

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Kinship and Mobility in Early Modern England: Case Studies from

Nottinghamshire

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

CALGARY, ALBERTA

JUNE, 1997

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the systemic relationship between kinship and mobility, and its impact on early modern English communities. It also assesses how historians can best investigate links between mobility and kinship, and the role of the latter in sustaining mobility patterns, structuring individual lives, and defining communities. It argues that although kin ties existing in households and parish populations provide insight into the individual and communal functions of kinship, they are part of broader issues relating to mobility. For methodological and theoretical reasons, these issues cannot be addressed adequately within the context of quantitative, parish-based community studies. The thesis uses case histories to illustrate the approach's shortcomings. Studies of Ruddington, Nottinghamshire, of individual parish households, and of one Ruddington family demonstrate that how people deployed themselves across the English landscape affected kin relationships, and that kin ties, in turn, influenced where people lived and how they communicated with one another.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the staff of the Department of History at The University of Calgary for their support during the course of my research. In particular, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Louis Knafla, for his invaluable assistance. I am also grateful to the Calgary Family History Centre, without whose resources the research underpinning this thesis would have been logistically impossible; to Janice Cushman, former director of the Centre, for her unstinting help; and to Rene Dusomme, for introducing me to the fascinating world of old probate documents.

Reconstructing the genealogical history of the Attenborough family was a massive undertaking in which numerous researchers collaborated. I am indebted to them all. To Ann Jones of Walton on the Wolds, friend and research colleague, I must extend a special note of appreciation. I alone am responsible for any inaccuracies of detail contained within the "family trees" which appear in the appendices to this thesis. I should like to emphasize, however, that the reconstructions themselves were a joint project which would never have been realized had it not been for Ann's own painstaking research, her perceptive insights into local history, and her generosity of spirit. Without Ann's uncanny ability to translate the confusing array of Stapleford parish records into coherent family pedigrees, Appendices III:5 and III:6, in particular, would contain little more than unconnected bits and pieces of genealogical data.

Finally, for their unflagging encouragement and support, I thank Ann and Ric, Erin and Paul, and Marg.

DEDICATION

For Erin and Marg

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Borthwick Institute of Historical Research | BI |
| International Genealogical Index | IGI |
| Exchequer Court of York | ECY |
| Northamptonshire County Record Office | Northants CRO |
| Nottinghamshire Archives Office | NAO |
| Prerogative Court of Canterbury | PCC |
| Prerogative Court of York | PCY |
| Public Record Office | PRO |
| University of Nottingham Library, Manuscripts Department | UNL |

KINSHIP AND MOBILITY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND: CASE STUDIES FROM NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

Despite their diversity in content, all human communities share common structural elements. Their basic building block is the family. As a biological unit, the family creates the human resource which ensures a community's physical survival. The kinship context within which this unit is integrated provides an overarching cultural framework that is critical in shaping both individual and collective values and behaviours.¹ Anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists alike have, therefore, long regarded research into the structure and content of kinship systems and family life as pivotal to their respective disciplines. It is only in recent decades, however, that historians have entered the forum of inquiry.

Prior to the 1960s, most North American and European historians accepted on faith the traditional view that the modern Western family – nuclear in structure, mobile in habit, and nested in a loose and flexible kinship system based on bilateral descent – was a direct product of socio-economic dislocations

¹ Freg Plog, C. J. Jolly, D. G. Bates, with J. R. Acocella, *Anthropology: Decisions, Adaptations, and Evolution, 2nd Edition* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 364, 371; Davydd J. Greenwood and W. A. Stini, *Nature, Culture, and Human History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 360.

associated with the industrial revolution.² According to convention, Northern European society before the 1700s was communal in context, and organized around sedentary villages of extended family households linked together through kinship.³ In 1959, however, English historian Peter Laslett turned this conventional wisdom on its head. Based on family reconstructions derived from two detailed name listings comparable to census records, Laslett assembled a statistical picture of 17th century Clayworth parish, Nottinghamshire, which was dramatically at odds with the traditionally accepted view of pre-industrial English villages. Laslett's Clayworth, a collective of mobile individuals raised in nuclear family households, many of which made only ephemeral appearances in Clayworth before moving on to other locales, inaugurated amongst historians a cluster of controversies which have not yet abated.⁴

During the 1960s, a massive nation-wide programme of quantitative demographic research based primarily on family reconstructions assembled from parish-based registers of baptisms, marriages and burials produced a spate of data that corroborated Laslett's initial findings.⁵ Moreover, statistics culled from

² For comments on the traditional view, see Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 32, 50, 219; also Peter Laslett and R. Wall, ed., *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group over the Last Three Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

³ For example, see Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (Toronto: Random House, 1962), 10, 413. See Katz, 50, 237 for a commentary on the myth.

⁴ Peter Laslett, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in *Family Life and Illicit Love In Earlier Generations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 50-101.

⁵ E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Scofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981). The massive project, launched and coordinated by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, has

detailed reconstructions of several individual parish populations revealed that the majority of early modern English families lived in parishes housing few resident kin. In their landmark study of the early modern population of Terling, Essex, Wrightson and Levine found that fewer than half the village's households contained individuals who were related to people in neighbouring homes.⁶

This revelation, coupled with evidence that early modern English folk did not cite a wide range of relatives in their wills, or rely in disproportionate numbers on non-nuclear kin for practical financial and legal assistance,⁷ generated a growing consensus amongst demographic historians. Beyond the private boundaries of the isolated, mobile nuclear family circle, kinship networks in early modern England seemed to be "narrowly defined", "loose", "flexible", and relatively insignificant from the perspectives of both the individual and the village community.⁸ As evidence supporting this hypothesis mounted, however, some historians began to voice pointed criticisms of the new portrait of English kinship.

The initial complaint lodged against what Chaytor has called a new "orthodoxy" was that its rigid generalizations obscured a rich diversity of

generated statistics regarding, for example, the mean size of early modern English households, and the average age at which individuals first married.

⁶ Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (London: Academic Press, 1979), 85.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 92-94, 99-103. See also Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1982), 51-53; A. L. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993), 212-222; Alan Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 176-180; Richard R. Vann, "Wills and the Family in an English Town: Banbury, 1550-1800," in *Journal of Family History* (Winter 1979): 346-367.

⁸ Wrightson and Levine, *Poverty and Piety*, 81-82; Wrightson, *English Society*, 44-51; Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (London: Longman Group UK, Ltd., 1981), 45-58.

adaptations clearly visible in the empirical record.⁹ Dissenters noted, for example, that Hey's reconstruction of Myddle, Shropshire, from 1524 to 1701 showed a parish population embedded in a "closely-woven web of kinship."¹⁰ Razi's massive genealogical reconstruction of the 13th and 14th century population of Halesowen, Hertfordshire, assembled from manor court rolls, produced similar indications that kin ties in pre-industrial England were sometimes more extensive and more behaviourally significant than those documented in 17th century Terling, Kirkby Lonsdale and other locales.¹¹ Likewise, Chaytor marshalled convincing genealogical data to show that at least four late 16th - early 17th century families from Ryton, Durham, were enmeshed in relatively high density extended family networks. She demonstrated, moreover, that all of the families were at various times deployed in households that clearly incorporated extended family members.

Such evidence was not particularly startling to the new demographic historians.¹² The Cambridge Group's own population studies showed, for

⁹ Miranda Chaytor, "Household and Kinship: Ryton in the Late 16th and 17th Centuries," in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 10 (1980): 29.

¹⁰ David G. Hey, *An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1974), 142.

¹¹ Zvi Razi, *Life, Marriage, and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270-1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); also Razi, "Family, Land and the Village Community in Later Medieval England," in *Past and Present*, No. 93 (1981), and "The Myth of the Immutable English Family," in *Past and Present*, No. 140 (1993): 3-44. See Alan Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1977) for a profile of Kirkby Lonsdale.

¹² Rab Houston and Richard Smith, "A New Approach to Family History?" in *History Workshop Journal*, Volume 14 (1982), 129.

instance, that “about one family in twenty” was multi-generational.¹³ As Laslett himself acknowledged, even non-resident “wider kin” could figure prominently in individual lives “on particular occasions.” Much of the debate regarding the nature of the pre-industrial English kinship system and its residential habits was thus mainly a reminder to historians that, as Wrightson¹⁴ pointed out in 1981, generalizations about family structure and its significance must always include

qualifications which take account of ... the needs and circumstances of specific social groups, particular historical periods and the inevitable idiosyncrasies of particular families and individuals.¹⁵

In Laslett’s view, the controversy regarding household structure and kinship stemmed in good part from a failure on the part of some historians to recognize that any family is a dynamic entity, “... changing and developing from the time of its formation to ... its dissolution in a cyclical manner.”¹⁶ Katz’s study of census records from a Canadian city on the verge of industrialization illustrated this point forcefully. Katz found that the overall distribution of “simple”, multi-family, and multi-generational households in 19th century Hamilton, Ontario, remained relatively constant over time,¹⁷ with nuclear family households always in the

¹³ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: England before the Industrial Age*, 3rd Edition (New York : Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1981), 92.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Keith Wrightson, “Household and Kinship in Sixteenth-Century England,” in *History Workshop Journal*, Volume 12 (1981), 55.

¹⁶ Laslett, *The World we have Lost*, 93.

¹⁷ Katz, *The People of Hamilton*, 226.

majority. The boundaries and composition of the individual households Katz examined, however, were continually in flux.

The debate over household size and composition in pre-industrial England has now largely subsided.¹⁸ While it served to emphasize that the existence of a cultural norm, whatever its features, should never be construed to imply uniformity, it did not discredit the claim that most English families were living in nuclear family households long before the 18th century. The correlation between industrialization and the prevalence of nuclear family structures has, in Katz's words, "... been proved wrong, and massively so."¹⁹

The relationship between the size and content of English households and the overall significance of England's kinship system, however, remains a highly

¹⁸ This general statement needs to be qualified. It should be noted that a significant number of historians of 19th century private family life and emotion still appear to subscribe to what might be called the "Ariès school". Their arguments regarding the evolution of the Victorian middle class family and its affective characteristics rest on the traditional view of the modern family as a product of the political, social and ideological changes begun in the 1700s. Lawrence Stone subscribes to this view in his 1979 commentary on English family life, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, Abridged Edition (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books, 1979). See also Alain Corbin, "Backstage," in *A History of Private Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 456-657; Michelle Perrot and Anne Martin-Fugier, "The Actors," in *A History of Private Life*, 95-137; Nancy Schrom Dye and D. B. Smith, "Mother Love and Infant Death, 1750-1920," in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (1986): 329-353. In "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 4, (1985): 829, P. N. Stearns and C. Z. Stearns have noted that "... the idea of a new period in Western emotional history, corresponding to what we call modern in political or economic history [is far from] well-established." As well, various social historians have roundly criticized Stone's study. Otherwise, historians of affective private life in Western society seem to have been unaffected by the debate of the 1960s, '70s, and '80s.

¹⁹ Katz, *The People of Hamilton*, 50. See also A. Macfarlane, "The Myth of the Peasantry: Family and Economy in a Northern Parish," in *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, ed., R. M. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 333-49; A. Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property and Social Transition* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978); P. Laslett and R. Wall, eds., *Household and Family in Past Time: Comparative Studies in the Size and Structure of the Domestic Group over the Last Three Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

contentious issue. Based partly on the evidence that English families were highly mobile and adhered to neolocal residence patterns even during the middle ages,²⁰ Houlbrooke, for instance, has remarked that "... ever since late Anglo-Saxon times if not before, kinship ties [were] relatively weak in England."²¹ Cressy, Phythian-Adams and others have assigned to these ties a far more significant role, and O'Hara²² has gone so far as to suggest that the "... ideological and moral system [of 16th century England] ... , in the fullest sense, was a kinship system."

These divergent views are not simply disagreements about the relative importance of norms and variation within a universally accepted interpretive model. They incorporate fundamental methodological and theoretical concerns, the first of which is the difficulty of defining precisely what historians are investigating. Most historians would agree with their anthropological colleagues

²⁰ For studies of population mobility during the middle ages, see, for example, L. R. Roos, "Population Turnover in Medieval Essex: The Evidence of some Early Fourteenth-Century Tithing Lists," in *The World we have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure*, eds., L. Bonfield, R. M. Smith and K. Wrightson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 1-22; R. K. Field, "Migration in the Later Middle Ages: The Case of the Hampton Lovett Villeins," in *Midland History*, Vol. 8 (1983): 30-48; and P.J. P. Goldberg, "Marriage, Migration, Servanthood and Life Cycle in Yorkshire Towns of the Later Middle Ages," in *Continuity and Change*, 1 (1986): 141-169.

²¹ Houlbrooke, *The English Family*, 50.

²² David Cressy, "Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England," in *Past and Present*, No. 113 (1986): 38-69; Charles Phythian-Adams, *Rethinking English Local History* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1987), 27-49; Charles Phythian-Adams, "Introduction: An Agenda for English Local History," in *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 18-23; A. Mitson, "The Significance of Kinship Networks in the Seventeenth Century: South-West Nottinghamshire," in *Societies, Cultures and Kinship, 1580-1850* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 24-76; Evelyn Lord, 1993, "Communities of Common Interest: The Social Landscape of South-East Surrey, 1750-1850," in *Societies, Cultures and Kinship* (1993), 149-170; Diana O'Hara, "Ruled by my Friends': Aspects of Marriage in the Diocese of Canterbury, c. 1540-1570," in *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1991): 32.

that kinship systems are erected on an infrastructure of biological relationships.²³ Such systems are, however, cultural constructs, which are notoriously difficult to define and assess.

