurton forms 7087, 7656, 7650, Appendix 3.5

7116	Thurton and Thurton	Hellington and Thurton	

The other family pattern which can be recognisable by correlating the two sets of records is where a child or children have the same father but different mothers. So, George Wright, a six-year-old in 1861, is on form T7736 and his sister, Emma Wright, is three years old and listed on form T7733. So separate reconstitution forms but obviously appear on the Census as son and daughter of the head of the household. Without both sets of records you would not realise that they have the same father but different mothers. Illegitimacy or the actual recognition of a father can also sometimes be implied through these records, for example, Maria Spooner, recorded in the 1861 Thurton Census, is a 29-year-old lodger and appears on her own birth record.[390] She has an illegitimate child, George, who appears on a separate reconstitution form but he is listed as the son of the head of the household in 1861 and Maria is listed as unmarried.[391] Where a child is listed as a son there may be an implication that they are the child of the head and not just the child of the lodger. We know that Maria was his mother because that appears on the church record.

Although the ages listed on the census do not show any large discrepancies from the baptism registers, one point of note is the age of Susan Fullar. It was given on the Census as 28 years old, and on her marriage certificate as two years older, which would imply at the time of her marriage she was underage. The church record gives her as being 30 but on the Census she is 28.[392] The discrepancy in ages not only

[390] Thurton form 7659, Appendix 3.5

[391] Thurton form 7661, Appendix 3.5

[392] Thurton form 7076, Appendix 2.5

indicates the concept of age (either knowing it or changing it) but also as a test for the accuracy of the records, especially the census ones as the record created at baptism is not a self-produced one, unlike the census when the figures have been given to an enumerator, much as the relationship one has been.

1871 Census[393]

Table 44: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	208
Suffolk	5
(Ireland)	1
Cambridgeshire	1
Huntingdonshire	1
Kent	1
Middlesex	1
Essex	1
Grand Total	**219**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

There are 219 residents in the 1871 Census (Table 44) of which only 11 were born outside of Norfolk (5%) which was a similar figure to 1851. One of the Suffolk residents, William Farrow, from Beccles, did however appear on a Thurton reconstitution form, a marriage one, so his connection to the parish was long term. 116 of the 208 who were born in Norfolk were not born in the study parishes. The figure of 56% is higher than both of the previous Censuses, which may imply there was something about increased mobility in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

[393] The National Archive, '1871 Census Return for Thurton, Norfolk, England', 1871, PRO RG10/1831.

Table 45: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	13	3	3	1	72
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	8				
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		3	2		
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form	1				
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				1	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	1		1		61
Not traced	3				11

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Thirteen residents of the 1871 Census listed their birthplace as Bergh Apton and they originated in nine separate households, see Table 45. One of these, married woman Anne Mayes, is listed as a 43-year-old born in Bergh Apton and she appears on a reconstitution form, however her age would be 47 and not 43, so the difference is four years, which is highlighted by using both sources.[394] Her husband Samuel is also listed as aged 43 so it is not clear whether the numerator made an assumption that they were the same age or whether it was a deliberate decision to reduce her age to be the same as that of her husband.

The remaining 72 records relate to 27 households where the place of birth is given as Thurton. There are seven individuals who appear on two different reconstitution forms and one, Emily Harvey, who appears on three, her own baptism, marriage and the subsequent marriage of one of her children.[395] There are two examples where the place of birth has changed since the last census: in the case of Sarah Hurrell the last census indicated her place of birth as Sprowston and for Thomas Waterson that he

[394] Bergh Apton form 1923, Appendix 3.1

[395] Thurton forms 7650, 7087, 7656, Appendix 3.5

was born in Ashby. In both cases in the 1871 Census, they have listed place of birth as Thurton, in 1861 they listed the alternatives; given the nature of the recording the previous locations may have been correct. Records show that Thomas was baptised in Carleton and the register states residence as Ashby, a baptism for Sarah cannot be found.

The case of Hannah Brown is an illustration of a couple of the issues that have already been identified. She is recognised on reconstitution form at birth and her age to be 37 in 1871.[396] However, the census has her listed as five years younger than this at the age of 32. She is listed as an unmarried servant on a visit. Also in the same household is Arthur Brown listed as grandson of the head of the household at 10 years old. He is listed as an agricultural labourer and not a scholar, but he appears on a reconstitution form as the base child of Hannah.[397] So, although technically the grandson of the head of the household we can identify his mother as their daughter, Hannah, and she would not normally present in the household. This identifies not only the baptism of base children but the intergenerational nature of raising such a child as well as the unmarried status of the mother. There is also an additional unmarried grandson in the same household, William Brown, who was 30 years old and born in Heckingham. Although Heckingham is not one of the parishes under study, it is the location of the workhouse so we may possibly assume that his place of birth was there. The head of the household, Maria Brown, a widow of 60, dies before the next census. Unfortunately, neither of them appears in a subsequent census for us to be able to establish what happened next.

[396] Thurton form 7031, Appendix 2.5

[397] Thurton form 7539, Appendix 3.5

1881 Census[398]

All 199 residents in the 1881 Census were born in England and only nine (5%) were not born in Norfolk, see Table 46.

Table 46: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents

	Count of County
Essex	1
Leicestershire	1
Norfolk	190
Northamptonshire	1
Suffolk	5
Warwickshire	1
Grand Total	**199**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

The places of birth indicated on the Census are shown in Table 47. Three names appear with Mundham as their place of birth, two of these are George and Ethelbert Yallop. Although they are in the same household, in this census George appears on a Mundham record and Ethelbert on a Thurton one, as grandchildren of the Head of household they are not siblings, which the register allows us to explore.[399] In addition the boys on the census are given as eight and six years old respectively, but Ethelbert is only four according to the register record. This may be so that both children can attend school as they are listed as scholars under occupation. Three members of the Branch family appear with Sisland as their place of birth, however they are in two

[398] The National Archive, '1881 Census Return for Thurton, Norfolk, England', 1881, PRO RG11/1963.

[399] Mundham form 6291, Appendix 2.3 and Thurton form 7740, Appendix 3.5

households, although as they are brothers and sister they all appear on the same Sisland reconstitution form. [400]

Table 47: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	22	1	3	3	68
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	12				6
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form					
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			1		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				3	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	2		1		41
Not traced	7	1	1		21

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Only one of the entries, that of Hannah Livock, has a discrepancy of three years between census and church age. Her church age being 45 and the Census indicating 42, similar to a previous example this makes her younger than her husband and they only appear in this one census so it is not possible to track her forward.[401]

1891 Census[402]

On the 1891 Census, of the 219 individuals listed, two were not born in England but in Canada and India, see Table 48.

Table 48: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Thurton Residents

	Count of County
Leicestershire	1
Norfolk	205
Suffolk	5

[400] Sisland form 3227, Appendix 2.4

[401] Thurton form 7031 and 7359, Appendix 3.5

[402] The National Archive, '1891 Census Return for Thurton, Norfolk, England', 1891, PRO RG12/1541.

Warwickshire	1
Kent	3
Middlesex	1
Lancashire	1
Canada	1
India	1
Grand Total	**219**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Ninety-two people therefore gave Thurton as their place of birth; 33 (36%) of these were not located in the register which is a much higher figure than previous years, Table 49. Although comprised of fifteen households only six of these 33 were adults. The implication that sometimes baptism was delayed much longer and group baptism might have been more favourable but some of these children are adolescents so it's not quite as simple as delaying a couple of years for baptism.

Table 49: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	21	2	2		92
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	12				12
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		2			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			1		1
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form					
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	3				46
Not traced	6		1		33

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Four individuals gave a different place of birth in either earlier or later census, three of the four gave Ashby, which is the next parish. Caroline Wright recorded as a 48-year-old charwoman and a widow was listed in the 1881 Census as a 43-year-old, so she

has only aged five years between the two. Her age was 53. So, although most of the ages in the latest census appear to be fairly accurate there are a few outliers.

The figures for Thurton over the six Censuses can be seen in Table 50. Although at its highest population in 1861, although more like Sisland than the other parishes there are not many very long term remainers though the number at twenty years were consistent. The leaver numbers vary, also at a peak in 1861, but decline as the population does at the latter half of the century. The number who die and are recorded in the registers remains fairly constant.

Table 50: Thurton Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses

Census Year	**1841**	**1851**	**1861**	**1871**	**1881**	**1891**
Opening population total	246	242	247	219	199	219
Remain for one decade	79 (32%)	64 (26%)	40 (16%)	65 (30%)	49 (25%)	71 (32%)
2 censuses	0	19 (8%)	22 (9%)	10 (5%)	17 (9%)	11 (5%)
3 censuses	0	0	3 (1%)	3 (1%)	7 (4%)	5 (2%)
4 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	2 (1%)
5 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leave	153 (62%)	138 (57%)	166 (67%)	121 (55%)	110 (55%)	116 (53%)
Died	14 (6%)	21 (9%)	16 (7%)	20 (9%)	15 (7%)	16 (7%)

Source: Data from The National Archive, Thurton Census 1841-1891

Only in the final Census year does the average age of the remainer fall below that of the average age of the leaver, see Table 51, which may indicate the economic driver which led individuals to leave a predominantly agricultural parish such as Thurton.

Table 51: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses

Thurton Census Year	Average Age of Leaving	Average Age of Remainers	Average Age of Dying
1841	24	23	53
1851	23	28	52
1861	24	29	45
1871	27	29	44
1881	25	30	41
1891	26	25	45

Source: Data from The National Archive, Thurton Census 1841-1891

Sisland Census Analysis

1841 Census[403]

Two of the 64 individuals listed in the 1841 Census were not born in Norfolk (3%). There is also a difference of seven years between Mary Clark's Census age of 25 and her baptism records which indicated she was 32 which cannot be entirely due to rounding.[404] Fourteen individuals (22%) can be traced with confidence onto the reconstitution forms, on only four different forms, a higher percentage than that of Thurton. All these forms related to Sisland entries in the registers and four, Caroline and Harriet Branch, John Gowen and Mary Clark appear on two separate forms indicating both a personal baptism and a subsequent marriage, all is Sisland.[405]

1851 Census[406]

Table 52: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents

[403] The National Archive, '1841 Census Return for Sisland, Norfolk, England', 1841, PRO HO107/ 779/ 17.

[404] Sisland form 3073, Appendix 2.4

[405] Sisland form 3296, Appendix 3.4

[406] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Sisland, Norfolk, England'.

	Count of County
Norfolk	68
Not known	1
Scotland	1
Suffolk	6
Yorkshire	1
Grand Total	**77**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 68 individuals born in Norfolk, see Table 52, 36 were not born in one of the sample parishes (47%), a figure much higher than in Thurton.

Table 53: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating		1	11	19	1
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form					
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form			1		
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			6		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form		1	1	19	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					
Not traced					1

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Nineteen listed Sisland as their place of birth, see Table 53. Most of these records are for children, which suggests that movement is required for employment later. One record to highlight is that of Mary Clark, who was noted above in the 1841 Census due to age rounding. Her age in 1851 is given as 35, so ten years older but is still at least seven years away from the implied baptism age.[407] In addition, her mother, also Mary Clark, had only aged three years since 1841 and so is now 72 and not the 65 indicated.

[407] Sisland form 3073, Appendix 2.4

As we can establish both births in the register, we can have confidence in these church records rather than the census ones.

1861 Census[408]

Table 54: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	70
Suffolk	4
Yorkshire	1
Scotland	1
Grand Total	**76**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Table 54 indicates the place of birth of the Sisland residents. A high number, 48 were born in Norfolk but not in the study parishes, which is higher than the figure for 1851 (63% in 1861 as opposed to 47% in 1851). Table 55 shows when the place of birth given was one of the study parishes and whether they are located within the registers.

Table 55: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating		3	12	13	
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form					
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form			2		
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form		3	10		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				12	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					
Not traced				1	

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

[408] The National Archive, '1861 Census Return for Sisland, Norfolk, England', 1861, PRO RG 9/1229.

Three individuals listed Chedgrave as their place of birth and were located in one family, however they were all children with a baptism in Mundham records and appearing on a Mundham reconstitution form as their parents were married there.[409] Four of the Mundham individuals appear on two sets of records, that is Richard Juby, Emma Randlesome, John Randlesome and Charlotte Warren. Richard Juby, at aged 14, will appear in Mundham in the subsequent Census, not Sisland. John Randlesome is the only one of this group who is still resident in Sisland ten years later, having also appeared in 1851 so the migration occurs at all employment stages. The 13 individuals who listed Sisland as their place of birth came from six families and are represented by six reconstitution forms, three individuals appear on two different forms. Two of these relate to sisters, Caroline and Harriet Branch, which is more unusual to find a pattern across the generation. The third individual is Mary Clarke. There continues to be a wide age discrepancy for the Clark family although all the other ages, on the 1861 Census do not differ from the church records.

1871 Census[410]

Table 56: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	68
Suffolk	6
Scotland	1
Grand Total	**75**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

[409] Mundham form 6257, Appendix 2.3

[410] The National Archive, '1871 Census Return for Sisland, Norfolk, England', 1871, PRO RG10/1831.

There are 75 residents in the 1871 Census, see Table 56. Of the 29 born in the sample parishes, as before, no one was born in Bergh Apton or Thurton, see Table 57.

Table 57: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating		1	9	19	
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form					
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form					
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			7	6	
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form		1		10	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					
Not traced			2	3	

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Nine gave Mundham as their place of birth and seven could be traced in the registers. The remaining two were children of a Mundham marriage but do not appear to have been baptised. The other seven come from three families, John Randlesome, who appears on two Mundham reconstitutions forms, as does Christopher Spalding.[411] John Spalding, 70, who appears on one Mundham form and, separately, three Spalding children appear on a Sisland form, following the marriage of their parents in that location.[412] The remaining 19 records relate to seven households where the place of birth is given as Sisland. There are three children not in the register, Jane Knight whom we noted in 1861; Francis Blunderfield who as one of seven siblings and is the only one not to appear in the Sisland register and Bejamin Grimmer, who at one year

[411] Mundham form 6229, 6278, Appendix 2.3

[412] Sisland form 3048, Appendix 2.4

may have been baptised elsewhere.[413] Of the remaining individuals, ten appear on the Sisland church baptism record and six of them, the Randlesome children, appear in Mundham.[414]

1881 Census[415]

Table 58: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents

	Count of County
Cheshire	1
Norfolk	65
Suffolk	5
Grand Total	**71**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 65 born in Norfolk, 31 (43%) were not born in a study parish but derive from across the county, although 33% were born in Loddon, the closest market town, see Table 58.

Table 59: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating		2	10	20	2
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form					
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form					
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form		1	3	2	2
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form		1	5	15	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form			2	1	
Not traced				2	

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

[413] Sisland form 3222, Appendix 3.4

[414] Mundham form 6278, Appendix 2.3

[415] The National Archive, '1881 Census Return for Sisland, Norfolk, England', 1881, PRO RG11/1963.

From Table 59 two individuals give Chedgrave as their place of birth, one appears on a Sisland reconstitution form and the other, Elijah Whitwood, appears on a Chedgrave register for baptism and a Mundham one for marriage, illustrating the important of the comparative nature of the project.[416] Ten names are noted with Mundham as their place of birth, from six households, and all appear in the records. However, five of these are in the Sisland baptism register, and one changes their place of birth to Sisland in the 1891 Census. This is an excellent illustration of the ability with reconstitution forms to compare different census entries but also cross reference with other sources. The two listing Thurton as their place of birth are the father and a sibling for the Brown family, noted above where Mundham was listed as place of birth.[417] The intersection of these parishes and the ability to cross reference records allows us to bring this group together and plot the movement over time of the Brown family. One individual who lists Sisland as their place of birth appears on a Thurton form noting that Sisland is given as place of birth. From the latter reconstitution forms for this family two children were baptised in Thurton, two in Chedgrave and one in Sisland but a marriage was not located in any of these parishes.

1891 Census[418]

Table 60: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Sisland Residents

	Count of Birth County
Cambridgeshire	1
Essex	1

[416] Mundham form 6315 and Chedgrave form 5499, Appendix 2.3 and 2.2

[417] Thurton form 7031, Appendix 2.5

[418] The National Archive, '1891 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Norfolk, England', 1891, PRO RG12/1541.

Kent	1
London	1
Norfolk	56
Suffolk	9
Grand Total	**69**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 69 individuals on the 1891 Census, thirteen (19%) were not born in Norfolk, eleven of those were travellers as they are listed as resident in two caravans. This is a much higher proportion than found in any of the previous censuses, see Table 60.

Table 61: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	1	2	1	17	
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	1				
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		1			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form					
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form		1	1	15	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					
Not traced				2	

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Seventeen people, Table 61, gave Sisland as their place of birth, two of these were not located in the registers. The remaining 15 appear on five different reconstitution forms and are from five households. The ages are consistent with the information provided in the register and they are all single and under the age of 20, only one is listed as a servant though her family is also resident in Sisland. The patterns which are observed within a smaller parish do vary from the larger ones which illustrates why it is important to cross reference different types and sizes within this study.

The figures for Sisland over the six Censuses can be seen in Table 62. In 1851 the population of the parish was at its highest, 77, from a low point in 1841. There is, unlike the other parishes, no core of extremely long-term residents, the highest number appearing in 1861. The leaver numbers are also high, higher than Thurton, as a proportion of the total, which may be an indication of the limited opportunities available to young adults and the low number who die may also reflect this situation.

Table 62: Sisland Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses

Census Year	**1841**	**1851**	**1861**	**1871**	**1881**	**1891**
Opening population total	64	77	76	75	71	69
Remain for one decade	21 (33%)	19 (24%)	11 (14%)	7 (9%)	5 (7%)	18 (26%)
2 censuses	0	9 (12%)	10 (13%)	0	5 (7%)	3 (4%)
3 censuses	0	0	3 (4%)	0	0	5 (7%)
4 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leave	39 (61%)	40 (52%)	47 (62%)	64 (85%)	60 (85%)	43 (63%)
Died	4 (6%)	9 (12%)	5 (7%)	4 (6%)	1 (1%)	0

Source: Data from The National Archive, Sisland Census 1841-1891

The average age of the remainers falls below those leaving from 1871, but this is partly reflected by the low numbers that the figures are based on, see Table 63. The average age of leaving is particularly low from 1841 which may indicate the economic driver which led individuals to leave a predominantly agricultural parish such as Sisland, but also the number of children affected by these changes.

Table 63: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses

Sisland Census Year	Average Age of Leaving	Average Age of Remainers	Average Age of Dying
1841	19	27	45
1851	18	28	46
1861	24	30	54
1871	25	21	50
1881	23	21	67
1891	25	25	n/a

Source: Data from The National Archive, Sisland Census 1841-1891

Mundham Census Analysis

1841 Census[419]

Eighteen out of 308 individuals listed in the 1841 Census were not born in Norfolk. Twenty-eight individuals (9%) can be traced with confidence onto the reconstitution forms, on 25 different forms. Although the percentage is similar to Thurton, the range of links is wider and indicate connections with Bergh Apton, Chedgrave, Sisland and Thurton.

1851 Census[420]

Table 64: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	284
Suffolk	8
Worcestershire	1
Grand Total	**293**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

[419] The National Archive, '1841 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England', 1841, PRO HO107/ 779/ 15.

[420] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England'.

Of the 284 individuals were born in Norfolk 123 were not born in one of the sample parishes (43%), higher than the figures for Sisland and Thurton, see Table 64.

Table 65: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

Place of Birth Indicated	Bergh Apton	Chedgrave	Mundham	Sisland	Thurton
Number indicating	7	2	144	6	2
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	5		3		
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		1			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			119		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form			3	5	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form		1	2		1
Not traced	2		17	1	1

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Seven indicated that they were born in Bergh Apton from seven different households. One cannot be identified as we do not have a maiden name to be able to trace a baptism, and one is listed as being born in Seething in a subsequent census, rather than Bergh Apton. The latter is the wife of a labourer and there is a possibility that the enumerator made an assumption of their birthplace given it was changed in the following Census. One individual, Susan Cullingford, aged 13 years since the last census and should be 59 but shows as 56 in the documentation. Although rounding may account for some of this difference thirteen years would suggest that her 1841 age was underestimated.[421] 144 listed Mundham as their place of birth, see Table 65, which was 49% of the population. Two siblings, Ann and Archibald Bale, list different places of birth in later censuses, Seething and Hardley respectively, and one child is

[421] Sisland form 3348, Appendix 3.4

listed as a workhouse baptism, though the responsible parish is listed as Mundham. Thirteen individuals appear on two forms which indicates that they had either been born in the parish and married or remained in the parish after their marriage and then started a family themselves.[422] Soloman and John King are listed as the sons-in-law of the head of one household, but the register indicates that they are the children of his wife, Phoebe, and should be indicated as step rather than in-law.[423] The use of terminology is an important one when considering the records and relationship between individuals.

1861 Census[424]

Table 66: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents

	Count of County
Lincolnshire	1
Norfolk	274
Somerset	1
Suffolk	10
Grand Total	**286**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 286 residents from the 1861 Census, 131 were born in Norfolk (Table 66), but not in the study parishes, which is higher than the figure for 1851 (48% in 1861 as opposed to 43% in 1851).

[422] Mundham form 6190 and 6231, Appendix 2.3

[423] Mundham form 6578, Appendix 3.3

[424] The National Archive, '1861 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England', 1861, PRO RG 9/1230.

Table 67: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	3		138	1	1
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	2		2		
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form			1		
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form	1		104		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form			7	1	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form			2		1
Not traced			22		

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

The 138 individuals, Table 67, who listed Mundham as their place of birth, came from 51 families and are represented by 65 different reconstitution forms, fifteen individuals appear on two.[425] In the case of Joanna Faith, for example, all her siblings in the Census were born in Seething, so possibly a baptism may be recorded in that parish and this could apply to other children if their birthplace was unique within the household. A further 14, from 12 families, do not appear in the immediate locale baptism registers. The reliability of records is one of the key considerations within historical demography. The differentials in ages on the census and the church records are a useful illustration, such as in the example of Charles Pope. In the 1851 Census his age was given as 52, in 1861 he lists it as 66, so he has aged 14 years. However, he is also recorded on the church records so his age should be 62 so he was correct in 1851 but for some reason not so in 1861.[426] The same situation occurs with Richard Fairhead aged 20 in 1851 but in 1861 is only 27, the former one is correct.[427]

[425] Mundham form 6190, 6231, Appendix 2.3

[426] Mundham form 6194, Appendix 2.3

[427] Mundham form 6486, Appendix 3.3

1871 Census[428]

Table 68: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	250
Suffolk	13
Cambridgeshire	1
Dorset	1
Middlesex	2
Sussex	2
Grand Total	**269**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

There are 269 residents in the 1871 Census of which 19 were born outside of Norfolk (7%) which was a higher figure than 1851, see Table 68.

Table 69: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	4	1	114	2	7
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	4		4		
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form					
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			88		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form			9	2	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form			2		2
Not traced		1	11		5

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

[428] The National Archive, '1871 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England', 1871, PRO RG10/1832.

The remaining 114 records (42%) relate to 41 households where the place of birth is given as Mundham, see Table 69. When Harriet Warren is baptised as a base child in 1870 no father is given in the register, however in the Census she is listed as Harriet Cullingford the daughter of George Cullingford.[429] Her parents married when she was four months old and she is only listed as ten months in the Census. It would not have been possible to link all these individuals without the ability to cross reference the different records and to have linked databases to do so. In addition, a child without a male parent would not have been included in a more detailed statistical analysis of her parents' marriage on a wider scale study. The case of Arthur Juby is an illustration of the importance of age in both family formation and economic independence as in the 1871 Census he is listed as 18 years old, however his birth form indicates that he is only 14. He is correctly aged in the 1861 Census so has moved fourteen years since that point, yet by 1881 is given as 21! [430]

1881 Census[431]

Table 70: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	276
Suffolk	8
Middlesex	1
Devon	1
Cheshire	1
Derbyshire	1
Essex	2

[429] Mundham form 6784, Appendix 3.3

[430] Mundham form 6576, Appendix 3.3

[431] The National Archive, '1881 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England', 1881, PRO RG11/1964.

Unknown	5
Grand Total	**295**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

295 residents in the 1881 Census were all born in England, although five are listed as unknown birth location, and only 14 (5%) were not born in Norfolk (Table 70).

Table 71: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	15	6	109	5	
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	13		9		
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		1			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			80	1	
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form		5	10	3	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					
Not traced	2		10	1	

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

For Mundham 109 people (37%) listed it as their place of birth, see Table 71. Of the 109, 11 appear on two separate forms including Christopher Spalding, born in Mundham, baptised in Sisland and married in Bergh Apton. However, he does not appear in the Mundham church records at all only in the Census

1891 Census[432]

Table 72: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Mundham Residents

	Count of County
Norfolk	270
Suffolk	11

[432] The National Archive, '1891 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England', 1891, PRO RG12/1542, The National Archive Kew.

Essex	1
Grand Total	**282**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

There are 282 individuals on the 1891 Census, twelve were not born in Norfolk, see Table 72.

Table 73: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	9	6	102	13	3
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	9		2		
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		1			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			77	4	
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form		3	9	7	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					3
Not traced		2	14	2	

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Three respondents listed Thurton, Table 73, and all can be found on separate forms, including Hannah Lorick and Arthur Brown. The records confirm that Hannah's maiden name was Brown and that Arthur is her brother although listed as lodger by her husband and not brother-in-law.[433] Jane King appears to change her location of birth to Mendham from Mundham but that may relate to the enumerator's understanding rather than a change from the individual.

The figures for Mundham over the six censuses can be seen in Table 74. In 1841 the population of the parish was at its highest, 308, reaching the lowest point in 1871. These changes are mirrored by the number who remain as it also falls particularly

[433] Thurton form 7359, Appendix 3.5

between 1861 and 1871, at 33 for ten years. There is, like the other parishes, a core of extremely long-term residents, but these are not as sizable and the number who die are higher, although not between 1841-1851. The leaver numbers are more consistent, again peaking between 1841-1851

Table 74: Mundham Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses

Census Year	**1841**	**1851**	**1861**	**1871**	**1881**	**1891**
Opening population total	308	293	286	269	295	282
Remain for one decade	85 (28%)	80 (27%)	59 (21%)	33 (12%)	65 (22%)	58 (21%)
2 censuses	0	31 (10%)	27 (9%)	20 (7%)	10 (3%)	30 (10%)
3 censuses	0	0	12 (4%)	12 (4%)	7 (2%)	6 (2%)
4 censuses	0	0	0	7 (3%)	3 (1%)	2 (1%)
5 censuses	0	0	0	0	2 (1%)	1 (0%)
6 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leave	215 (70%)	157 (54%)	167 (58%)	179 (67%)	185 (63%)	169 (60%)
Died	8 (2%)	25 (9%)	21 (8%)	18 (7%)	23 (8%)	16 (6%)

Source: Data from The National Archive, Mundham Census 1841-1891

The average age of the leavers is always lower than that of those who remain, see Table 75, In the earlier period relatively young people leave, while those remaining are only slightly older. After 1881 the average age of leaving falls sharply, reaching 20 in 1891, while the average age of remainers rises to 31. The strongest evidence in the table is for increasing movement of younger people out of Mundham by the late nineteenth century, potentially leaving behind an older resident population, which is reflected in the other smaller rural parishes.

Table 75: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses

Mundham Census Year	Average Age of Leaving	Average Age of Remainers	Average Age of Dying
1841	24	29	40
1851	24	28	44
1861	26	29	53
1871	26	34	59
1881	24	27	51
1891	20	31	48

Source: Data from The National Archive, Mundham Census 1841-1891

Chedgrave Census Analysis

1841 Census[434]

Twenty-six out of 348 individuals listed in the 1841 Census were not born in Norfolk, as ages were not given specifically in the 1841 Census due to rounding, and the lack of a recorded definitive location of birth meant that only thirty-five individuals (10%) can be traced with confidence onto the reconstitution forms, on 36 different forms.

1851 Census[435]

Table 76: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents

	Count of County
Lincolnshire	1
London	2
Middlesex	2
Norfolk	340
Suffolk	25
Surrey	1
Leicestershire	2
Middlesex	2
Not Known	1

[434] The National Archive, '1841 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England', 1841, HO 107/ 779/6.

[435] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England'.

Ireland	1
France	1
Grand Total	**378**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 378 who appear on the 1851 Census, 340 individuals were born in Norfolk (90%) and of these 158 (46%) were not born in one of the sample parishes, a figure much higher than the previous parishes and reflects the connectivity of Chedgrave to the transport networks. The 38 individuals not born in Norfolk include one from France and one from Ireland, as well as one listed as unknown, a servant, who was presumable not asked for that information, see Table 76.

Table 77: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	5	169	5		3
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	2				
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		136			1
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form		6	5		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form					
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					2
Not traced	3	27			

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Only three listed Thurton as place of birth, two appear as Thurton baptisms and two appear on Chedgrave marriage reconstitution forms with one individual appearing on both, see Table 77.[436] These changes indicate the importance of the reconstitution of a group of parishes as we can trace the baptisms into different places, highlighting short distance migration and the range of church interactions which one parish would

[436] Thurton form 7458, 7692 and Chedgrave form 4109, Appendix 3.5 and 2.2

not demonstrate. One of those without a baptism, in Chedgrave, is a two-month-old, Phoebe Cossey, who does not appear in a subsequent Census although future siblings do so, we may assume that she died before baptism and does not, therefore, appear on any church record. By linking the census returns with the reconstitution forms it also enables the ages quoted in the census to be checked such that, William Cumby is listed as 40 in the 1841 Census but 54 in the 1851 Census, although his baptism record would suggest that he was 54 in 1851.[437]

1861 Census[438]

Table 78: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents

	Count of County
Cheshire	2
Essex	1
Kent	1
Middlesex	3
New South Wales	2
Norfolk	355
Suffolk	19
Sussex	1
Unknown	1
Switzerland	1
France	1
Grand Total	**387**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 387 residents from the 1861 Census, Table 78, four individuals (1%) were born outside the UK, one France, though a British citizen, one Switzerland and two

[437] Chedgrave form 4491, Appendix 3.2

[438] The National Archive, '1861 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England', 1861, PRO RG 9/1229.

Australia, who were children of one and three; their father was born in Chedgrave and, in the 1851 Census, is listed as a single agricultural labourer living in the parish.[439]

There were four were from Sisland, from four families, although one, John Baker, was listed as a British citizen born in Ireland in the 1851 Census.[440] Sarah Fairhead appeared on a Mundham form, and in 1851 she listed Mundham as her place of birth but in 1861 and 1871 she changed that to Sisland.[441] The register for her baptism is clear that her 'abode' was Mundham so it is not clear why it may have changed to Sisland, particularly as she did not live there nor did her husband come from that location.

Table 79: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	2	173	4	4	1
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	1				
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form	1	142			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form		4	4		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				4	1
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					
Not traced		27			

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

The 173 individuals (45%) who listed Chedgrave as their place of birth come from 60 households, Table 79. Four of the Chedgrave records appear from one family in the

[439] Chedgrave form 4163, Appendix 2.2

[440] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England'.

[441] Mundham form 6233, Appendix 2.3

Mundham record, however there is evidence that not all siblings appear to be baptised so that one, Alfred Baldwin, has a number of siblings in both 1861 and 1871 who appear in the baptism records but, for some reason, he is not although his burial is.[442] An illustration that reconstitution intersects primarily with reproduction and not death in the records. The ages listed on the census do not show any large discrepancies from the baptism registers.

1871 Census[443]

Table 80: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents

	Count of County
Essex	2
Kent	2
Middlesex	2
Norfolk	321
Suffolk	14
Sussex	1
Somerset	1
Cambridgeshire	1
Surrey	1
Warwickshire	1
Hertfordshire	1
Leicestershire	1
Württemberg	1
Hampshire	1
Prussia	1
Gloucestershire	1
Switzerland	1
Ireland	1
New South Wales	2
Grand Total	**356**

[442] Chedgrave form 4871, Appendix 3.2

[443] The National Archive, '1871 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England', 1871, PRO RG10/1831.