The process of family formation, critical to the shape and content of kin networks, illustrates this point well. Contemporary Western families, for example, frequently absorb into their ranks fictive kin such as adoptees and step-children. Moreover, the institution of marriage itself is a cultural artifact subject to re-definition through time.²⁴ While the adage that “you can choose your friends, but not your relatives” is thus true in some measure from an individual perspective, nevertheless, kinship is in good part a product of how people feel, think and act. Such behaviour is, in turn, moulded by the social and economic circumstances in which people live. Nor can the impact of ideology be ignored. Modern Western culture, for example, holds self-reliance in high esteem. It regards the transmission of this value, however, as a significant parental duty, and urges individuals to exercise their independence as members of fictive kin groups such as religious orders or political movements composed of “brothers” and “sisters”, or business organizations often described as “corporate families”.

It is in this metaphorical definition that O’Hara has ascribed to kinship a pervasive role in reinforcing the early modern English moral and ideological

²³ Plog *et al*, 364, 371; Greenwood and Stini, 360.

²⁴ See, for example, Michael M. Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, ed., J. K. Farge (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

system, and engendering what we would call community “spirit” amongst 16th century English folk. By contrast, in their analysis of Terling kin networks, Wrightson and Levine adopted a more restrictive definition of kinship. Their goal was to identify the blood and affinal links connecting Terling residents to one another, and measure the impact of these ties on individual and community behaviour. Genealogically unrelated individuals they relegated to the status of “neighbours”.²⁵

Echoing Chaytor’s concern that the definitional boundaries segregating neighbour and kin may not have been as clear to early modern English folk as Wrightson and Levine infer, O’Hara argues that such rigid labels may obscure other relevant historical issues. In her intriguing study of 16th century marriage rites and depositions in Canterbury diocese, for example, O’Hara investigates how ritual may have served to transform strangers into members of local kinship communities.²⁶ Her points are well-taken. However, acknowledging the significance of kinship thus broadly conceived does not diminish the importance of clarifying how genealogically defined kin relationships functioned in O’Hara’s wider “family” framework. This thesis explores early modern kinship ties in the more restrictive context employed by Wrightson and Levine.

A second matter of disagreement amongst historians concerns the advisability of studying kinship through the lens of the household. In 1980, for

²⁵ Wrightson and Levine, 99-103.

²⁶ O’Hara, 21-33.

example, Miranda Chaytor roundly chastized Wrightson and Levine for centring their study of kinship in 17th century Terling, Essex, on the identification of households rather than families.²⁷ Chaytor charged that this focus tended to blur a critical conceptual distinction between units of residence and kinship, conflating them into synonymous terms. Households, she pointed out, are merely physically defined locales where "... kin groups joined by marriage" share living accommodations and other resources.²⁸ Families, on the other hand, are clusters of people who remain kin irrespective of where they live.

In Chaytor's view, analyzing kinship systems from the viewpoint of the household erects around household occupants an investigative barricade, segregating its members conceptually from their non-resident kindreds. Since the most visible and numerous of household occupants in early modern England belonged to nuclear families, Chaytor has insisted that the household bias highlights the isolation and importance of the nuclear family while diminishing the possible significance of non-resident kin.²⁹

Notwithstanding Chaytor's perceptive criticism, the following thesis, like Wrightson and Levine's earlier study, uses household data as an investigative tool to map and assess early modern kinship on the grounds that co-residence in a given household, or within a particular early modern parish clearly reflects some of the rights, privileges and obligations English people at the time

²⁷ Chaytor, 28-29.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 39; see also Katz, *The People of Hamilton, passim*.

²⁹ Chaytor, 29, 38.

assigned to different categories of kin. Co-residence is, however, only one facet of a far broader issue. Does the way in which families and individuals deployed themselves across the English landscape shed light on kin relationships, and did those relationships, in turn, influence where people lived and how they communicated with one another? This thesis is intended primarily as a commentary on how historians can best address these questions. It also seeks to illustrate some serious methodological and conceptual pitfalls inherent in the parish-based quantitative approach currently in vogue amongst demographic historians.

THE PROBLEMS

As Phythian-Adams³⁰ has argued eloquently, kinship studies constricted by parish boundaries are conceptually problematical. The measures of “kinship density” used in the Terling study illustrate one such theoretical difficulty. Designed to address Laslett’s warning that “... persons present in a household make up only a portion of the influences from kin and others close to [a particular family member],”³¹ they allegedly document the extent to which kinship ties linked parish households together through space and time. Unfortunately, since they derive almost exclusively from parish documents, the measures are inadequate to the task. In the first place, while Wrightson and Levine describe Terling as a “fluid and unbounded community constantly changing in composition as a result of geographical mobility,”³² they incorporate no information regarding the number and category of kinfolk whom householders might have had in the nearby parishes which comprised Terling’s “social area”.³³ They therefore create the unintentional impression that nuclear family households without village kin were genealogical isolates for whom kinship beyond the nuclear circle held little importance.

³⁰ Phythian-Adams, *Rethinking English Local History*, *passim*.

³¹ P. Laslett, *The World we have Lost*, 93.

³² Wrightson and Levine, 94.

³³ *Ibid.*, 77.

Such an inference rests on the unsubstantiated assumption that kinfolk who lived in different parishes did not communicate with one another. This may well have been true in many cases, but the old aphorism, "out of sight, out of mind," cannot be accepted on faith. Cressy's study of 17th century written correspondence verifies, in fact, that some early modern people were well aware of the whereabouts of even geographically distant kin, and sometimes called upon absent relatives to perform favours for them.³⁴

Literacy in the 17th century was far from universal, and the sample of letters Cressy examined was small. Cressy's data, however, are intriguing. They suggest that to understand how kinship networks functioned in early modern English society, one should investigate not merely who was living at a given time in a given parish, but also the degree to which spatially segregated kinfolk maintained contact, the manner in which they did so, and their underlying motives. To do so, however, one must obviously extend the geographical scope of residential studies beyond the confines of the parish. Given the well-documented mobility of the early modern English population,³⁵ the borders of any single parish are little more appropriate than the walls of individual

³⁴Cressy, 44-49.

³⁵ See, for instance, Peter Clark, "Migration in England During the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," in *Past and Present*, No. 83 (1979): 57-90; Julian Cornwall, "Evidence of Population Mobility in the Seventeenth Century," in *Institute of Historical Research Bulletin*, No. 40 (1967): 142-152; Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); J. R. Kent, "Population Mobility and Alms: Poor Migrants during the Early Seventeenth Century," in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 27 (1981), 35-47; Keith Snell, "Parish Registration and the Study of Labour Mobility," in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 33 (1984): 43; and Peter Spufford, "Population Movement in Seventeenth Century England," in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 4 (1970): 41-50.

households as an impermeable frame of reference for investigating kinship networks.

The measures used to assess the importance of kin networks in 17th century Terling are defective not only because they restrict the scope of kinship investigation, but also because the statistics they generate regarding kin links *within* the parish are themselves the product of a flawed methodology. The integrity of any reconstituted kin network rests on the accuracy with which one can identify individuals and individual families, and the completeness of the reconstruction.³⁶ The potential inventory of kinship ties one can recover from historical documents increases in proportion to the number of people one can identify and trace through time. This, in turn, is contingent on the number, variety and content of the reference materials available for examination.

Since critical primary sources like early modern baptism, marriage and burial registers, and census-like name lists were generated at the parish level, the parish is the most obvious and logical investigative unit around which to frame the painstaking process of nominal record linkage. It is, however, virtually impossible to map a parish genealogically solely on the basis of parish-based name listings. This is not simply because most parish registers contain gaps, omissions and inaccuracies. It is also because the English custom of patrilineal nomenclature, grafted in the late middle ages onto a kinship system which

³⁶ For a thorough discussion of the techniques of family and community reconstruction, see Macfarlane, *Reconstructing Historical Communities*.

recognized bilateral descent, makes it extremely difficult to identify the maternal half of any individual kindred, particularly if one cannot access marriage records or other documents specifying wife's maiden names. Thus, even the best kept parish records incorporate a gender bias. Early modern English habits of mobility exacerbate the problem of identifying individuals since parishioners frequently married in other parishes. They also baptized children or requested burial in parishes other than those in which they resided.³⁷ In short, any estimate of kinship density for a given parish will most likely conceal a large number of invisible kin links if it is constructed without reference to extra-parochial records.

The following analyses of 17th century parish documents from Ruddington, Nottinghamshire, and of documents relating to one specific family whose members resided both in and beyond Ruddington illustrate effectively both the potential and shortcomings of kinship studies based primarily on parish reconstructions.

³⁷ Roger Scofield, "Traffic in Corpses, Some Evidence from Barming, Kent (1788-1812)," 49-53; David Souder, "Movers and Stayers in Family Reconstruction Populations," 11-28; K. Snell, "Parish Registration and the Study of Labour Mobility," 30-31, 33-36, all in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 33 (1984).

RUDDINGTON, NOTTS: A LOCAL POPULATION STUDY

Purpose, Procedure and Primary Sources

The parish population study was designed to produce a simple package of observations on kinship roughly equivalent to those available for other early modern parishes. It is partly for this reason that the list of householders contained in the 1674 hearth tax returns for Ruddington, Nottinghamshire, was selected as a base around which to reconstitute the parish's 17th century population.³⁸ The study employed a reconstructive technique similar to that used by Wrightson and Levine³⁹ in their Terling study. Each householder recorded on the 1671 Terling tax list, as well as all his or her identified blood and affinal relatives, was traced back in the available parish records as far as possible through time. The resulting collection of identified forebears and other kin was then tracked forward again to produce a map of the overlapping kindreds residing in the parish at the time of the hearth tax assessment.

³⁸ *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax 1664:1674, Thoroton Society Record Series Volume 38*, ed., W. F. Webster (Nottingham: Technical Print Services Ltd., 1988), 83-84. Charles II introduced a tax on hearths in 1662 to alleviate his financial difficulties. Between 1662 and 1688, the rules and procedures governing the tax assessments and collection changed considerably. Both the Ruddington and Terling studies employ data from the fourth such assessment, completed between Michaelmas, 1669, and Lady Day, 1674. Government appointees visited Terling in 1671, but did not complete the Ruddington assessment until 1674. See J. V. Beckett, "Introduction," in *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax 1664:1674* (1988), vii-xxi for a detailed review of the different hearth tax assessments.

³⁹ Wrightson and Levine, 43-44; 83-84.

The temporal limits of the Ruddington study were established at the years 1628 and 1707. The chronological scope was circumscribed by both the availability of individual parish baptism, marriage and burial records, critical to any community study based on family reconstruction, and the existence of a rental list compiled for Thomas Parkyns, the parish's major landowner, in 1707.⁴⁰ The rental account, which includes the names of Parkyns' tenants, does not constitute a comprehensive record of Ruddington householders since it identifies only landholders. Furthermore, the Parkyns' estate in 1707, purchased from the Earl of Kingston in the late 1600s, did not encompass the entire parish of Ruddington.⁴¹ Nevertheless, this document, in conjunction with two earlier rentals from 1697 and 1698, affords both an invaluable addition to nominal data culled from parish registers, and an effective means of establishing a minimum count of the households occupied continuously by the same families in the generation after 1674.

No original parish registers pre-dating 1636 exist today for the parish of Ruddington. Register copies, known as bishop's transcripts, however, survive for 1628 and all intervening years with the exception of 1635. While gaps and omissions mar both the original parish registers and the transcribed version, the

⁴⁰ UNL, Parkyns of Bunny Manuscripts Collection, documents PaM 25 and 26

⁴¹ M. Lawson, *A Brief Outline to the History of Ruddington* (Ruddington Local History and Amenity Society, 1989); see Robert Thoroton, "Rodintone," in John Throsby, *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire: Republished with Large Additions* (Nottingham: Burbage, Tupman, Wilson & Gray, Booksellers, 1790), 123-128, for a detailed genealogical history of land ownership in Ruddington parish.

two series, cross-checked and studied in tandem, provide a relatively complete inventory of the genealogically significant events occurring in Ruddington between 1628 and 1707.⁴²

The study incorporated two additional name lists, the first of which was the product of a voluntary field enclosure that may account in part for the care with which Thomas Parkyns recorded the status of his tenants' rents in 1697, 1698 and 1707. Ruddington, the geographical subject of this investigation,⁴³ was almost exclusively an agricultural parish until the 18th century, when the growing cottage industry of framework knitting began to infiltrate the parish economy.⁴⁴ The parish's 2900 acres were not subjected to parliamentary enclosure until 1767.⁴⁵ In 1698, however, on the impetus of Edward Wildbore, who farmed the

⁴² *Ruddington Bishop's Transcripts, baptisms, marriages and burials, 1628-1812*. Genealogical Society of Utah, microfilm 0503813:1, microfilm copy of original documents housed at the NAO; and *Ruddington Parish Registers, 1633-1900*, NAO, Red.29:1; fiches 1-3 of 31, microfiche copy of original documents. Apart from the year 1635, for which no records survive, the most serious gap in the combined register series coincides with the disturbances associated with the Civil War, and the succeeding Commonwealth period. There is no extant register of baptisms, marriages and burials for the years 1642 to 1647. While no bishop's transcripts were compiled between 1642 and 1661, original register entries for these years, though clearly somewhat defective, provide a partial record of "family" events. No information regarding births or baptisms survives for the years 1656 to 1661, and 1665. Marriage data are similarly lacking for the years 1648 to 1653, 1658, and 1661, while deaths or burials were unrecorded between 1648 and 1652. From 1666 to 1707, however, the composite register series is again ostensibly complete, although individual family reconstructions suggest that the record of parish baptisms during the 1660s was somewhat haphazard.

⁴³ See Map 1.

⁴⁴ M Lawson, *Everyday Life in Ruddington, 1600-1700: On the Farm* (Ruddington Local History and Amenity Society, nd), 13. See J. D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Life and Labour under the Squirarchy, 2nd Edition* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Bookseller, 1966 [1932]), for a detailed discussion of the impact of the hosiery industry on parishes near Nottingham.

⁴⁵ Gilbert Slater, "Appendix B: Private Acts Enclosing Common Fields," in *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields* (1907), 294; see also John Throsby, *Thoroton's History of Nottinghamshire, Vol. 1*, (1790), 128. Original survey and other documents relating to the parliamentary enclosure are housed at the NAO.

rectory lands, Ruddington's parishioners voluntarily enclosed one of four large common fields. The financial burden, which the tenants shouldered themselves in proportion to the sizes of their holdings, generated two levies. The surviving enclosure document,⁴⁶ which includes the names and contributions of all the tenants involved in the endeavour, provides yet another source of information regarding genealogical continuity and change in Ruddington in the years following the hearth tax.

No listings roughly comparable to the household inventory assembled in 1674 survive for the earlier years of the 17th century. Nonetheless, the Protestation Return of 1641/2, which constitutes an apparently accurate and complete census of the parish's male population over the age of sixteen,⁴⁷ was integrated into the study since it contains indirect evidence of household composition prior to 1674. In conjunction with wills, and miscellaneous documents such as the parish's few surviving 17th century settlement certificates, the 1641/2 return also represents another valuable supplement to

⁴⁶ *An Agreement made the twenty second day of June [1698] ... Between Edward Wildbore of Ruddington ... Tenant to the Impropriation of Ruddington aforesaid ... and the Inhabitants of the said town of Ruddington ... [for] the taking in of the New Pasture , and An Accompt of the Disbursements and Charges concerning the taking in of the New Pasture & Surveying the old Pastures & Commons, Anno Dom: 1698, NAO, PR 5363.*

⁴⁷ "Ruddington: Protestation Oath subscribed 9th March 1641," in *Protestation Returns 1641/2, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire*, ed., W. F. Webster (Nottingham: Technical Print Services, c1980), 82-83. NAO, BC20.1a, printed transcript. The returns for Rushcliffe hundred bear the hallmarks of exhaustive inventories of the adult male population of each parish. It is interesting to note that in their letter accompanying the returns Isham Parkyns and Gervas Pigot specifically identify individuals who did not take the oath due to recusancy or absence from their parishes. All of Ruddington's adult males seem to have subscribed to the oath.

the nominal information contained in the Ruddington parish registers and bishop's transcripts.

In addition to these cited records, all of which "belong" within the study's spatial and temporal boundaries, several documentary sources external either to the parish or the investigation's chronological limits were tapped as analytical tools. These documents, described in the body of the analysis, include abstracts of the surviving marriage licences for Nottinghamshire, 101 wills written by Ruddington testators between 1514 and 1620, and an inventory of 894 additional wills dating to the same period and originating in nineteen surrounding parishes.⁴⁸ The final category of external information used in the study comes from the 1992 edition of the LDS International Genealogical Index,⁴⁹ an invaluable compendium of primary and secondary genealogical data.

⁴⁸ A complete series of register copy wills from the Exchequer Court of York [ECY] is housed at the BI. The wills, which date from 1389, are bound with wills from the Prerogative Court of York [PCY] in 246 volumes, all of which are available on microfilm. The register wills used in the study were extracted from alphabetically organized printed indexes compiled for the period between 1389 and 1688. The inventory incorporates all wills written between 1514 and 1620 by testators from the following parishes: Attenborough, Beeston, East and West Bridgford, Barton in Fabis, Bunny and Bradmore, Clifton, Edwalton, Gedling, Gotham, Holme Pierrepont, Keyworth, East and West Leake, Lenton, Plumtree, Rempstone, Ruddington, Tollerton, and Wilford (ECY/PCY Register Copy Wills volumes 9 to 35).

⁴⁹ *The International Genealogical Index, 1992 microfiche edition* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1992). As noted in *The International Genealogical Index Reference Guide*, the 1992 compact disc and microfiche editions differ somewhat from each other, and from the 1988 IGI in terms of both content and recording format.

Observations and Inferences

Since the first comprehensive census enumeration in Ruddington was not compiled until 1841, obtaining basic population figures for the geographical unit of study during the 17th century involves a good deal of guesswork. Estimates derived from an ecclesiastical survey conducted in 1603⁵⁰ and from the 1674 hearth tax assessment place the population at 320 and 327, respectively.⁵¹ This comparison implies that Ruddington's overall population size was relatively stable during much of the 17th century.⁵² A detailed examination of the family reconstruction files assembled for the parish, however, demonstrates clearly that the internal composition of this population changed substantially over the course of the century.

⁵⁰ The returns document the number of communicants and recusants then in the parish. The figure of 320 is based on a multiplier of 1.5. See A C Wood, "An Archepiscopal Visitation of 1603," *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, XLVI (1942).

⁵¹ Wrightson and Levine (45) employed a multiplier of 4.75 to convert the number of households recorded in the 1671 Terling Hearth Tax into an overall population figure of 580 for that parish. The multiplier coincides with P. Laslett's assessment of mean household size in early modern England. This study, however, uses a multiplier of 4.25, which both Beckett and A. Whiteman (cited in Beckett, "Introduction," *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax*, xxi) suggest is more appropriate for Nottinghamshire. Regarding interpretation of the hearth taxes, see both Beckett, "Introduction," vii-lxii, and John Patten, "The Hearth Taxes, 1662-1689," in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 7 (1971): 14-27.

⁵² Based on his study of Wollaton, Nottinghamshire, Alan Rogers suggests that a multiplier of 3.5 be used to convert the number of names on the 1641/2 Protestation Returns into parish population figures. See A. Rogers, "An Early Seventeenth-Century Listing: Wollaton, Notts," in *Midland History*, Vol. 5 (1997-1980): 35.

Applying Rogers' multiplier to Ruddington's Protestation Return yields a parish population of 448 for the year 1642. This figure is suspect, however, given the estimates which bracket it. One defect in Rogers' method of calculating population from the Protestation Returns may be that his computations fail to take into account that in addition to permanent male residents, the Protestation listing would have included young servants from other parishes working in Ruddington on a temporary basis. This shortcoming, coupled with the dearth of information regarding the number of Ruddington men then in service in surrounding parishes, makes the accuracy of the 1642 population estimate questionable.

Family reconstructions indicate that the majority of the 77 householders listed in the 1674 hearth tax assessment had strikingly shallow ancestral roots in Ruddington parish.⁵³ As shown in Table 1, only twenty of the 77 listed dwellings [26%] appear to have housed families that had been resident in Ruddington for more than two generations. Thirty homes [39%] belonged to first generation parishioners. These figures do suggest that kin links ran deeper in Ruddington than in Terling, where only 18% of householders in 1671 could apparently trace their village roots back more than two generations, and almost 57% of householders were purportedly newcomers.⁵⁴ Neither Ruddington nor Terling, however, resembles the static, closed pre-industrial village of traditional mythology.

Table 1

| Generational Category of Ruddington Householders, 1674 | | | | | |
|--|--------------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| NUMBER OF HEARTHES | 1st GEN Households | % of Category | 2nd GEN | 3rd GEN or more | TOTAL Households |
| 5 OR MORE | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 TO 5 | 4 | 44.40% | 1 | 4 | 9 |
| 2 | 10 | 33.33% | 14 | 6 | 30 |
| 1 | 16 | 42.10% | 12 | 10 | 38 |
| TOTAL | 30 | 39% | 27 [35.1%] | 20 [26.0%] | 77 [100%] |

⁵³ The tax list actually records 81 households. It specifies, however, that three of these residences were empty. The vicarage was also unoccupied at the time. The count of occupied homes is thus 77 rather than 81.

⁵⁴ Wrightson and Levine, 82.

The small number of first time spouses who married within these parishes and subsequently baptized a child there would seem to confirm that Ruddington and Terling both harboured shifting populations. On analyzing the Terling family files, Wrightson and Levine found that between 1580 and 1699, only around one third of parishioners fit into this category.⁵⁵ Of the 77 householders living in Ruddington in 1674, only 14 [18.2%] married in the parish, and had offspring christened here as well. Moreover, of these fourteen people, only six were themselves demonstrably baptized in Ruddington.

Table 2

| UNRELATED RUDDINGTON HOUSEHOLDS, 1674 | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--|------------|
| No of Hearths | No of householders | No of householders unrelated to others | Percentage |
| OVER 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 TO 5 | 9 | 1 | 14.29% |
| 2 | 30 | 7 | 23.33% |
| 1 | 24 | 7 | 29.16% |
| 1 [EXEMPT] | 14 | 9 | 64.30% |
| TOTAL | 77 | 24 | 31.17% |

Family reconstructions suggest that the people of both Ruddington and Terling were geographically isolated not only from their forebears, but also from

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 79-80.

contemporary kin. According to Wrightson and Levine, a minimum of 47.5% of the householders living in Terling in 1671 had no blood or affinal connections to people living in other village households.⁵⁶ Twenty-four of Ruddington's 77 households [31.2%] seem to have been similarly isolated. (See Table 2.)

These figures would appear to supply impressive evidence that in at least two early modern villages vertical and horizontal kinship networks were relatively sparse. Given that the criteria used to establish generational and inter-household relationships included not merely registered baptisms, marriages and burials but also circumstantial evidence like the concurrence of surnames, one might, in fact, argue that non-nuclear kin ties were even less numerous than the figures suggest. The apparent sparsity of extended kin links implies that, at least in terms of settlement behaviour, kinship networks did not play a prominent role in the personal lives of individual parishioners or in the collective life of the parish. This inference, however, warrants close examination.

Individuals must obviously be *present* in a parish on a fairly consistent basis in order to contribute to any quantitative measure of kin networks within the parish. As already noted, the proclivity of early modern people for marrying outside their home parishes and for christening children elsewhere makes the absence of such events in the Ruddington parish registers a poor gauge of

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

permanent residency. Furthermore, the composite parish-wide figures just cited would seem to disguise internal variation within the Ruddington population.

A substantial body of research has shown that apart from the transient cohort of young farm servants that early modern parishes generally supported from year to year, it was the very poor and the very rich who moved most frequently in 17th century society.⁵⁷ It is, therefore, worth noting that while the depth and density of kin networks emanating from Terling households bore little relationship to the number of hearths attached to each household,⁵⁸ the Ruddington data, on the other hand, reveal a clear correlation. Households lacking genealogical ties to neighbouring households were proportionately concentrated within the segment of the population exempted from the tax on the basis of poverty. Based on the parish assessment, only eight of 45 households with two or more hearths [20%] lacked neighbouring kinfolk. By contrast, nine of fourteen exempted households [64.3%] could not be connected with other parish households.⁵⁹ A cursory comparison of the overall distribution of hearths in Ruddington and Terling lends additional support to the inference that differences in the putative density of kin networks visible in the two parishes were related to the wealth and social status of individual parish residents.

⁵⁷ Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, 3; Wrightson, 41-44; Hey, 141-142, 170-176; Clark, "Migration in England," 57, 73, 81-88. Clark differentiates between the "circular" migration associated with life-cycle events such as apprenticeship, service and marriage, and longer-distance "subsistence" migration by poorer folks, noting as well that the century witnessed significant changes in the latter, partly as a result of the imposition of the settlement laws.

⁵⁸ Wrightson and Levine, 88.

⁵⁹ See Table 2.

Transforming the number of hearths incorporated in a building structure into a measure of the socio-economic status of the dwelling's occupants is a risky exercise. Beckett's study of the small sample of Nottinghamshire inventories surviving from the late 1600s implies that hearth tax assessments may not be a particularly accurate guide to the sizes of individual dwellings, or the economic status of assessed householders.⁶⁰ Spufford's study of probate inventories detailing the personal estates of householders identified on Cambridgeshire hearth tax lists, however, suggests an approximate correlation between wealth and the number of hearths for which individuals were taxed.⁶¹ It is reassuring, moreover, to note that the economic profile reflected in the 1698 Ruddington enclosure levies, which were graduated according to the size of a tenant's holdings, is roughly consistent with the profile suggested in the 1674 tax assessment. The hearth tax return lists 38 householders with one hearth. These are designated in Table 3 as labourers or cottagers. The enclosure levy identifies 42 "cottagers" occupying under six acres of land. Examining kinship through the prism of socio-economic categories defined on the basis of hearth tax payments would thus seem to be a useful exercise since it permits rough comparisons between the populations of Terling and Ruddington.