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

There are 356 residents in the 1871 Census of which 35 (10%) were born outside of Norfolk and an international contingent was made up of two from Prussia, who were a governess and nursery maid to the rector; two children from Australia, who were also present in 1861 Census, one Irish and one Swiss, see Table 80.

Table 81: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	2	142	9	1	3
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	1				
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		108	1		
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form		1	7		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				1	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					2
Not traced	1	33	1		1

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

For the remaining 142 records, 40% of the returns, lower than the figures for 1851 and 1861, relate to 54 households where the place of birth is given as Chedgrave, Table 81. There are four examples where the place of birth has changed since the last census. In the case of John Stone, Loddon was indicated as place of birth; for Hariett Crisp the last census indicated her place of birth as Seething and for couple Jonathan and Mary Ann Forder the former listed Lingwood in 1861 and the latter Hardley. In all cases in the 1871 Census they have listed place of birth as Chedgrave, although both Hardley and Loddon are adjacent parishes.

1881 Census[444]

Table 82: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents

	Count of County
Essex	1
Kent	1
Middlesex	9
Norfolk	325
Suffolk	12
Cambridgeshire	1
Surrey	1
Gloucestershire	1
Dorset	2
Lancashire	1
Staffordshire	1
Berkshire	1
Derbyshire	1
Yorkshire	2
Durham	4
Northamptonshire	1
Buckinghamshire	1
Scotland	2
Malta	1
Grand Total	**368**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

In the 1881 Census of the 368 residents, all but three were born in England and only 40 (11%) were not born in Norfolk, see Table 82.

Table 83: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

[444] The National Archive, '1881 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England', 1881, PRO RG11/1963.

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	5	133	6	5	4
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	3				
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form	1	93			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			2		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form			1	4	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	1				2
Not traced		40	3	1	2

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

One hundred-thirty-three people listed Chedgrave as their place of birth, at 36% this is lower than the previous three Censuses, but 40 (30%) do not appear on a reconstitution form, a figure higher than previously, see Table 83. One individual, Elizabeth Earl, is listed with a different place of birth in the previous Census and one child was buried with four days of the Census so may account for the non-appearance in the baptism register. The two entries of sisters Charlotte and Elizabeth Crisp have large discrepancies between their actual and census ages. Charlotte has only aged six years since 1871 and Elizabeth seven.[445] As they appear on baptism forms their ages were correct at the 1871 Census, so the incorrect figure has been applied in 1881. Unlike previous examples when discrepancies appear with older ages or non-family members their brother, who was head of the household, shows a correct age and also appears on the same reconstitution form.

1891 Census[446]

Table 84: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Chedgrave Residents

[445] Chedgrave form 4980, Appendix 3.2

[446] The National Archive, '1891 Census Return for Chedgrave, Norfolk, England', 1891, PRO RG12/1541.

	Count of County
Essex	2
Kent	2
Norfolk	291
Suffolk	22
Cambridgeshire	1
Surrey	1
Berkshire	1
Yorkshire	1
Northamptonshire	1
Buckinghamshire	2
Scotland	1
Lincolnshire	2
London	4
Herefordshire	1
Grand Total	**332**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 332 individuals on the 1891 Census, they were all born in England except for the one born in Scotland, which was a change from earlier Censuses when a number of countries had been cited, see Table 84. The horizons appear to have narrowed at the end of the century.

Table 85: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	1	117	8	1	3
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	1				
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		87			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			7		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				1	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form					1
Not traced		30	1		2

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

The one individual who gave Bergh Apton as their place of birth, Emily Vann, was a base child so appears on a non-marriage baptism form before appearing on a marriage reconstitution form as Emily Bracey. The ability to track across censuses is an important one as Charlotte Crisp was still underage but now by only four years. Her sister was not resident in Chedgrave in 1891 Census.

The figures for Chedgrave over the six Censuses can be seen in Table 86. In 1851 the population of the parish had risen from to 379 from 348, in 1841. The remainer figures dropped after 1851, especially for those who remained only ten years. There is, like the other parishes, a core of extremely long-term residents. The number of people who have died, with a record found in the parish registers, fluctuates and is high between 1871-1881. The number that leave show a similar pattern to Bergh Apton.

Table 86: Chedgrave Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses

Census Year	**1841**	**1851**	**1861**	**1871**	**1881**	**1891**
Opening population total	348	379	387	356	368	332
Remain for one decade	107 (31%)	121 (32%)	79 (20%)	67 (19%)	68 (18%)	70 (21%)
2 censuses	0	49 (13%)	36 (9%)	32 (9%)	31 (9%)	35 (10%)
3 censuses	0	0	19 (5%)	15 (4%)	12 (3%)	15 (5%)
4 censuses	0	0	0	11 (3%)	4 (1%)	9 (3%)
5 censuses	0	0	0	0	9 (2%)	2 (1%)
6 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	4 (4%)
Leave	216 (62%)	186 (49%)	226 (58%)	211 (59%)	208 (57%)	173 (52%)
Died	25 (7%)	23 (6%)	27 (6%)	20 (6%)	36 (10%)	24 (7%)

Source: Data from The National Archive, Chedgrave Census 1841-1891

The pattern in Chedgrave, see Table 87, is more consistent than that found in Mundham. The average age of leaving was, by 1891, four years lower than in 1861 which suggests that people were leaving Chedgrave at increasingly young ages. Chedgrave was increasingly experienced out migration, younger people were increasingly leaving and older people remaining. Interesting as Chedgrave had a wider range of opportunities than some of the parishes under study yet this did not prevent them from losing population in a similar way.

Table 87: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses

Chedgrave Census Year	Average Age of Leaving	Average Age of Remainers	Average Age of Dying
1841	23	25	51
1851	24	28	49
1861	26	26	47
1871	24	31	48
1881	23	30	52
1891	22	30	55

Source: Data from The National Archive, Chedgrave Census 1841-1891

Bergh Apton Census Analysis

1841 Census [447]

Of the 564 individuals listed in the 1841 Census, 19 (3%) were not born in Norfolk and as previously noted, the 1841 Census was not more specific regarding the actual

[447] The National Archive, '1841 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Norfolk, England', 1841, HO 107/ 756/ 3.

parish of birth. Sixty individuals (10%) can be traced with confidence onto the reconstitution forms, on 26 different forms.

1851 Census [448]

Table 88: 1851 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents

	Count of County
Cheshire	1
Devon	1
Hampshire	2
Middlesex	6
Norfolk	572
Suffolk	15
Sussex	1
Warwickshire	2
Ireland	2
East Indies	1
Grand Total	**603**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

572 individuals out of the 603 who appear on the 1851 Census were born in Norfolk (90%), see Table 88. The 31 individuals not born in Norfolk include one from East Indies (10-year-old boy) and two from Ireland (his mother and brother).

Table 89: 1851 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

[448] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Norfolk, England'.

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	257	7	7	2	17
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	201				4
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		7			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			5		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				2	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	4				10
Not traced	52		2		3

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

The remaining 257 (45%) listed Bergh Apton as their place of birth, Table 89. There are three individuals whose place of birth is given as something different in 1861 and their baptism can be found at that location. By linking the census returns with the reconstitution forms it also enables us to check the ages quoted. The Whall children, Elizabeth, Henry and Albert, were all baptised on one date, but it is the census which tells us that they were adults and not children at that point.

1861 Census [449]

Table 90: 1861 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents

	Count of County
Dorset	1
Essex	2
Hampshire	4
Kent	1
Middlesex	5
Norfolk	513
Suffolk	13
Surrey	1
Yorkshire	1
India	1
Scotland	1
Ireland	1

[449] The National Archive, '1861 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Norfolk, England', 1861, PRO RG 9/1229.

Grand Total	544

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the 544 residents from the 1861 Census, three individuals were born outside the UK, one Ireland, one Scotland and one India, Table 90.[450]

Table 91: 1861 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	241	5	8	2	15
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	185				5
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		4			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			5		1
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				2	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	2		3		4
Not traced	55				5

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

The 241 individuals who listed Bergh Apton as their place of birth come from 87 households and are represented by 199 reconstitution forms, which was 44% of the population, similar to 1851. Of the 55 who do not appear traceable in the registers, Table 91, four have a different birth location in an earlier Census and 22 appear in only seven households as the children of the head of that location.

1871 Census [451]

Table 92: 1871 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents

	Count of County

[450] Chedgrave form 4163, Appendix 2.2

[451] The National Archive, '1881 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Norfolk, England', 1881, PRO RG11/1963.

Essex	1
Kent	1
Middlesex	4
Norfolk	491
Suffolk	13
County Durham	1
Cumberland	1
Shropshire	1
Wiltshire	1
Leicestershire	1
Lancashire	4
Nottinghamshire	1
Not known	1
Grand Total	**521**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

Of the remaining 491 who were born in Norfolk, 231(47%) were not born in the study parishes, Table 92. Neither of the two Sisland births appear in the register for that parish, though as a boarder and a servant they may not have been asked directly.

Table 93: 1871 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	235	3	3	2	17
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	184	1	1		4
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		2			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			2		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form					
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	3				7
Not traced	48			2	6

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

The 235 records (45%) relate to 80 households, where the place of birth is given as Bergh Apton, and 48 individuals do not appear in the registers, see Table 93. The

remaining individuals can be traced to the registers, and, in the case of eight individuals, both their marriage and baptism can be linked. Three had links to Thurton, otherwise the connections are with Bergh Apton, which may indicate some of the differences in the composition of the rural parishes over Chedgrave which was better networked.

1881 Census [452]

Table 94: 1881 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents

	Count of County
Essex	1
Middlesex	6
Norfolk	419
Suffolk	16
Shropshire	1
Lancashire	2
Nottinghamshire	2
Warwickshire	1
Yorkshire	2
Dorset	1
Lincolnshire	2
Oxfordshire	1
Worcestershire	1
Surrey	1
Durham	2
Ireland	3
Canada	1
India	1
Australia	1
Grand Total	**464**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

[452] Ibid.

Of the 464 residents listed in the 1881 Census 458 were born in England and only 39 (8%) were not born in Norfolk, Table 94. For those born elsewhere in England 16 were born in Suffolk and of the remaining 23, six were born in London, which was lower than previous years, but the rest of the country had a more diversified pattern.

Table 95: 1881 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	158	4	10	1	12
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	124	1	2		
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		2			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form			3		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form				1	
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	4				4
Not traced	30	1	5		8

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Of the 419 born in Norfolk, 234 (56%) were not born in a study parish, an increase of 10% on 1871. Bergh Apton was listed as the place of birth for 158 residents, 34% of the total, which was large drop from the earlier Censuses, see Table 95. Unlike Chedgrave which appears to be well connected the turnover in the larger parish of Bergh Apton is not as clear. The age profile shows that 93 of the residents who were born in Bergh Apton were 18 or under, although adulthood was considered to start earlier, this age profile may be reflected in the lower baptism and secondary reconstitution links. Robert Scarlett has aged fourteen years between the two Censuses, but unfortunately, he does not appear in the registers for corroboration of his likely age.

1891 Census [453]

Table 96: 1891 Census Place of Birth of Bergh Apton Residents

	Count of County
Essex	2
Norfolk	408
Suffolk	21
Lancashire	2
Nottinghamshire	2
Yorkshire	7
Dorset	1
Durham	2
Northamptonshire	1
Derbyshire	1
London	3
Kent	3
Berkshire	1
Cumberland	2
Monmouthshire	1
Cornwall	1
Offaly	1
Ireland	1
Grand Total	**460**

Source: Data from The National Archive Census Returns, 1841-1901

In the 1891 Census, only one individual was born in Wales and two in Ireland, otherwise 460 individuals were all born in England, see Table 96, although geographically well distributed.

Table 97: 1891 Census Place of Birth Given as Study Parishes and Reconstitution Forms

[453] The National Archive, '1891 Census Return for Bergh Apton, Norfolk, England'.

	Place of Birth Indicated				
Place of Birth Indicated	**Bergh Apton**	**Chedgrave**	**Mundham**	**Sisland**	**Thurton**
Number indicating	164	8	14		8
Appear Bergh Apton Reconstitution Form	131	1	5		3
Appear Chedgrave Reconstitution Form		4			
Appear Mundham Reconstitution Form		1	5		
Appear Sisland Reconstitution Form		1			
Appear Thurton Reconstitution Form	2				4
Not traced	31	1	4		1

Source: Data from Appendix 2 and Appendix 3

Although the number of people giving Bergh Apton as their place of birth was an increase on the previous Census at 36%, but not as high as the earlier ones of 1851 and 1861, Table 97.

The figures for Bergh Apton over the six Censuses can be seen in Table 98. In 1851 the population of the parish had changed from 603 from 562. In that time, 187 people had remained and can be found at the latest Census date, 41 people had died with a record found in the parish registers. In addition, a further 336 people who had been listed in 1841 were not to be found in the next Census. The numbers which remain between one Census and the next do fall away from 1861, although the number who died and were recorded is more constant. Only a very few people remain for four, five or six Censuses.

Table 98: Bergh Apton Population Turnover from Multiple Censuses

Census Year	**1841**	**1851**	**1861**	**1871**	**1881**	**1891**
Opening population total	564	603	544	521	464	460
Remain for one decade	187 (33%)	124 (20%)	109 (20%)	82 (16%)	94 (20%)	64 (14%)
2 censuses	0	70 (12%)	39 (7%)	36 (7%)	27 (6%)	38 (8%)
3 censuses	0	0	24 (5%)	11 (2%)	6 (1%)	8 (2%)
4 censuses	0	0	0	9 (2%)	6 (1%)	1

5 censuses	0	0	0	0	4(1%)	2 (1%)
6 censuses	0	0	0	0	0	1
Leave	336 (60%)	373 (62%)	333 (61%)	345 (66%)	291 (63%)	317 (69%)
Died	41 (7%)	36 (6%)	39 (7%)	38 (7%)	36 (8%)	29 (6%)

Source: Data from The National Archive, Bergh Apton 1841-1891

Bergh Apton shows a different pattern from both Mundham and Chedgrave. The most striking feature is that the age of leaving actually increased through much of the nineteenth century, rather than falling, Table 99. So, unlike Chedgrave and Mundham, there isn't strong evidence here of people increasingly leaving at younger ages. Bergh Apton shows moderate ageing and relatively stable migration ages, rather than the strong young-person out-migration pattern seen in Chedgrave and Mundham.

Table 99: Average Age of Population at Multiple Censuses

Bergh Apton Census Year	Average Age of Leaving	Average Age of Remainers	Average Age of Dying
1841	24	26	35
1851	26	30	42
1861	27	28	53
1871	28	29	43
1881	26	32	54
1891	26	31	61

Source: Data from The National Archive, Bergh Apton Census 1841-1891

Rural Circulation and Short-Distance Mobility

Rural mobility in the nineteenth century was often characterized not by long-distance migration, but by frequent movement within a relatively narrow local area, and the

turnover from the censuses confirms this trend.[454] The five parishes were connected to each other and other villages through a network of work opportunities, social relationships, and seasonal activity. These patterns of circulation made the countryside considerably more mobile and interconnected than a simple distinction between "rural" and "urban". However, the mobility was not about the immediate as Table 100 below shows the total number of migrations recorded by the Census. The majority demonstrated only a single relocation, though not always a static one for Eliza Brown in 1871 had moved from Mundham to Sisland but had returned by 1881. William Charlish, between 1861 and 1881 had moved from Mundham to Bergh Apton to Mundham and back to Bergh Apton. In both these examples only two parishes were involved. One exception to this was undertaken by Ann Smith between 1851 and 1881 when she moved from Chedgrave to Bergh Apton to Thurton and back to Chedgrave. Obviously, these movements do not discount the possibility of movement between the censuses.

Table 100: Individual Movements between 1851 and 1891.

Journey from	Journey To	Number of times between 1851-1891
Bergh Apton	Chedgrave	7
	Mundham	10
	Sisland	1
	Thurton	25
Chedgrave	Bergh Apton	5
	Mundham	1
	Sisland	6
	Thurton	5
Mundham	Bergh Apton	11

[454] Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration And Mobility In Britain Since The Eighteenth Century* (Taylor and Francis, 2005).

	Sisland	17
	Thurton	4
Sisland	Bergh Apton	2
	Chedgrave	4
	Mundham	15
	Thurton	1
Thurton	Bergh Apton	21
	Chedgrave	8
	Mundham	4

Source: Data from The National Archive, Censuses 1841-1891

So, although for many journeys took place within a limited local radius, it would be incorrect to assume that these were isolated communities, the villages formed part of dense local networks. Enhanced by agricultural work which generated substantial temporary mobility. Workers could move between farms in response to the seasonal demands and movements were generally temporary rather than permanent. These movements were also closely connected to the life cycle. Young adults moved from their parental houses to work as farm servants, or domestic workers in other rural households. All part of the economic journey towards marriage. These movements reveal a rural society that was highly connected at the local level. The countryside was consequently characterized less by immobility than by continual circulation through established local networks.

In the data above we have been focusing on the changes between the decennial Census figures and names, but the appearance of names over a longer period may also suggest that wider family networks have operated within the environment. These may be an indication of a family's mobility but also that families, over time may move away and move back. The census evidence demonstrates the value of integrating household returns with parish registers and family reconstitution in order to develop a

fuller understanding of community, mobility and attachment to place. While the census provides a decennial snapshot of households, occupations and places of birth, for this study the advantage lies in the ability to verify, refine and extend the information contained within the parish registers. Cross-referencing the two sources enables correlation to take place, while also revealing inconsistencies in reported ages, places of birth and family structure that would remain hidden if either source were used in isolation.

The parishes demonstrate that despite the predominance of locally born residents throughout the nineteenth century, the parish population was far from static. Movement between parishes was common and confirms the importance of studying an interconnected group of parishes rather than treating each as an isolated community. The census also reveals the continued arrival of newcomers from elsewhere in Norfolk and, to a lesser extent, from neighbouring counties, suggesting that rural communities maintained wider marriage and migration networks than parish registers alone might imply.

Comparison of census returns with reconstitution forms also exposes the limitations of both sources. Census ages were occasionally inaccurate, places of birth changed between enumerations, and household relationships could obscure illegitimacy, remarriage and blended families. Conversely, parish registers omit individuals whose baptisms occurred elsewhere or not at all, while delayed or group baptisms complicate the reconstruction of family histories. Used together, however, these records allow the identification of family continuity across generations, reveal the persistence of kinship networks, and provide greater confidence in reconstructing life histories.

Finally, the census evidence reinforces one of the central themes of this study: that parish identity was neither fixed nor exclusive. Many individuals maintained long-term associations with a parish church while simultaneously moving between neighbouring communities. Although a core of long-standing residents remained within the parishes over decades, the high levels of turnover suggest that the individual unit of assessment did not prevent this. The combination of census material, parish registers and family reconstitution therefore provides a more nuanced picture of rural society, demonstrating both the continuity of local communities and the mobility that underpinned their development throughout the nineteenth century.

Chapter 6: Marriage: Concept of 'home' and that of 'community'

The Rev'd Anthony Huxtable, a witness before the 1847 Select Committee on Settlement and Poor Law Removal, discussed individuals' attachment to their county, in this case Dorset. One of the questions put to him was whether it would be desirable to abolish the Settlement Laws by which people were eligible for poor relief through the concept of belonging to a specific parish. His response was:

> whether it would not loosen that interest which the landlords now feel with regard to this parishioners, and dissolve those ties which bind persons brought up in a certain place, the remains perhaps of the feudal system…… I think in their heart of hearts that they do very much think of their parish. I had a letter the other day from a poor person who has not been in Sutton [Sutton Waldron] for 30 years, and it was marked with the strongest sentiment of parochial attachment. The feeling they have is, that it is their home; go where they will they have a home…… There is a deep feeling about their native place, and they do feel a strong attachment to it.[455]

The idea that every individual had a place of settlement, that there was a parish which was obliged to provide them with support in their time of need was outlined, in law, by the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601, although the ultimate decision as to who would receive that relief immediately following the Act was decided by the parish officials. The piece of legislation, referred to as the Act of Settlement, clarified that a settlement could be gained through birth, apprenticeship, or service. However, it was the

[455] Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950*, 82.

responsibility of the individual to inform the parish of an intention of a plan to remain and led that individual open to immediate removal if the claim was unsuccessful. Hence, after the 1662 Act, only a small number were explicit in their claim for settlement. After 1692 there was no longer a requirement to place this plan in writing and the reasons outlined for settlement were automatic. In effect this change applied to all and it led to the situation that the Poor Law authorities were required to disprove the right to remain and hence to gain support.[456] E J Lidbetter, writing in the early twentieth century confirmed the sentiment when he stated that "the place of settlement is the place to which a person 'belongs', *to* such a place he may be removed, *from* such a place he may not be removed."[457]

Although in current terminology we may consider 'home' to be associated with property and residence, primarily that of our parents or grandparents, in the nineteenth century and earlier this would not have been the case for many of the poorest parts of the population. The 'concept' of home appears to have been associated with an individual house/ property or place, but also the wider context of occupation and workplace. This narrative, almost idealist perspective, was clearly referenced by some of the key writers of the period. The other concept of 'home' as suggested by Rev Huxtable was one's legal settlement and, thus, more definitely associated with place and parish. Although 'home' was a term which meant slightly different things to different people, as the range of narratives in biographical and legal depositions suggest that the acquiring of settlement was quite well defined. For men, and single women, settlement

[456] Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, *London Lives: Poverty, Crime, and the Making of a Modern City, 1690–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 145.

[457] K. D. M. Snell, 'Belonging and Community: Understandings of "Home" and "Friends" among the English Poor, 1750-1850', *Economic History Review* 65 (2012): 7.

was earnt by yearly service or apprenticeship. However married women took their husband's parish on marriage, even though they may have never visited it. The loss of settlement upon marriage, and possible kinship ties associated with their home parish, may have influenced the choice of marriage partner for the poorest members of society. The place of birth, the parish, was, from the earliest time in someone's life, critically important to a definition of one's identity and sense of community, and consequently this influenced some key life decisions. A specific church was not, however, the complete embodiment of this representation.

Many of the tensions associated with managing the poor, especially through the legislation of the nineteenth century were seen as attempts by officials to breakdown these links and beliefs of identity and belonging. If a parish settlement was increasingly seen as a problem, in that it delayed the movement of labour and the issues which appeared to exist with the attachment to 'home', this contradicts the concerns regarding the notion of vagrancy and the cost of supporting the movement on the 'off chance' of work. As Lee has commented:

> Nineteenth century notions of identity among rural communities fell on the cusp of change between centuries old 'mental-maps' that had been reinforced by generations of parish perambulations, and the post-enclosure, post New Poor Law work where both visible and social landscapes had radically altered.[458]

The act of marriage was a key decision in any individual's life story. Marriage had legal, societal and economic relevance. Marriage was the creation of a new economic

[458] Lee, 'Customs in Conflict: Some Causes of Anti-Clericalism in Rural Norfolk, 1815-1914', 208.

and social unit, acknowledgement and acceptance within the family and community as well as the formal acknowledgement of a relationship and children produced by it. The study of geographical changes in marriage can illustrate the links between demography and the concept of home and place as demonstrated in this group of rural parishes. The topography, local custom, poor law administration and the application of settlement laws could affect both the choices made but also the ability of couples and their subsequently families to remain in the locale. The concept of parish is also a well-established one, not just in the context of the Anglican church but also in relation to charity, poor law, highways and enclosure. Phythian Adams has emphasised the need to avoid the study of individual defined locations instead looking to focus on other patterns including local linkages, to include those local structural organisations which intersect between the individual, the parish and further afield.[459] This thesis considers marriage partners, endogamy and exogamy, as well as the link to religious affiliation as a definition of belonging, as outlined in marriage registers. By considering, at one level, all members of these parishes who have intersected with the established church the aim is to avoid the focus on just core families, although these also have something to say about community and belonging, but to look at some of the wider issues which affect our understanding of strength of community. Emmigration from the rural community and later changes to transport infrastructure are important nineteenth-century changes for parishes in south Norfolk.

Total Number of Marriages

[459] Phythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces in English Local History*, 18.

The first Census in 1801 looked to gather macro aggregate data rather than that relating to individuals. Details on individuals were not required to be returned but an enumerator, usually the overseer, was instructed to talk to each house and compile some basic biographical information. In relation to this clergy were also asked to supply data on the number of marriages which had taken place annually since Hardwicke's Act in 1754. Although these returns, or their abstracted data, should have provided an account of the population, many returns were neither compiled nor returned.[460] The key component and starting point for the reconstitution of families is the marriage register and the initial creation of a domestic economic unit. Table 101 and Figure 47 indicates the number of marriages which have been recorded in the parish registers of the study group. Each of these marriages forms the basis for the reconstruction of a family unit.

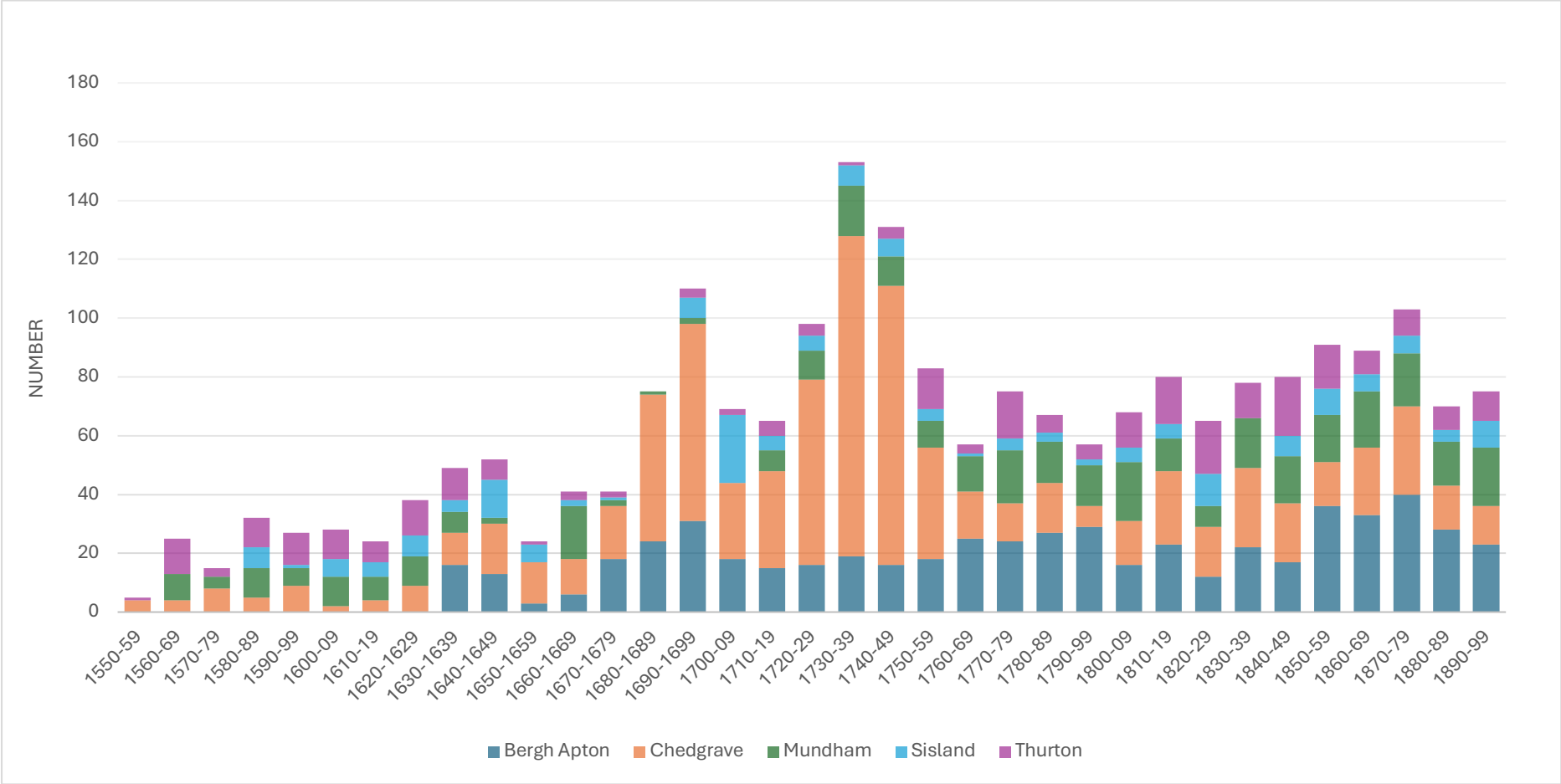
[460]WJ Edwards, 'National Register Data', *Local Population Studies* 17 (1976): 16.

Table 101: Total Marriages All Parishes, 1550-1899

	Bergh Apton	Chedgrave	Mundham	Sisland	Thurton
1550-59		4			1
1560-69		4	9		12
1570-79		8	4		3
1580-89		5	10	7	10
1590-99		9	6	1	11
1600-09		2	10	6	10
1610-19		4	8	5	7
1620-29		9	10	7	12
1630-39	16	11	7	4	11
1640-49	13	17	2	13	7
1650-59	3	14	0	6	1
1660-69	6	12	18	2	3
1670-79	18	18	2	1	2
1680-89	24	50	1	0	0
1690-99	31	67	2	7	3
1700-09	18	26	0	23	2
1710-19	15	33	7	5	5
1720-29	16	63	10	6	4
1730-39	19	109	17	7	1
1740-49	16	95	10	6	4
1750-59	18	38	10	4	14
1760-69	25	16	12	1	3
1770-79	24	13	18	4	16
1780-89	27	17	14	3	6
1790-99	29	7	14	2	5
1800-09	16	15	20	5	12
1810-19	23	25	11	5	16
1820-29	23	17	7	11	18
1830-39	22	27	17	0	12
1840-49	17	20	16	7	20
1850-59	36	15	16	9	15
1860-69	33	23	19	6	9
1870-79	40	30	18	6	9
1880-89	28	15	15	4	8
1890-99	23	13	20	9	10
Total	579	851	360	182	282

Source: Data from Appendix 1.1,1.4,1.7,1.10 and 1.13

Figure 47: Total Marriages All Parishes, 1550-1899



Source: Data from Appendix 1.1,1.4,1.7,1.10 and 1.13

Bergh Apton has a particular low number of recorded marriages between 1650 and 1669, during the period of the Commonwealth. The transfer of registration and replacement of the parochial system has already been documented in Chapter Two, and the data would appear to confirm that for Bergh Apton registration was ineffective. There are significant peaks in the decades 1690-1699, 1790-1799 and 1870-1879. The number of marriages fall away significantly after 1890, though they are still above the numbers recorded in the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.

Chedgrave has low and steady marriage numbers before 1670 but, as with Bergh Apton, has a peak number of marriages between 1690-1699. The Commonwealth period does not appear as clear in the records for this parish. A very high number of marriages, over 50% higher than the previous peak, occurred between 1730 and 1750. This is attributable to irregular marriages and will be discussed later in the chapter. A return to a steady but modest number occurs after 1800 with slight peaks in 1810-1819, 1830-1839 and slightly higher in 1870-1879, an increase which also existed in Bergh Apton.

The total number of marriages is lower in Mundham than Bergh Apton or Chedgrave and shows much higher fluctuation. There were no marriages recorded between 1650-1660 and 1700-1710, the former the period of the Commonwealth so illustrating the expected breakdown of registration, although there is a peak between 1660-1669, where numbers are low in the previous two parishes. There was no clear increase in the nineteenth century, a dip between 1820-1829, but a clear rising profile at the end of the century, which is also different to Bergh Apton and Chedgrave.

As with Mundham, the number of marriages in Sisland was low but the pattern reflects some similarities and differences. Marriages are recorded and survive from an earlier period and remain fairly constant until a peak in 1640-49, which is earlier than that found in the other parishes. However, there is low point, without any recorded marriages, between 1680-89. This was later than the Commonwealth period so would suggest that some marriages (and recording) did occur in Sisland between 1639-1669. A 50% increase in 1700-09 can be explained by the high number of irregular marriages, earlier than those found in Chedgrave but to be discussed later in the chapter. After that the numbers remain constant except for a growth in 1820-1829, which correspond with a dip in the neighbouring parish of Mundham. The registers indicate that 82% of those marriages had at least one resident from Sisland so it would not appear that the couples have relocated. This was followed by a period of no marriages between 1830 and 1843 and recorded as such in the register, rather than being caused by missing data. Again, like the smaller parish of Mundham, there was a rising trajectory by the end of the nineteenth century, when the population was smaller than it had been mid-century.

As with Sisland, the marriage records begin early in Thurton, but the pattern, in many respects, is very different to the other parishes. The figures are higher and consistent throughout the period until the Commonwealth, when numbers drop but do continue therefore with a few ceremonies recorded. Until the mid-eighteenth century the numbers remain lower and fairly consistent, however after 1750 they rise rapidly, with peaks in 1750-1759, 1770-1779, 1830-1839 and 1840-1849. The latter dates cover the period without records in Sisland. The eighteenth-century peaks are not replicated

elsewhere in the data. The figures also decrease towards the end of the nineteenth century which is not witnessed in the other parishes.

In summary the parishes show some broad similarities, in terms of the Commonwealth period and rising numbers in the nineteenth century but also some striking differences in their peaks, although some may be due to the regularity of recording. One of the reasons for the changes and differences may be reflective of the clergy in the parish over time. References to the problems with the registration, where that applies to non-residency or pluralism have already been outlined, but the individual parishes do reflect changes which I have summarised below in combination with the peaks and falls referenced above.

For Bergh Apton, Samuel Stead is listed as the Rector for the period before and during the Commonwealth, thus although resident it appears that the role of the church was affected by the changing government. For the periods showing the peak numbers of marriage, in 1690-99 (Robert Conold), 1790-99 (Neville Walter) and 1870-79 (Walter Thursby), only Neville Walter is recorded as being rector elsewhere, in Otley (Suffolk), at the same time as Rector of Bergh Apton so it would appear that his record keeping did not suffer as a consequence of his situation, neither were there any lower records in other periods of dual residency. [461]

As with Bergh Apton, Silvester Child is listed as the Rector of Chedgrave, for the Commonwealth period and was installed in 1641 prior to its establishment. Although

[461] Approximately 40 miles

the peaks show some pluralism, they are not in distance parishes, so during the peak of 1690-1699 George Fuller was also Rector of Loddon; the peak of 1810-1819 Thomas Beauchamp was also rector of Langley, and he was still the Rector for the next peak between 1830-1839. Thomas Beauchamp was also the son of the patron and Lord of the Manor which may have also affected the role of church and parish in this period. The last peak, 1870-1879, saw William Barrett as Rector and also Curate in Langley as the previous incumbent had been. These parishes are adjacent to the ones under study so expectation would be that non-residency would not lead to under recording in these records.

In the thirteenth century, Mundham was split into Mundham Magna and Mundham Parva, and a church, St. Ethelbert's, was built for use by Parva. Although St Peter's was the main church used when the parishes were reunited from 1454, St. Ethelbert's remained open until 1749. The records for the latter only exist prior to the introduction of registers, however the list of rectors does not exist for St Peter's before 1706, hence there are no records for the Commonwealth period when the registers record no marriages or the peak between 1660-1669. Abraham Clarke is recorded from 1706, when the registers appear to still be neglected and he was also Rector of Thurton and Seething, though there are records for the former, one of the parishes under study. A dip was noted between 1820-1829 when William Castell (1814-1826) was also curate of Brooke (1795-) and Thurton (1797-) during this period, although neither parish is a great distance from Mundham.

In Sisland the Rector list starts in 1535 and is the only record set which notes the removal of a member of clergy for absence and neglect after visitation with George

Lesbury in 1568. The peak recorded between 1640-1649 occurred while Geoffrey Lone was incumbent although he remained in post until 1662. There were no marriages recorded between 1680-1689 while Anthony Buxton was also vicar of Swardeston (Norfolk) between 1676-1690 and Thwaite (Norfolk) between 1690 and 1713. As he stood down from the former at the end of the period indicated there may be a correlation between the two, especially as a peak between 1700-1709 also occurred with Buxton as the Rector, although this was one of the periods of irregular marriages. The third peak between 1820-1829 occurred with the incumbency of William Hobson, who was also curate of Chedgrave (1814-), curate of Langley (1814-), Curate of Hardley (1814-), Curate of Thwaite (1826-) and curate of Thurton (1828-). All these parishes were within the locale of Sisland and, apparently not affecting the record keeping or number of marriage services that he could perform, although a higher number than any of the other clergy who appear in this study.

Thurton, as previously stated, shows a different pattern to the other parishes however there are some crossovers in terms of Rector and Curates. The two peaks in 1750-1759 and 1770-1779 occurred when John Blancks was Curate. For the latter two peaks, 1830-1839 and 1840-1849, William Hobson of Sisland was the curate, as noted above, and who held a number of positions at the same time.

The Act of Marriage

Hardwicke's Act, and the reasons for its introduction, have been referenced in Chapter Two but it laid down that

> All banns of matrimony shall be published in an audible manner in the parish church, or in some public chapel … of or belonging to such parish … wherein the persons to be married shall dwell… upon three Sundays preceding the

> solemnisation of marriage, during the time of morning service or of evening service … and whensoever it shall happen that the persons to be married shall dwell in different parishes …, the banns shall in like manner be published in the church or chapel belonging to such parish or chapelry wherein which of the said persons shall dwell… the marriage shall be solemnised in one of the parish churches or chapels where such banns have been published, and in no other place whatsoever.[462]

Hardwicke's Marriage Act made it absolutely clear what was defined as residency in the preparation of marriage.[463] However, Cannons 62 and 102 concerning church marriage had always stated that marriage should be preceded by banns or licence and take place in the parish of residence of one of the parties.[464] The records indicated that the change in non-residency marriages after the introduction of Hardwicke's Act was swift and those which occur after 1754 are rare.[465] For the parishes under study, after 1754 there are four irregular marriages in Chedgrave, none in the other parishes, and the former are all with the bridal party from Loddon which is an adjacent parish.

Clandestine or irregular marriages took place before the Marriage Act of 1753 and, in effect, before it became law on 25th March 1754. These were marriages which took place away from the home parish of the bride and groom and without the publication of banns. There appears to have been an element of secrecy in these marriages. Since 1563 the Catholic church had required all marriages to be performed by a priest

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[462] An Act for the Better Prevention of Clandestine Marriages, 26 Geo II c. 33 s. I

[463] Snell, 'English Rural Societies and Geographical Marital Endogamy, 1700-1837', 269.

[464] Rebecca Probert and L. D. Brown, 'The Impact of the Clandestine Marriages Act: Three Case Studies in Conformity', *Continuity and Change* 23 (2008): 310.

[465] Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Marriage Registers: 1755-1808', n.d., PD641/ 6.

and for two witnesses to be present. The Marriage Duty Act of 1695 was introduced, in theory, to end the practice of irregular marriages by penalising clergy who married two people without either licence or publishing banns. These irregular marriages are most associated and often referenced as Fleet marriages as they have been associated with marriages in that town. The evidence, however, suggested that the number of irregular marriages continued which led to the introduction, by Lord Hardwick, of the Marriage Act in 1753 which insisted/decreed that a marriage needed to have either a licence or publication of banns and be performed by a member of the clergy. The punishment of failing to meet these criteria was annulment, moving the penalty from the clergy on to the couple. In addition, for those aged under 21, the marriage must have the consent of the parents or guardians. The penalty for clergy undertaking clandestine marriages was punishment by transportation, for a maximum of fourteen years. The Act proved to be effective in England and Wales so that couples wishing to marry had to travel to Scotland (and hence the popularity of Gretna Green). The law in Scotland did not change until 1856 when a 20-day residency rule was introduced.[466]

Historians writing about the Hardwicke Marriage Act have suggested that the pressure to introduce the legislation came from two main developments. Firstly, the high number of marriages in prison, often illustrated by the example of Fleet, which led to some suggesting that as many of half the marriages in London were performed under Fleet conditions.[467] Secondly because a number of marriages were not being undertaken

[466] Hey, *The Oxford Companion to Local and Family History*, 43.

[467] Probert and Brown, 'The Impact of the Clandestine Marriages Act: Three Case Studies in Conformity', 310.

within the parish church and operated on a system of consent, they were not, therefore, recorded.[468] The analysis of data from two parishes in the sample would suggest that there was a third method of marriage which has to be considered and that is the movement of couples to alternative parishes to undertake a religious marriage ceremony in the period before 1753. These marriages were recorded and performed in a parish church and were not, therefore, avoiding registration. John Gillis has suggested that a large section of the population continued to ignore the use of a parish church and formal registration.[469] The evidence from the parishes in the study does not suggest that this occurred. Probert suggests that the legislation was successful as the majority of non-conforming marriages were in London and not in the rural and proto-industrial countryside.[470] The data from this study shows that there were a number of these marriages in two of the parishes under study. For the purposes of this thesis the couple marrying did not demonstrate a connection to either parish, in religious terminology, or community in terms of locale as they have no further interaction with the registers in these villages. Where we have data then we can look at the number of marriages which took place after the reading of banns or through the granting of a licence. The reading of banns implies that at least one member of the couple would have been resident as these were read by the clergy before a service for three weeks prior to the wedding. For the 1024 marriages which we have data, 816 were carried out by banns and 208 by licences, so 80% were carried out by banns.

[468] Ibid., 309.

[469] J. Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present.* (Oxford University Press, USA, 1985), 219.

[470] Probert and Brown, 'The Impact of the Clandestine Marriages Act: Three Case Studies in Conformity', 310.

Irregular Marriages

Unfortunately, the records (Table 102) for the use of banns and licence are only recorded after the period of irregular marriages in Sisland and Chedgrave and the introduction of Hardwicke's Act.

Table 102: Dates of Earliest Records Recording Banns and Licence Marriages

Parish	Date of Earliest Record
Bergh Apton	1755
Chedgrave	1759
Mundham	1720
Sisland	1732
Thurton	1725

Source: Data from Appendix 1.1,1.4,1.7,1.10 and 1.13

For the parish of Chedgrave there are high number of irregular marriages, with particular peaks in 1690s and 1730-1750. There were 289 irregular marriages recorded in the records of Chedgrave church between 1700 and 1759. The majority (250) when Samuel Conold was the Rector, although the distribution of these events was spread across two main decades (Table 103).

Table 103: Number of Irregular Marriages in Chedgrave, 1700-1759

Decade	Total Number of irregular marriages	Total number of irregular marriages where bride and groom from the same location
1700-1709	17	7
1710-1719	25	12
1720-1729	53	26
1730-1739	86	59
1740-1749	82	53
1750-1759	26[471]	19
TOTAL	**289**	**176**

Source: Data from Appendix 1.4

[471] Five of these marriages were post 1754

For the parish of Sisland, marriages may be under registered in the period of the Commonwealth, however the number of irregular marriages is clear for 1700s-1749, details on Table 104, although the peak does not occur at the same time as the one in Chedgrave.

Table 104: Number of Irregular Marriages in Sisland, 1700-1749

Decade	Total number of irregular marriages	Total number of irregular marriages where bride and groom from the same location
1640-1649	1	0
1690-1699	2	2
1700-1709	14	7
1710-1719	4	1
1720-1729	2	1
1730-1739	3	1
1740-1749	5	3
TOTAL	**31**	**15**

Source: Data from Appendix 1.10

The irregular marriages which took place predominantly in Chedgrave and Sisland lead to several questions being raised regarding the couples who had chosen to marry in either of these locations. Thurton has four irregular marriages indicated over the period, of which three indicate a licence.[472] Mundham also has three but the focus of tracing these couples in the ecclesiastical and other records has been on the former two parishes.[473] It is interesting to note that Bergh Apton does not appear to have any

[472] Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Baptism 1559-1813, Marriages 1559-1753 and Burial 1559-1824 Registers'.

[473] Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism Registers 1685-1781, Marriage 1714-1780 and Burial 1685-1781', n.d., PD650/ 2.

irregular marriages in this period. A composite list of the marriages with their stated parish of groom and bride enabled a search to be undertaken within a number of different listings created in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unfortunately, none of the parishes appear in these informal lists referred to in the sources section. By focusing on the two main parishes where the irregular marriages have been recorded, Sisland and Chedgrave, we can plot the movement of the bride and groom, where green indicates both partners from the same parish, blue male and red female marriage partners where the parishes differ.

A brief analysis was made of the number of weddings taking place by either banns or licence, as well as the numbers of couples either signing or marking the registers to assess any correlation between literacy and the marriage methodology. Is there a social distinction between the use of licences and a familial hierarchy where a bride may be literate and not the groom and, therefore, any effect this may have on family mobility or stasis. The ability to sign the register has been used by historians, such as Barry Reay, as an early indicator of the population's levels of education/literacy because of the lack of alternatives.[474] In some cases, it has been suggested that women often make a mark rather than sign in order not appear more educated than groom reinforcing society norms.

Table 105: Literacy and Marriage Types for All Five Parishes

Register: Signed or marked	Banns	Licence	Unknown	Grand Total
m/m	261	10	24	295
m/s	104	13	19	136
s/m	72	15	8	95

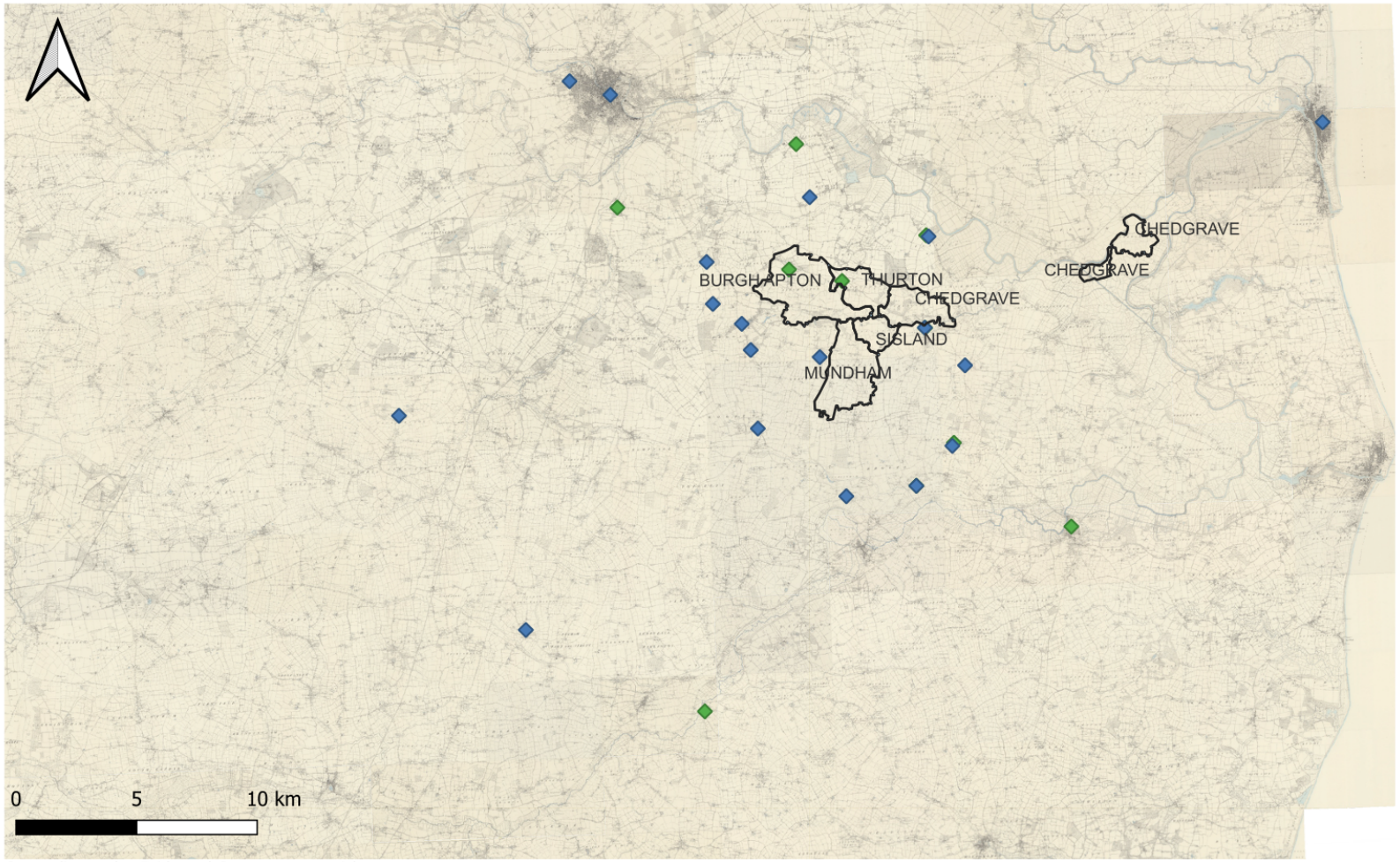
[474] Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society, and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*, 215.

s/s	285	115	31	431
Unknown	94	55	32	181
Grand Total	**816**	**208**	**114**	**1138**

Source: Data from Appendix 1.1, 1.4, 1.7, 1.10 and 1.13

Table 105 indicates the proportions, where the information is recorded in the registers, of those grooms and brides who could either; only mark the register (m/m); the groom could only mark but the bride sign (m/s); the groom could sign but the bride mark (s/m) and where both members of the couple could sign (s/s). The majority of licences (55%) were granted to those couples who were both able to sign the register. In addition, approximately 72% of all weddings after the mid eighteenth century were undertaken with banns. There is a figure of 10% of marriages where we do not have the format as neither the register nor the Bishops Transcript recorded the details. Frequently they are missing from the banns register but an assumption is not made on the outcome without evidence to the contrary. The data would suggest that there is a correlation between the use of licences and the education level of the marriage partners. In addition, this may imply the social background of the individuals as well as their possible mobility.

Figure 48: Sisland Marriage Partners, 1690-1749



Green diamond = Bride and Groom same parish
Blue diamond = Bride and Groom different parish

Source: Data from Appendix 1.10
Map Created by RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

Figure 49 is a pictorial representation of the 34 irregular marriages recorded in Sisland between 1690-1749, although 67% were between 1700-1710 and were highlighted as a peak period of registration for Anthony Buxton, who was also curate in Swardeston and Thwaite, neither of which villages appear in the registers as a place of residence of the couple. A pattern of movement can be seen along major transport links roads, predominantly road (l Norwich - Bungay - Harleston) but also river links (Norwich - Great Yarmouth).

None of these marriages have any subsequent connection to the parish, either through baptisms or burials. Only four of the marriage relationships can be traced with confidence, from commercial genealogy websites, given the limited information that we have from the register. Of these two, Gowen Brantwood, (burial at Langley in 1701) and Thomas Gorball, (buried at Thurlton in 1724) appear in burial registers for churches within proximity but not the parishes under study.[475] The other two (John Cowles, John Chapman) appear in baptism registers for Ellingham and Thurton respectively and the location of residence given on the marriage record.[476]

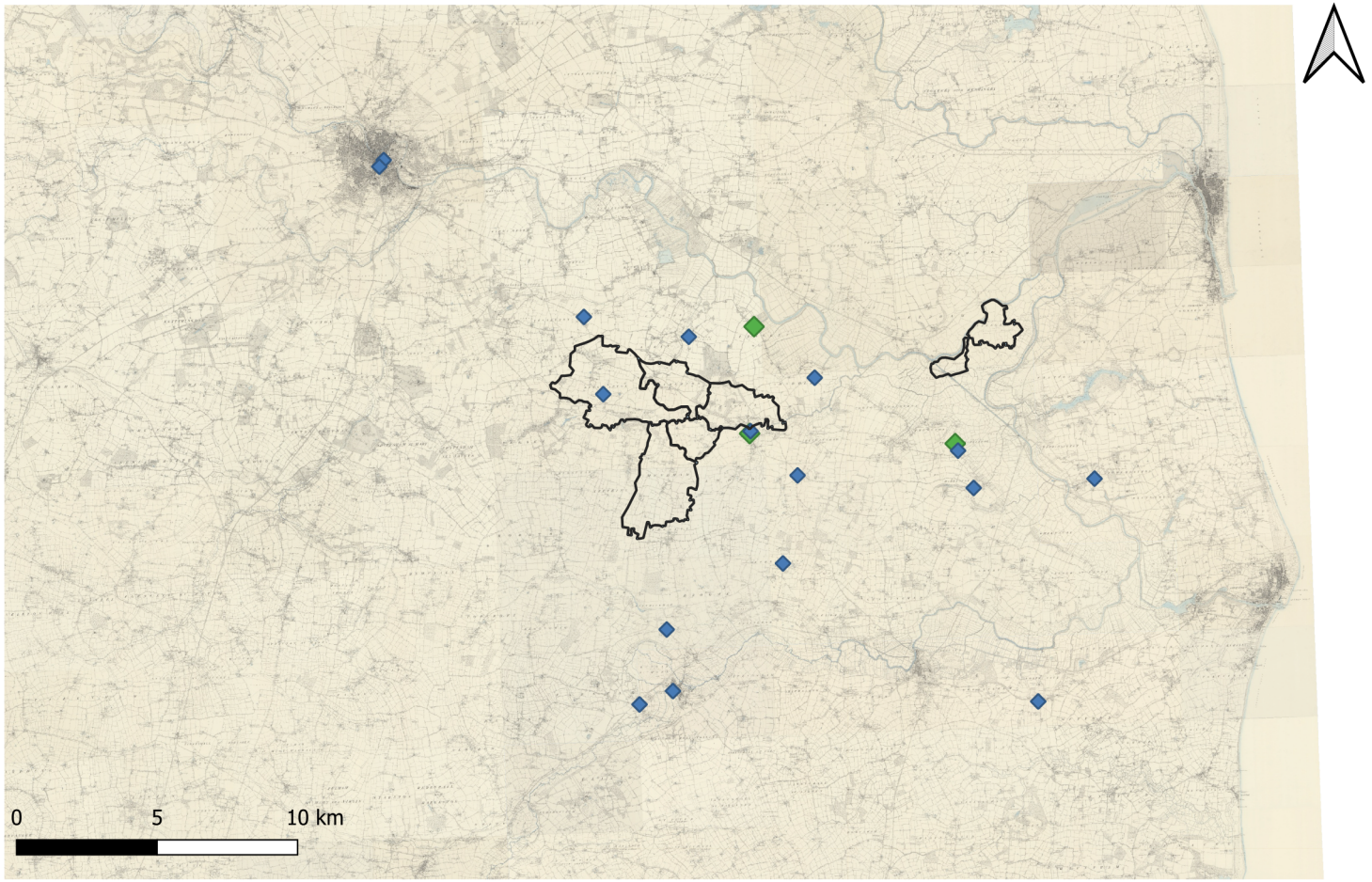
For the parish of Chedgrave, with the higher number of irregular marriages, and in order to represent the distribution of the locations, the figures that follow (Figures 49-

[475] Gowen Brantwood - Norfolk Record Office, 'Norfolk, England, Church of England Baptism, Marriages, and Burials, 1535-1812; Langley 1695-1784, Image 14', n.d. Thomas Gorball - Norfolk, England, Church of England Baptism, Marriages, and Burials, 1535-1812; Thurlton 1715-1788, Image 20', n.d., Norfolk Record Office, accessed 6 April 2025, ancestry.co.uk.

[476] John Cowles - Norfolk Record Office, 'Norfolk, England, Church of England Baptism, Marriages, and Burials, 1535-1812; Ellingham 1671-1812, Image 74', n.d. John Chapman - Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Baptism 1559-1813, Marriages 1559-1753 and Burial 1559-1824 Registers'.

54) have been split into the separate ten-year periods for ease of reference. The maps show marriages partners from 1700-1759 and use the same key as before. In addition, the main transport routes which pass through the parish are indicated for the river network and for the road network. The latter joining Norwich – Beccles – Bungay – Harleston. These rural market towns are the main service points for South Norfolk/ North Suffolk.

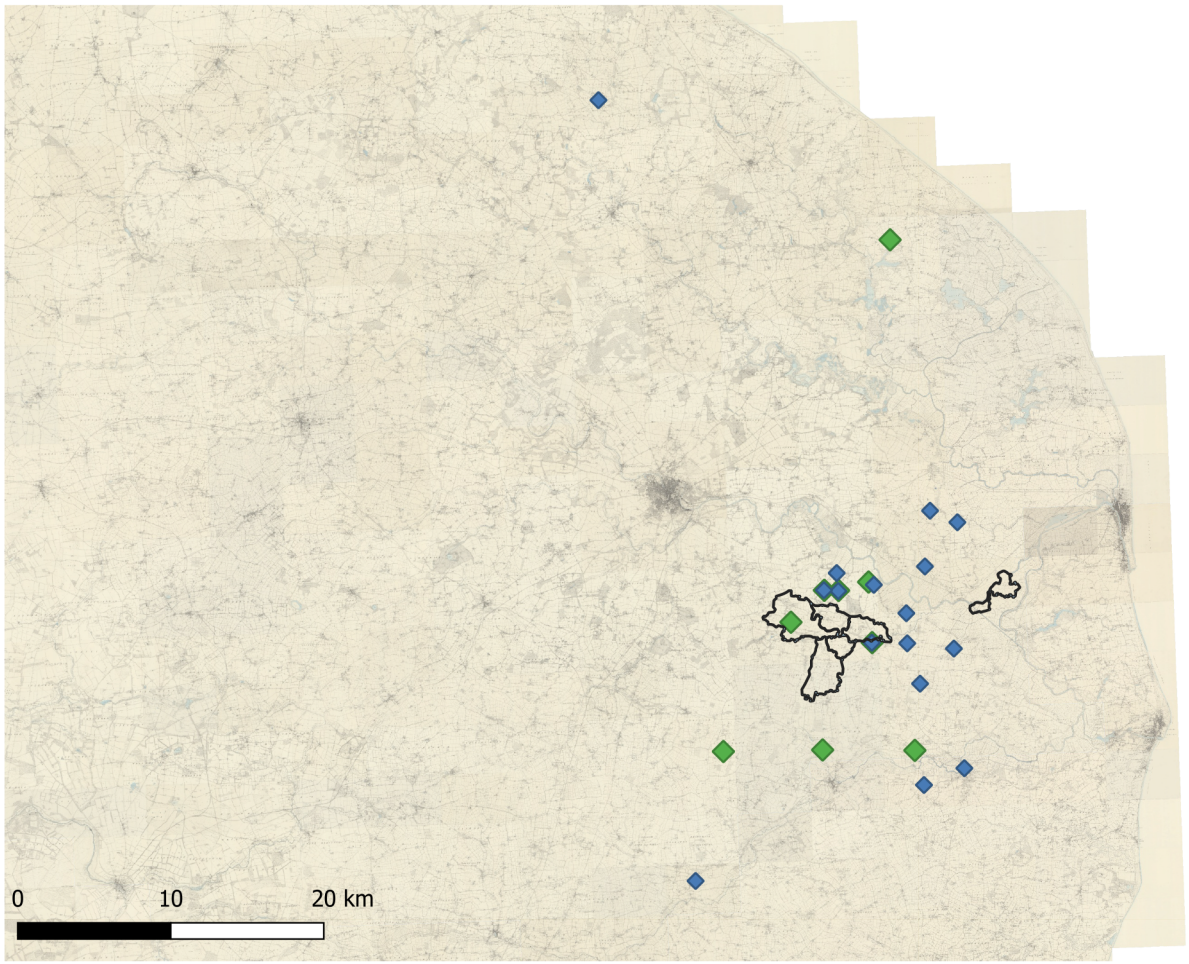
Figure 49: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1700-1709



Green diamond = Bride and Groom same parish
Blue diamond = Bride and Groom different Parish

Source: Data from Appendix 1.4
Map Created RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

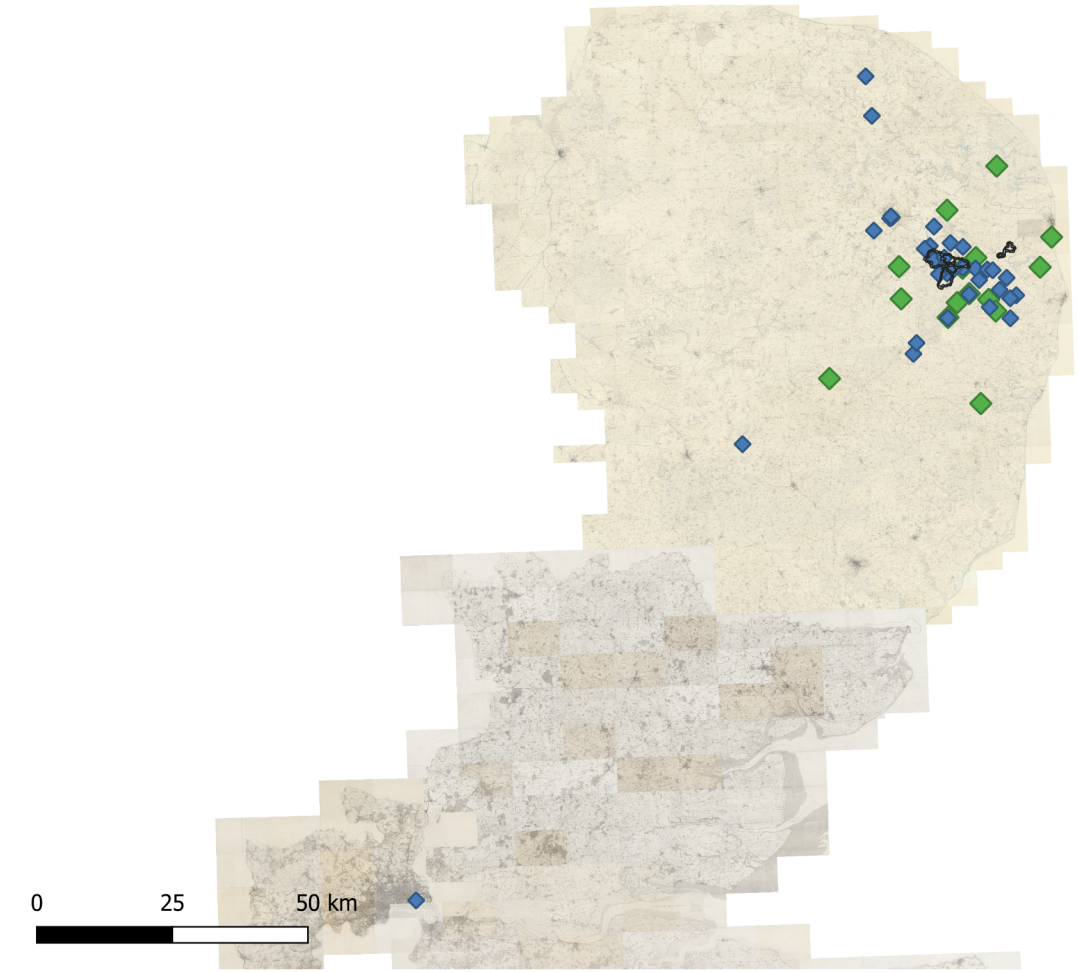
Figure 50: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1710-1719



Green diamond = Bride and Groom same parish
Blue diamond = Bride and Groom different parish

Source: Data from Appendix 1.4
Map Created by RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