The criteria on which hearth assessments were based, and the diligence with which assessors carried out their work, varied somewhat from county to county,

⁶⁰ Beckett, "Introduction," in *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax*, xxiii-xxvi; xl-xlii.

⁶¹ Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 39, 41.

and from parish to parish.⁶² Moreover, labels used to denote occupational and social status are notoriously ambiguous.⁶³ The distribution of hearths in Ruddington and Terling thus needs to be reviewed with caution. On face value, however, the figures presented in Table 3 would seem to indicate that the two parish populations shared a broadly similar socio-economic profile. At the same time, wealth and social status appear to have been deployed somewhat differently in Terling and Ruddington.

The proportion of householders living in one-hearth dwellings is almost identical for the two parishes. However, Terling's population included a far higher percentage of exempted households than was the case in Ruddington. Presumably, most of these households belonged to the poorest segments of their respective parish communities. Likewise, "middling" farmers and craftsmen accounted for 41% of households in Terling and 51% in Ruddington, but the proportion of affluent yeoman subsumed within the Terling's middle stratum is double the figure for Ruddington. Finally, while 8% of Terling homes seem to have been occupied by people of substantial economic means, Ruddington, as depicted in both the hearth tax returns and other historical documents, supported no resident aristocracy. In short, the village community of Terling seems to have been more polarized, socially and economically, than its

⁶² Beckett, "Introduction," xix-xxi.

⁶³ See, for instance, M. Spufford, 39. Such typologies remained vague even in the 19th century. See M. B. Katz, "Occupational Classifications in History," in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, III, Vol. 1 (Summer 1972): 63-88.

Ruddington counterpart. Terling's greater proportion of tax-exempt and very affluent householders -- in other words, of highly mobile residents -- may thus help to explain why kin ties here seem to have been somewhat shallower and looser than those visible in Ruddington.

Table 3

| Socio-Economic Categories in Ruddington and Terling , 1674 and 1671 | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|
| CATEGORY | No of hearths ⁶⁴ | No of Ruddington householders | % of Total | No of Terling householders | % of Total |
| GENTRY | over 5 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 8% |
| YEOMEN | 3 to 5 | 9 | 12% | 29 | 24% |
| HUSBANDMEN, SMALL CRAFTSMEN | 2 | 30 | 39% | 21 | 17% |
| Labourers, cottagers | 1 | [24] | [31.20%] | [22] | [18.00%] |
| Exempt labourers | 1: exempt | [14] | [18.00%] | [40] | [33.00%] |
| TOTAL LABOURERS, COTTAGERS | 1 | 38 | 49% | 62 | 51% |
| TOTAL | | 77 | 100% | 122 | 100% |

A brief examination of the inventory of family surnames which appear in parish documents between 1641/2 and 1707 provides additional evidence that the depth and density of kin networks which evolved in Ruddington were closely related to the frequency with which people moved in and out of the parish, and

⁶⁴ These data differ somewhat from the distribution figures given by Beckett in his commentary on the 1674 hearth tax (Beckett, "Introduction," in *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax*, lx) for several reasons. First, Beckett bases his figures on a total household count of 81. Secondly, family reconstructions indicate that four of the Hearth Tax entries appearing in Beckett's table as two-hearth domiciles occupied by four different householders were actually held by only two individuals, each of whom was, in effect, assessed on four hearths.

that the pace of movement was different within different sectors of the community. Rates of surname turnover, calibrated by comparing the names appearing on the 1674 hearth tax assessment with those included in the earlier Protestation Return, and the later levy and tenant lists dating to 1697, 1698, and 1707, clearly indicate that Ruddington's population in the latter half of the 17th century was anything but sedentary.⁶⁵

Of 53 surnames appearing on the hearth tax assessment, nineteen are recorded on all of the name lists examined. An additional seven appear in both the 1641/2 and 1674 lists, and in at least one of the later documents. Family reconstructions support the inference that these 26 surnames (49% of the surnames current in Ruddington in 1674) belonged to families who were village fixtures for over 66 years. Around this relatively stable "core" community, however, lived a large contingent of residents whose membership in the community was fleeting. In this more mobile sector of the parish, family affiliations reflected in the bank of parish surnames altered from generation to generation, and from year to year.

Twelve of the 53 hearth tax surnames (22.6%) occur only on the hearth tax list. Two additional names appear in the index of Ruddington testators who wrote wills prior to 1620, but are absent from all the 17th century name lists

⁶⁵ The Protestation Returns cite 80 surnames, which represent 128 individuals. The Hearth Tax Assessment cites 53 surnames, representing 77 household heads. The two enclosure levies of 1698 mention 75 people with 54 surnames. Fifty surnames appear in the combined 1697-1698 rentals, which enumerate 75 tenants; and the 1707 rental lists 78 tenants, and 52 surnames.

except the 1674 assessment. Because the Protestation Return identifies only male residents over the age of sixteen, the absence of a surname from this enumeration does not necessarily imply a particular family had no members residing in the parish in 1641/2. Family reconstructions, however, strongly suggest that the fourteen surnames peculiar to the hearth tax list belonged to families who made only short appearances in Ruddington. That five of the other 39 surnames recorded in 1674 (9.5% of the total) are completely absent from later listings, and seventeen of the 53 surnames (32.1%) make their first appearance only in 1674 also implies a fluid parish population. The tax list compiled in 1674, moreover, ignores 80 additional surnames, each of which appears on one or more of the other documents examined.

Thirty-two of these 80 names are cited only after 1674. Presumably, they represent tenants who moved into the parish as the 17th century drew to a close.⁶⁶ Some of the 37 surnames recorded exclusively in the 1641/2 Protestation Return clearly belonged to old Ruddington families who either died out or moved away from the parish prior to 1674. Many of the surnames, however, cannot be directly connected to families reconstructed from parish register data. These names undoubtedly indicate that Ruddington, like the majority of 17th century rural parishes, harboured a sizeable number of young

⁶⁶ Settlement bonds and certificates issued between 1674 and 1700 identify seven of these families, including that of Richard Cresswell of Bradmore (1677), John Wilkinson of Hathern (1689), George Woolley (1689), and John Hallam of Costock (1690). Family History Library, Salt Lake City, LDS Microfilm 0495208, copies of original documents housed at the NAO.

men working temporarily in Ruddington as farm servants. This inference suggests not only that the genealogical map of 17th century Ruddington was intimately connected to the comings and goings of both Ruddington residents and their neighbours in other parishes, but also that the pattern of movement was not simply a reflection of the frequency with which families and individuals changed their places of permanent settlement.

Name turnover studies conducted in other Nottinghamshire parishes indicate that the residents of 17th century Ruddington were not peculiar in their patterns of mobility. In his classic study of Clayworth, for example, Laslett found that over a twelve year period between 1676 and 1688, 37.9% of the population disappeared from the village. By 1688, 39.6% of parishioners were new arrivals.⁶⁷ A comparison of the 1664 hearth tax assessment for Lenton parish, also in Nottinghamshire, and an estate rental compiled a decade earlier suggests that 37.5% of the tenants present in 1654 vacated the parish over the course of ten years.⁶⁸

According to Laslett, immigrant newlyweds account for only 7% of the new individual names appearing in the Clayworth population roster between 1676

⁶⁷ Laslett, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," 68. These statistics cannot be compared directly to the figures generated in the Ruddington study because Laslett was tracking the movement of *individuals*, as opposed to clusters of people bearing the same surname. The distinction between family and individual movements is significant. As Laslett notes (p. 88), the appearance and disappearance of individual members of families did not necessarily impair the structural integrity of the Clayworth community since "... most residential units [remained] recognizable." In assessing how kinship functioned in early modern society, it is obviously important to specify whether one is examining the system from the viewpoint of individuals, families and lineages, or geographically defined communities.

⁶⁸ F. Barnes, cited in Beckett, "Introduction," in *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax*, xxi.

and 1688.⁶⁹ Strictly on the evidence of parish registers, immigration associated with marriage was likewise rare in Ruddington. Only three of 26 new householders appearing on the hearth tax list settled in the parish after having married there. Wrightson and Levine have produced similar evidence for Terling, where "... the vast majority [of couples settling in the parish] simply appear in the parish registers already married."⁷⁰ These observations, however, reveal more about the exogamous marriage habits of early modern parishioners than they do about kinship ties and their significance.

As is the case today, marriage and mobility patterns in the 1600s were closely connected. First, the mobile lifestyle of farm servants exposed young people to a "marriage market" that transcended the borders of their home parishes.⁷¹ Secondly, the rites and rituals associated with marriage generated additional temporary movement, much of it familial. Finally, the need to establish independent, economically viable family units could impel couples to move away from home communities.

Nottinghamshire marriage licences issued between 1577 and 1707 indicate not only that many Ruddington residents married beyond the parish, but also that permanent immigration constituted just one facet of a complex maze of geographical movement associated with marriage. The printed abstracts of

⁶⁹ Laslett, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," 70.

⁷⁰ Wrightson and Levine, 80.

⁷¹ Ann Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, 77-96; A. J. Pain and M. T. Smith, "Do Marriage Horizons accurately measure migration? A test case from Stanhope Parish, County Durham," in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 33 (1984): 44-48.

licences from the Archdeaconry of Nottinghamshire⁷² include 210 documents in which the parish of Ruddington is mentioned one or more times.⁷³ Only 39 of these licences (18.6% of the total sample) include requests for weddings at Ruddington, and of those requests only fourteen came from couples actually residing in the parish. In ten instances, neither the prospective bride nor groom was living at the time in Ruddington.

Requests for weddings in either Ruddington or an alternate locale (presumably the home parish of one of the partners) account for a further 89 licences. In 64 cases, neither of the partners resided at Ruddington. These numbers suggest that irrespective of where people were living when they obtained marriage licences, old parish ties were a major determinant of marriage

⁷² *Abstracts of Nottinghamshire Marriage Licences, Volume I: Archdeaconry Court, 1577-1700, and the Peculiar of Southwell, 1588-1754, and Volume II: Archdeaconry Court, 1701-1753, and the Peculiar of Southwell, 1755-1853*, eds., Thomas M. Blagg and F. A. Wadsworth (London: The British Record Society, 1930 and 1935). In geographical and chronological terms, the documents form a notably complete historical source. The information contained within the licences varies, however, from year to year. The more diligent clerks recorded the following data: the names of the prospective brides and grooms, parents, and bondsmen; ages and marital status of the bride and groom; occupations of groom, the bride's father, and the couple's bondsmen; and everybody's place of residence.

⁷³ Until 1773, Ruddington's official parish church was an ancient Anglo-Saxon edifice located approximately a mile from the village. St. Peters of the Ashes, commonly called Flawford, also served the congregations of nearby Edwalton, Keyworth, Bradmore and Plumtree at various times. It appears to have suffered somewhat from neglect and poor attendance as early as the 13th century, by which time Ruddington residents also had access to a chapel erected in the village itself. Marriages were consecrated here during the 1600s. Flawford began to decay structurally in the late 1500s and the process accelerated during the succeeding century. Perhaps for sentimental reasons, however, it continued to attract betrothed couples through the 17th century. Licences citing either Flawford or Ruddington were, therefore, included in this study. See Alfred Stapleton's "Chronicles of Flawford Churchyard," in *The Nottinghamshire Graveyard Guide, historical, descriptive, and genealogical* (Nottingham: 1911) for a detailed history of St. Peters of the Ashes.

locale. One may infer that these ties reflected the sentimental and practical links people maintained with family members residing in the parish.

Eight licence entries explicitly mention changes of residence prior to marriage. These cases provide particularly revealing evidence that people affiliated with Ruddington were highly mobile. One detailed licence dating to 1609 was issued to a Nottinghamshire spinster whose father, a labourer, lived in Ruddington. Elizabeth Gillman, a spinster requesting a licence to marry a Ruddington "webster"⁷⁴ in 1606, had a widowed mother living in East Leake. Four Nottingham spinsters are described in their licences as "late of Ruddington", and the original residence of another Nottingham spinster is given as Draycott, Derbyshire. Another licence, issued in 1670, specifies that Anne Franketon, a Ruddington widow, was formerly a resident of Burley, Rutland. Finally, a licence issued in 1639 indicates that Margaret Hallam of Bunny and Henry Johnson, a Ruddington labourer, intended to settle in Burton in the Wolds after they married.

The addresses of the 59 bondsmen identified in the sample of 210 licences indicate that wedding plans often incorporated not just formal changes of residence, but also temporary excursions that sometimes involved extensive travel. Twenty-three of the 53 cited bondsmen resided in Ruddington, ten lived in Nottingham, and a further seven came from parishes adjacent to Ruddington.

⁷⁴ A weaver or operator of looms.