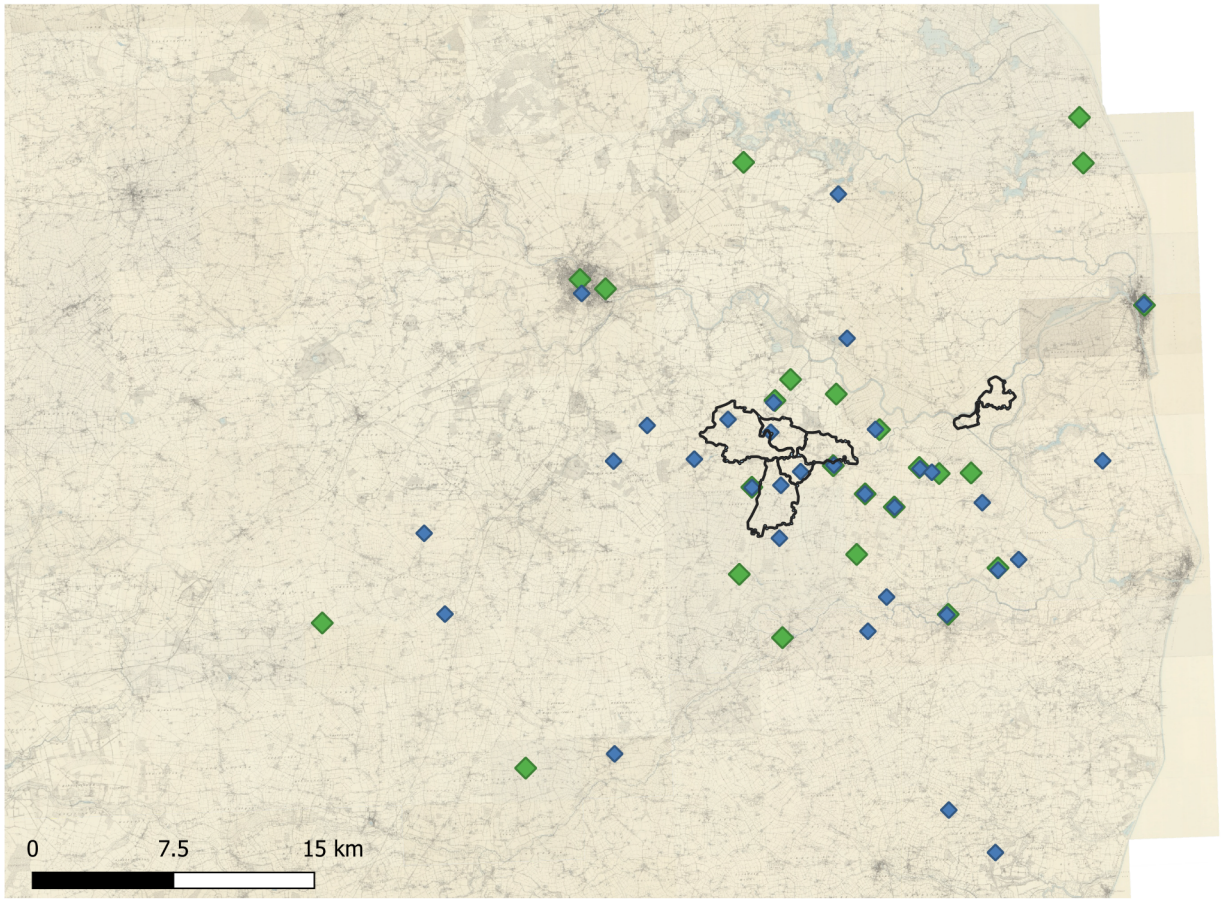
Figure 51: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1720-1729



Green diamond = Bride and Groom same parish
Blue diamond = Bride and Groom different parish

Source: Data from Appendox 1.4
Map Created by RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

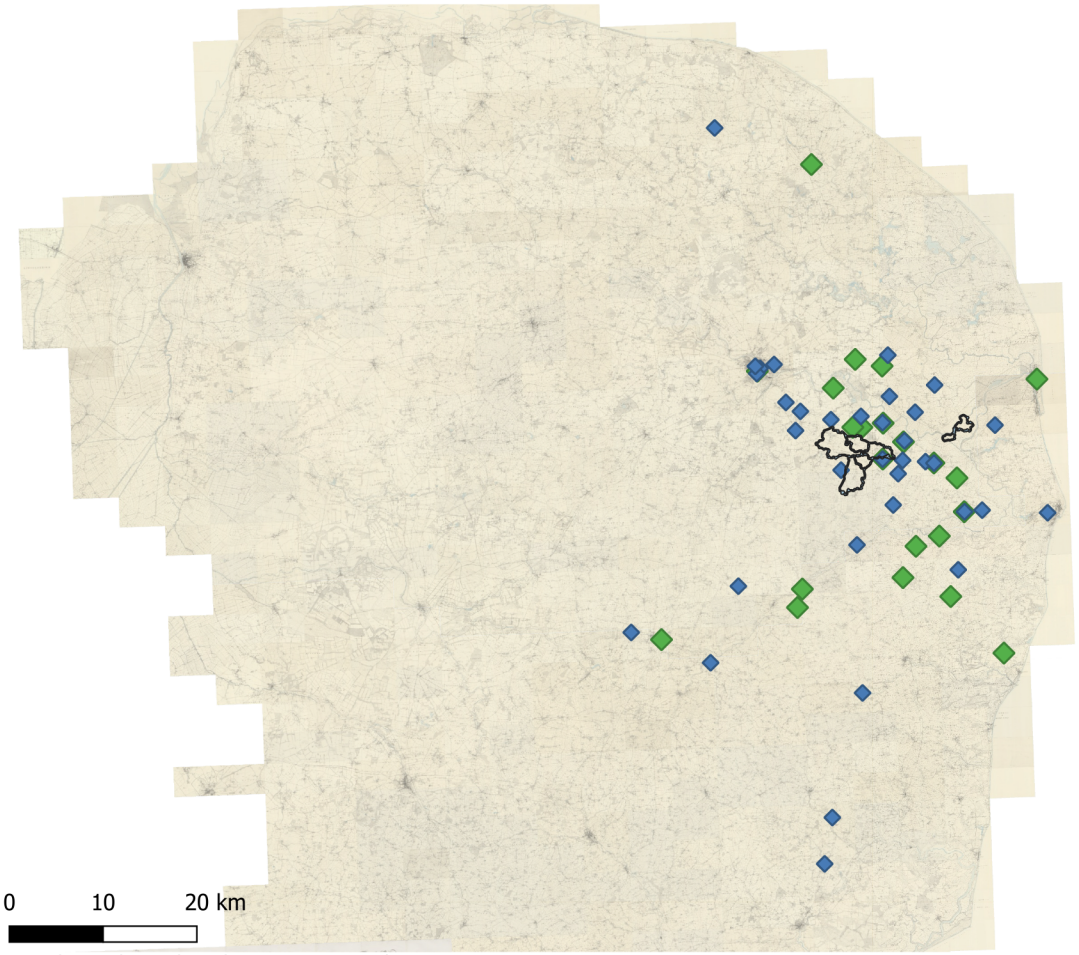
Figure 52: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1730-1739



Green diamond = Bride and Groom same parish
Blue diamond = Bride and Groom different parish

Source: Data from Appendix 1.4
Map Created by RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

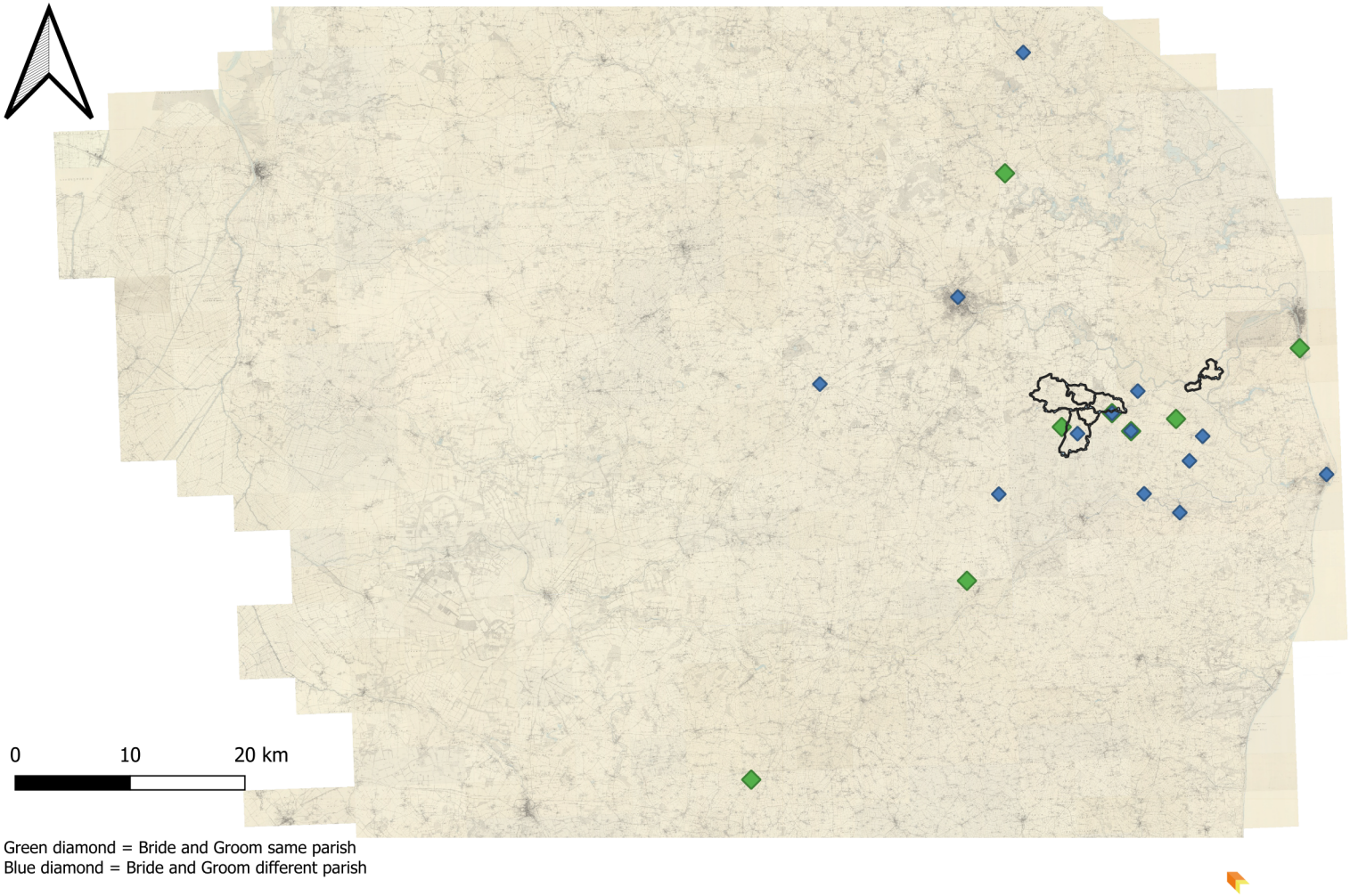
Figure 53: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1740-1749



Green diamond = Bride and Groom same parish
Blue diamond = Bride and Groom different parish

Source: Data from Appendix 1.10
Map Created by RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

Figure 54: Chedgrave Marriage Partners, 1750-1759



Green diamond = Bride and Groom same parish
Blue diamond = Bride and Groom different parish

Source: Data from Appendix 1.4

Map created by RJ Burgess - Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland

As two parishes with significant irregular marriages, this would suggest that the connection between church and parish was not an important one during this specific period, especially given that there are no further interactions with these couples in the register and, as the figures illustrate, some of the distances are quite substantial. Consideration should be given to the reasons for these types of marriages and what impact that may have on communities. From the clergy perspective these marriages may have provided a supplementary income and therefore might be more likely to be connected with a low value ecclesiastical living, which is hard to establish in the earlier periods. Where clerical absenteeism and the lack of checks in either a home or 'visitor' parish may also have exacerbate the use and abuse of the licence system. The advantage to the couple included paying a reduced fee, not having to provide evidence of age of the bride, not seek/obtain family permission or fit in with their expectations; none of which we can evidence. Couples do not always come from the same parish so although some may have not been able to use a 'parish church' for community expectations this would not apply to all the couples indicated.

The role of Settlement rights has been previous mentioned in the context of removal and charge to the poor rate, but these marriages did not appear to lead to a complication in this area although the inability to trace them further may explain this. The role of transport links is, however, an interesting one and a high proportion appear to follow these routes, so the churches concerned are closest to the River Chet of those studied. Nevertheless, given that not all the parishes under study are affected there would be reasons why these two churches attracted, for whatever reason, a large number of couples. As there are no written records and the confidence we can

have with spreading the net wider within the church records is limited, further study would need to follow both the couples involved and other churches in a similar situation.

Historians have debated the importance of the marriage legislation for several reasons. Firstly, whether marriage fundamentally a definition of a private and personal relationship or one which was associated with a public commitment and legal responsibilities. Secondly, and for historical demographers in particular, it provides an illustration of the effectiveness of the parish register which forms the basis of so much of the statistical and data analysis undertaken. In effect is there a sub-group missing from the registers. Alternatively, the data gathered suggests that the subgroup is not missing, but just in a different location. The question is then how important was the sense of place and belonging to a community part of the marriage either as a public or private commitment and how much confidence arises from these assumptions about the sense of belonging from the irregular data analysed.

Parish authorities often demanded verification especially if disproving the marriage would save them money by establishing that a claimant's dependents were settled elsewhere and were thus the responsibility of another parish. A wife took her husband's settlement on marriage, and legitimate children took their father's settlement. If the couple were unmarried, then the woman would derive no settlement through the man, and the children would be settled where they were born. The location where you were married was important but, in this context, you would need to prove that you were married. Probert's work confirms that these irregular marriages did take place within the Church of England and were performed by the clergy, by indication of

the register records.[477] Other historians including Snell and Schofield agree with this position but is there an importance of the church used and such distances were involved? Probert has suggested that the residency was still local but just not in the same parish so are there two different types of irregular marriages, one local, in this case if a bride and groom came from Loddon and those who were from much further afield in our sample such as Stalham or Lowestoft, a return distance of forty miles.[478]

Marriage and the formation of a new economic unit to produce a new identity in terms of social and economic recognition is something that is clearly operating during this period under study. Marriage ensured the legitimacy of children, providing continuation of families and, at certain levels property. If a woman's role was to have children, then marriage was an important step in the process. *Matrimoignie* from middle English and *matrimonium* (from *mater* or mother) in Latin, reflects the historical emphasis of the importance of motherhood as the reasons for marriage. The tradition, the societal roles, legitimacy for children, authority within the community and the pressure to conform are all reasons for marriage. All of these reasons would apply equally to regular and irregular marriages. Some differences could be seen as reasons for the use of one system therefore bigamy, possibly if checks are not carried out or the couple are not known in the parish; fees which may be reduced or avoided in the same way; privacy would be an option if you are not known as would avoiding parental authority and unwanted attention. Cultural norms and traditions played a significant role in determining who could marry whom and how marriages were arranged, this

[477] Probert and Brown, 'The Impact of the Clandestine Marriages Act: Three Case Studies in Conformity', 310.

[478] Ibid., 324.

could be different in a separate location. Friends and neighbours could play both a negative and positive role in marriage formation, recommendation of good character, influencing decisions, words of previous relationships. Although noting that kin, friendships and neighbours could be key to marriage and household formation may not be a surprise, it is also documented and illustrates how important that might have been.[479] However if the place is a key location in an individual's life, then it would suggest a subsequent return which is not demonstrated in the irregular marriages as they remain single events and not further reconstitutions. The distinction between regular and irregular in the nineteenth century is small, after all to marry, in a regular definition, in a parish one party, bride or groom, only had to be resident in the parish for three weeks.[480] James Cook marries Kate Pernicott on 7th June 1891, James is given as a baker resident in Sisland but he does not appear in the Census in 1891 although his parents do. He may or may not have been resident before but his bride, from Surrey, did not make the criteria and they were married by banns.[481]

Although this is a chapter on marriage and its strengths and ties to community, it is important just to place in context the concept of divorce. Ecclesiastical law governed divorce proceedings before 1857, when the Matrimonial Causes Act moved jurisdiction to the civil courts. Marriage was, for all intent and purpose, indissoluble, however the ecclesiastical court could nullify a marriage, on the basis of non-consummation, and grant separation. A divorce (*a mensa et thoro*) could be granted

[479] Steven King, 'Chance Encounters? Paths to Household Formation in Early Modern England', *International Review of Social History* 44 (1999): 37.

[480] Act for Marriages in England 1836, 6 & 7 Wm IV, c. 85 (17 August 1836).

[481] Sisland marriage form 3018

for adultery, extreme cruelty or desertion, however it stipulated that neither husband nor wife could remarry. A civil divorce before the change in legislation could only be obtained by Act of Parliament. After 1800 there were approximately ten divorce bills passed each year, but only three were ever awarded to women. The access to divorce was, therefore, incredibly restricted to a very small section of society, whereas remarriage through an irregular marriage may have been more accessible.

The Act of 1857 allowed for divorce for the adultery of a wife, but only for a husband if it was combined with cruelty, incest, bigamy or bestiality. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1878 granted magistrates courts the ability to grant protection orders to wives whose husbands had been convicted, not accused, of aggravated assault. Not until the introduction of the Maintenance of Wives (Desertion) Act in 1886 could a magistrate order a husband to maintain his wife. Additionally, not until 1895 could a magistrate issue a protection order for a wife who had left on the grounds of cruelty or the failure to provide maintenance for her and her children.

The aim of Hardwicke's Marriage Act was to standardise marriage ceremonies where at least one the celebrants was resident in the parish. The process of family reconstitution would be further enhanced by the ability to trace the bride and groom within formal church records. Details from nine Nottinghamshire parishes suggest that the proportion of extra parochial marriage cases rose from 10.8 % (89 out of 819 marriages) between the years 1670-1700 to 26 % (325 out of 1,351) from 1770-1800.[482] This appears to suggest a high degree of mobility in the choice of marriage

[482] J. D. Chambers, 'The Course of Population Change', in *Population in History*, ed. D. V. Glass and DEC Eversley (Arnold, 1965), 329.

partners. At Chaddesley Corbett in Worcestershire 364 (or 79.6%) of the 457 marriages between 1700 and 1725 involved at least one partner who lived outside the parish. While this was exceptionally high, it remained a feature of at least 20% of subsequent marriages in the parish.[483] Snell's work on marriage horizons and the existence of a range of available partners, which changes over time, can be analysed within these records.

All marriages which took place in the church can be categorised in the following way, where information is provided on the parish of residence from the register. The couple would either be

- Foreign, the term used to indicate that neither the bride nor groom were residents of the parish and also termed irregular.
- Bride as outsider, the term used if the groom was resident in the parish where the wedding took place
- Groom as outsider, the term used if the bride was resident in the parish where the wedding took place (uxorilocal)
- Endogamous, in which case both the bride and groom were resident of the parish where the ceremony took place

Work by both Lee and Snell have looked at the parish endogamy rates, whereby the parish is seen as the proxy for an internal marriage, but they also find that the Nonconformists took a much broader approach than the Anglicans. If we understand

[483] DEC Eversley, 'A Survey of Population in an Area of Worcestershire from 1660 to 1850 on the Basis of Parish Registers', in *Population in History*, by D. V. Glass and DEC Eversley (Arnold, 1965), 412.

parochial endogamy to mean both parties were resident in the parish where the marriage took place, we can see that less than half of all Nonconformist marriages were endogamous to the Anglican parish and that 28% were foreign, which is to say that both parties were normally resident outside the parish where the marriage took place. By contrast almost 70% of Anglican marriages were endogamous (Table 106).[484]

Table 106*:* Comparative Parochial Endogamy Between Nonconformist and Anglican Congregations in 13 Norfolk Parishes, 1837 to 1914

Marriage Type (Religion: Marriage Partners)	**Number of Parishes**	**% of Marriage Type**
Nonconformist Endogamous	181	42.5%
Nonconformist Exogamous	121	28.4%
Nonconformist Foreign	120	28.2%
No data on location	4	0.9%
Anglican Endogamous	1575	69.5%
Anglican Exogamous	683	30.1%
Anglican Foreign	6	0.3%
No data on location	2	0.1%

Source: Data from Lee, 'Customs in Conflict: Some Causes of Anti-Clericalism in Rural Norfolk, 1815-1914', 212.

Snell's data indicates that after the Hardwick Act the number of endogamous marriages as a total of all marriages recorded increased.[485] Given the tightening of the rules which followed the introduction of Hardwicke's Act this would be expected, Snell

[484] Lee, 'Customs in Conflict: Some Causes of Anti-Clericalism in Rural Norfolk, 1815-1914', 212.

[485] Snell, 'English Rural Societies and Geographical Marital Endogamy, 1700-1837', 273.

argues that this was not associated with the change in legislation but a change which was occurring before that time. For the parishes under study this was not correct, and Hardwicke did provide a break and a change in the proportions of those marrying. Snell provides the data that, by 1830s, over 80% of Norfolk parishes were endogamous [486]

Snell uses these figures to suggest that 'rural inhabitants in the past have been described as having stay-at-home' proclivities. His data suggests that this may be the case but the data transcripts and family reconstitutions that this study uses does not suggest that this correlation is so high.[487] Of the 78 marriages taking place in the five parishes in the 1830s only 60% were endogamous. If we look at uxorilocal marriages, where bride is resident in the parish, so would include both endogamous and bride as resident only then Snell's figures would be about 95% by 1830s for all marriages.[488] In these parishes, although it is higher at 77%, it does not come close to the figures suggested by his work. The smaller sample size may require the figures to be treated with caution. However the difference in the latter figure is quite substantial suggesting that the marriage horizons were not as narrow as Snell suggests.

Confidence of location in marriage registers

Marriage registers have been used both to illustrate and provide data on the residential location of the couple. In Snell's work, for example, this information is used to identify the endogamous couples. On marriage Snell argues that rural endogamy grew

[486] Ibid., 275.

[487] Ibid., 282.

[488] Ibid., 278.

between 1770 and 1840 through analysis of the place of residence of brides and grooms in 18,442 marriages across eight counties. A figure he places at around 70% of marriages.[489] However these calculations assume confidence in the relative data, both at completion of the record and that provided by the bride and groom but by using census and baptism data we can test the appropriateness and suggested accuracy of the figures.

Using Bergh Apton parish and relying on the data from 1851 onwards so that we can cross reference with censuses that provide key individual information, there are 86 marriages where both the bride and groom are listed as being resident in Bergh Apton at the time of the marriage (Table 107). Of those 24 couples (28%) were not resident, neither bride nor groom, at the Census before their wedding and in some cases, this was only a couple of months before the wedding. Only two grooms and four brides were baptised in the parish so would appear to have had a parental link to Bergh Apton and possible direct rather than earnt settlement. Only seven of these couples, from the 24, were resident at the subsequent Census, as well as one groom whose bride died in the intervening period.

Table *107*: Marriage Horizons in Bergh Apton

Type	Number	% of Total
Neither resident at time of Census	24	28
Both resident at time of Census	15	17
Bride Only at time of Census	16	19
Groom Only at time of Census	31	36
Total	86	100

[489] Ibid., 265.

The Census informs us of the parish of birth, some of these were the other parishes under study and some others which were local. Interestingly while seven grooms and four brides listed Bergh Apton as their place of birth in the Census, they do not appear in the baptism register and in two cases, at the subsequent Census their place of birth has changed. This is one of the issues which could occur when an enumerator completed the return and, sometimes, indicated the same place of birth for all members of a family. Does the work of Snell require further analysis based on the place of residence named on the marriage register and the ability to find additional sources to confirm this? The data would suggest that the correlation is not as high as previously suggested. If, for this parish, the numbers who have only a limited link to the community is a significant number then assumptions about the depth of the relationships and the importance of place must be questioned. This would explain the limited interaction with the church that occurs for many couples. It is also an indication of a caveat that must be applied to using a single source for analysis. The picture provided by the traditional use of parish marriage registers conceals a hidden story that can be revealed through longitudinal narratives.

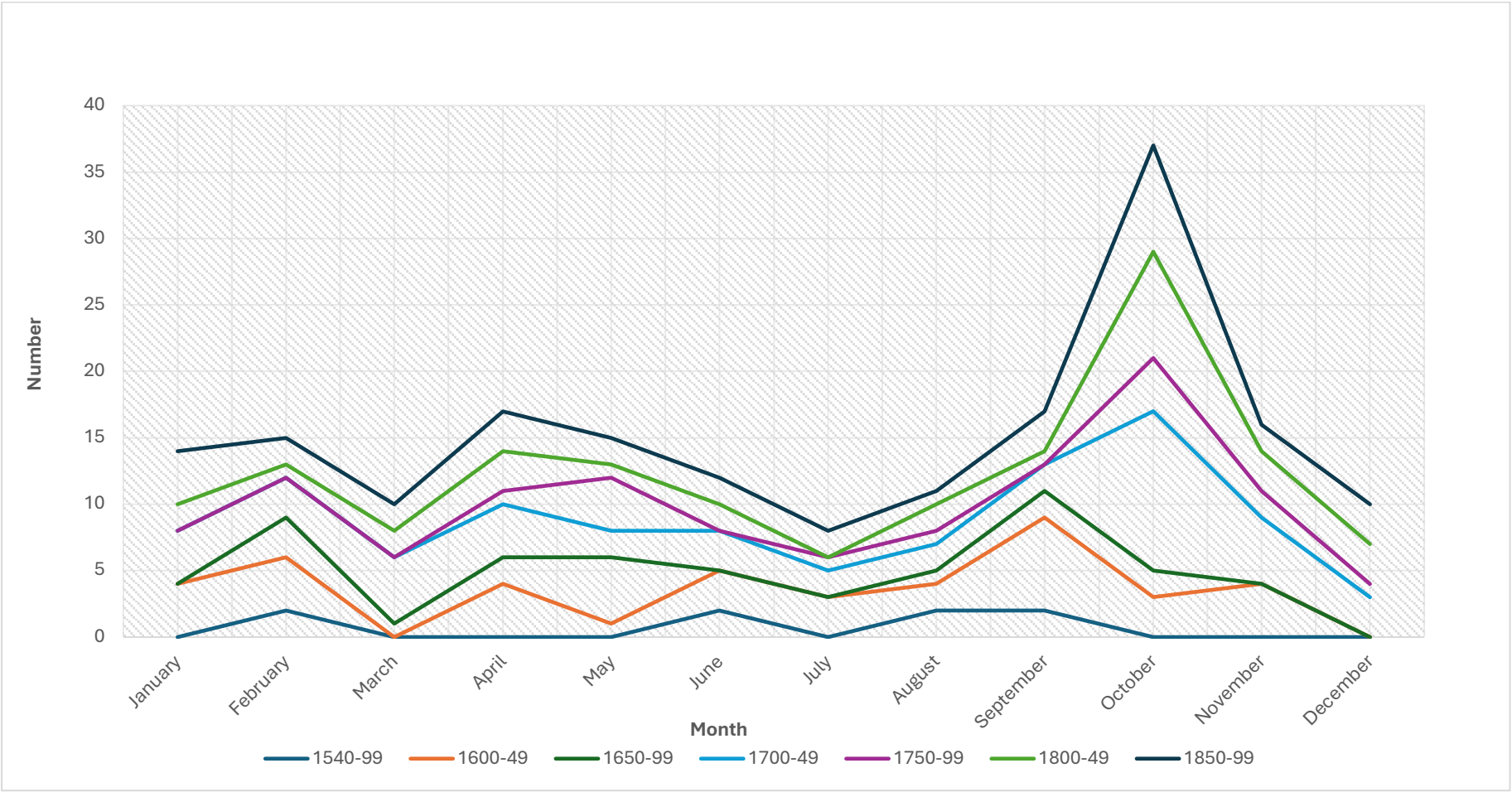
Month of Marriages

For each of the parishes, consideration was given to whether there was a pattern to the time of year that marriages took place, whether this was a customary period or one which was outlined by the church, as referenced in an earlier chapter. The suggestion of particular periods being avoided, such as Lent and Advent and those which were longer, such as harvest, may imply both the strength of the church over the ceremonies but also the customary importance for the community. Figures 55-59

below both show the changes over time for each of the parishes. Sisland and Thurton show the classic distribution which is referred to above with low numbers in Lent (March/April), Advent (Christmas) and during the busiest harvest periods (August/September), which resulted from a combination of religious observance and practical work constraints. Interestingly, for Sisland, this would appear to include the irregular marriages also following a similar pattern. For the parishes of Sisland, Thurton and Bergh Apton the pattern illustrates the pastoral farming community and the move to an arable structure when the harvest dominated the agricultural calendar. The graphs are similar and increase over time, both the numbers and the monthly adherence. Mundham appears not to follow such a clear pattern, though the reasons are not clear. Chedgrave, a more diverse parish through employment and interconnectivity, with a direction connection to the river Chet, both of which offered alternative employment patterns, was not as dependant, economically, on the agricultural economy.

Taking the individual churches and their marital data, Figure 55 presents the data for Sisland. Although marriages may be under registered in the period of the Commonwealth, the number of irregular marriages is clear for 1640-1660s and 1700-1720s, as previously discussed, where the variations have been flattened out. The marriages patterns show clear alignment with the church rules and agricultural seasons, in effect the low marriages in Lent, at harvest and in Advent, and there is not a decrease in this pattern in the latter nineteenth century. October also has a clear peak for marriages, which is a response to the end of the harvest period. Interestingly conception levels do not follow the same pattern, although there is a clear dip in October/ November, which will be discussed in the chapter on births/baptisms.

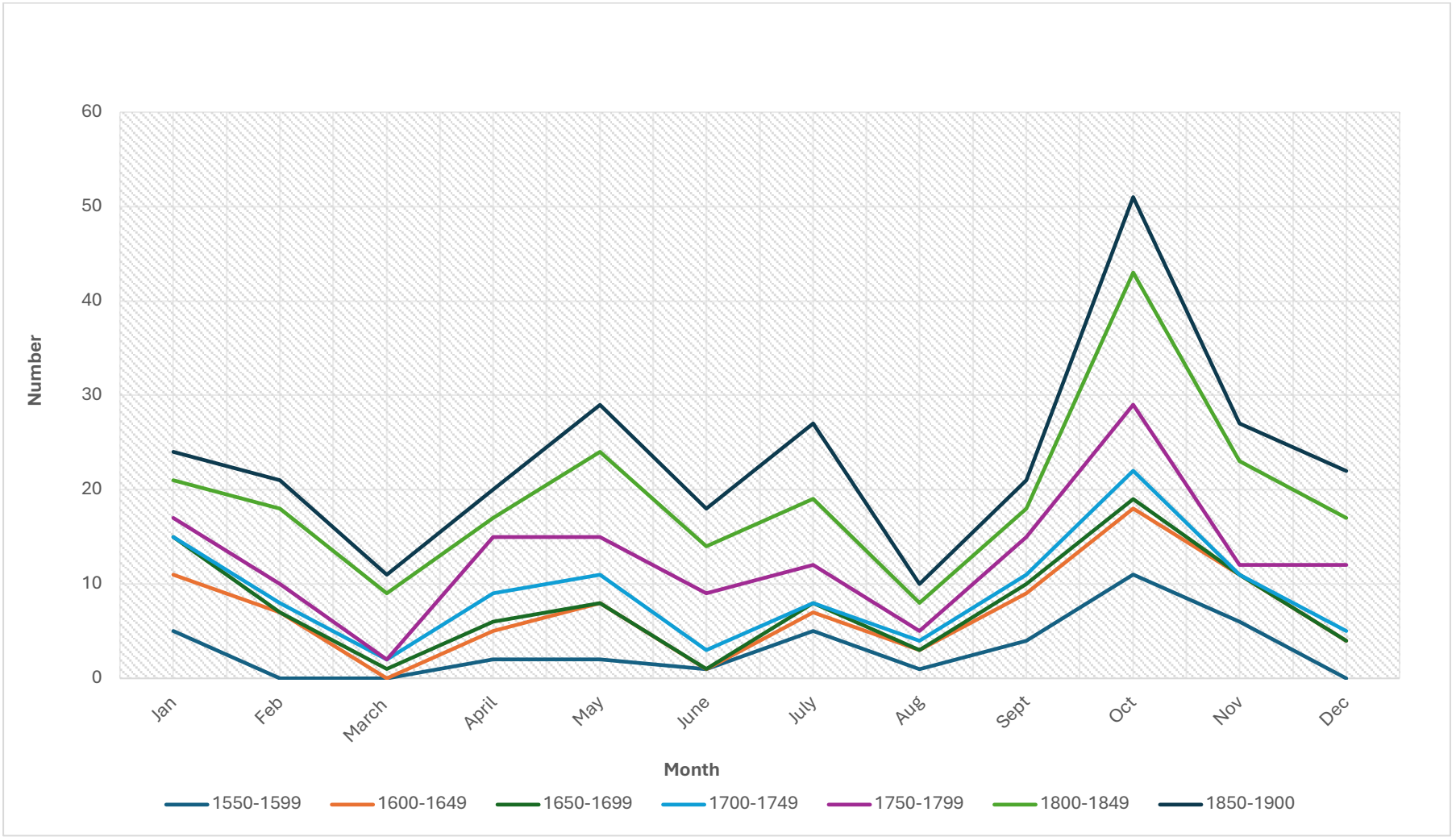
Figure 55: Sisland Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century



Source: Data from Appendix 1.10

For Thurton (Figure 56), the marriages may be under registered in the period of the Commonwealth as well as showing low returns for the other data. Unlike Sisland the patterns are replicated throughout the periods as there are not any irregular marriages in this parish. The marriages patterns show clear alignment with the church and agricultural seasons, thus low marriages in Lent, harvest and Advent, although the latter change is not always constant as demonstrated at the end of the eighteenth and smaller decreases at the end of nineteenth century.

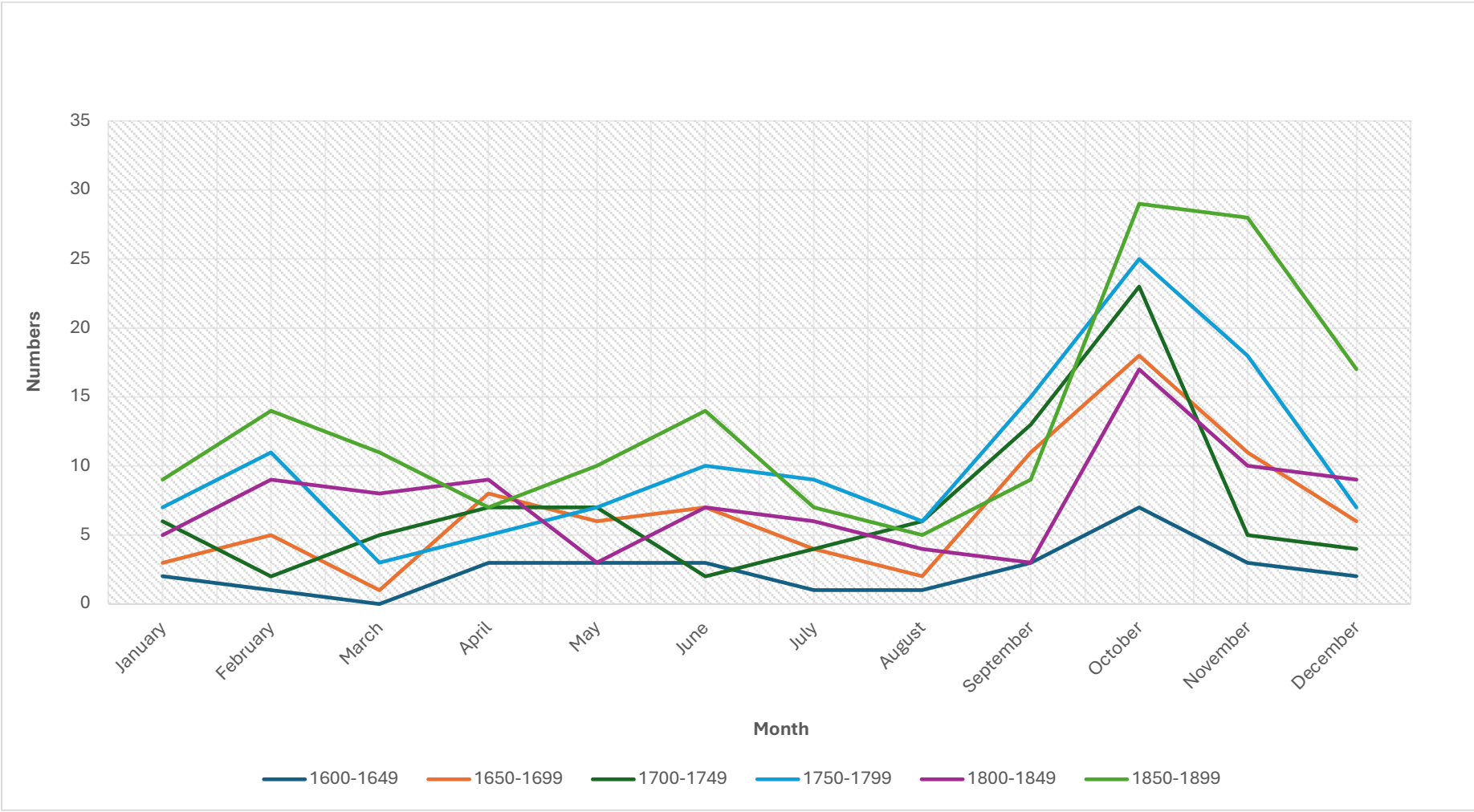
Figure 56: Thurton Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century



Source: Data from Appendix 1.13

As with the previous two parishes, the marriages in Bergh Apton appear to be under registered in the period of the Commonwealth (Figure 57). Marriage numbers remain fairly constant although increase from the mid-nineteenth century. There is some alignment with the marriage patterns of Sisland and Thurton and, therefore, the parish shows some concurrence with the church and agricultural seasons. The graph is not as clear as the previous two, however, and in particular through the middle months of the year. There are low marriages in Lent, harvest (possibly more pronounced than the other two) and Advent. October also has a clear peak for marriages as is shown in the other parishes, November is also high in the later period, where the others two are not. The overall distribution is not as clear cut although does contain similarities.

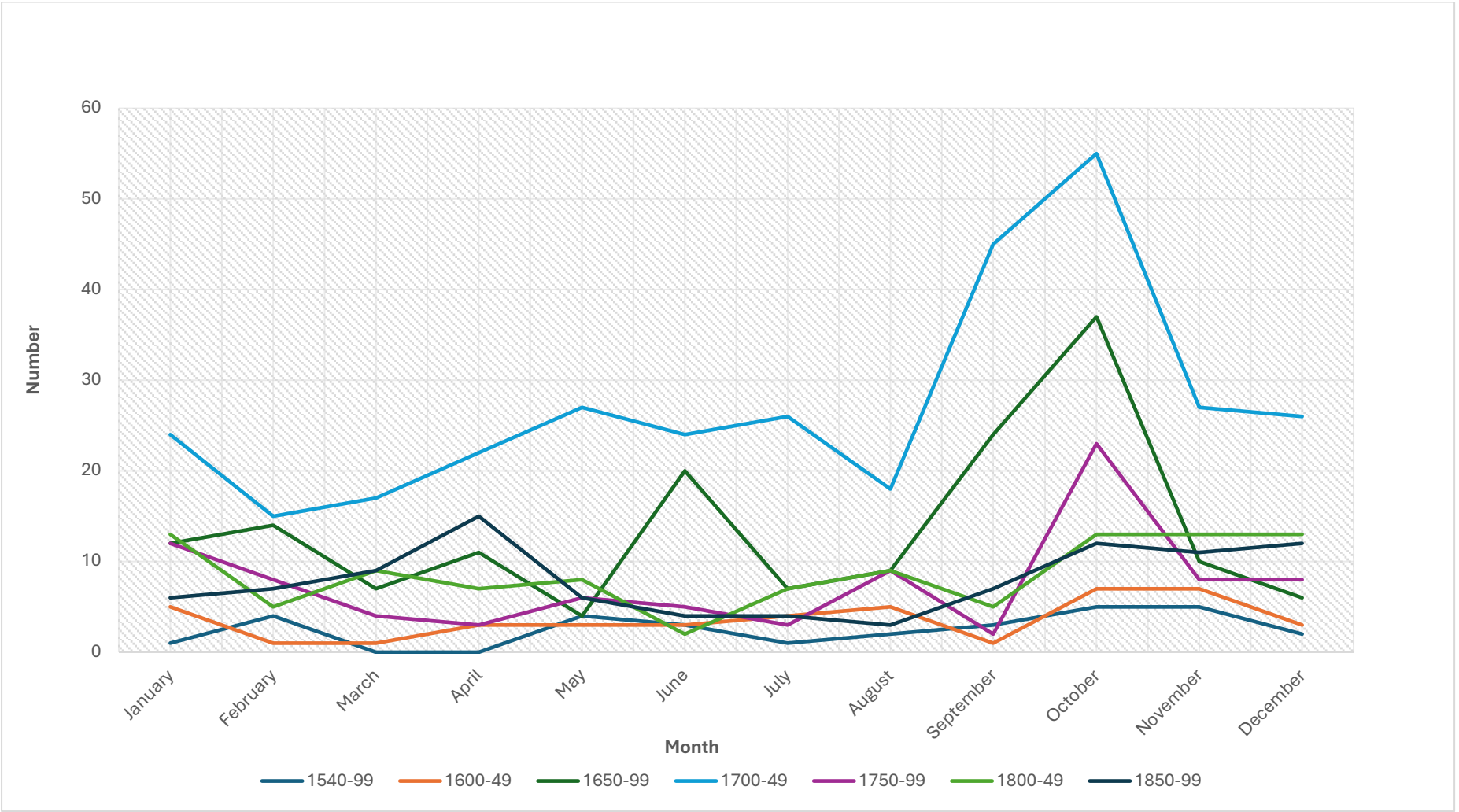
Figure 57: Bergh Apton Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century



Source: Data from Appendix 1.1

The Chedgrave marriage registers do not appear to have under registrations in the period of the Commonwealth, unlike the other parishes (Figure 58). There are high number of irregular marriages, with particular peaks in the 1690s and 1730-1750, which have already been discussed and are clearly illustrated in the graph. There are some similarities with the marriages pattern data of the previous parishes and, therefore, some alignment with the church calendar and agricultural seasons, thus low marriages in Lent, harvest and Advent, even the irregular marriages also reflect this. October also has a clear peak for marriages as is shown in the other parishes, although not as high in the later period. The clearest differences are those covered by the 'irregular' marriages.

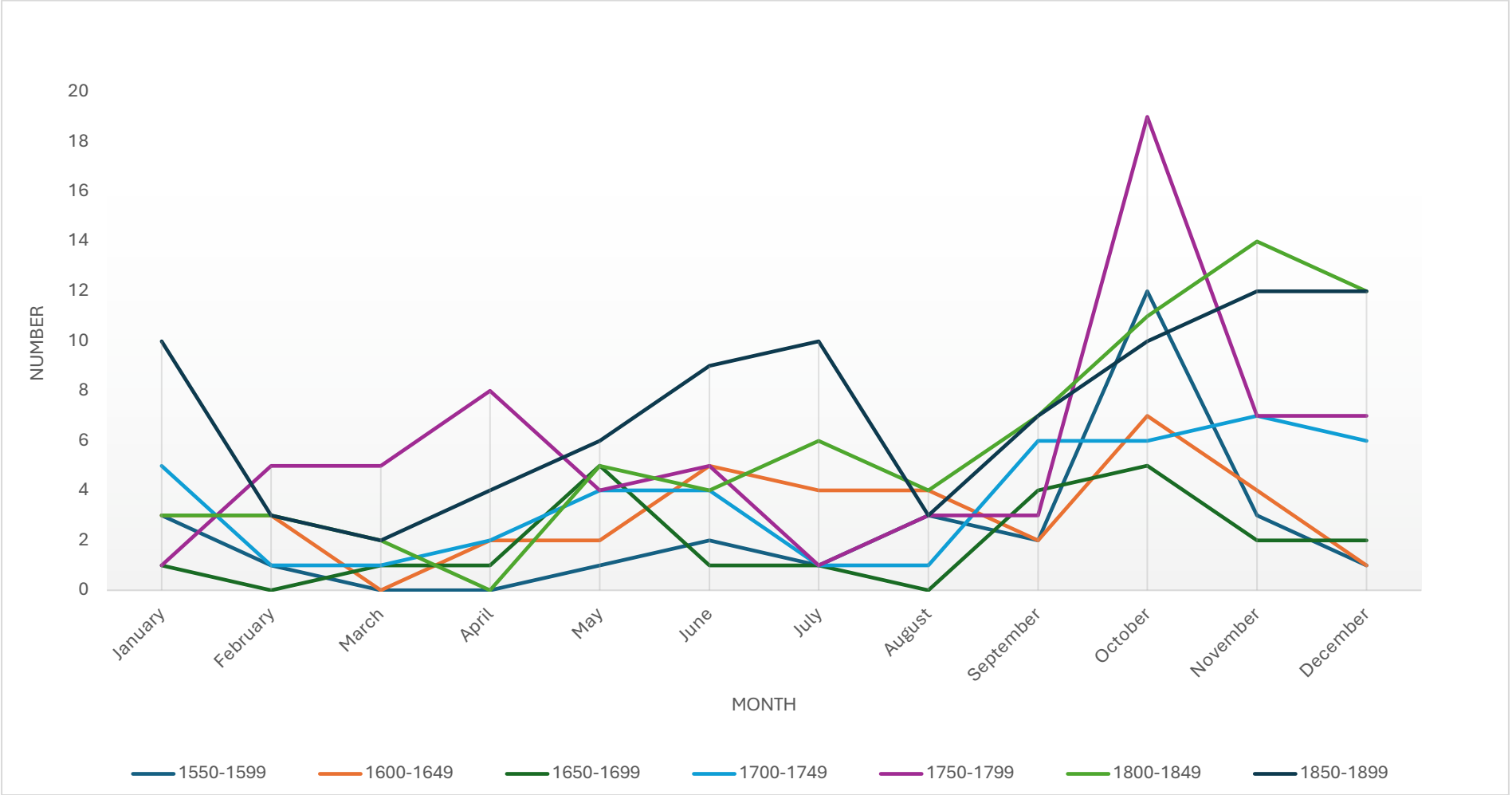
Figure 58: Chedgrave Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century



Source: Data from Appendix 1

Figure 59 shows the marriage profiles for Mundham, which appears to have seen some under registration in the period of the Commonwealth. Although some period in the data patterns illustrate some discernible alignment with the agricultural seasons, low marriages in Lent, harvest and Advent, but this is not as clear as in the other parishes. In addition, the reverse trends can be seen in 1850-1899 when figures are higher in the summer and without an October peak yet there is a clear peak for the other time periods for marriages as is shown in the other parishes. The Lent pattern is not as pronounced in the earliest or latest grouping and 1550-1599 the peak is in April, though the timing of Easter, and hence Lent, is moveable. In total the patterns are less clearly defined although the parish was a clear agricultural one.

Figure 59: Mundham Marriages: Monthly Marriages by Half Century



Source: Data from Appendix 1.10

Marriage in the past, as noted, was the start of the creation of a new household and economic unit and given the importance of the harvest in the income structure it is not surprising that the post-harvest period would be a popular one for marriages to take place. The abundance and availability of work during this period would have enabled a young couple to have sufficient funds to provide a home of their own, especially in the early period when 'living-in' was more common. Annual hiring fairs added to the convenience of autumn weddings. In a period when farm labourers were hired for a year, the later summer/ harvest or end of the year would have been a good time for a marriage to have taken place. Through 1839-1843 Norfolk marriages were spread fairly evenly through the first, second and third quarters of the year, but doubled in the final quarter.[490] This confirms a finding of Ann Kussmaul: that between 1541-1640 and 1661-1740 there was in Norfolk a marked shift in the timing of marriages toward the closing months of the year, which was associated with agrarian changes and particularly with increase in arable specialisation.[491]

Society pressure

Given the economic pressures outlined above through family/ economic formation and the demands of seasonal workload, what importance is placed on marriage within the community and the community involvement and pressure of entering matrimony? There is definite evidence from within the study of the remarriage of a widow or widower when young children were involved which plays to economic sustainability

[490] Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, 82.

[491] Ann Kussmaul, *A General View of the Rural Economy of England, 1538-1840* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), 89.

and childcare needs. Thus, John Edwards married Ann Knights on 6th June 1745 at Thurton church. They were married for eight years until Ann's burial on 13th June 1753. During that period, they had four children, the first baptised within three months of their marriage. The remaining three children all died within a month of birth. After Ann's death John marries Mary Taylor, a spinster, also in Thurton. The register indicates that he is a widower of 39 and she is 22. They have seven children between 1758 and 1769, as well as Mary from his previous marriage. Their marriage lasts for 43 years until his death in January 1801 at 81 years old.[492] Although John Taylor had only one child to care from his first marriage, surviving children's numbers could be higher.

Levi Loyd married Maria Flowers at Bergh Apton church on 31st May 1855, when he was 21 and she was 19. Their marriage was to last 18 years before her burial on 19th July 1873 aged 37 years. During their 18 years of marriage, they had seven children, two boys and five girls, and they were all still alive when their mother died in 1873. Levi married Sarah Durrant on 30th October 1884, also in Bergh Apton. At this point his youngest son, Levi, had died so he brought six children to this second marriage. Levi and Sarah did not have any children of their own. We cannot be sure whether they remained in the parish as we have no burial for either of them in the parish registers, although the two oldest children did marry in Bergh Apton after their father's second marriage suggesting a longer-term connection.[493]

[492] Thurton form 7058 and 7059, Appendix 2.5

[493] Bergh Apton form 1165 and 1172, Appendix 2.1

Although we have the marriage record for Issac Ellis and Mary Ann Thurlow on 6th August 1861 at Thurton church, there is not a record of a baptism for 12 years, until Louisa is baptised on 9th February 1873. We do not know whether she was a baby or older at this point, but we know that Mary Ann died three years later. She was buried in Thurton on 5th March 1875. If Louisa was a child, then Issac was quick to remarry on 14th April 1876, again in Thurton. His new wife, Francis Gunns, was also listed as a widow, age 48 years. They do not appear again in the registers nor does the child Louisa.[494]

There is not always evidence that a remarriage is only about the formation of a family unit for children. We do not have the marriage date for Ralphe and Ann Betts but we do know that they had four children baptised, in Mundham and Sisland, between 1617 and 1624. One of those children, Thomas, died at one month old and was buried in Sisland. Ann herself was laid to rest, in the same place, on 20th December 1644. We have a marriage for Ralphe Betts, listed as a widower, and Mary Parke on 29th September 1646, which was two years later. They had a son, Ralph, baptised on 7th February 1647. Ralphe, senior, was buried on 23rd November 1654. We do not know when Mary or Ralph died as there is no further record for any of the Betts family.[495]

When Matthew and Sarah Batchelor married in 1733, their marriage was only to last six years until her burial on 20th December 1739 at 28 years. In that time, they had had five boys although three of them had died before her death; John at nine months in 1734; Charles at 18 days in 1736 and another Charles at three months in November

[494] Thurton form 7062 and 7063, Appendix 2.5

[495] Sisland form 3200 and 3164, Appendix 2.4

1738. Matthew remained all his life in Sisland but did not marry again until 23rd July 1758, 19 years later, when a marriage to Hannah Rising is recorded in the Sisland register. His two remaining children were possibly still at home as a second John did not marry until 1774, aged 42, and the remaining son, James, died in 1764 at 28. Matthew's own burial is recorded in Sisland on 6th May 1779 when, according to his gravestone he was 83 years old.[496]

Some marriages were extremely short. So, Charles Stimpson married Susanne Haliday on 4th February 1867 at Chedgrave church, however they were only married for two months before her burial, aged 27, on 3rd April 1867. This is the shortest confirmed marriage in the registers without any family recorded.[497] Some marriages are incredibly short but also tragic. When William Smouton married Sarah Kerison at Mundham church on 14th March 1827 Sarah was already expecting a child. John was baptised two months after the wedding on 27th May 1827 and he was buried at three weeks old on 31st May 1827. His mother was 35 and his father 24 years old. Sarah was buried at Mundham two years later on 22nd November 1829 and William on 29th April 1835 at 32 years old.[498]

The explorations in this section have looked at marriage horizons and their extent and these parishes and the couples certainly appear to have a wider horizon, even if we exclude the irregular marriages as a different subset than the work of Snell and others would suggest. With a range of parishes listed by, importantly, either the bride or

[496] Sisland form 3199 and 3086, Appendix 2.4

[497] Chedgrave form 4067, Appendix 2.2

[498] Mundham form 6324, Appendix 2.3

groom then the importance of a ‘home’ location would appear to be important and indicate the important of community when ‘celebrating’ a marriage. However, the irregular marriages appear to discount the importance of a specific church, in this context, rather the church may be important but in a way which is not as clear in the historical record. The research confirms some expected outcomes, such as seasonality of marriage and the importance of remarriage to the economic viability of a partnership.

The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that marriage was far more than a legal or religious ceremony; it was a key expression of belonging, identity and community within the rural parish. Although the law of settlement and the administration of poor relief reinforced the importance of the parish as an administrative unit, the marriage evidence suggests that attachment to place was neither absolute nor confined by parish boundaries. Marriage patterns reveal both continuity and mobility, with most couples marrying within local networks while maintaining connections that extended across neighbouring communities. The impact of legislation, particularly Hardwicke's Marriage Act, is clearly visible in the rapid disappearance of irregular marriages and the increasing standardisation of marriage practices. At the same time, local circumstances—including the role of individual clergy, the quality of record keeping, and the social and economic character of each parish—produced distinctive patterns that caution against treating rural communities as homogeneous. Rather than portraying the parish as an isolated unit, the evidence points to a landscape of interconnected villages in which settlement, marriage and kinship operated across a network of neighbouring communities. Marriage registers therefore provide not only the foundation for family reconstitution, but also an important

insight into how rural people understood the parish and negotiated belonging with the practical realities of work and family formation.

Chapter 7: Baptisms and Births

> Norfolk men are proverbial for the difficulty with which they can be induced to move from the spot on which they were born; so much so, that it is a common observation in the army, that if one of them deserts, the first place to seek him is at home.
>
> Sir Thomas Beevor [499]

Sir Thomas Beevor's comments illustrates the common perception that those born in the county would remain not only there but directly within the parish of their birth. However, by using the parish registers as part proxy for the individual to remain in the spot that they were born then the statement is incorrect and a large proportion of the population do not remain in the same village and, by default, connected to the same church. For much of the period under study, baptism was important for legitimacy, social acknowledgment and confirmation of hierarchical standing, a key part of the societal structure and the interaction between church and parish. The assumption is that before the twentieth century society was still one which functioned face to face, that an individual clergyman might expect to know and be known to every resident through the administration of the rites of passage – baptism, marriage and burial – both for themselves and their families. Also, through the visiting of the sick, support of the poor and elderly, he was the centre of an efficient small parish and it, through him, developed a sense of what constituted community – his community. The collective response to this image would include the interactions that individuals had on a weekly basis with the clergy. The clergyman, with the landowner, farmer and school master,

[499] Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 103.

could create the image of an ideal parish community.[500] In a neighbouring parish of Kirstead the vicar, Rev Stephen Hobson, wrote several pamphlets under the name 'A Norfolk Clergyman'. His message was that the poor were part of one national family and that the clergy, magistrates and landowners were all part of the same family who wanted to help the labourer. However, they must firstly obey the laws of God and, as much as possible, help themselves through self-help initiatives, such as friendly societies and other clubs. To the clergy this was the aspiration, that the community should be viewed as one entity, but not, as the data will show, the reality. It is does say something, however, about the role the clergy believed that they played within the community. [501]

Baptism Figures

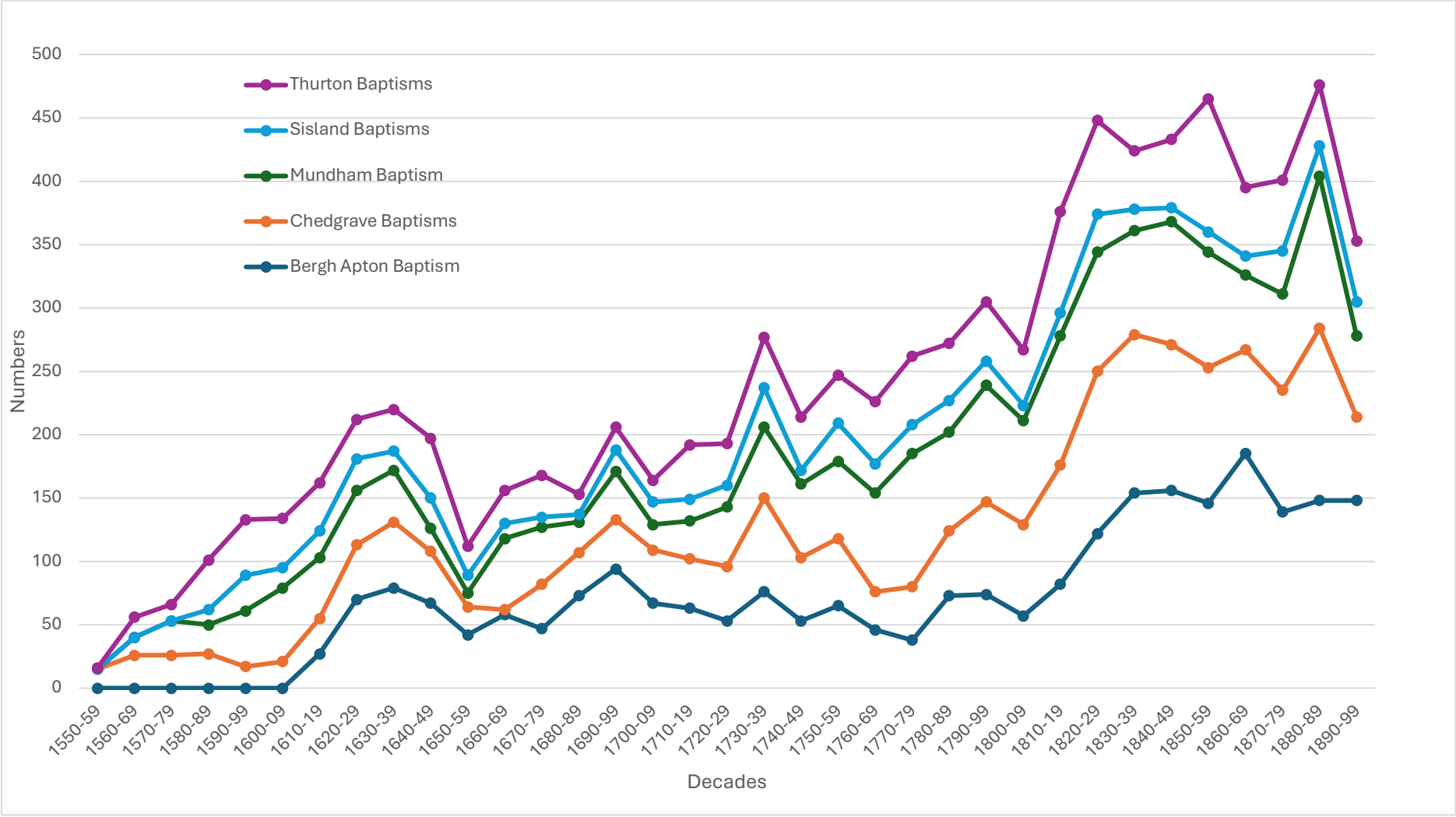
In 2000 Alan Armstrong stated that further investigation of what happened to nuptiality and procreation in Norfolk in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century awaited further studies on parish registers, of which, so far, "there has been a dearth in the county".[502] Figure 60 shows the total number of baptisms, split into the five parishes before 1900. By stacking the line graph, some of the trends are clearly identifiable. Table 108 illustrates the figures broken down by parish.

[500] Edward Royle, 'The Parish Community Through the Vicarage Window: Nineteenth-Century Clergy Visitation Returns', *Family & Community History* 12 (2009): 9.

[501] Digby, *Pauper Palaces*, 211.

[502] Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, 83.

Figure 60: Baptism Data for the Five Parishes



Source: Data from Appendix 1.2, 1.5, 1.8, 1.11 and 1.14

Table 108: Baptism Figures for the Five Parishes

Date	Bergh Apton Baptism	Chedgrave Baptisms	Mundham Baptism	Sisland Baptisms	Thurton Baptisms	Totals
1550-59		15			1	16
1560-69		26	14		16	56
1570-79		26	27		13	66
1580-89		27	23	12	39	101
1590-99		17	44	28	44	133
1600-09		21	58	16	39	134
1610-19	27	28	48	21	38	162
1620-29	70	43	43	25	31	212
1630-39	79	52	41	15	33	220
1640-49	67	41	18	24	47	197
1650-59	42	22	11	14	23	112
1660-69	58	4	56	12	26	156
1670-79	47	35	45	8	33	168
1680-89	73	34	24	6	16	153
1690-99	94	39	38	17	18	206
1700-09	67	42	20	18	17	164
1710-19	63	39	30	17	43	192
1720-29	53	43	47	17	33	193
1730-39	76	74	56	31	40	277
1740-49	53	50	58	11	42	214
1750-59	65	53	61	30	38	247
1760-69	46	30	78	23	49	226
1770-79	38	42	105	23	54	262
1780-89	73	51	78	25	45	272
1790-99	74	73	92	19	47	305
1800-09	57	72	82	12	44	267
1810-19	82	94	102	18	80	376
1820-29	122	128	94	30	74	448
1830-39	154	125	82	17	46	424
1840-49	156	115	97	11	54	433
1850-59	146	107	91	16	105	465
1860-69	185	82	59	15	54	395
1870-79	139	96	76	34	56	401
1880-89	148	136	120	24	48	476
1890-99	148	66	64	27	48	353
TOTALS	2502	1948	1982	616	1434	8482

Source: Data from Appendix 1.2, 1.5, 1.8, 1.11 and 1.14

For Bergh Apton, the number of baptisms clearly increased in the nineteenth century, although there are peaks demonstrated between 1620-1640 and 1690-1700. The registers for baptism (see Chapter 2) start later than for the other parishes. The main peaks around 1860s are more pronounced than in the other parishes. There is a

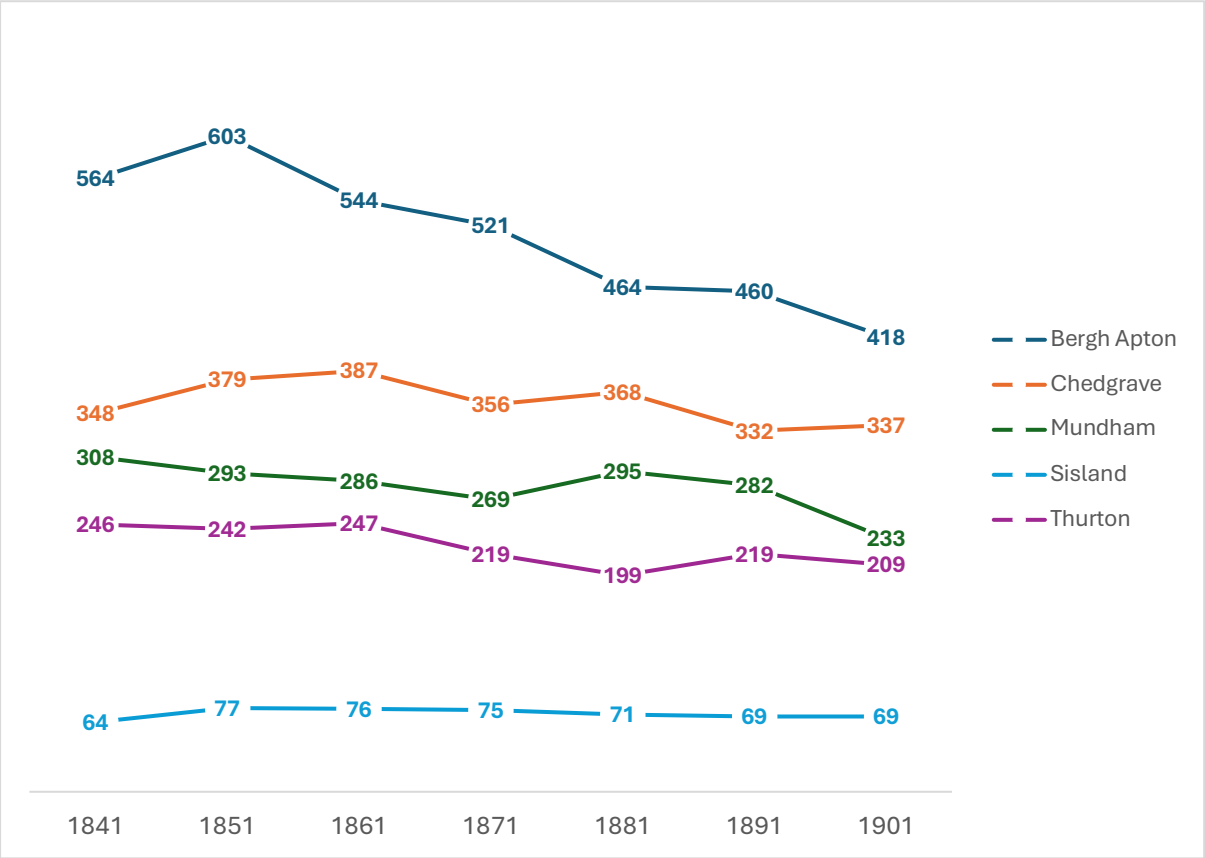
decrease in the number of baptisms in 1710-1730 and 1760-1780. Some of the parishes show a marked increase in the 1880s which is not as clear in Bergh Apton. For Chedgrave, baptism clearly increased in the nineteenth century, although other than the 1730s, not much before that period. Peaks are particularly pronounced around the 1820s and 1880s. There is a decrease in 1760s and 1860s, which is not reflected in the other parishes, except Sisland which declines in 1850s and 1860s. For Mundham baptisms clearly increased from the mid to end of the eighteenth century as well as mirroring some of the changes seen in the other parishes in the nineteenth century. The main peaks are around the 1770s, 1810s and the 1880s. Sisland baptisms increased in the mid to end of the eighteenth century as well as the nineteenth century with some peaks around the 1730s, 1750s, 1820s and 1870s. These do not always match the other parishes, though the figures in Sisland are lower overall so caution should be applied. For Thurton, baptism clearly increased in the nineteenth century with some peaks around 1770s, 1820s and 1850s. The figures fall away either side of the peak in the 1850s unlike those demonstrated by Sisland. The earlier figures for Thurton are higher than many of the other parishes, but this may reflect recording as well as actual numbers.