Almost one third of the bondsmen, however, travelled to Nottingham from more distant locales, including Newark and London. The fact that all recorded bondsmen shared a surname with one of the partners seeking permission to marry implies that their journeys to Nottingham were specifically aimed at maintaining contact with kinfolk, and assisting them with their marriage plans.

Altogether, the 210 licences cite Ruddington in conjunction with 83 different geographical locales. With the exception of Nottingham itself, the most frequent references are to parishes contiguous with Ruddington. Leicestershire addresses, however, appear eighteen times in the inventory, and nineteen of the references are to locales west of the Trent River, ten of these places being in Derbyshire. In short, the data contained within the Nottinghamshire marriage licences make it clear that people connected with the parish of Ruddington maintained kin networks extending well beyond the parish's borders.

The complex inter-relationship between mobility and kinship visible within the records of Ruddington parish raises two vexing issues. The first concern is that of identifying population movements in the historical record. Can one, for example, be sure that the people listed in the Ruddington hearth tax return, along with their reconstructed nuclear families and, in some instances, hired servants, were the only occupants of Ruddington's 77 recorded households in 1674? Secondly, if kinship networks in 17th century Ruddington were in good part a function of the frequency with which people in at least some segments of

the community moved in and out of the parish, can one be certain that an incomplete and possibly skewed genealogical map constructed from the records of a single parish is an accurate gauge of the importance villagers attached to kinship ties? Each of these questions needs to be addressed if the earlier statistics purporting to describe kin networks in the parish are to have any meaning at all.

A close comparison of Ruddington's family reconstruction files, and names appearing in the parish's hearth tax list suggests that without recourse to extra-parishional records, confidence in the first of the two hypotheses just cited is misplaced. The comparative exercise can best be described as a "missing persons" investigation.

Ruddington's parish records provide insufficient data to reconstruct the composition of 24 of the 77 households enumerated in the hearth tax assessment. Of the remaining 53 households, ten appear to have contained isolated widows, widowers, or bachelors. Forty-three of the reconstituted households (81.1%), on the other hand, can be clearly identified as nuclear family units. The inventory of household heads and their immediate nuclear families, however, does not account for all the adults whom one might expect on the basis of family reconstruction data to have appeared on the 1674 roster of household heads.

The "missing" people fall into two categories. The first consists of people

who shared surnames with listed householders, and were clearly related to them. The families of nine men with wives and children are represented on the hearth tax list by a variety of kin. These include a widowed sister-in-law named Anne Barker, and three widowed mothers. The brothers of two "missing" family men are listed on the hearth tax return, as are the father and brother, and brother and cousin of two additional "absentees". Finally, an elderly widow is represented by her son and his family.

The second group of "missing persons" consists of people whose surnames are not included in the tax list, but whose family reconstruction files suggest they may have been resident in Ruddington in 1674. Forty such surnames are recorded in the parish registers in association with events that occurred either in 1674, or in years closely bracketing 1674. Twenty of these surnames are connected only with isolated events such as a marriage or baptism. Presumably, these names belonged to non-residents, or to highly mobile families who were not in the parish at the time of the hearth tax assessment.⁷⁵ Of the remaining twenty surnames, however, six appear to represent isolated remnants

⁷⁵ For example, the "missing persons" list includes four entries under the surname Boulby. In 1663, a marriage licence was issued to Henry Boulby, "a mercer of Ruddington," to marry Lettice Attenborough, daughter of George of Ruddington. The couple had children christened in Ruddington in 1663 and 1666. The family's whereabouts in 1674 is unclear. The parish registry documents a 1680 marriage between Lettice Boulby and Joseph Gregory, but no intervening burial for Henry Boulby. Since Joseph was buried in Ruddington several months after his marriage, it seems safe to assume that he and Lettice were actually living in the parish during their short time as a married couple. The fact that Henry Boulby was not buried in Ruddington, however, suggests that he and Lettice may have settled in another parish (possibly Holme Pierrepoint, where their wedding took place), and that Lettice returned to Ruddington sometime after Henry's death.

of families that had had a numerous parish membership in earlier years. The other fourteen surnames appear in conjunction with clusters of events that are clearly associated with families who *might* have been residing in Ruddington in 1674. Of these fourteen family units, six have surnames that appear in both the Protestation Return of 1641/2, and in one or more of the tenant lists dating to the turn of the century.⁷⁶ Altogether, then, fifteen nuclear family units and seven individuals are inexplicably absent from the 1674 name list. Neither the hearth tax assessment nor other parish documents provide information on the whereabouts of the 22 people who appear to qualify as potential householders.

It is, of course, plausible that the hearth tax assessors of 1674 were simply derelict in their duties, and overlooked 22 village dwellings. Given that the tax men did include several empty and old houses in their enumeration, however, it seems unlikely that all the missing people lived in structures that the assessors ignored, or failed to notice. A surviving petition from Henry Wilkinson, arguing that he should not be taxed on one of the three hearths on his property, implies, in fact, that the tax collectors were relatively conscientious. According to his neighbours' testimonial, Henry qualified for exemption since the hearth in question was in

“... an out house, in which formerly an old widow woman inhabited for a short time, but for the space of two or three years there hath

⁷⁶ The surnames (which were accorded standardized spellings to facilitate nominal record linkage by computer) include Attewell, Bates, Blankby, Brown, Fielding, and Cooper.

been no other use made of it, but only to lay fodder in, or the like."⁷⁷

Assuming that the Ruddington hearth survey was relatively thorough, the apparent absence of so many people from the tax record is perplexing. Since knowing where people lived provides one significant measure of the way in which kinship ties functioned, it is not enough just to observe, as do Wrightson and Levine, that a large number of villagers simply disappeared over time. Whether one is interested in documenting and assessing kin networks only within a specific parish, or in mapping and appraising kinship structures on a broader geographical scale, it is important to know whether parishioners were disappearing from the *parish* or merely from the parish *records*.

One may logically assume that in 1674 at least some of Ruddington's missing householders were living either in another parish, or within one of the households recorded on the hearth tax returns.⁷⁸ It is impossible to test these alternate hypotheses, however, solely on the basis of Ruddington's parish records. Thorough reconstructions of all the other parish populations into which Ruddington's missing residents might have vanished would undoubtedly shed light on the problem, but this task would be too time-consuming to be

⁷⁷ Quoted in Beckett, "Introduction," in *Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax*, viii. The petition itself is undated, but a detailed reconstruction of the Wilkinson family, and the fact that Henry Wilkinson was, in fact, charged with only two hearths in 1674 strongly suggests that the testimonial relates to the hearth tax assessment under study.

⁷⁸ As Henry Wilkinson's derelict outhouse illustrates, a "household" might include several "houses." John Patten discusses terminological problems associated with the hearth tax returns in his 1971 article, "The Hearth Taxes," 22.

practicable. As the following investigations illustrate, however, name lists organized according to geographical criteria broader than the parish can provide critical clues to the whereabouts of “missing” people.⁷⁹

The first case study concerns the Walker family of Ruddington. During the 1500s and early 1600s, testators with this surname wrote wills in nearby Bunny and Gedling. The earliest records connecting the surname with Ruddington parish are the 1605 will of Richard Walker of Wysall, who was buried in Ruddington,⁸⁰ and a marriage licence issued to Gabriel Walker of Ruddington in 1623. The family name first appears in the records of Ruddington parish in 1628, when the burial of Ann Wauker is recorded in the bishop’s transcripts. Thereafter, the surname appears frequently in parish records, documenting the family’s continued presence into the 1800s.

The family is represented on the 1674 hearth tax list by John Walker and his brother Thomas, who were born in 1633 and 1636, respectively, to Ruddington residents John and Joan Walker. Missing from the hearth tax list, however, is

⁷⁹ In this regard, the IGI, which incorporates easily accessible information on early modern baptisms and marriages as well as more limited data on deaths, constitutes a particularly valuable resource. Using the IGI is neither expensive nor time-consuming. English events, segregated into county lists, are organized alphabetically by surname, and then by date of occurrence. Entries are notably sparse for some counties, and must be interpreted with extreme caution as the events listed derive from various sources, not all of which are reliable. The listing for Nottinghamshire (and for many other counties) does, however, incorporate a virtually complete inventory of all baptisms and marriages recorded in extant bishop’s transcripts. While consulting the IGI is no substitute for detailed archival searches of original documents, the Index is an invaluable guide to the extent and direction of community connections which crossed individual parish borders.

⁸⁰ The BI, ECY register copy wills Vol. 11: fol. 740 (John Walker of Gedling, 1544); 15.2:273 (Nicholas Walker of Gedling, 1558); 22:158 (John Walker of Gedling, 1581); 25:1040 (Thomas Walker of Bunny, 1592); 26:110 (Isabell Walker of Bunny, 1595); 29:293 (John Walker of Gedling, 1604); 29:586 (Richard Walker of Wysall, 1605).

another member of the family, Gabriel Walker. Born in 1641, Gabriel appears to have been the first cousin of John and Thomas. According to his marriage licence, Gabriel was living in nearby Gotham at the time of his 1669 Ruddington marriage. Gabriel and his wife had children baptized in Ruddington in 1669, 1671, 1675, 1677, 1679, and 1682, and they buried children here in 1675 and 1689. One of the children, also named Gabriel, married at Lenton in 1704, but a string of children baptized in Ruddington shortly thereafter suggests that the younger Gabriel resided with his family in Ruddington. A Gabriel Walker, moreover, was a tenant in the parish in 1697, and someone of the same name was paid for work performed during the field enclosure of 1698.

Given this body of evidence, it is logical to infer that Gabriel Walker senior was a resident of Ruddington at the time of the hearth tax assessment. A cursory survey of the 1674 tax lists from other parishes in southern Nottinghamshire reveals, however, that a man of this name, along with a "widow Walker", was assessed in the parish of Widmerpoole. This reference suggests that the clues to Gabriel's whereabouts contained in the Ruddington baptismal registers actually hide a temporary move to a nearby parish in or around 1674. Since the name Walker is not uncommon, only a broad and detailed family reconstruction can verify that Gabriel Walker of Widmerpoole and his Ruddington namesake were the same individual. It is, however, noteworthy that the International Genealogical Index records only three Widmerpoole events

involving this surname, and that two of the events are late 18th century marriages.

The goal of the second investigation was to account for the absence of the Attewell surname from the 1674 hearth tax list. William Attewell, son of John and Dorothy, was baptized at Ruddington in 1641. John, whose name appears on the 1641/2 Protestation Return, died at Ruddington in 1655. William himself married in the parish in 1671, and had children baptized here in 1671, 1675, 1680, 1684, and 1691. Seven years later, either William or his son and namesake contributed to the parish's enclosure levy, and in 1707 a tenant named William Attewell was included in the Parkyns rental list.

These data imply strongly that William Attewell was a Ruddington resident throughout his life. Once again, however, it is noteworthy that a householder named William Ottewell is included on the hearth tax list compiled for the parish of East Leake, and that the IGI gives no indication that the Attewell or Ottewell surname was closely associated with the history of that parish. This circumstantial evidence suggests that William Attewell of Ruddington was temporarily absent from the parish in 1674.

While extra-parishional documents can sometimes clarify what parish an individual resided in at a particular point in time, demonstrating where he lived within the parish is a more challenging task. One cannot assume, for instance, that people lived, died and were interred in the same locale. It is thus entirely

possible that some of the “missing householders” whose burials were recorded in Ruddington’s parish registers shortly after 1674 were actually living outside of Ruddington in 1674, and that they returned to the parish only for death or burial.⁸¹ It is, however, quite likely that some elderly folk were residing in the households of relatives when the 1674 hearth tax assessment was compiled. The widow Beverley, absent from the list, may, for example, have been living with her son, a recorded householder. Likewise, the listed widows Taylor and Turpin may have been housing their “missing” sons and their families, and Anne Barker’s residence may have sheltered the widow’s brother-in-law and his family.

Such inferences can generally be tested only by eliminating the possibility that the missing people were living beyond the parish. Probate records from Ruddington and nearby parishes, however, contain intriguing evidence that parish reconstructions based on household lists and registers may well conceal a hidden network of resident kin.

When Ruddington widower George Attenborough died in 1683, the tenancy of his farm holding and his home, West Hall, passed to his son George, then a minor. In his will, the elder George asked that his younger brother Robert “... with my Lord[’s] leave ... [might] have my liveing in occupation until my sonne Georg come to the age of 17 years & then to Resigne the living wholly & fully to

⁸¹ R. Scofield, “Traffic in Corpses: Some evidence from Barming, Kent (1788-1812),” 49-53, and Keith Snell, “Parish Registration and the Study of Labour Mobility,” 33-37, both in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 33 (1984).

him...." ⁸² Since Robert was himself the father of three minor children from two marriages, one may assume that West Hall for several years housed a family unit which included George junior, his sisters, aunt, uncle, and cousins, the eldest of whom was actually the aunt's step-son.

This living arrangement would have been undetectable in any household listing compiled in 1684. In fact, if George senior had had no brother, and had requested that his brother-in-law William Spencer be allowed to assume the role of West Hall's temporary household head, the Attenborough family, hidden beneath the guise of the Spencer surname, would have vanished from the record altogether.