When these figures are overlaid with the marriage data, a couple of the parishes, Sisland and Thurton, do see higher numbers in the 1820s and 1840s respectively which may reflect the higher baptisms at the same time and slightly later. It is not reflected in their later peaks. Bergh Apton in the 1860s, and Chedgrave and Mundham in the 1820s, do not have higher number of marriages preceding the higher baptism figures; but Chedgrave does show a closer correlation of marriage numbers in 1870s

and birth levels in the 1880s. In summary, the higher numbers of marriages sometimes reflect in a slightly higher baptism rate, as may be expected, but not always so.

When compared with the Census figures for population numbers, Figure 61, there is also limited correlation with the baptism peaks. However, in Bergh Apton the population peak in 1851 is reflected in a higher baptism figure in the 1830s and 1840s. The population size of Chedgrave is constant though the increase at the end of the century is reflected, albeit not proportionately, by the baptism figures. There appears no correlation between Thurton's population and the baptism levels, either highs or lows. Mundham's peak baptisms occur in the 1880s and this is reflected in an increased population in 1891. The increase in the number of baptisms in Sisland increased baptisms post 1870 are not reflected in the total population suggesting high levels of migration or individuals returning for the rites of passage. This may be an indication of a connection with the church/parish, even if no longer resident. Chapter 5 looked more closely at the movements between Census and the associated claims to long term residents and 'returners'.

Figure 61: Population Data from Multiple Censuses



Source: Data from The National Archive, Census Returns 1841-1901

Historians emphasising the enduring primacy of parochial identity, throughout the period have suggested localised xenophobia may have been responsible for helping to define community and to restrain the overall definition of the rural working class. We are using the interaction with the established church as a *de facto* definition for parish identity. Other forms of parish identity and community definition were undertaken to highlight these boundaries and differences, such as the moving of mothers across boundaries, especially with illegitimate children, to reduce the future possible costs to ratepayers, as referred to in Chapter Two. Overall criteria for belonging are ambiguous: is it conferred by the rituals of inclusion of baptism and marriage through which a sense of place is socially constructed or through social and specifically

economic participation? Charity, or the support for those in need, was a key part of the clergy role and charitable support began at home, through the role of settlement and clergy visiting. So, the position of the church being central to the concept of charity and 'at home' and its strategic significance, in community identity and participation, are part of the debate in an earlier period.[503]

Seasonality

The seasonality of ecclesiastical events can reveal something about life in the past and the ways in which these events seek to reinforce certain church ceremonies and events as well as those which may be celebrated by a single parish. These patterns may be traditional across an area of divergent parishes indicating local customs and circumstances. While these events are unlikely to be reflected in burial patterns, as a consequence of the nature of death, they may have something to illustrate for both marriages and baptisms. Conception as well as the baptism rites/ Christening services illuminate these differences. Table 109 and Figure 62 illustrate the month of conception data based on the baptism registers and assuming a standard nine-month gestation in order to produce the data illustrated. The data shows a clear dip of conceptions in the harvest season (August and September) and the subsequent increase in October, although this is not as clear in Chedgrave. In all cases November is a low point in the year suggesting that baptisms may have been delayed to December when a holiday period was available. The early summer also suggests a higher number of baptisms which may be related to the longer, lighter evenings. The

[503] Christopher Dyer, *The Self-Contained Village?: The Social History of Rural Communities, 1250-1900* (University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), 47.

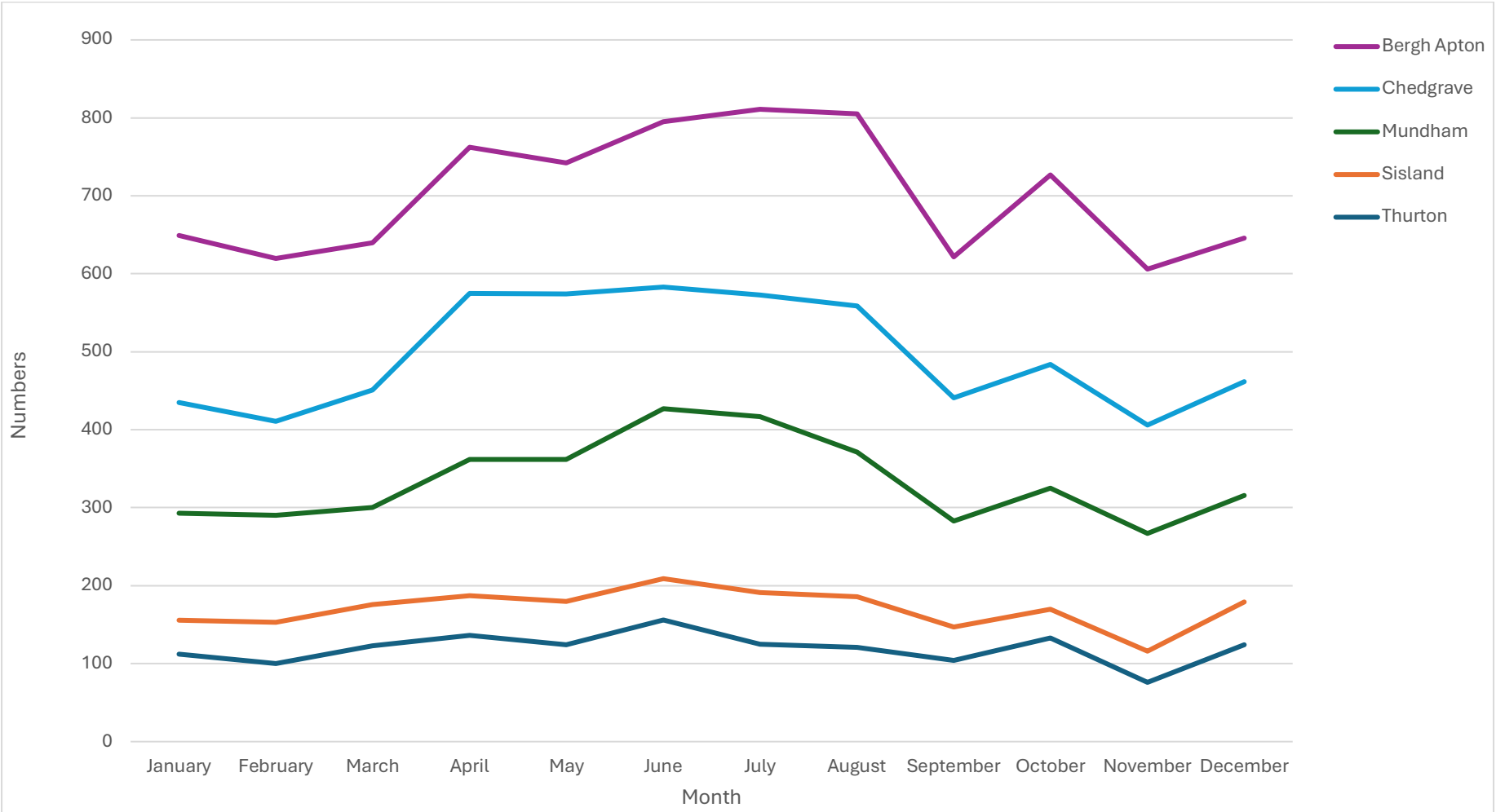
data from Chedgrave does not follow as tight a pattern which may be related to its diverse occupational structure which was less dependent on the farming seasons.

Table 109: Conception Data for the Five Parishes, 1551-1900

Month of Conception	Thurton	Sisland	Mundham	Chedgrave	Bergh Apton
January	112	44	137	142	214
February	100	53	137	121	209
March	123	53	124	151	189
April	136	51	175	213	187
May	124	56	182	212	168
June	156	53	218	156	212
July	125	66	226	156	238
August	121	65	185	188	246
September	104	43	136	158	181
October	133	37	155	159	243
November	76	40	151	139	200
December	124	55	137	146	184
Totals	1434	616	1963	1941	2471

Source: Data from Appendix 1.2, 1.5, 1.8, 1.11 and 1.14

Figure 62: Total Conceptions, by Month, for the Five Parishes, 1551-1900



Source: Data from Appendix 1.2, 1.5, 1.8, 1.11 and 1.14

Baptism

Baptism indicates the power that the church could hold over the community in its creation and its implication of behavioural and social expectation. Christening is often the word used for the baptism of infants and is associated with the social and community aspects of the ceremony.[504] Traditionally the event was seen as confirming the religious upbringing that a child would receive but also as a celebration of new life.[505] Furthermore, baptism provides an important means of recording births and parentage prior to the period of national registration.[506] There are examples, however, when the traditional pattern of infant baptism is not followed and the reasons are not always clear given the importance of the process outlined above. The following example demonstrates the single baptism of an older child when the others have taken place earlier. William and Mary Ann Farrow have five children baptised in Thurton over 12 years after their marriage on 13th November 1853. One of those children was buried in 1863 at the age of eight. However, the final baptism, possibly of the sixth child called Mary, did not take place until 3rd May 1888 when the Thurton register notes she was seventeen years of age. She had not previously been baptised, and we do not why hers was so much later than her siblings.[507]

Given the religious role that baptism plays not only from a social perspective but also the importance of faith to oversee and protect a child may be an explanation when a

[504] David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 97–123.

[505] Church of England, *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. Brian Cummings (Oxford University Press, 2011).

[506] Edward Higgs, *Identifying the English: A History of Personal Identification 1500 to the Present* (Continuum Publishing, 2011), 78.

[507] Thurton form 7066, Appendix 2.5

large number of births are recorded in the register without any marriage or deaths. William and Margaret Roberts do not appear in the marriage register but baptise 14 children in Mundham over 22 years, starting on 4th December 1757 with Elizabeth and finally Daniel on 13th June 1779. However, the name Elizabeth is reused for a second baptism on 1st February 1767 and William on 28th June 1761 and on 25th May 1777. There is no record for the death of the first child. In addition, for all 14 to survive must also be surprising, but the immediate records do not record burials within the parish.[508]

Sometimes it appears that two different churches are used for the different ceremonies which may imply something about the role a specific church might play within a family situation. The baptism of their first daughter, Esther Hannah, occurred in February 1862 approximately eight months after the marriage of Edward and Happy Peck and took place in Mundham. The second daughter, Charlotte, was baptised in the same place on 29th May 1870, however Happy was buried on 18th March 1869, not in Mundham but in Sisland where they had married and before the baptism of their daughter. The two churches had been used at the same time but for different purposes.[509]

Pre-marital fertility

Marital fertility demonstrates the number of pre-marital conceptions, where the baptism took place within nine months of marriage. The data suggests that a substantial proportion of first births, even those within marriage, were conceived before the wedding ceremony. Laslett commented that the same rhythmical pattern

[508] Mundham form 6676, Appendix 3.3

[509] Sisland form 3037, Appendix 2.4

has been observed in illegitimacy rates as those in the birth rates of married couples. His data shows that bastardity and pre-marital pregnancy varied together over time. It appears that the church had no ability to control sexual behaviour before marriage and made no observable difference to the illegitimacy ratio. He also comments that those areas of the country which underwent rapid industrialisation, such as Lancashire, saw a decline in the illegitimacy rates as households became easier to create. Laslett has also suggested that living together before the church ceremony would be seen as evidence that a contract has been undertaken and was a defence against any charge of immorality.[510] Hinde states that figures from between 1550 and 1599 suggested that more than 30% of first births took place within nine months of marriage and that it reached 35% after 1750.[511] If a firm commitment to marry is seen as a starting point for sexual relations, then the need to confer legitimacy was still as important within society.

The experience in rural Kent, as outlined by Reay, suggests that childbirth outside marriage was a typical part of the rural community experience and the evidence for the parishes under investigation here would support that assessment so that pre-marital pregnancy should be seen in the wider context of sexual activity and illegitimacy.[512] A large proportion of brides were pregnant when they entered the church to marry, and being so was not an unusual occurrence. Table 110 shows that

[510] Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: Further Explored*, 161–70.

[511] Andrew Hinde, *England's Population: A History Since the Domesday Survey* (Hodder Arnold, 2003), 136.

[512] Barry Reay, 'Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century England: The Social Context of Illegitimacy in Rural Kent', *Rural History* 1 (1990): 219.

between 30% and 47% of the baptisms in the parish registers occurred within nine months of the date of the wedding. A much smaller number of births were prenuptial, although the figure was still 7% of births in Sisland.

Table 110: Prenuptial and Postnuptial Pregnancies and Births, When Confident of First Birth, from Marriage Registers

	Bergh Apton	%	Chedgrave	%	Mundham	%	Sisland	%	Thurton	%
Prenuptial births	1	1	4	3	1	1	4	7	0	0
Prenuptially conceived	44	30	57	45	54	38	19	35	29	47
Postnuptially conceived	103	70	66	52	89	62	31	57	33	53
Total	148		127		144		54		62	

Source: Data from Appendix 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5

If we split the data, Table 111, into centuries of occurrence then the increase in the nineteenth century is apparent, however this may be connected to the comprehensive nature of the records as well as the higher number of them rather than just occurrence.

Table 111: Prenuptially Conceived Births by Century

Prenuptially conceived	1500-99	1600-99	1700-99	1800-99	Total
Thurton	1	5	6	17	29
Sisland	3	5	4	7	19
Mundham	1	3	24	26	54
Chedgrave	2	4	16	35	57
Bergh Apton		7	15	22	44
TOTAL	7 (3%)	24 (12%)	65 (32%)	107 (53%)	203

Source: Data from Appendix 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5

The number of prenuptial births are low, see Table 112, and, therefore, making any confident data analysis should be treated with caution.

Table 112: Prenuptial Births

Pre-nuptial births	1500-99	1600-99	1700-99	1800-99	Total
Sisland		2		2	4
Mundham				1	1
Chedgrave			2	2	4
Bergh Apton				1	1

Source: Data from Appendix 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5

Richard Smith has suggested 'that periods of regular sexual relations or cohabitation of up to a year and a half could precede an eventual church marriage on the part of many of those who were pre-nuptially pregnant.'[513] In her work on Swedish illegitimacy, Ann-Sofie Kalvemark, has noted that if there was a stigma attached to pregnancy before marriage then many more marriages would take place at an earlier stage of pregnancy then appears to be the case from the data.[514] Table 113 illustrates the distribution of baptism for the sample parishes and, as Kalvemark suggests, brides were not marrying at the earliest stages of pregnancy to avoid the condition being recognised as some 22% of baptisms occurred within three months of marriage. Noting that baptisms would not necessarily taken place at birth even the 45 at eight months in these parishes are an indication of clear pregnancy prior to marriage, even if a small percentage were premature.

[513] Lloyd Bonfield et al., *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure* (Blackwell, 1986), 92.

[514] Peter Laslett et al., *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (E. Arnold, 1980), 332.

Table 113: Length of Marriage Prior to Baptism

Marriage duration (months)	Thurton	Sisland	Mundham	Chedgrave	Bergh Apton	Total
0	1	1	2	0	0	4
1	1	0	4	5	6	16
2	5	2	9	4	4	24
3	7	3	2	5	7	24
4	1	0	9	9	4	23
5	3	4	4	7	5	23
6	7	2	6	7	2	24
7	1	2	4	6	6	19
8	3	5	13	14	10	45

Source: Data from Appendix 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5

Marriage shortly before the birth of a child is not uncommon, but there are occasions when the marriage takes place after the birth. There are many examples of pre-martial pregnancies throughout the period, not just during the nineteenth century where illegitimacy is often the focus for historians because of the increased information provided both by registers and alternative sources of information. The registers and reconstitution forms provide some illustrations of this. William Chapman and Elizabeth Davy married at Thurton church on 2nd June 1775. Their first child, William, was baptised only two months later on 27th August 1775. They had a second son, Thomas, who was baptised 20 months later on 11th May 1777.[515] When a family remains within the community then the total reconstitution can be made. Jerimiah Francis and Sarah Tammas married on 27th October 1825, they had already baptised their first child, William, on 25th September 1825. They had 13 children in 29 years of marriage, and all were baptised in Sisland. An example of a completely reconstituted family as

[515] Thurton form 7036, Appendix 2.5

Jerimiah was buried on 21st April 1854 and Sarah five months later on 28th September 1854. Their last child had been baptised in November 1849.[516]

It has often been presumed that baptism took place shortly after birth historically, partly to celebrate, to add recognition and, if a child was sickly, to enable a burial to take place, which has been suggested would not take place without a baptism and acceptance into the church. When William Varvel and Maria Wigg married on 29th October 1835 at Chedgrave church they were already expecting their first child, William, who was baptised five months later on 6th March 1836. The register states that he was buried at three months old on 29th May 1836. Their next child, born in February 1838, was also given the name William. The reuse of names and its importance within the family structure will be explored later in the chapter. A further three children were baptised in Chedgrave between 1840 to 1843.[517] However, the time between the baptism of a child and the marriage of the parents can be close, but possibly not closer than the baptism of Christopher Rope on 15th February 1609 and the marriage of his parents, Robert Rope and Margery Hyll, on 21st February 1609, only seven days later.[518]

There are occasions when the noting of a pre-nuptial pregnancy is also an indication of no further evidence from the couple in any of the registers, which might suggest either only a loose connection to the parish or a deliberate decision to move away from the community's observation. So, when William Bays and Ann Bays married in Thurton

[516] Sisland form 3057, Appendix 2.4

[517] Chedgrave form 4133, Appendix 2.2

[518] Mundham form 6039, Appendix 2.3

on 19th September 1757, she was already expecting a child as a daughter, named Ann was baptised on 12th March 1758, which was five months later. They do not, however, have any further interaction with the parishes under study.[519] A good illustration of the value of reconstitution when two people with the same name can be confirmed and their records valued. The only child that appears in the register for Robert and Mary Freestone is a son, Anthony, baptised on 1st September 1786 three months after his parents wedding in Bergh Apton. This is a good illustration of the baptism of children who were the result of pre-marital pregnancy and, perhaps, the need to confirm the recognition of the child's birth within the church.[520] These case studies, however, mask several variations which also accentuate the variations of the individual and lead to further illustration of the break, in some cases, between church and parish. Table 114 illustrates a proxy for class for those involved in the prenuptial pregnancy. The data uses the occupation of the groom, at the marriage, and the bride's father on the same occasion. A specific date, but an effective one, as the timing will be pertinent in both situations given the timescales involved. There are fewer bride's fathers listed as their occupation was not always provided in the documentation. The importance of occupation and, therefore, the issues related to the formation of a new economic unit/family are illustrated through the data and, possibly, the ability to hasten the process for those poorer sections of society.

Table 114: Prenuptial Pregnancies and Births by Occupation of Groom and Bride's Father, Where Available

Groom Occupation	Thurton	Sisland	Mundham	Chedgrave	Bergh Apton

[519] Thurton form 7011, Appendix 2.5

[520] Bergh Apton form 1109, Appendix 2.1

Farmer	0	1	1	1	3
Trades/Crafts	2	2	2	9	3
Lab	8	4	15	16	16
TOTAL	10	7	18	26	22
Bride's Father Occupation					
Farmer	0	1	2	1	2
Trades/Crafts	1	0	1	5	0
Lab	9	5	9	11	16
TOTAL	10	6	12	17	18

Source: Data from Appendix 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5

An important component of the traditions of baptism and one which might support the importance of community and belonging is where the first child of a marriage was baptised in the parish of the marriage, which may be a different place to that of any further children. The reason for this may be that a daughter returned to her home/ mother for this birth and because baptism followed shortly on from birth, this could be confirmation of the original parish and, possibly, that the daughter's mother was still alive. However, the return from a different part of the country may not entirely explain this as a later nineteenth and twentieth-century phenomena.

After the marriage of George Jarret and Mary Jane Blunderfield at Sisland on 4th April 1885, the couple must have relocated to Dublin as George was a silk buyer and his place of residence, prior to marriage, was Ireland. Frederick, their son, was baptised in Sisland on 22nd September 1889 although the register notes his date of birth as December 1888. The couple evidently returned to the place of their wedding for the baptism of their first child. There was no further interaction with the register for the

couple or any more children.[521] Often the examples provided involve distance which would set the connection with family/community and not specifically the church. When George Alderson and Emma Harvey married on 19th August 1880, the groom's residence was given as Paddington, London and his occupation as butler. [522] There is no occupation for Emma though her residence is given as Mundham. The couple clearly returned to London as when their child, Gordon, the only one to appear in the register, was baptised on 7th May 1890, ten years later their residence was given as Bayswater, London.[523]

Although the tradition of returning to the place of marriage for the first baptism can be seen in some records as an indication of the 'home' of the bride, this is not always the case. The marriage of Christopher Spalding and Sarah Ann Frary took place in Sisland on 22nd October 1872, however they appeared to settle in Mundham, where the groom was born. In twenty years of marriage, they baptised eleven children, but all in Mundham and not returning to Sisland at any point. There would be no reason why the first born was not baptised in Sisland. Only one child, John, appeared in the burial register in September 1879 at three years old, but that was in Sisland, a different church for different services. [524] In contrast, and for a much earlier period, the desire to return to the church of a couple's marriage can be illustrated throughout the registers. John Todd and Elizabeth Horn married on 10th November 1719 in Mundham.

[521] Sisland form 3025, Appendix 2.4

[522] Mundham form 6322, Appendix 2.3

[523] In the 1911 Census they are still in London but indicate that they have had 3 children though only one still alive.

[524] Sisland form 3031, Appendix 2.4

They returned on 14th January 1722 to baptise their first two children, William and John. Although they have no further contact with the church the initial return was clearly important.[525]

Historical demography demonstrates that the baptism records are used as a proxy record for the births which occur in England from the earliest registers. However, there is evidence for missing baptisms of single children within a family, which not only affects the data used for population projections but also to questions how central the role of baptism may be within the established population. Edward and Ellen Brown recorded seven baptisms in Thurton after their marriage on 12th October 1855. The first four took place at regular intervals between 1857 and 1862; there is then a gap of seven years before two children, Rosina and Richard, are baptised on 10th January 1869. There is no evidence whether the family had moved and returned, or it was a conscious decision to delay. However, there is a burial for a Charles Brown on 29th July 1878, who was eight years old. There appears to be no baptism for this child, and we only know about him as he appears because of his death, which was not in early childhood, so he was not too young to have been baptised. We will return to the age of baptism discussion shortly. Interestingly there is the baptism of another child, Ann Brown, born in 1873 but baptised in 1880. Although the location does not change, the connection to the church does.[526]

The role of the baptism and importance of the church can be illustrated through the baptisms of some of the children of William and Maryann Brown in Bergh Apton.

[525] Mundham form 6096, Appendix 2.3

[526] Thurton form 7028, Appendix 2.5

George was baptised on 5th August 1849, the third child of the couple and he was buried in August 1851, at Bergh Apton. The next interaction with the same register is a daughter, Henrietta, baptised on 2nd January 1857 and buried, according to the records, at six months on 23rd February 1857. The baptism had been delayed and presumably took place due to the precarious nature of life. The next two children are baptised on 10th May 1863 and named Frederick and Charles. In the register it is noted that Frederick was born in 1854, before Henrietta, suggesting that the plan had been to wait and maybe to baptise more children at a later date, but circumstances changed this.[527] The importance of using the registers and not relying on transcripts is also illustrated by this example as we would not have had a specific date of birth for Frederick without consulting it.

Sometimes the reasons for baptising children in a different order are not as clear, but cross-referencing sources is valuable. The baptism of Susannah Lovick on 17th May 1851 is the first interaction of her parents, James and Susannah, with the Bergh Apton register. When their son, Thomas, is baptised on 5th October 1851 with a gap of only five months, the connection may have been drawn that these two children may not have had the same parents. However, by using the 1851 Census we can see that Thomas was two years old and Susannah had just been born. For some reason the children were baptised in a different order but not, if they were waiting, together. There are no deaths in the Bergh Apton register for either child.[528]

[527] Bergh Apton form 1642, Appendix 2.1

[528] Bergh Apton form 1833, Appendix 2.1

A consideration affecting both the interpretation of parish allegiance but also the reliability of macro-level statistical analysis based on register counts is the incidence of double baptisms. In other words, when a child appears in the register twice, this could be doubled counted as a record. William and Mary Ann Bee had a son, George, baptised on 30th March 1834 and a daughter, Hepzibah, on 17th April 1836 both at Thurton church. At Bergh Apton on 15th October 1847 Hepzibah and two further daughters (Emily and Eliza) were baptised. This was a second baptism for Hepzibah and it should be noted that George had been buried on 16th February 1837 aged three years so was not able to be included again.[529] Sometimes the second baptism of a child accompanies others from the same family, sometimes at a different church, but the second baptism of Thomas Smith was unusual. He was baptised on 21st February 1813 at Bergh Apton. He was baptised a second time on 15th September 1822. We can be confident that it is the same child as the date of birth (1/2/1813) is written, by the vicar, against the second entry in the register. There are no other baptisms in these parishes under study for Thomas and Mary Smith so the reason for the second baptism is not clear, but it would mean that this birth would have been counted twice by historical demographers using aggregate analysis.[530] Another example of the movement of families and the possible duplication of baptism comes from the children of James and Pleasance Brookes. The first child, Arthur, was baptised on 1st May 1880 in Thurton church. The next two baptisms were in Bergh Apton church on the 2nd April 1893, one a child called Alice and one called Arthur. There is no record of the burial of the originally baptised Arthur and, given the time gap, it would appear that he was

[529] Thurton form 7315, Appendix 3.5

[530] Bergh Apton form 1944, Appendix 3.1

baptised for a second time in a different location.[531] As these examples appear to relate to the baptism of more than one child, on the second occasion it may be assumed that this was a conscious decision. Robert and Mary Osborn, children of John and Elizabeth, appear to have been baptised on two occasions, in two different churches; however, unlike previous examples they were not part of a group baptism. So, Mary was baptised in Thurton on 1st December 1711 and in Bergh Apton on 2nd January 1712. Robert was baptised on 24th November 1710 apparently in both Bergh Apton and Thurton, as he appears in both of the registers on that date.[532]

The movement between parishes and the plan to baptise children in groups appears to provide an opportunity to baptise some children more than once, with the associated misleading population data and completed family size. However, it does not always occur with a changing location. When Joshua and Mary Marvel had seven of their children baptised in Mundham in June 1811 they had already had three children baptised in Thurton between 1799 and 1802, and a further two children, Phillis and Lydia baptised, also in Mundham, on 14th December 1806 and on 27th August 1809 respectively. Nevertheless, the children listed in June 1811 included Phillis and Lydia again as well as Mary, Richard, Robert, William and Ann. It would appear that the clergy did not notice or comment on this second baptism for children who we assume would be at least five years old in 1811.[533]

[531] Thurton form 7348, Appendix 3.5

[532] Bergh Apton form 2156, Appendix 3.1

[533] Thurton form 7684, Appendix 3.5

The grouping of baptisms appears to have made the opportunity to double baptise more probable and, if added to the movement between parishes, the recognition may take an additional value. There is no marriage for Barnabas and Mary Ann Barnes, but they baptise nine children in three groups, two on 20th July 1873 (Alice and John) and further three (Ellen, George and Florence) also in Mundham in 1880. They had relocated to Sisland when in 1884 they baptised Florence for a second time as well as William and Walter, for the first. Kate was the final baptism, in Sisland, on 11th September 1887. There are no burials for any of the family in the registers.[534]

As part of the debate regarding the reuse of names there is evidence that it is not always the reuse that occurs in the registers but the double recording of a baptism. There are two types of baptism, one private and one public, the private one may be related to the health of the child and the acknowledgment that acceptance into the church was needed, as in the case of Mary Forder. Mary Forder was baptised on 28th December 1868 and a Mary Forder was also baptised on 26th March 1869. The clergy noted that the first baptism was private and the second acceptance into church, not a reuse of Mary but the same child. If these recordings are not noted as such in the record, then an assumption may be made that they are two separate events. In this case the dates are very close which would add strength to the thought that this is the same child.[535]

However, the registers show the group baptisms were an important part of the community ritual. A range of examples follow, though in many cases it is difficult to

[534] Mundham form 6382, Appendix 3.3

[535] Chedgrave form 4063, Appendix 2.2

assess the ages as the date of births are not given as standard. In some cases, all children were baptised together, such as the children of James and Sarah Bircham who were all baptised on the 4th July 1790: there were six of them - Samuel, Sarah, Mary, John, James and Edward. There are no other interactions with the register either burials or further baptisms for the parents.[536] In other examples, a number of children are grouped into a small number of events, such as the eight children of William and Emily Luscher were baptised in two groups. The first four were baptised on 1st July 1827 with Mary, Sarah, William and George. The second group of four on 3rd November 1839 with Charles, Elizabeth, Emily and Christopher. These all took place in Bergh Apton church and there are no further occurrences in the register, which raises the question of why the parents chose to use two blocks rather than baptising individually? As a follow-up there are two marriages, one for George in 1848 and one for Emily in 1861 suggesting the family remained local.[537]

The interaction between various parishes within the life cycle of a family has already been commented on in relation to double baptisms. These examples have involved two of the churches under study, however there are some clear indications of the transient nature of movement for some families, which is represented through the registers. Robert Stone and Susannah Cocks married on 14th May 1809 at Thurton. Their next interaction was the baptism of William on 3rd October 1813 at Chedgrave, followed by the baptism of Susannah on 27th October 1816 at Mundham. There were

[536] Thurton form 7329, Appendix 3.5

[537] Bergh Apton form 1836, Appendix 2.1

no further interactions with any of the registers, but the family had used three of the five churches in the study in seven years.[538]

The purposes of baptism have been noted above, and the reconstitution of the marriage of John Batchelor and Elizabeth Wittup has a couple of interesting areas which highlight some of the interconnections between parishes and the consideration that the church played in the role of the family. They married, at Sisland church, on 12th April 1774, five days later their son, Robert, was baptised. Technically baptised within wedlock because without a date of birth we do not know whether he was born prior to the marriage. The next six children – Charles (baptised 19th February 1775); Catherine (baptised 4th February 1776); Hannah (baptised 23rd February 1777), Mary (baptised 1st December 1779) and Esther (baptised 1st August 1781) were separately christened as indicated. Child number seven, William, was baptised on 16th March 1783 and the register indicates that he was baptised at birth. He was buried nine days later on 25th March 1783, which would suggest that William was not a healthy child at birth. Of the twelve children that they had in twenty-four years we have the deaths of eight of them, including William. These were not all child mortalities as Robert was 64 when he was buried, in Sisland, on 14th February 1838, although he lived in Loddon. Similarly, Hannah was buried at the age of 35 in Sisland though her residency in 1813 was given as Bergh Apton. Mary lived to the age of 85 was baptised, married and buried in Sisland so remained in the village the whole of her life.[539]

[538] Thurton form 7168, Appendix 2.5

[539] Sisland form 3082, Appendix 2.4

Not all baptisms were undertaken by the clergy and we have two examples below taken from the Sisland registers where a child was not expected the live and they have been recorded by the midwife. For most of the period under study women would have been supported by a possible combination of family, especially a mother, friends or, sometimes a local untrained midwife whose skills would have been developed by attending a number of previous births. For most a natural presentation would have resulted in a straightforward birth and there would have been little for attendees to do other than provide reassurance to the mother. Thus, as far as it is possible to say, the maternal mortality rate declined from about 15 per 1,000 birth events in about 1650 to around 10 by the mid-eighteenth century and 5 by the end of the parish register period.[540] Galley has suggested that the recording of these baptisms, by midwives, in the registers was uncommon but examples from the study suggest they do exist.[541] For example, and taken directly from the registers was, Jone Waters, in 1568 and:

> Cristened at home by the midwife as she said. Notwythstandynge for the wife did not agree she was full baptized at Church the 15 day of Julye.
>
> Also in 1584,
>
> Johane the daughter of Robt Barnes & Elline his wife was baptised at home by the midwife the Mundaye beinge the xiii daye of Aprilll and buryed the xiiiith of the same monyth.[542]

[540] Chris Galley, *Infant Mortality in England, 1538-2000* (Local Population Studies, 2023), 115.