Further evidence that early modern villagers welcomed kinfolk beyond the nuclear circle into their households when circumstances warranted comes from two wills written in nearby West Bridgford in 1604. The will of William Wheatley, a bachelor, states that in 1604 the testator was sharing his residence with a widow named Christian Wright.⁸³ In the same year, another West Bridgford resident, Millicent Horsley, noted in her will that one of her legatees, Alice Trowell, was then "... dwelling with Walter Hardinge the elder."⁸⁴ Neither will specifies that the co-residents were related to one another. However, an

⁸² BI, ECY register copy will 43:81 (George Attenborrow [written 9.5.1683] proved 1.5.1684/5). Other details of George's will confirm that he was the brother of Lettice Gregory, mentioned above (page 37, footnote 75).

⁸³ BI, ECY register copy will 30:663 (William Wheatley of West Bridgford, husbandman [8.29.1604] 7.15.1608).

⁸⁴ BI, ECY register copy will 30:664 (Mylicente Horsleye of West Bridgeforde, spinster [3.14.1603/4] 5.-.1604).

exhaustive examination of wills, parish registers, and other documents relating to each of the surnames and geographical locales cited by William Wheatley and Millicent Horsley reveals that the Wheatley, Wright, Horsley, Trowell and Harding families were related to one another through an intricate web of marriage bonds. (See Appendix I.)

Detailed reconstructions of these five families, along with the Borrow family of Gotham, indicate not only that Walter Harding senior was Alice Trowell's brother, but also that Alice's husband (deceased by 1604) was the brother of Walter's wife, Elizabeth neé Trowell. William Wheatley, moreover, was the brother of Walter Harding the elder's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth neé Wheatley. Based on available evidence, it is impossible to identify William Wheatley's precise genealogical relationship to his tenant, Christian Wright. There can be little doubt, however, that the two were kin. People bearing the Wright surname were related through marriage to all of the families mentioned above. Millicent Horsley's sister, for example, was married to a Wright. William Wheatley himself left bequests to men named Thomas and Robert Wright, and it is possible that the Robert Wheatley who married Alice Wright at Gedling in 1570 was William Wheatley's father.

This small genealogical knot of West Bridgford families warrants comment not only because it provides two clear examples of 17th century extended family households, but also because the evidence that these households existed

conveys two important messages. The first is that the ways in which kinship may have functioned to direct people's behaviour – for instance, by helping determine where individuals lived, and with whom – often become visible in the historical record only through happenstance. Clues to the composition of the Wheatley and Harding households exist, for example, only because William Wheatley and Millicent Horsley wrote wills, and made chance references in their wills to Christian Wright's and Alice Trowell's specific places of residence. Secondly, even when such clues do appear, historians who confine their sight to events occurring in a single parish are likely to miss the full import of the evidence. In the case just cited, for example, the evidence that the co-residents mentioned in the two 1604 wills were kinfolk emerged only after six families were reconstructed from a broad range of data relating to numerous parishes beyond West Bridgford.⁸⁵

A Brief Commentary

As the data assembled here illustrate, the local parish community provides a logical point of departure for any investigation of early modern kinship if only because individual parish registers are the cornerstone of any nominal reconstruction of kin networks. Given the unequivocal evidence that early modern villagers interacted socially within communities that transcended parish

⁸⁵ The parishes included Gotham, Cotgrave, Gedling, and Sutton Bonnington.

boundaries, however, the technical and theoretical shortcomings of research generated from parish documents are clear.

Phythian-Adams' study of kinship networks in Claybrooke parish Leicestershire, from 1791 to 1841 underscores the way in which the geographical parameters imposed on family reconstructions can skew the statistics which the study generates. First, chronological limitations restricted both the depth and density of potentially identifiable kin links. Secondly, the figures Phythian-Adams compiled varied according to the spatial frame of reference on which they were based. When kin links *within* the three settlements in the parish were examined, "... a familiar, and to be expected, picture emerged."⁸⁶ The percentage of households linked "by all forms of kinship" was almost identical to Wrightson's minimum estimate of 39.3 per cent for Terling in 1671. When Phythian-Adams incorporated connections *between* the three Claypoole villages into his study, however, the proportion of related households rose to 48.2 per cent. Phythian-Adams adds that "had there been more generational depth in the family reconstruction exercise, the proportion would have been well in excess of 50 per cent."⁸⁷

Given the mobility of the early modern English population -- as reflected, for example, in the bloated inventory of surnames appearing in the Ruddington Protestation Return, and the evidence of travel and re-settlement visible in the

⁸⁶ Phythian-Adams, *Re-thinking English Local History*, 41.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Nottinghamshire marriage licences -- it is difficult to dispute Phythian-Adams' claim that

it is not by accident that historians have often failed to find dense kinship networks within certain communities; ... everything points to a wider locality as the spatial 'unit' through which individuals or families circulated while taking their kinship links with them.⁸⁸

In Phythian-Adams' view, rural parish communities were "... no more than staging posts through which some families pass[ed] briefly and others more slowly ... in a long process of ceaseless, inter-generational, circular mobility throughout [an] environing locality."⁸⁹

Phythian-Adams argues that while they may appear loose, shallow, and relatively unimportant when viewed through the distorted lens of fragmentary parish data, early modern kinship networks played a critical role in defining and sustaining these larger social units, which Mitson has called "neighbourhood communities."⁹⁰ Such areas, she suggests, were composed "at root" of a small group of "dynastic" families, whose members formed the relatively stable cores of individual parishes, moved in fairly restricted areas, and were "... interconnected through kinship or a variety of economic and cultural activities."⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 36, 44.

⁹⁰ Anne Mitson, "The Significance of Kinship Networks in the Seventeenth Century: South-West Nottinghamshire," in *Societies, Cultures and Kinship 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History*, ed., C. Phythian-Adams (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1993), 24.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Dynastic families, which have been identified in several areas of pre-industrial England,⁹² provided stability and continuity within demographically mobile village populations in several ways. Largely composed of yeomen and husbandmen of "the middling sort", they exercised social influence as members of village elites in their capacities as churchwardens, overseers and other vestry officials, and "played a major part in the local economy at the level of individual [money] lending."⁹³

In a study of families reconstituted from the parish files of eleven southern Nottinghamshire parishes between 1580 and 1700, Mitson found that over time most of the family groups with fifteen or more reconstitution forms in places associated with at least ten such families favoured specific areas within her unit of study.⁹⁴ Based on the correlation of names and parishes, and evidence of inter-parochial kin networks linking the families, Mitson has identified three neighbourhood communities in south Nottinghamshire. She argues that "... the presence of such highly-localized and continuing families was the delimiting factor in the perpetuation of ... neighbourhood areas."⁹⁵ These neighbourhoods were defined by marriage networks and horizons, and by the manner in which the so-called dynastic families moved about within the region. About 75 per cent

⁹² Several dynastic studies are cited in Phythian-Adams, *Re-thinking Local History*, 32-33. See also W. G. Hoskins, *The Midland Peasant: The Economic and Social History of a Leicestershire Village* (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd, 1957), and Alan Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1985), 8, 193-8, 249-77, 309-30.

⁹³ Mitson, 50-55, 65.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

of family members moved at least once to a different parish. Between 65 and 70 per cent of all movement, however, was confined within each neighbourhood area.⁹⁶ Economic links, as reflected in patterns of lending and borrowing visible in probate records, also consolidated particular parishes into identifiable neighbourhood units, and segregated the neighbourhoods one from another.⁹⁷

Mitson's argument that kin links which may seem fragmentary and inconsequential in individual parish villages actually helped define broader inter-parochial communities is convincing, and its underlying conceptual framework has much to commend it. Phythian-Adams' hierarchy of geographical communities – spheres of social and economic interaction which evolved over time as people adapted to England's environmentally varied landscape -- is internally consistent from a theoretical standpoint. Moreover, an increasing inventory of empirical evidence supports the suggestion that it was kinship networks nested in the geographical landscape that provided regional and neighbourhood communities with much of their structural integrity. Finally, the topographical and historical criteria that Phythian-Adams uses to describe tentatively the actual geographical units within which historians can best investigate the structure of early modern English society and its component kinship system⁹⁸ provide useful guidelines for future research. In a fundamental

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 55-62.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 62-70.

⁹⁸ Phythian-Adams segregates English *pays* into fourteen cultural provinces based on topographical features such as river drainages and lines of communication which correspond roughly to the ancient shire divisions. He postulates the existence of social localities based on

sense, however, these guidelines represent a pragmatic compromise designed to accommodate two theoretically incompatible goals.

No community can be accurately mapped except in a context that transcends the community's hypothetical borders. Parishes, neighbourhoods, and cultural provinces are spatially defined communities. Kinship networks, on the other hand, are genealogically defined communities. Thus, any research designed to identify geographical communities by charting the composition and contours of kinship networks is theoretically flawed if it permits one to chart kinship networks only within a pre-determined physical area.

Mitson's study provides an intriguing illustration of the manner in which geographical constraints can affect the interpretive eye of the historian investigating kinship patterns. Her analysis of migration, marriage, and debt and credit networks visible in the parish records of Stapleford, Attenborough, Bramcote, and Beeston parishes suggests that these four parishes formed a distinctive neighbourhood community bounded on the west by the Derbyshire border and on the east by the River Trent.⁹⁹ That Derbyshire and the river course should appear to describe the peripheries of Mitson's "Southern

"inter-parochial marriage networks, 'dynastic' neighbourhoods and the supra-parochial distributions of landholding or of local craft specialisations." (Phythian-Adams, *Re-thinking Local History*, 36; see also *Societies, Cultures, and Kinship*, 10-16.) As S. D. Palliser has observed, Phythian-Adams' classification augments rather than supersedes Thirsk's earlier categorization based on farming regions. See S. D. Palliser, "A Review of 'Societies, Cultures and Kinships, 1580-1850'," in *Midland History*, Vol. VXIX (1994): 161-162. See also Joan Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV, 1500-1640* (1967), and "Industries in the Countryside," in *The Rural Economy of England, Collected Essays* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984), 217-233.

⁹⁹ Mitson, 66.

Neighbourhood” is not, however, surprising, since they also describe the geographical limits of the study itself.

Mitson’s more recent work in adjacent Derbyshire parishes has, in fact revealed “... no noticeable edge between the local societies of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, at least in the limited area under discussion.”¹⁰⁰ The simple conjunction in Nottinghamshire’s marriage licences of references to Ruddington, which lies east of the Trent, and place names from both Derbyshire and Mitson’s “Southern Neighbourhood” cannot be construed as evidence that the neighbourhood boundary formed by the river is also an artifact of Mitson’s research design. The possibility does, however, warrant investigation.

The point of these observations is not to criticize Mitson’s pioneering 1993 study, which was clearly and explicitly intended as a preliminary exploration of “neighbourhood” communities rather than as a definitive investigation. It is merely to emphasize that any spatial limitations imposed on an investigation of kin networks – whether at the parish, “neighbourhood”, or “provincial” level -- are arbitrary, and may therefore over-simplify, foreshorten, or distort the kinship ties that actually existed.

Ideally, the parameters of a kinship study should be genealogical rather than geographical and chronological. A detailed study of the Attenborough family of Ruddington, southern Nottinghamshire and points beyond illustrates effectively

¹⁰⁰ Phythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship*, 21.

that it is only by assembling an exhaustive inventory of surname references without the constraints of time and place that one can identify the full range, complexity, and importance of the kin relationships incorporated within a family group.

THE ATTENBOROUGHs: A FAMILY HISTORY STUDY

Purpose and Preliminary Comments

Subjecting all the surnames visible in the records of a neighbourhood community or even a parish to a comprehensive and thorough genealogical investigation would be a task of daunting proportions. Case studies such as the one which follows are, therefore, always subject to the charge that the families they describe may not accurately represent the characteristics of the majority of early modern English families.

Despite this criticism, it may be argued that the Attenborough family – however distinctive its individual history – was in many ways representative of the dynastic families that Mitson and others have identified as the core components of both early modern parish communities and the neighbourhoods to which they belonged. The Attenboroughs are, in fact, one of the families that Mitson profiles in some detail in her study of the core dynasties within her Southern Neighbourhood area.¹⁰¹ Therefore, a detailed study of the family, its comings and goings, and the role kinship played in the lives of its members should provide useful insights into the ways kinship may have functioned to structure individual and communal life in former times.

¹⁰¹ See Mitson, 40-43.

Mitson's Attenboroughs, "prominent throughout the southern neighbourhood area" during the 17th century, first appear in the Attenborough parish lay subsidy of 1543. Primarily husbandmen and yeomen, they intermarried with other dynastic families in the Southern area, Derbyshire county and Wilford parish, often witnessed local wills and appraised inventories, and from 1600 onward frequently served in Attenborough, Beeston and Stapleford as churchwardens and constables, thus making "a considerable impact on their neighbourhood."¹⁰² By the end of the century, their numbers in Attenborough parish had dwindled, "... but there was still a branch in Beeston and several households in Stapleford."¹⁰³

As portrayed in parish records, the Attenboroughs of Ruddington display characteristics similar to those of their namesakes in Attenborough, Beeston, and Stapleford.¹⁰⁴ The inventory of Ruddington wills proved between 1514 and 1620 reveals no Attenborough testators. The 1638 baptismal record of Robert Attenborough, son of George Attenborough and his wife Grace, is the earliest evidence that people of this surname were living in Ruddington. A marriage licence issued in January, 1638/9 identifies another Attenborough, Gervase, and his intended bride, a widow, both as Ruddington residents. A year later, Gervase was serving as a parish churchwarden. George occupied the same post in 1641, and George's son was churchwarden in 1692 and 1693.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 42-43.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix II for a family reconstruction based on parish data.