[541] Ibid., 31.

[542] Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Baptism 1559-1813, Marriages 1559-1753 and Burial 1559-1824 Registers'.

Even if there is no record of the marriage there can still be evidence of a specific consideration of baptism over a period of time, as in the example of William and Beatrice Mackerel. They had ten children baptised, one in Bergh Apton but the rest in Thurton church, five of these occurred on 25th May 1890 - Beatrice, Alice, Maude, Mary Ann, Mildred. Two more children (Jessie and John) were baptised on 2nd December 1893 and the final two (William and Walter) were baptised on 21st March 1895. Tragically William and Walter were both buried on 26th November 1898, aged four years, which implies they may have been twins and died at the same time.[543] On these occasions the occurrence of the census does not help to produce confirmed identities or ages.

Occasionally, the vicar provides additional information in the register which aids us to reconstruct and explore the situation when there has been a mass baptism such as in the case of the children of Jonathan and Lucy Wright and their seven children, who were all baptised on 21st April 1861. The vicar had written in the register that the children were 15, 13, 10, 8, 6, 4 and 2 at baptism. As the couple married in Bergh Apton, on 4th February 1845, they returned to baptise all their children, but we cannot tell whether they had always been resident there. They appear as resident in the 1851 Census and the 1861 one, but leave after that.[544]

One area that historians have written about is the reuse of names and without studying the registers and, in many cases, the adjacent parishes, the number of births (and

[543] Thurton form 7556, Appendix 3.5

[544] Bergh Apton form 1270, Appendix 2.1

deaths may be overlooked or enhanced).[545] It is important to be able to distinguish between twins and the reuse of names in the record to accurately assess family and community dynamics. Sometimes clergy will list a dual baptism in families as the confirmation of twins. These episodes can help to highlight the movement of families across parish boundaries, as in the case of Daniel and James Day who were baptised on 10th March 1853 at Bergh Apton. What makes the family additionally interesting is that the marriage of their parents, William and Harriet, took place in Thurton on 12th July 1842 and the first three baptisms take place in Bergh Apton, which suggest the relocation of the family as, at marriage, both are noted as Thurton residents. However, the fourth child, Elizabeth, was baptised back in Thurton on 7th January 1858 so the family move between the two parishes and use both churches equally.[546] At the baptism of twins, noted by the vicar, of William and Pheobe on 6th October 1748 at Bergh Apton, he also clearly noted that the parents William Anthony and Martha Adcock were not married as he listed them both fully. Unfortunately, baby William died one month later and was buried on 7th November 1748. In the register he is noted as the son of both parents separately. A further son, Anthony, was baptised on 25th May 1756 and the parents were still listed separately.[547]

The baptism of the eight children of Horace and Mary Ann Cullum illustrates the range of issues that have been written about in relation to the reusing of names. Samuel James and William Horace, twins, were baptised on 3rd September 1875 and were

[545] Galley, *Infant Mortality in England, 1538-2000*; Chris Galley et al., 'Living Same-Name Siblings and British Historical Demography', *Local Population Studies* 86 (Spring 2011): 15–36; Wrigley et al., *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580–1837*.

[546] Thurton form 7050, Appendix 2.5

[547] Bergh Apton form 2227, Appendix 3.1

both buried two weeks later on 16th September 1875. The name Samuel was reused at a baptism on 8th October 1876, and a daughter (Lotty) was baptised on 10th August 1879. All of these events took place in Chedgrave. Four further children (Robert, William, Horace and Thomas) were baptised together, in Thurton, on 10th October 1886. This time the names William and Horace were used separately.[548] We have noted the occurrence of mass or group baptisms as well as the indication of twins and the nature of the effect of these on the data and interpretation of numbers. In addition, and mentioned in the previous example, the reuse of names has provided debate amongst historians of the effect and implication of this practice.[549] At its basic level this could lead to misinterpretation of data, but on the personal and societal level it could tell us something about the place of children in society as well as the recognition and remembrance of them. There are a few examples which illustrate some of these issues. The interaction that William and Sarah Cobb have with the Sisland register is limited, firstly the burial of a daughter, Sarah, on1st April 1741 which was followed by the baptism of another daughter on 24th October 1742, also named Sarah. A clear reuse of the name for the subsequent child and there is no further evidence of the family in any of the registers.[550] John Brown was baptised on 27th February 1737 to parents Robert and Mary Brown; however, they had already christened a son John on 11th February 1726. We do not have evidence within the Sisland register that the first John had died though we do have evidence of five of their other children being buried

[548] Chedgrave form 4987, Appendix 3.2

[549] Galley et al., 'Living Same-Name Siblings and British Historical Demography'.

[550] Sisland form 3248, Appendix 3.4

in Sisland between 1739 and 1748 so maybe they gave the same name to two children, but they were known as something different in the community.[551]

It has already been commented on the reuse of names and the implication and evidence of the death of a former child; however, this is not always clear especially when it is apparent that a couple has remained associated with a single parish. Robert Leman and Ellyn Randall married at Thurton on 24th November 1578. There were seven baptisms in Thurton for the couple from 1579, less than seven months after the marriage, to 1597. The burial of Kathryn, at five months, on 18th September 1586 was followed by the baptism of Kathryn on 1st September 1588. However, the baptism of Richard on 14th November 1591 was followed by a baptism of Richard on 4th August 1594, without any evidence of the death of the previous name holder.[552] It is not always the next child who receives the name of a sibling. For John and Mary Skipper whose son Robert died at one week on 25th June 1722, it was not their next son, Edmund, but the subsequent child who was named Robert on 20th January 1730, indicating the time that the family had remained in Mundham from their marriage on 27th April 1719.[553] In addition, Christian names were not always reused just the once within a family. The first child of Edward and Francis Dye was baptised as William on the 26th January 1846. He was buried seven months later on 24th August 1846. After the birth of a daughter, Martha, their second son, William, was baptised on 5th July 1851. He was buried at eleven months old in May 1852. Their third son was also called William when baptised on 7th August 1853. They probably remained in Bergh Apton as Martha

[551] Sisland form 3201, Appendix 3.2

[552] Thurton form 7242, Appendix 3.5

[553] Mundham form 6095, Appendix 2.3

was married in the church on 13th January 1870 at the age of 22 and forms a new family from that point.[554]

One of the areas of debate for historians, in particularly Wrigley and Schofield's compensation methodology, is the 'missing' baptism, in other words for illegitimate children who would not be part of the traditional structure and family formation.[555] Research on illegitimacy has tended to look for the causes, such as premarital activity and societal structure, occurrences, such as numbers and geographical patterns and the reasons, such as poverty and problems with the economic needs to achieve family formation. One area that has received less focus has been the ability of the parents of an illegitimate child to marry after the birth of the child, possibly the marital status of the father or hierarchical differences. In the context of this study this is important as it looks to reinforce community and societal values if, after marriage, a couple is consumed within the parochial structure and not ostracised. Data from the twentieth century illustrates the poorer life chances of those children born outside of marriage and, if the mother is a lone parent, these are increased further.[556]

Children can be illegitimate for a number of reasons including rape, adultery, failed relationships and long-term cohabitation of the parents. Responses could include neglect or violence but more often the child took on a fictitious identity. Sometimes the

[554] Bergh Apton form 1711, Appendix 3.1

[555] Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction*.

[556] Reid, A. (2025) 'The vulnerability of non-marital births', *Top of the Campops*, 30 January. Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, University of Cambridge. Available at: https://www.campop.geog.cam.ac.uk/blog/2025/01/30/non-marital-births/

maternal grandparents acted as the parents of the new baby and the mother transformed into a sibling. Any of these choices resulted in difficulties for everyone involved but especially the child. When the illegitimately was openly acknowledged the child face discrimination, when it was a secret, the child had the burden of protecting the family honour. They were in a minority but were not an insignificant group. Estimates for the rate of illegitimacy fell from 7% in the mid 1840s to 4% by 1900, but that is because of the changes in the total population size, in actuality, the number of illegitimate children remained constant.[557] Estimates between 40 and 44,000 births per year were recorded and if those projected as unrecorded were included, this would lead to a figure in the region of 65,000 illegitimate children born each year.[558] Where the illegitimate children in the parishes under study can be identified the majority are correctly noted as grand children in multi-generational families, including Stephen Lord, whose mother was a domestic servant and identified as such in the register possibly suggesting something about his antecedence.[559] The only exception are Solomon and John King, the illegitimate children of Phoebe King, who are identified as the son-in-law's in the household of Phoebe's new husband, David, in the 1851 Census.[560]

The figures in Table 115 show that for Norfolk, illegitimacy rates were higher than the national average and, in the area under consideration in this study, the figures are higher than the Norfolk average. The case studies above and that follow demonstrate

[557] *Ibid.*

[558] Ginger Frost, '"The Black Lamb of the Black Sheep": Illegitimacy in the English Working Class, 1850-1939', *Journal of Social History* 37 (2003): 295.

[559] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1867-1900', n.d.

[560] The National Archive, '1851 Census Return for Mundham, Norfolk, England'.

that many of these children are acknowledged within the register and, in some cases, are incorporated into a more traditional family structure.

Table 115: Illegitimate Birth Rates

	England and Wales	Norfolk	Rural Norfolk
1879-1883	14.1	22.2	24.5
1889-1893	10.5	16.7	19.1
1899-1903	8.5	13.4	15.5
1911-1913	8.0	11.3	12.9

Source Data: Armstrong, *Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, p107

The late nineteenth century was characterised by the emergence of Victorian prudery and social norms guiding relationships and marriage, and the spread of (upper)middle class values.[561] It is possible that these were associated with an increase in the stigma of having either a non-marital birth or a pre-nuptial pregnancy. Certainly, the share of pre-nuptials pregnant brides declined from close to 40 percent in the first half of the nineteenth century to less than 15 percent by the 1940s. [562]

Many of the illegitimate children found in the study parishes are identified in the registers and not only at baptism. The marriage register entry for Martin Godbolt and Mary Norton from 12th November 1826 noted that Mary was the base child of Hannah Norton, something that the church was still indicating in the formal record even at her 19 years and in the marriage register. Whether as Mary had had a base child baptised

[561] Frost, '"The Black Lamb of the Black Sheep": Illegitimacy in the English Working Class, 1850-1939'; Reay, 'Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century England: The Social Context of Illegitimacy in Rural Kent'.

[562] Armstrong, *The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Norfolk*, 117.

on 9th April 1826, with no father named, before her wedding, was symbolic we do not know or whether Martin was the father of that child.[563] On 7th February 1700 the base child, Thomas, of Thomas Ely and Margaret Medcalf was baptised. They were married seven months later on 20th September 1700, but both parents were listed at baptism and none of them are noted on the registers subsequently, though the parents are noted as coming from Langley so it may be that they wished to use a different church for this situation.[564]

Historians have drawn a distinction between what may be termed 'legitimised' illegitimacy, when the parents marry at a later stage and the alternative, 'non legitimised', where the mother did not marry the child's father. This group may also include those who marry someone else, who could not marry the father or remain single. In Laslett's introduction of a 'bastardy prone sub-society' he outlines a group of women who produce a number of children, over a period of time, in the same location and that this pattern is repeated over a number of generations. He divides his women into singletons, as the name suggests where only one child is born, and repeaters, the opposite. Added to this are 'sparrows' where there are links between the singletons to suggest a familial pattern.[565] All of these terms are laden with specific historical (and current) societal and cultural meaning. However, does the historical record suggest such a sub-society was either recognised or existed within the communities?

[563] Chedgrave form 4160, Appendix 2.2

[564] Chedgrave form 4613 Appendix 2.2

[565] Laslett et al., *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan*, 217–46.

Base children are not always singular, there are examples of a mother having more than one, or that they preceded a marriage, sometimes they did as the following examples demonstrate. Elizabeth Bassey had three children who are marked in the Thurton register as base, Robert was baptised on 4th May 1760, Samuel on the 1st May 1763 and Hannah on 8th October 1769. An indication of the acknowledgement of the children even if they did not meet the societal expectations.[566] An alternative solution to the naming of the father for the record might be seen in the baptism of Constance Smith's children. When Constance Smith had her two illegitimate children baptised on 26th September 1882, she probably chose their names symbolically as they were John Balls and William Balls. There are no further references to any of these individuals in the register.[567] In the same manner the base children born to Caroline Leggatt and baptised at Thurton have names which may suggest the identity of their fathers. On 7th May 1815 Caroline Minister was baptised. On 7th June 1818 Frances Goldspink was baptised. There are no further records for either of these daughters.[568] The alternative scenario can be found in the example of Anne, the illegitimate daughter of Henry and Anna Proundlittle who was baptised two months before her parents' marriage, at Sisland, on 27th May 1695. They had three further children baptised in 1698, 1700 and 1703; tragically the parents died in 1710 and 1711 leaving all children as orphans although Anne would have been fifteen years old. Both parents are buried in Sisland so the family, at that stage had not moved since the marriage.[569]

[566] Thurton form 7310, Appendix 3.5

[567] Mundham form 6697, Appendix 3.3

[568] Thurton form 7543, Appendix 3.5

[569] Sisland form 3143, Appendix 2.4

Another example of a number of base children being born to one mother was that of Mary Carr. Her first child, Jacob, was baptised on 20th January 1760; the second on 20th March 1763 was named Elizabeth and, finally, William was baptised in Thurton on 14th December 1766. She appeared to have three children in six years, although no mention is made of the father in the register or suggested through the name, unlike Caroline Leggatt's.[570] Jane Louisa Snelling had three base children baptised in Chedgrave in 1861, 1866 and 1874. The first Ernest Edwin was baptised on 9th October 1861 and was buried, at four months, on 8th January 1862. The second child, Eugena, was baptised on 17th August 1866 and buried ten weeks later. The third child, also named Ernest Edwin, which may imply the same father, was baptised on 30th November 1874 and buried on 16th January 1875 at three months. These three children were born over a thirteen-year period although none survived beyond four months, but the church acknowledged them and they appear in the records which some historians believe these children are 'missing' from the record.[571]

Not all base children have a father listed in the register sometimes the register will indicate a base child in the baptism register but then will indicate the father in the relevant section. The Thurton register lists Samuel Chamberlain as a base child at his baptism on 11th August 1755, though lists his parents as Samuel Chamberlain and Elizabeth Plummer. Unfortunately, they buried him at one month old on 9th September 1755.[572] The baptism of John Playters was listed as base in the Mundham record on 9th April 1738, although his father, Clare Sewell, was listed in the register. Eight months

[570] Thurton form 7372, Appendix 3.5

[571] Chedgrave form 5394, Appendix 3.2

[572] Thurton form 7379, Appendix 3.5

later the marriage of Clare Sewell and Susanna Playters is recorded on 23rd December 1738. They have no further recorded connection to the parishes under study.[573] The reconstruction of these partnerships from the registers allows these longer-term changes to be identified.

There is also evidence of base children born before the marriage of the mother but the groom would not necessarily be the same man as the father. The base child born to Hannah Chettleburgh, Amelia Chettleburgh, in 1836 at Bergh Apton, does not have a father listed in the register. Hannah is simply registered as a spinster. It would appear that Amelia did not have the same father as the two children (Robert and Ellen) baptised in Mundham in July 1845 and October 1847. Although the marriage took place on 29th October 1839 in Bergh Apton the couple relocated to Mundham immediately after. Although Amelia appears in the 1841 Census with them, she is a boarder with a different family in Suffolk in 1851 and 1861 and does not appear to have any further connection with her mother.[574]

The registers also recognise and note some of the more unusual situations. An unknown infant found at the door of a person at Mundham Common and named Mary Strange was baptised on 9th April 1749. In addition, Clare Large is noted as the single mother of Lewis Large when he baptised, aged two, on 5th April 1893 at Chedgrave church and the place of abode is listed as London, although we assume that he was

[573] Mundham form 6121, Appendix 2.3

[574] Bergh Apton form 1196, Appendix 2.1

not born there. However, in the 1901 Census for Chedgrave, Lewis is listed as the adopted son of Leonard and Elizabeth Armsby.[575]

As Reay has suggested, the micro study allows us to pull some of the ideas together from Laslett and to analysis the data in a different way.[576] Do siblings follow bastardy pattern and, in some cases, do these patterns reoccur in families over generations? Married in Kirstead in 1816, Charles Yallop and Mary Paine had two daughters baptised in Mundham. Caroline on 2nd February 1829 and Diana on 21st February 1830. Although they are not resident after this, we know that they had at least another three daughters. All of these daughters are interesting as all five have a number of base children. The first daughter, Hannah, has one illegitimate child, Henry, baptised in 1845. There is no evidence in these registers whether she marries subsequently. Caroline has three base children from 1851 to 1860, the middle one, Diana, dies at one year old. In 1861, still in Mundham, she marries Alfred Paine, possibly a cousin, and has a further five children between 1862 and 1867. She is buried in Mundham in 1870, aged 42. Her husband remarries and has a further six children. Diana has a base child baptised on 31st August 1856 named Diana. She is buried at two months on 6th November 1856. There is no record of a marriage for her in the registers. The next sister, Elizabeth, has a son, William Bensley, baptised on 1st April 1838. She marries a different Paine in 1844 and has another eight children between 1847 and 1864. The final sister to have base children is Frances. Her first child, Charles was baptised on 4th March 1849, the second, Mary on 19th September 1852. She marries

[575] Chedgrave form 5206, Appendix 3.2

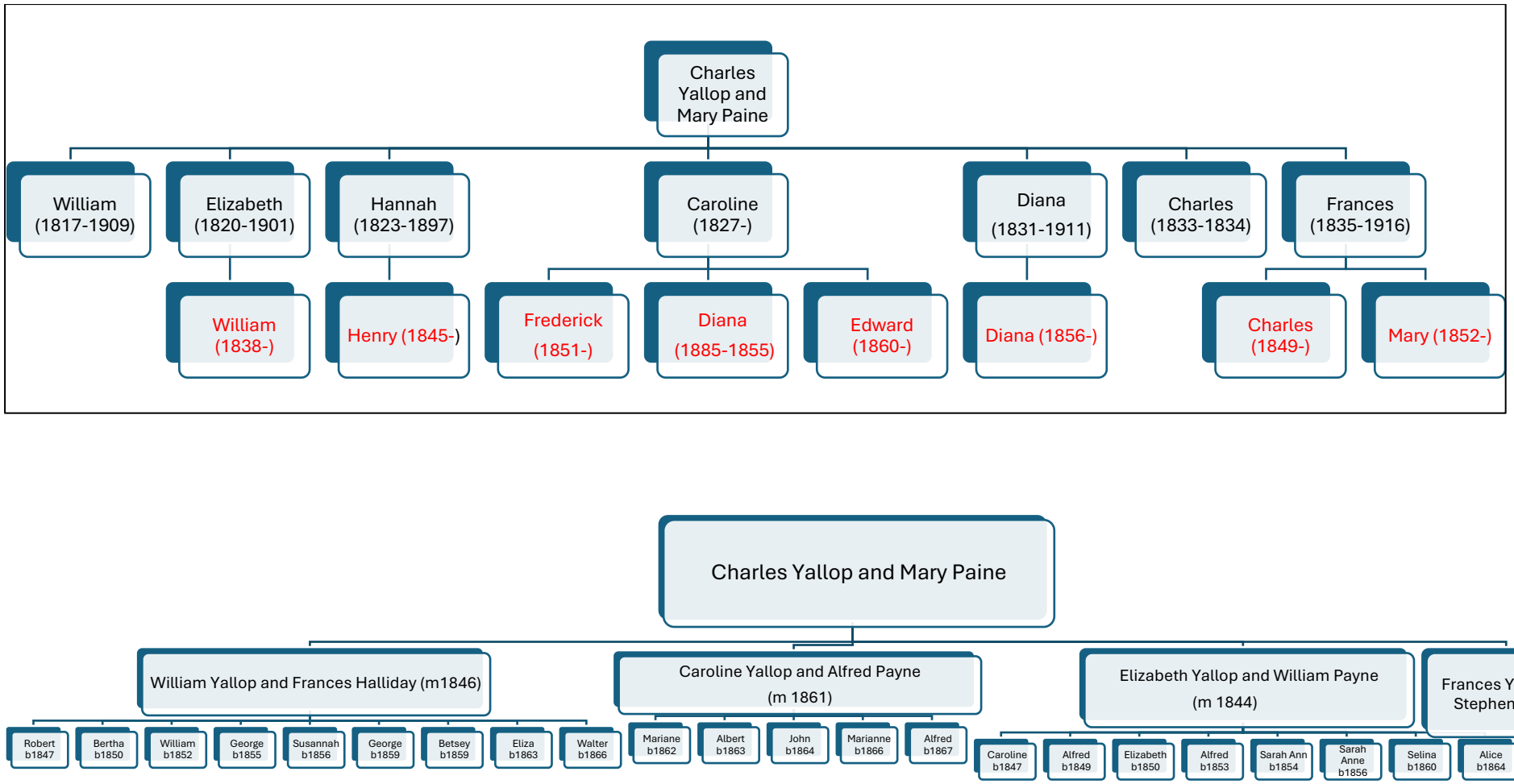
[576] Reay, 'Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century England: The Social Context of Illegitimacy in Rural Kent', 219.

Stephen Borrett but does not appear to have any further children. Despite having a large number of illegitimate children in this family, there is no evidence that this caused them to have to leave the community.[577]

Figure 63 is a pictorial representation of the family of Charles Yallop and Mary Paine and showing the broader inter relationships between the various branches of the family. The children in red are illegitimate.

[577] Mundham form 6812,6813,6815, Appendix 3.3

Figure 63: Legitimate and Illegitimate Children in the Yallop Family



Source: Data from Mundham form 6812,6813,6815, Appendix 3.3

If the family are representative of the 'illegitimacy prone' group within a society then the above shows that they did not operate in isolation within the community or parish, but rather they are interconnected with a number of 'legitimate' births and relationships. Reay has noted that it is very difficult to determine what level of stigma, if any, that the mothers of illegitimate children attracted.[578] Possibly even less so for their children who have, in a direct sense, less involvement. Indeed, as many of these women subsequently, as we have shown, marry, and not always to the father of the illegitimate child, the community link suggests that they are accepted within the society. Indeed, where a vicar may note either base or bastard child in the baptism register such notes do not usually appear subsequently when these children marry, except if the section of 'father' is left blank.

There does not therefore appear, as some of historical demographers from the past have suggested, to be a clear line between the legitimate and illegitimate birth. Some of those in the latter category may have been born within a common-law marriage situation. The children may have been in a different situation at least as far as legitimacy is concerned. The Legitimacy Act of 1926 enabled children to be legitimated by the subsequent marriage of their parents, provided that neither parent had been married to someone else at the time of conception (that is, that the relationship was not an adulterous one). This situation would have applied to some of the children in this study.[579] In 1959 a new Legitimacy Act extended legitimacy to the children of

[578] Reay, 'Sexuality in Nineteenth-Century England: The Social Context of Illegitimacy in Rural Kent', 239.

[579] Legitimacy Act, 1926, https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/relationships/overview/.

parents who had not been free to marry at the time of their birth, but who had married subsequently. The Act effectively ended the discrimination against children who had been born as a result of adulterous relationships. It was not, though, until 1987 that the Family Law Reform Act finally removed all remaining legal distinctions between children born to married and unmarried parents.

There is also discussion between historians regarding the effectiveness of birth control, the concept of completed family size and the ability of a couple to set this ambition, and societal pressure to adhere to this. Richard and Elizabeth Fairhead baptised seven children over a period of twelve years, but Betsy, their final child, was baptised seven years later on 3rd June 1838 when her mother was 45 years old.[580] When Charles Goodwin and Kezia Durrant married on 6th December 1841, at Mundham, they were to be married for 43 years and have nine children. The first born within five months of their marriage and then fairly evenly spaced over the following fourteen years. The penultimate child was named Last, in April 1856, when Kezia was 40. Four years later, on 21st June 1863 Harry was baptised so Last was not the last.[581]

Marital Fertility

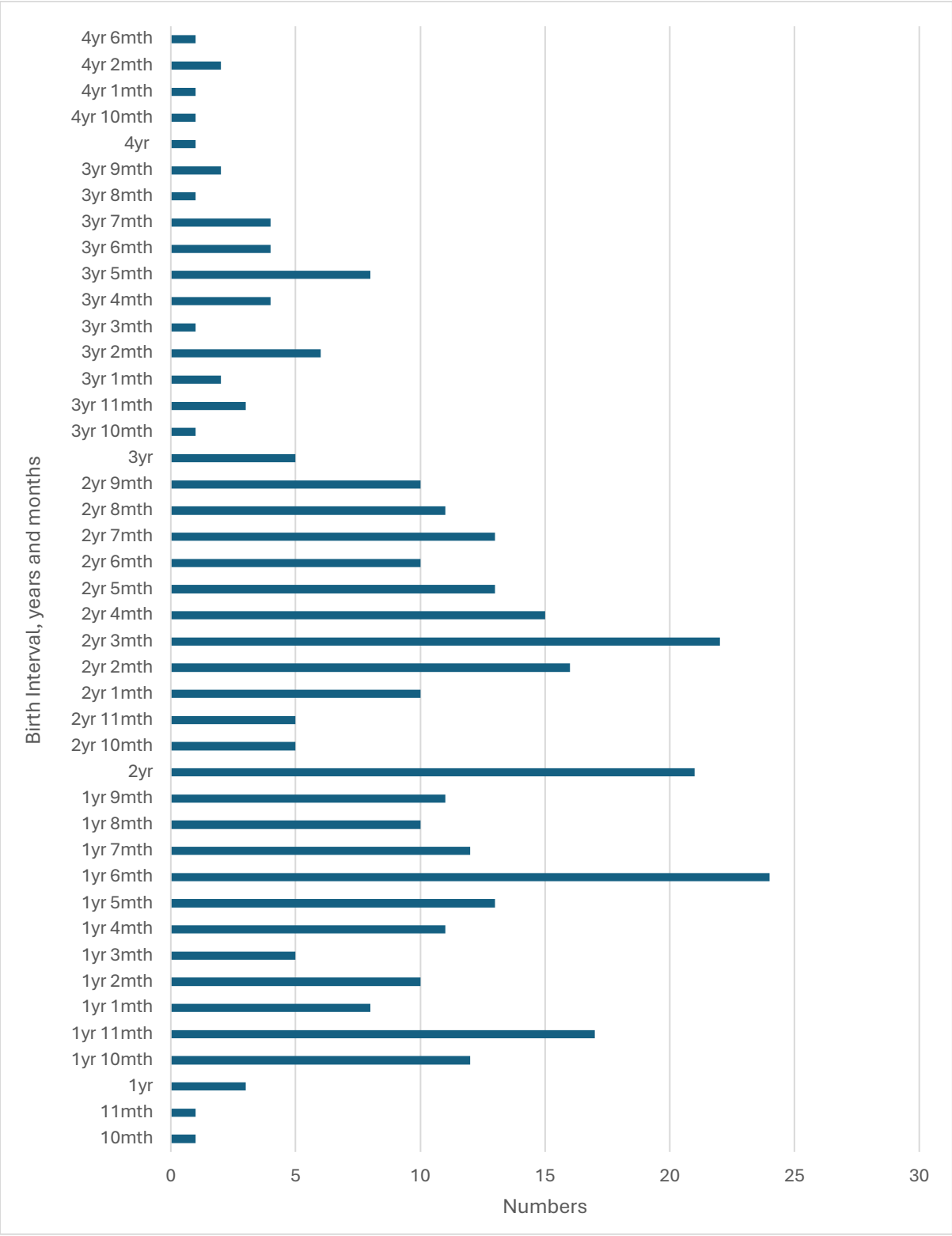
One final area to consider with the data produced by the baptism registers is that associated with marital fertility and the average gap between births as part of the importance of the economic unit and also strengthening both community and society expectation associated with multiple births. Figures 64-68 illustrate the average birth intervals for parishes in the study. The most common period between subsequent

[580] Mundham form 6486, Appendix 3.3

[581] Mundham form 6256, Appendix 2.3

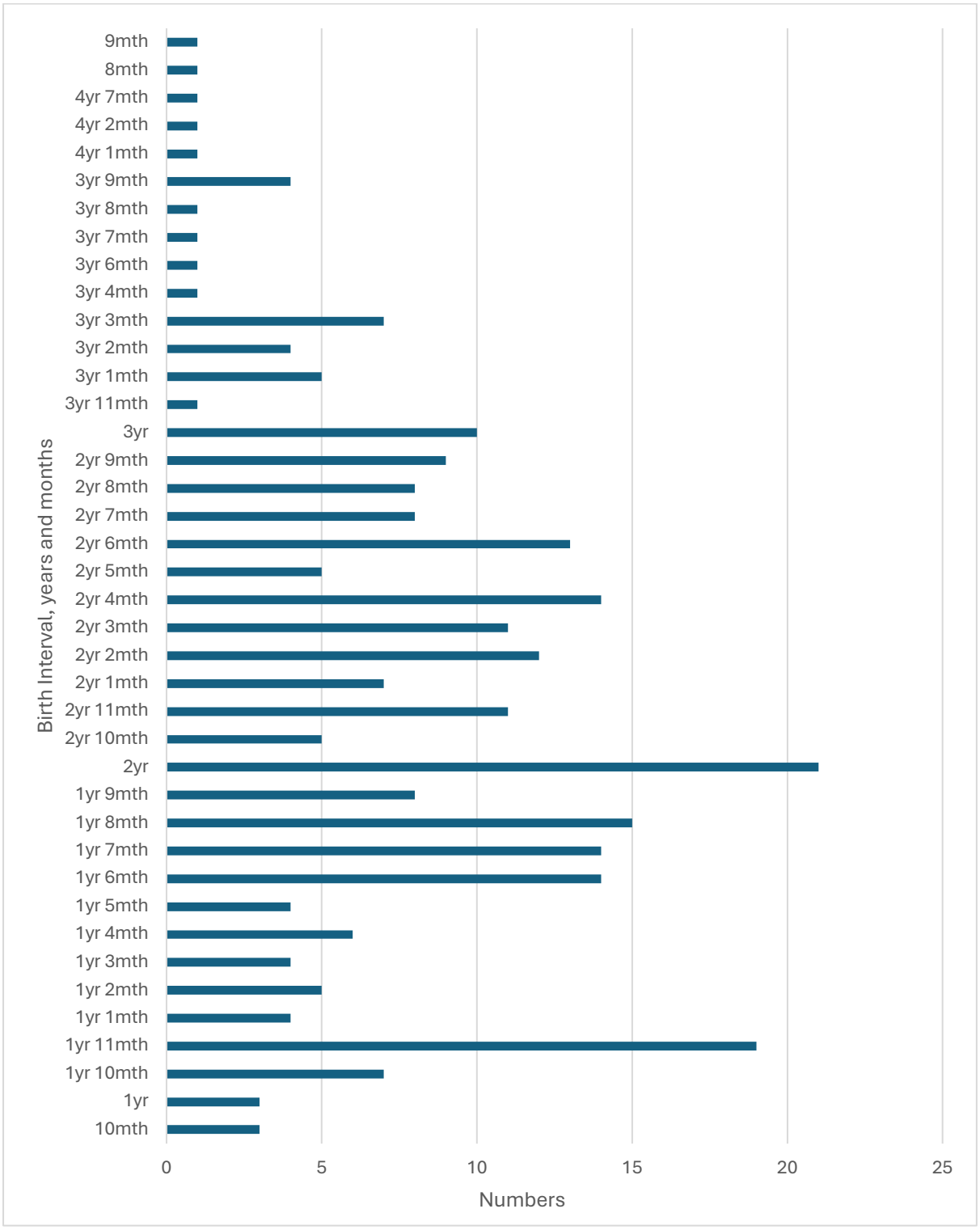
births was eighteen to twenty-four months and all the parishes demonstrate a similar profile of these changes.