Both George and Gervase appear on the 1641/2 Protestation List, and the Attenborough surname is included on all the subsequent listings examined earlier in this study. During their 69 years of documented residency in the parish, the Attenboroughs intermarried with other prominent Ruddington families, including the Spencers and Borrows, both of whom provided churchwardens to the parish over the same period. In 1674, both Gervase and George's son Robert were taxed on two hearths, while George himself was assessed for three.

In 1698, George's son Robert and his grandson George were both amongst the more affluent Ruddington residents, contributing over £1 to the 1698 village field enclosure. In the same year, grandson George paid a six months' rent of £8 for his West Hall residence and the lands belonging to it, an amount exceeded only by the fees borne by members of the Barker, Wilkinson, Hart, and Soresby families.¹⁰⁵ His uncle Robert was also a man of comfortable means in 1698. In addition to the substantial six months' rent of £4/11/09 he paid on his farm, Robert Attenborough was charged £2 for his part of a parcel of land in the Western Close, which he held with Henry Wilkinson. Robert regarded himself as a husbandman. The value of his personal estate, appraised at £174/4/4 shortly after his death in 1700, however, verifies that Robert was by the end of his life a "husbandman" of some substance.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ William Harwood's rent equalled that of George Attenborough, and Thomas Gunn and Richard Smith, who shared tenancy in an unidentified parcel of land, were jointly assessed £8.

¹⁰⁶ NAO, ECY original will (Robert Attenbrough of Ruddington, husbandman [5.24.1700] 6.25.1701).

These data suggest that the Attenboroughs, who may have been new immigrants to the parish in 1638, quickly established themselves as members of Ruddington's core community of dynastic families.¹⁰⁷ Parish documents, however, provide little evidence that the Attenboroughs maintained social or economic links with the Attenboroughs of Mitson's Southern Neighbourhood or with members of other extra-parochial dynastic families. In 1670, George senior's daughter Mary wed a Spencer from Kegworth, Leicestershire, and in his 1678 will George cited an Attenborough nephew living in adjacent Clifton parish. Otherwise, records which date within the time frame under review are silent. In short, the community reconstruction files for Ruddington depict the Attenboroughs as an isolated family which simply appeared on the scene in the 1630s as part of Ruddington's village "elite", and disappeared into another historical vacuum after 1707. A comprehensive family reconstruction reveals, however, that the fragmentary glimpses of the Attenboroughs living in Ruddington, Attenborough, Beeston, and Stapleford parishes were part of a broad and complex web of kin relationships linking an unexpectedly large and varied group of individuals together through space and time.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Other surnames present throughout the study period include Barker, Borrow, Carver, Gunn, Smith, Turpin, Waiker and Wilkinson, and Beverley, Collishaw, Hardmett, Lovett, Morris, Pettinger, Sills, Wells, White and Willyamett. Members of the first eight families all paid rents of £2 or more in 1698.

¹⁰⁸ An abbreviated version of the Attenborough family tree appears in Appendix III. The reconstruction is the product of a joint research project undertaken between 1986 and 1992 by the author and family historian Ann Jones of Walton on the Wolds, Leicestershire, but incorporates invaluable contributions from a large network of other researchers, including Isobel Williams, of Titchmarsh, Northamptonshire.

Method and Materials

The process of nominal record linkage on which the following family reconstruction is based differs from the technique employed in the foregoing parish study mainly in terms of its geographical and temporal scope, and the detail of the underlying archival research. The study proceeded from the assumption that the Attenborough surname is sufficiently distinctive that family linkages between people bearing the surname could be accepted as a given. The reconstruction thus involved assembling a cumulative file of all known references to the surname Attenborough, drawing tentative inferences regarding kin relationships, and corroborating speculations with independent data.

The primary and secondary sources underpinning the reconstruction span the years between 1543 and 1946. They incorporate archival materials from Australia, Canada and the US as well as England, and include both the bishop's transcripts and, where accessible, original parish registers for all Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire parishes cited in association with Attenborough individuals in the IGI and other indexes and lists.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ These listings included for Nottinghamshire some 1543 lay subsidy records; the 1641/2 Protestation Returns; the 1664 and 1674 hearth tax assessments; the surviving 1689 subsidy lists for the county; some Nottingham Quarter Sessions records; apprentice, freeman, burgess and lists for the town of Nottingham; 19th century voter lists for Nottingham; enclosure documents for selected parishes including Ruddington; the Nottinghamshire marriage licence abstracts; manor records from the parishes of Clifton, Ruddington and Bunny; land, charity and apprenticeship indentures for various parishes; assorted 17th, 18th and 19th century military documents relating to Nottinghamshire regiments; 19th century occupational directories; as well as the surname reference catalogue maintained by the Nottinghamshire County Record Office. In addition, all references to the Attenborough surname were extracted from the English birth, marriage and death indexes (1837-1906), and the 1841 to 1891 census returns for Nottinghamshire, and for Titchmarsh and surrounding parishes in Northamptonshire.

Apart from parish registers, probate documents constitute the single most important category of primary source information used in the reconstruction. These documents include all Attenborough wills, administrations, inventories, tutions and renunciations cited in the Principal Probate Registry from 1858 to 1946, and in the printed indexes and manuscript calendars for those ecclesiastical courts of probate having jurisdiction in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire prior to 1858.¹¹⁰

The consolidated probate file contains over 200 Attenborough documents dating between 1553 and 1946,¹¹¹ as well as wills from the Archdeaconry of Nottingham proved between 1514 and 1620 which contain references to Attenboroughs and their affinal relatives.¹¹²

Given that any accurate appraisal of the role of kinship within a group of people is contingent on an accurate identification of individuals and their

Monumental inscriptions, bastardy bonds, settlement certificates and removal orders provided additional information on the Attenborough family. A complete listing of source materials and archival references is on file with the author.

¹¹⁰ Records for the following courts were examined: The Prerogative Court of Canterbury, The Prerogative Court of York, The Exchequer Court of York (all of which had jurisdiction within the Archdeaconry of Nottingham); The Court of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (the primary court of probate in Derbyshire); The Archdeaconry Court of Northampton, and The Consistory Court of Peterborough, and The Commissary Court of the Bishop of Lincoln (which had jurisdiction over the Archdeaconry of Leicestershire). The unindexed wills of the Courts of the Peculiar of Southwell (Nottinghamshire), and the Chancery Court of the Archbishop of York, as well as the Act Books for the Deaneries of Nottingham with Bingham dating to years not included in the indexes and calendars for The Exchequer Court of York were also consulted. (All indexes, calendars, Act Books, and original and register copy wills can be obtained on microfilm through branches of the LDS Family History Library.)

¹¹¹ Abstracts of the majority of the Attenborough wills and administrations can be found in *Extracts of Nottinghamshire Attenborough and Atterbury Wills & Adms 1551-1936 (including some in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Essex, Lancashire, Leicestershire, London, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Staffordshire, Sussex, Warwick)*, by Ann Jones and Joan Dingle (1997).

¹¹² For a list of the parishes included in the search, see page 20.

genealogical connections, the process of nominal record linkage warrants comment. The family reconstruction presented here cannot be regarded as complete or unimpeachably accurate. Like all historical reconstructions, it is fundamentally a compendium of educated guesses which are subject to revision as new data become available. Nevertheless, if the Attenborough genealogical reconstruction is uncertain in some of its smaller details, its basic outline is well verified in a broadly based empirical record.

The benefits of conducting an exhaustive archival search on a large chronological and geographical scale cannot be over-emphasized. In the first place, the volume, detail and variety of data collected reduces the likelihood of missing or misidentifying individuals, and misconstruing their genealogical relationships. Broad chronological scope is also an asset in verifying affinal links, and in untangling the confusing array of contemporaries (often bearing identical forenames) who baptized children of the same name with disconcerting frequency.¹¹³ During the course of the Attenborough reconstruction, for instance, one series of references in wills and land indentures to specific parcels of land held successively in the 18th and 19th centuries by various family members clarified several uncertainties regarding the kinship links connecting Attenboroughs living in Ruddington during the 1600s. It also verified the

¹¹³ In 1678, for example, there were five individuals named George Attenborough in the parishes of Ruddington and Clifton alone. In 1759, Ruddington and adjacent Bunny parish were home to six people named John Attenborough, two of whom married women named Hanna.

connections between several early 18th century members of the Attenborough, Barker, and Bowskill families. Secondly, the large scale of a genealogical map charted from data unconstrained by time and space restrictions can reveal patterns of geographical migration, and family contact not readily apparent in the fragmented pedigrees assembled from individual parish records.

The Historical Outline

Although the earliest reference to people of the surname Attenborough residing in Attenborough parish occurs in the 1543 lay subsidy,¹¹⁴ it is reasonable based on name association to infer that forebears of Ruddington's 17th century Attenboroughs resided in the parish of Attenborough in southern Nottinghamshire during the closing centuries of the middle ages.¹¹⁵ The surname recurs frequently in the parish registers from 1561 until the onset of the Civil War. (See Appendix III.1.) The sparsity of references after 1660 presumably indicates that the parish's late 17th century Attenborough population died out or dispersed to neighbouring locales.¹¹⁶ By this time, however, the

¹¹⁴ PRO E179/159/150, *Lay Subsidy Roll, 1543, Broxtow Wapenstake*.

¹¹⁵ The *Records of the Borough of Nottingham, Volume XXI*, indicate that on July 20, 1255, "Ralph, son of Roger [...]eyne of Nottingham granted to Master Robert de Attenborough "two messuages ... which lie at the brook of Nottingham ... to have and to hold for ever rendering annually to the Hospital of Nottingham 9d...." Whether Robert's family were the ancestors of the 16th century Attenboroughs is unknown.

¹¹⁶ Several Attenboroughs were charged with recusancy during the 1630s and early 1640s. Post-war references to the family include a 1653 will written by Richard Attenborough of Attenborough (PRO, PCC will, Brent vol. 226:73, Richard Attenborough of Attenborough), the 1665 marriage of Edward Attenborough, an Attenborough native living by then in Beeston, and the 1672 burial of Dorothy Attenborough, a Chilwell widow.

family name was well-established in a number of nearby parishes, including Beeston, Clifton, Stapleford and Ruddington.

The first recorded Attenborough "migrations" took place in early in the 16th century. By the mid-1500s, an Attenborough named Thomas had settled in the parish of Beeston.¹¹⁷ Both Thomas' son and grandson remained in the parish. During the 1630s, two of William's great grandsons emigrated to Lenton and Rempstone parishes.¹¹⁸ William, the eldest, stayed in Beeston, as did his son, who married here in 1670. During the 1680s, a kinsman named Edward, originally from Attenborough parish, moved to Beeston as well. By the time of his death in 1748, Edward's son was apparently the only male Attenborough remaining in the parish. (See Appendix III.2.)¹¹⁹

At approximately the same time that Thomas was establishing an Attenborough presence in Beeston, his brother Richard, also a husbandman, was putting down roots in adjacent Clifton parish.¹²⁰ (See Appendix III.3.) Whether Richard came to Clifton directly from Attenborough or via Beeston is a

¹¹⁷ BI, ECY register copy will 15.3:360 (Richard Addynborrowe of Clifton [3.9.1558/9] 4.19.1559).

¹¹⁸ The great grandson of Robert of Rempstone, a husbandman and carpenter, continued the migratory tradition, residing in Nottingham, Newark, and Thorpe by Newark before settling finally in Farnon, where he died in 1729. His great grandson, John Attenburrow, was the well-known 19th century Nottingham surgeon. It should be noted that the inference that Robert of Beeston [b 1600] moved to Rempstone is based only on circumstantial evidence.

¹¹⁹ Attenboroughs were again living in Beeston in the 1800s. They may well have descended from either Edward or William of Beeston, but such an inference is speculative based on the evidence currently available. References on file with author.

¹²⁰ The men's genealogical relationship is specified in Richard's 1558 will. The 1543 lay subsidy for Rushcliffe Wapenstake records the presence of a husbandman named Richard Adenbrough in the parish of Clifton (PRO E179/159/146). Evidence that Richard was a newcomer to the parish comes from an early 17th century Clifton manor rental, on which Richard's grandson George is included within a group of tenants described as "... new in Clifton or else when purchased by mine old Lady Clifton" (UNL, CI A1).

matter of conjecture, although his references in his 1559 will to the churches of both Attenborough and Beeston suggest the latter alternative.¹²¹ Richard's descendants remained in Clifton over the following two generations, his only grandson, George, assuming occupancy of the family's farm holding at his father's death in 1590. Indeed, Attenboroughs descended from George's youngest son, Richard, who took over his father's farm holding sometime after his marriage in 1636, remained a parish fixture into the 1800s. (See Appendix III.4.) Presumably, however, Clifton's available lands were insufficient to provide livelihoods for George's three older male offspring. During the 1620s and 1630s, they moved away from the parish.