Figure 64: Average Birth Intervals in Bergh Apton



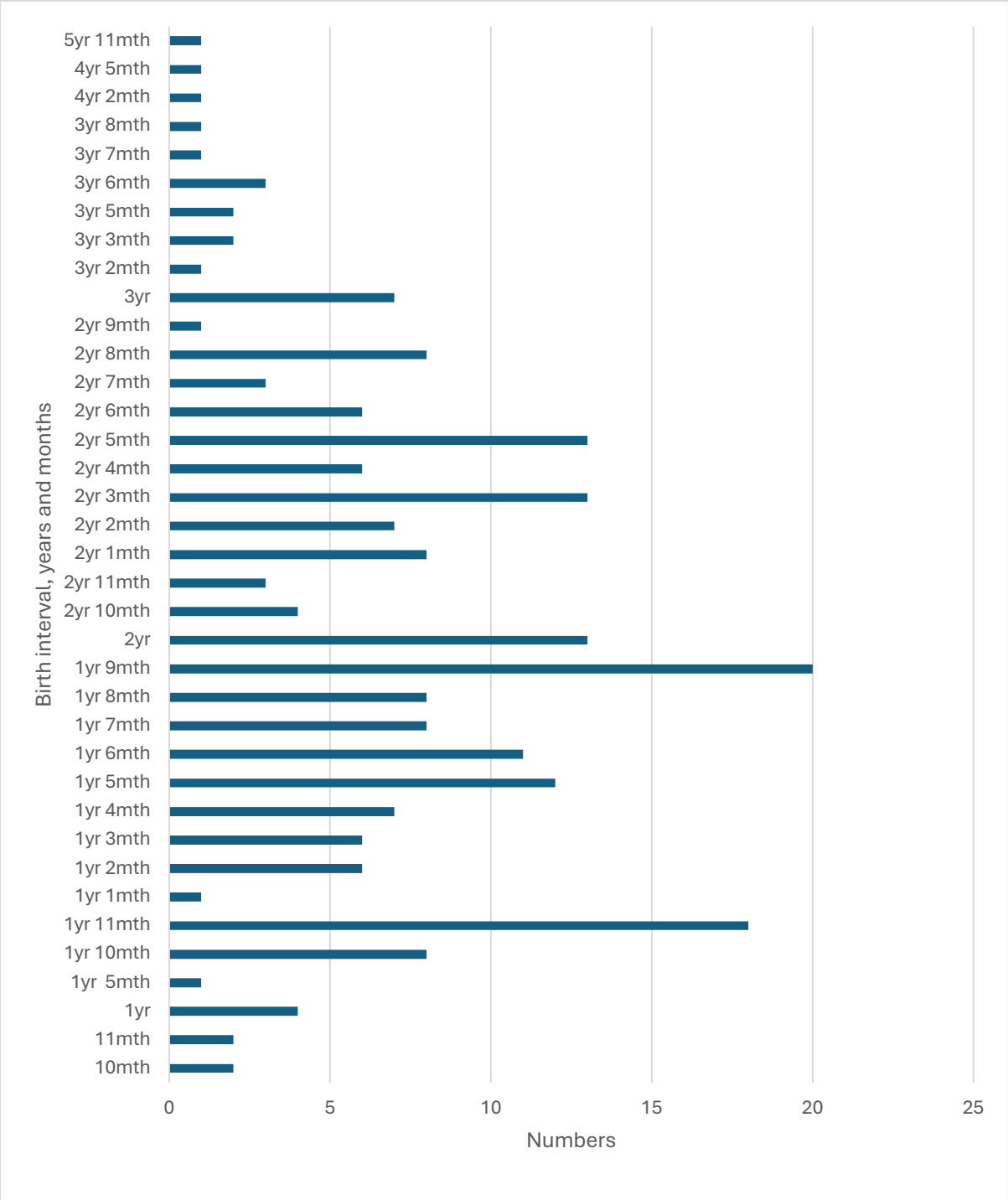
Source: Data from Appendix 2.1 and 3.1

Figure 65: Average Birth Intervals in Chedgrave



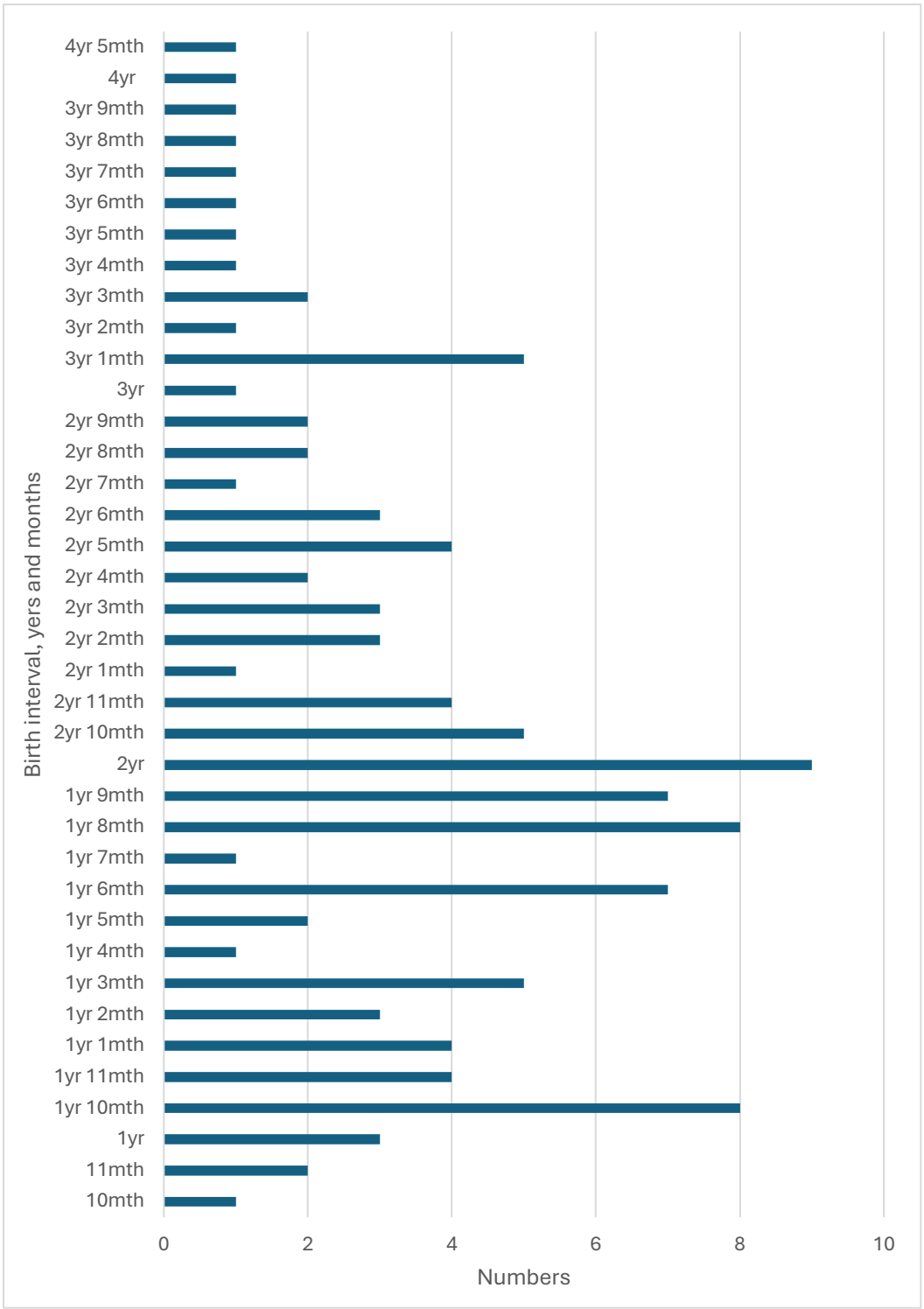
Source: Data from Appendix 2.2 and 3.2

Figure 66: Average Birth Intervals in Mundham



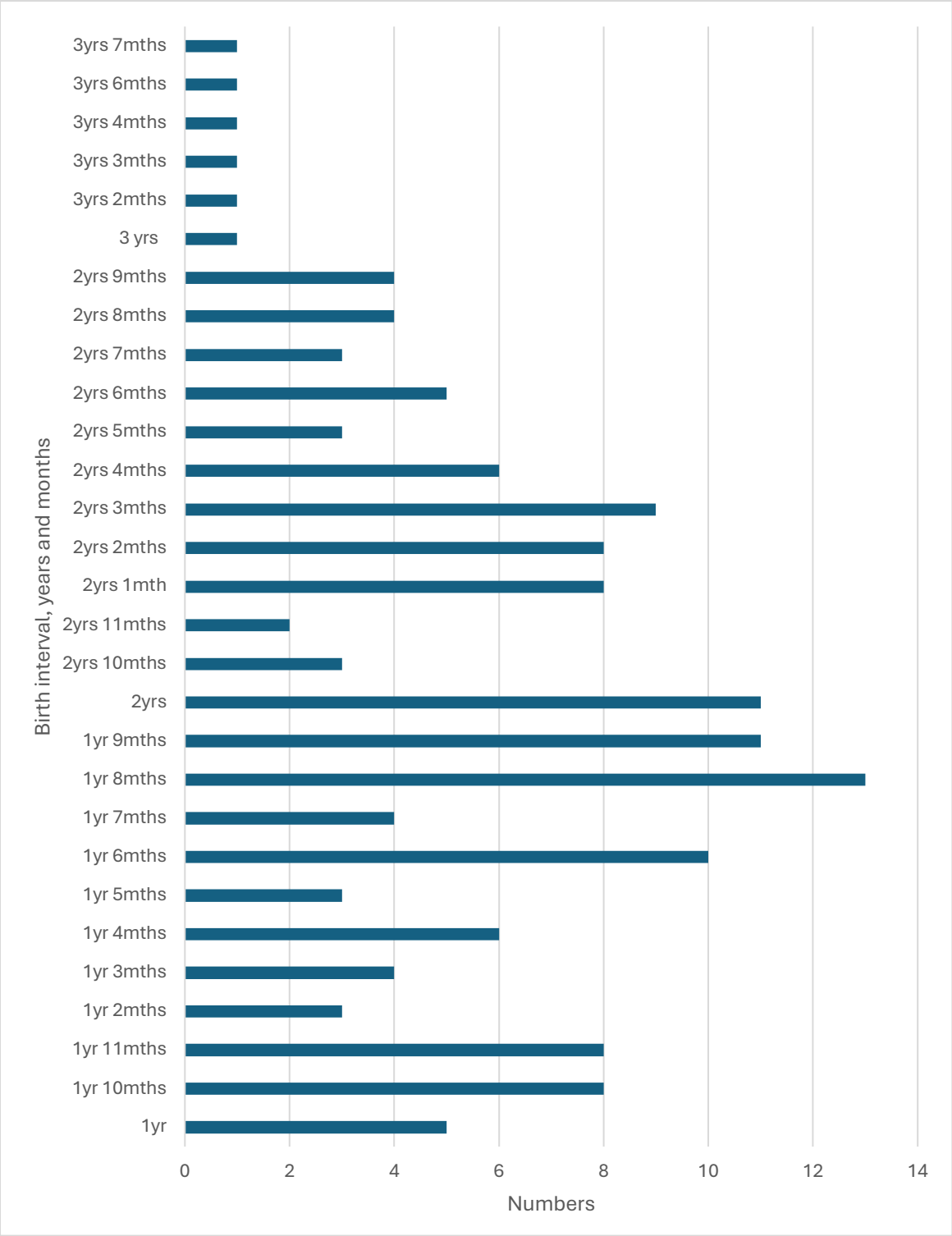
Source: Data from Appendix 2.3 and 3.3

Figure 67: Average Birth Intervals in Sisland



Source: Data from Appendix 2.4 and 3.4

Figure 68: Average Birth Intervals in Thurton



Source: Data from Appendix 2.5 and 3.5

The data collected from the baptism registers provides not only aggregate data on numbers of births, periods of conception and the common nature of pre-nuptial pregnancy, but also some clear case studies which illustrate many of the issues that the data, in its raw format, can attract. The acknowledgement of illegitimate children in the church registers, the free movement of families between churches as well as data on completed family size and some of the reasons which constrain it, such as the death of a parent, the formation of new households through remarriage and further comment on the use and reuse of first names. The highlighting of double baptism either after a period of time or the difference between private and public, provides some challenging questions to how to deal and recognise that data.

The evidence from the study parishes demonstrates that baptism was both complex and variable than the standard. While the majority of children were baptised within the expected period after birth, numerous exceptions reveal that families exercised considerable flexibility in both the timing and location of the ceremony. Delayed baptisms, group baptisms, baptisms in multiple churches, private and public baptisms, and even second baptisms all illustrate that the practice was shaped by family circumstance, mobility and clerical discretion.

These variations have important implications for this study as baptism registers remain the principal proxy for births before civil registration, yet they cannot be treated as complete or uncomplicated records of population. The detailed reconstruction of individual families demonstrates that only by linking baptisms with marriages, burials, census material and neighbouring parish registers can these anomalies be identified and interpreted correctly.

The frequency of baptisms occurring within months of marriage supports the argument that pregnancy before marriage was an accepted feature of rural society and the continued baptism of illegitimate children, and the recording of their status in parish registers, suggests that while the church continued to distinguish such births, baptism itself remained an important act of inclusion within the parish community. Baptism confirmed connections with particular churches, reflected patterns of migration and settlement, and provided recognition within the local community.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

While we can define place in the specific and in this study the five parishes in South Norfolk, we also want to attempt to define the community in a much more fluid way, by thinking about its people and its population, and not just as physical location. Is it the memory/written record that is generated by an event and a place key or is it the people who formed the memory and are in that place that provides us with that nostalgia? The thought, in the twenty-first century is that the population in the past was static and there was a specific place which people called 'home'. By using source material, parish registers, and methodologies, such as family reconstitution, we have looked to assess the stability or fluidity of the population. Historical demography has used these parish sources extensively in the past, but the ones in this study have not been used. Uniquely, the advantages of using five contiguous parishes have allowed deeper development of some of the concepts outlined by both demographers and landscape historians referred to in Chapter One. In their *Introduction to English Historical Demography*, Eversley, Laslett and Wrigley noted that it is:

> within regions that we obtain the best opportunity for a study of groups of related parishes with common type of economic development and containing within them a sufficient proportion of short distance migration to offer good opportunities for both aggregation and reconstitution.[582]

Many historians including Wrigley and Schofield and, more recently, Snell have used parish records, and in particular registers, to make assessments on the populations

[582] Wrigley et al., *An Introduction to English Historical Demography, From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, 27.

documented within them. This study continues that work by testing some of the theories and expectations of these historians but by using the registers in a different way. When first introduced in 1558 parish registers and, unlike their more modern equivalents which are formulaic in presentation, the earlier registers were in a simple factual format with one register covering all the rites of passage, thus baptisms, marriages and burials. These early registers required transcribing and were written in a period where the non-standardisation of names was frequent, and information provided could be scant. While appreciating the limitations caused by Civil War and idiosyncrasies of individual clergy keeping the records, the run of registers for over 300 years provides a wealth of demographic information to analyse and further establish relationships and hierarchy within the parish.

The full transcription of all the registers, the construction of family reconstitution forms using the methodology originally used in England by Wrigley and Schofield, and the subsequent creation of birth forms without a forming relationship has provided a wealth of information to consider the role the church and the parish played in the lived experience of our communities. The linkages, where more than one register entry appears on a reconstitution form are substantial and say as much as those with only one entry. The data of the total number of marriages is clearly influenced by the high number of irregular marriages and there is a definite increase in the number of marriages over time and that is maintained regardless of the original size of the parish. If we take the individual marriage records and the location given as the residence of the bride and groom, further exploration of marriage horizons can be undertaken. One of the reasons that this is of such interest is providing proof that couples and communities were static in the past. Foreign marriages, the term used to indicate that

neither the bride or groom were resident in the parish, drastically reduced after the introduction of Hardwicke's Act, a couple could still be within this category providing that they demonstrated the minimum residency of three weeks before the wedding. What the records show in these parishes is the correlation between the number of marriages was not as high in the non-residency category as Snell and others have suggested. The location provided in the marriage registers does not always appear to be an effective judge of this information. Sometimes there are no connections back to the to the parish listed, sometimes the link is baptism which may well have been thirty years earlier so that does demonstrate some link to parents still remaining in that place, but I would argue this link is not as strong even at marriage. The reconstitution forms also allow us to demonstrate the importance of remarriage for a widow or widower with young children often within a short time frame which would suggest an economic need as well as support for community.

Parish identity would be acquired as key to the ritual of baptism, defining your place in a socially constructed society with the notion of legitimacy as opposed to illegitimacy and the availability of resource in the context of settlement. Parish registers are most useful in looking at pre-marital fertility, a large proportion of brides were clearly pregnant when they entered the church to marry and although this is not newly observed, it is interesting is to show the high percentage of brides to which this applies. From a community perspective what is interesting is not so much about legitimacy, though clearly marriage before birth provides legitimacy, but that brides often waited or did not marry until the pregnancy was quite advanced including months six, seven and eight. There are occasions when that premarital pregnancy and baptism is the only connection with the parish other than the wedding which might suggest a very

loose connection to the community. It would appear that these children were not viewed differently within the community from those that may be born nine to twelve months after marriage. We can identify what some have termed as legitimised illegitimates, those whose parents subsequently marry, and non-legitimised where the mother remains single/separate from child's father. By creating family trees, we can assess whether illegitimacy cases fall within the same familial group, and we can also see where a subsequent marriage may or may not be the father of the child. We can also establish when an illegitimate child is a singular occurrence to woman or whether they go on to have a number of children this way Although some of these children may have been born within a common law marriage and sometimes the clergy do name the father and the mother, in the register, as well as noting in the comments that this child was base born.

As Snell observes community in its main historical forms was comprised within a bounded or limited area in which almost everybody knew each other, to which people felt they belonged and in which someone who was not known was inquired about. In England the parish had the potential to be the location for such a community throughout much of English history. It has constituted a unit of local government; it was a place which almost everyone belonged by virtue of his or her attachment to parish church.[583] The ancient parish continues mainly in rural villages and certainly in the nostalgic imagination to embody what is frequently understood by community. However, Reay in a study of three villages in Kent has cautioned against mistaking

[583] Royle, 'The Parish Community Through the Vicarage Window: Nineteenth-Century Clergy Visitation Returns', 6.

usage of the word parish for a declaration of community identity.[584] The key themes of Snell's recent work on the parish community are belonging and identity and he rightly recognises the central role of the church in maintaining both, however the church did not provide, internally, that recognition for a high percentage of the population.[585] Growing centralization and the increased detachment of church from the day-to-day lived experience such as the changes in Poor Law administration, local government, educational boards and public health helped to break down the definition of parish and place from the 1830s onward. The parish in people's lives remained important long after 1834 but the connection to various places becomes part of the everyday lived consciousness and not, specifically, the church.

Snell comments that the movement away from this definition of parish is largely one which occurs in the twenty-first century, and that it is the consequence of larger scale migration, with expanded employment opportunities and increased levels of education. Many people would no longer feel that they belong in the way that we are referencing that people belonged in the past. To stay put is now actually seen as something less positive. To be rooted in one place, to identify with the importance of one place or to defend that location is something that we are far less familiar with. Baptism, marriages and burials have become a far more private rather than community events.

This thesis has examined the relationship between parish, place and identity in five neighbouring rural parishes of South Norfolk over a period of approximately three

[584] Reay, *Microhistories: Demography, Society, and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930*, 9.

[585] Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity, and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950*.

centuries. By combining parish registers, family reconstitution and censuses, it has explored whether the parish remained the principal focus of community and belonging, or whether the lived experiences of individuals were shaped by a wider network of neighbouring settlements. Throughout, the evidence has demonstrated that while the parish remained an important administrative, religious and legal institution, it did not exist in isolation. Instead, the population experienced community through a series of overlapping relationships that frequently extended beyond a single parish boundary.

One of the principal findings of this research is that attachment to place was neither static nor exclusive. Although legislation suggested the importance of the single parish the evidence consistently shows that individuals crossed parish boundaries throughout their lives. Marriage, baptism and family formation all created connections between neighbouring communities, producing patterns of movement that were predominantly local rather than long-distance. Rather than undermining attachment to place, this mobility illustrates that rural identity operated across a familiar landscape of adjacent villages whose inhabitants shared economic opportunities, family networks and social institutions.

The comparative nature of this study has also demonstrated the value of examining groups of interconnected parishes rather than relying upon the traditional single-parish approach. Although Bergh Apton, Chedgrave, Mundham, Sisland and Thurton shared a geographic setting, each exhibited some distinctive traits. These local variations caution against broad generalisations concerning rural communities while reinforcing the importance of microhistorical approaches within historical demography. However

the similarities observed between the parishes reveal the extent to which they formed an integrated local society whose boundaries were social as much as administrative. Methodologically, this thesis demonstrates the considerable advantages of integrating multiple historical sources. Parish registers remain the foundation of demographic reconstruction, but when analysed alongside family reconstitution and census returns they reveal much richer patterns of behaviour than any individual source can provide. Reconstitution confirms family structure across generations, while the census validates and refines these reconstructions by identifying household structures, and movements that are sometimes would be difficult to track.

The evidence relating to marriage provides one of the clearest illustrations of these wider themes. The persistence of endogamous marriages alongside regular movement between neighbouring parishes demonstrates that marriage horizons were wider than a single village but generally remained within a recognisable local landscape. This research also contributes to wider debates concerning mobility in rural England. Earlier interpretations have frequently contrasted a supposedly static rural society with the increasing mobility associated with industrialisation and urbanisation. The findings presented here suggest a more nuanced picture. The agricultural communities of South Norfolk were neither isolated nor very mobile as a whole but utilised continuous short-distance movement that maintained local networks while allowing individuals and families to respond to employment opportunities. Such movement strengthened rather than weakened local community by extending familial and economic relationships across a cluster of neighbouring parishes through rural circulation.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion to emerge from this study concerns the concept of "home". Rather than being directly related to the parish and a legal definition of it, for many it was experienced through families and direct relationships of the famial. Although the parish church remained an important focal point for baptism, marriage and burial, it represented one element within a broader landscape of identity rather than its sole definition. More broadly, this thesis demonstrates the continuing importance of local history in addressing wider historical questions. By reconstructing the experiences of individuals and families over several centuries, it has shown how changes and developments were experienced within everyday rural life. In doing so, they reveal both continuity and change within the rural parish during the period.

Finally, I would argue that the rural parish should not be understood simply as an administrative or ecclesiastical unit, but as part of a wider network through which individuals negotiated identity, family and community. The evidence from these five South Norfolk parishes demonstrates that attachment to place was enduring but flexible, rooted in the landscapes rather than defined by specific boundaries. Belonging in rural England was defined not by the limits of a single parish but by the lived experiences of the people who moved within, between and beyond them.

Chapter 9: Appendix

Appendix 1: Parish Register Transcripts

1.1. Bergh Apton Marriage Register, composite, 1631-1900[586]
1.2. Bergh Apton Baptism Register, composite, 1615-1900[587]
1.3. Bergh Apton Burial Register, composite, 1630-1900[588]
1.4. Chedgrave Marriage Register, composite, 1551-1900[589]
1.5. Chedgrave Baptism Register, composite, 1551-1900[590]
1.6. Chedgrave Burial Register, composite, 1551-1900[591]

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[586] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1556-1720'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1720-1791, Marriage 1721-1753 and Burial 1720-1793 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1787-1808, Marriage 1792-1812 and Burial 1789-1812 Registers', n.d., PD497/ 3; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Marriage Registers: 1755-1792', n.d., PD497/ 6; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Marriage Registers: 1813-1837', n.d., PD497/ 7; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Marriage Registers: 1837-2004', n.d., PD497/ 41.

[587] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1556-1720'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1720-1791, Marriage 1721-1753 and Burial 1720-1793 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1787-1808, Marriage 1792-1812 and Burial 1789-1812 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1808-1813', n.d., PD497/ 4; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1813-1867'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1867-1900'.

[588] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1556-1720'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Burial Registers: 1813-1918'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1720-1791, Marriage 1721-1753 and Burial 1720-1793 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1787-1808, Marriage 1792-1812 and Burial 1789-1812 Registers'.

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[590] Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1551-1661, Marriage 1551-1682 and Burial 1551-1683 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1670-1723, Marriage 1670-1723 and Burial 1670-1724 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1724-1783, Marriage 1724-1754 and Burial 1724-1784 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism and Burial Registers: 1784-1812', n.d., PD213/ 4; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism Registers: 1813-1877', n.d., PD213/ 5.

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1.7. Mundham Marriage Register, composite, 1560-1900[592]
1.8. Mundham Baptism Register, composite, 1560-1900[593]
1.9. Mundham Burial Register, composite, 1560-1900[594]
1.10. Sisland Marriage Register, composite,1584-1900[595]
1.11. Sisland Baptism Register, composite, 1584-1900[596]
1.12. Sisland Burial Registers, composite, 1584-1900[597]
1.13. Thurton Marriage Register, composite, 1559-1900[598]
1.14. Thurton Baptism Register, composite,1559-1900[599]
1.15. Thurton Burial Register, composite, 1559-1900[600]

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[600] Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Burial Registers: 1813-1992', n.d., PD604/ 24.

Colour Coding to Forms

Bergh Apton – Blue text on non Bergh Apton forms
Chedgrave – Orange text on non Chedgrave forms
Mundham – Yellow text on non Mundham forms
Sisland – Green Text on non Sisland Forms
Thurton – Red Text on non Thurton forms

Appendix 2: Family Reconstitution Forms, from marriage

2.1. Bergh Apton Reconstitution Forms [1001-1583][601]
2.2. Chedgrave Reconstitution Forms [4001-4848][602]
2.3. Mundham Reconstitution Forms [6001-6356][603]
2.4. Sisland Reconstitution Forms [3060-3203][604]
2.5. Thurton Reconstitution forms [7000-7283][605]

Appendix 3: Family Reconstitution Forms, non-marriage

[601] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1556-1720'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1720-1791, Marriage 1721-1753 and Burial 1720-1793 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1787-1808, Marriage 1792-1812 and Burial 1789-1812 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Marriage Registers: 1755-1792'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Marriage Registers: 1813-1837'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Marriage Registers: 1837-2004'.

[602] Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1551-1661, Marriage 1551-1682 and Burial 1551-1683 Registers', n.d., PD213/ 1; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1670-1723, Marriage 1670-1723 and Burial 1670-1724 Registers', n.d., PD213/ 2; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1724-1783, Marriage 1724-1754 and Burial 1724-1784 Registers', n.d., PD213/ 3; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Marriage Register: 1759-1813', n.d., PD213/ 6; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Marriage Register: 1813-1837', n.d., PD213/ 7; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Marriage Register: 1837-1969', n.d., PD213/ 8.

[603] Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism Registers 1560-1692, Marriage 1559-1696 and Burial 1559-1697'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism Registers 1685-1781, Marriage 1714-1780 and Burial 1685-1781'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Marriage Registers: 1754-1810'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Marriage Registers: 1813-1836'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Marriage Registers: 1838-1924'.

[604] Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1584-1765'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Marriage Registers: 1755-1808'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Marriage Registers: 1813-1829'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Marriage Registers: 1843-2000'.

[605] Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Baptism 1559-1813, Marriages 1559-1753 and Burial 1559-1824 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Marriage Registers: 1755-1812'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Marriage Registers: 1813-1837'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Thurton Marriage Registers: 1839-2004'.

3.1. Bergh Apton Reconstitution Forms [1584-2245, 8001-8285][606]
3.2. Chedgrave Reconstitution Forms [4849-5526][607]
3.3. Mundham Reconstitution Forms [6357-6823, 9001-9203][608]
3.4. Sisland Reconstitution Forms [3204-3417][609]
3.5. Thurton Reconstitution Forms [7284-7743][610]

[606] Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1556-1720'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1720-1791, Marriage 1721-1753 and Burial 1720-1793 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism 1787-1808, Marriage 1792-1812 and Burial 1789-1812 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1808-1813'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1813-1867'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Bergh Apton Baptism Registers: 1867-1900'.

[607] Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1551-1661, Marriage 1551-1682 and Burial 1551-1683 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1670-1723, Marriage 1670-1723 and Burial 1670-1724 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism 1724-1783, Marriage 1724-1754 and Burial 1724-1784 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism and Burial Registers: 1784-1812'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Chedgrave Baptism Registers: 1813-1877'.

[608] Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism Registers 1560-1692, Marriage 1559-1696 and Burial 1559-1697'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism Registers 1685-1781, Marriage 1714-1780 and Burial 1685-1781'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism and Burial Registers: 1781-1807'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism 1808-1813, Burial 1808-1813 Registers'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Mundham Baptism Register: 1813-1909'.

[609] Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Baptism and Burial Registers: 1767-1812'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Baptism Registers: 1813-1901'; Norfolk Record Office, 'Sisland Baptism, Marriage and Burial Registers: 1584-1765'.

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ANF AT Brooke 8 (Sisland Archdeacon Transcripts 1725-1812)
ANF AT Brooke 9 (Thurton Archdeacon Transcripts 1725-1812)

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C/Sca 2/29 (Enclosure Award: 1806, Bergh Apton and Thurton)
C/Sca 2/260 (Enclosure Award, 1813, Sisland, Seething, Kirstead)

DN/BT Bergh Apton 1691-1877 (Bergh Apton Bishop Transcripts, 1691-1877)
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DN/BT Sisland 1691-1893 (Sisland Bishop Transcripts, 1691-1893)
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PD213/ 3 (Chedgrave Baptism 1724-1783, Marriage 1724-1754 and Burial 1724-1784 Registers)
PD213/ 4 (Chedgrave Baptism and Burial Registers: 1784-1812)
PD213/ 5 (Chedgrave Baptism Registers: 1813-1877)
PD213/ 6 (Chedgrave Marriage Register: 1759-1813)
PD213/ 7 (Chedgrave Marriage Register: 1813-1837)
PD213/ 8 (Chedgrave Marriage Register: 1837-1969)
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PD497/ 6 (Bergh Apton Marriage Registers: 1755-1792)
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PD641/ 5 (Sisland Marriage Registers: 1813-1829)
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