Shortly after marrying the daughter of a clerk in 1620 at Nottingham. George's eldest son, William, moved to the parish of Stapleford, establishing a notably prolific branch of the Attenborough family. (See Appendices III.5, and III.6.) By the late 1600s, the "several households" mentioned by Mitson in her Attenborough study¹²² had ballooned into many. During the following century, some members of this Stapleford branch of the family accumulated considerable wealth, while others sank into poverty.¹²³ Some of William's numerous descendants were still living in the parish in the middle decades of the 20th century. Others, however, had dispersed into adjacent Bramcote, and eastern

¹²¹ BI, ECY register copy will 15.3:360. In his will, Richard left to "the Church of addynborowe ... and to Bestone Church a bushell of Barly" each. The legacies imply a close sentimental attachment to these two parishes.

¹²² Mitson, 42.

¹²³ Data on file with author.

Derbyshire by the late 1600s, and during the following centuries many gravitated to Nottingham.

It was George's second and third surviving sons, Gervase [1598-1670] and George [1607-1678], who appeared abruptly in the Ruddington parish registers in 1638. While Gervase died without issue, George and his wife Grace founded a family "dynasty" that remained in Ruddington for six generations. At his death in 1830, an Attenborough named Robert was still living in West Hall, the dwelling into which his four times great grandfather had moved in the 1630s. (See Appendix III.7.) By the early 1800s, however, the Ruddington Attenboroughs were no longer a dynastic presence in the parish. The majority of family members had vacated the parish. The few who remained suffered fading fortunes in an increasingly industrialized parish whose primary owner was eager to be rid of traditional tenants.¹²⁴ Shortly after Robert's death, West Hall itself was demolished. Robert's unmarried sister seems to have been the only Attenborough remaining in the parish by 1841.¹²⁵

The 18th century exodus from Ruddington bears many of the characteristics of the earlier Attenborough migrations of the 1500s and 1600s. In each generation, daughters married, and most moved to nearby parishes with their husbands. Middle sons left the parish on a regular basis. Of those who stayed,

¹²⁴ "Around 1807, all tenants of Lady Parkyns occupying farms in Ruddington received notice to quit and those who continued to occupy their farms had their rents raised." Quoted in *Nottinghamshire Family History Society Journal* (1988-90).

¹²⁵ Nottinghamshire Census, 1841.

many spent their lives as bachelors. Farm holdings passed to eldest or youngest sons unless they refused to accept occupancy, as did Richard Attenborough [c1669-1728] after his father Robert's death in 1700.¹²⁶

On marrying Prudence Barker in 1709, Richard carried the Attenborough name into adjacent Bunny and Bradmore parishes.¹²⁷ (See Appendix III.7.) In 1778, two of Richard's grandsons in turn emigrated to parishes in Northamptonshire, where their children and grandchildren, jointly involved in profitable London business ventures, rose quickly into the upper echelons of society. A third grandson attained great wealth on moving to Loughborough, Leicestershire around the same time. By the early 1800s, one scion of the Bunny Attenboroughs had settled in neighbouring Keyworth parish with his family. His offspring achieved considerable affluence after subsequent moves to Nottingham, Sussex, and Leicestershire.

The male descendants of the Richard's younger brother Robert [1691-1742] and those of his cousin George Attenborough of West Hall [d 1739] all remained in Ruddington until the late 1700s, at which time they too began leaving the parish. One of George's grandsons, for example, moved with his family to East

¹²⁶ NAO, ECY original will [May 24, 1700] proved June 26, 1701. Robert stipulates in his will that "... if it should so happen that ... Richard Attenbrow my Son shall not have & enjoy the farme I now have in Occupation, then he ... to have only the Sum of Fifteen Pounds...."

¹²⁷ Although separate parishes, Bunny and Bradmore were administered as one. Bradmore had no parish church. Like Bunny, it was owned by the Parkyns family (Thoroton, Vol. 1, 91-96).

Leake. Other Ruddington Attenboroughs re-settled, one by one, in Nottingham.¹²⁸

Observations and Analysis

Between the early 1500s and the late 1800s, the genealogical map of the Attenborough family underwent continual geographical expansion. By the late 1600s, the Attenboroughs were no longer a dynastic presence in their parent parish, but branches of the family were established as “daughter dynasties” in four nearby parishes. (See Map 2.¹²⁹)

There can be little doubt that economic necessity and opportunity were basic forces that drove the ongoing migrations throughout the period. Where their land tenancy was secure, fathers passed their holdings along to eldest or youngest sons.¹³⁰ They appear, however, to have taken pains to provide as well for other offspring through the purchase of additional land holdings, and through cash settlements. Money and “extra” land enabled daughters to attract

¹²⁸ This précis of the family's movements is much simplified. By the 1800s, there were individual Attenboroughs and small family clusters living in Warwickshire, Sussex, Scotland and other locales.

¹²⁹ As noted above, the patterns of movement diagrammed in Map 2 do not incorporate all branches of the Attenborough family.

¹³⁰ It is interesting to note in this regard that Attenborough parish was almost entirely enclosed by the late 1600s, a period which coincides with the disappearance of the Attenborough surname from parish records. See Throsby, Vol. 2, 177-185; also J. D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1966 [1932]), 351. The 1778 migration of John Attenborough of Bunny [1736-1800] and his cousin George [1755-1826] was undoubtedly related to both limited economic opportunities in Bunny parish, which was owned by the Parkyns family, and the corresponding opportunities which opened in Titchmarsh and Braybrooke, Northamptonshire, for well-to-do farmers when the parishes were enclosed in 1778.

husbands who could provide for them, and second or third sons to establish households in other parishes.¹³¹ Husbandmen and yeomen with large families thus helped sustain both a thriving land market amongst “middling” farmers, and a distinctive pattern of population mobility.

The 1652 will of William Attenborough, the Clifton emigré who moved to Stapleford in the 1620s, illustrates the close relationship between economic activity and family mobility. By the terms of his will, William gave to each of his sons a half part in two Bramcote parish closes “... which I lately purchased of Thomas Towle of Bramcote.” The younger son, William, also received “... my Cloase in Bramcote ... called the Long which I lately purchased....” The will makes no mention of the testator’s Stapleford farm holding. Presumably, it passed to son William, who continued to reside in Stapleford with his family until his death in 1706. William’s brother Gervase, though buried in Stapleford, appears to have lived first in Bramcote, and then in nearby Long Eaton, Derbyshire.¹³²

While William senior’s land purchases clearly demonstrate the importance which 17th century English folk attached to primary kin relationships, they reveal nothing of how more genealogically remote kin ties may have functioned within

¹³¹ Erickson, 61-78, 204-11; also Wrightson, *English Society*, 111-112, 136. Christopher Dyer discusses the connection between inheritance practices and the medieval peasant land market in *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 142-3, 254-5, 120-124.

¹³² PCC register copy will; [3.8.1651/2] 5.29.1652. Copy on file with author. The will is not listed in the PCC printed index.

the Attenborough family. One might expect that the centrifugal economic forces which segregated kinfolk geographically also helped to ensure that extended kin played only marginal roles in people's lives, as Wrightson, Levine and others have suggested. A close inspection of the Attenborough family history files, however, reveals evidence not only that geographically separated kinfolk maintained contact with one another, but also that the spreading network of kinship ties may itself have helped to sustain and direct the patterns of family mobility evident in the record.

Hints that people maintained contact with both primary and extended kin in different parishes come from various quarters. First, they are contained within land documents which depict extended kin participating in land sales and other business activities. A case in point is the property lease which Edward Attenborough of Beeston [1686-1748] purchased in 1707 from Matthew Hallam of Chilwell in Attenborough parish. Matthew's precise identity is uncertain. However, he was most likely related to Edward. Edward's mother, Ann née Chamberlaine, bore the surname Hallam when she married Edward's father, and she brought Hallam children to this second marriage.¹³³

Numerous other records indicate that the Attenboroughs and their relatives were jointly involved in many land transactions with both close and distant

¹³³ NAO, M12 722, Land indenture dated 3.25.1707/8. An agreement between Edward Attenborough of Beeston, yeoman, and Mathew Hallam of Chilwell, yeoman.

relatives through the 18th century.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, no land indentures involving the Attenboroughs survive for the 1600s, although land is sometimes mentioned in 17th century Attenborough wills. One series of well-documented 18th century land transactions had its inception near the turn of the century, however. It is particularly interesting since it illustrates both the way in which kin ties could function economically, and the way in which economic interests could help to preserve kin contacts over considerable distances.

The land, a small close in Lenton and a public house in Radford, was initially purchased by Thomas Bowskill, a West Bridgford bachelor [1669-1728]. At the time of his death, Thomas lived with Robert Barker [1694-1743], the bachelor son of his deceased sister and brother-in-law, Mary née Bowskill and Robert Barker. The older man devised his Radford and Lenton properties to his nephew,¹³⁵ who moved to Radford on acquiring the property, and died in the parish in 1743. Under the terms of his will, Robert divided the Radford and Lenton lands, giving third parts equally to his three sisters, Isobell Leeson of Leicestershire, Prudence Attenborough of Bunny parish [1686-1774], and Ann Attenborough of Ruddington [1691-1754].¹³⁶ In her own will, Ann Attenborough gave her "third undivided part" part to her son Robert [1717-1763],¹³⁷ who in turn

¹³⁴ NAO. See, for instance, documents M22359 (year 1741); M22722 (1743); M22360 (1748); M22364 (1754); DDQBW10/190 (1753); DDQBW10/94 (1755); DDQBW1/60 (1762).

¹³⁵ NAO, ECY original will, Thomas Bowskill of Ruddington, yeoman [5.15.1728] 6.20.1729.

¹³⁶ NAO, ECY original will, Robert Barker of Radford [10.25.1743] 1.19.1743.

¹³⁷ NAO, ECY original will, Ann Attenborow of Ruddington, widow [4.9.1752] 3.4.1754. Like Elizabeth and Richard Trowell (cited on p. 45), Ann and Prudence married siblings, Richard and John Attenborough. The fact that Prudence witnessed her sister's will suggests that the two women were close even though they lived in different parishes.

willed the property to his own son, Robert. When the younger Robert died childless in 1782, he passed the property along to his cousin, John Attenborough of Ruddington [1746-1813].¹³⁸ In 1767, Prudence turned her portion of the property over to her grandson John Attenborough [1736-1800].¹³⁹ John moved to Northamptonshire in 1778. By the 1780s, then, third cousins living in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Ruddington were joint proprietors of a public house called "The Sign of the Rose" in Radford, Nottinghamshire.

In 1783, Ann's descendant, John of Ruddington and his wife Hannah, now living in Nottingham, sold their third part to yet another Attenborough relative. John of Titchmarsh's brother Richard "the Elder" of Bradmore [1738-1785].¹⁴⁰ Two years later, as stipulated in Richard's will,¹⁴¹ brother John and a cousin, whom Richard had appointed as estate trustees, sold Richard's part in the property to a Nottingham merchant.¹⁴² By the time it was sold, however, Thomas Bowskill's old property had ensured continuing contact amongst three increasingly distant kin for almost a century.

Wills left by many members of the Attenborough family also provide evidence that non-nuclear kin ties crossing parish boundaries were more than non-functional genealogical labels. As numerous historians have observed, old

¹³⁸ NAO, ECY original wills, Robert Attenbrow of Ruddington [3.9.1763] 7.20.1763; Robert Attenborow, Ruddington farmer [11.14.1781] 6.21.1783.

¹³⁹ NAO, M4032 and M4033, documents dated 9.23.1767 and 9.29.1767.

¹⁴⁰ NAO, M4035-M4037 (1783-1784). Land indentures.

¹⁴¹ NAO, ECY original will, Richard Attenborough the Elder of Bradmore [5.18.1785] 10.-.1786.

¹⁴² NAO, M4040 and M4041 (1786). Land indentures. Documents M4035 to M4052 all deal with the old Bowskill land.

wills are not a particularly accurate gauge of the significance testators attached to extended kin relationships since their primary purpose was to convey property in a way that provided wives and children with financial support while ensuring that land holdings passed to one's direct descendants.¹⁴³ Collateral kin generally entered the picture only when children were absent, when cautious testators incorporated contingency plans into their wills, specifying what should be done with property if children died without issue, or when familial circumstances made it necessary to call on brothers, brothers-in-law, or uncles to care for minor offspring.¹⁴⁴ Given that wills were first and foremost practical documents, however, token legacies bestowed on non-nuclear kin living in other parishes, requests that such relatives act as overseers, and the appearance of their signatures as witnesses on wills take on added significance as evidence of trust and affection between non-nuclear kin.

Sentiment undoubtedly accounts in part for the £4 legacy Elizabeth Attenborough of Beeston received in 1648 from her uncle Richard Attenborough, who was living in Lenton when he wrote his will in 1645.¹⁴⁵ The same may be said of George Attenborough of Ruddington's small bequest in 1675 to his Clifton nephew George.¹⁴⁶ When Richard Attenborough of Attenborough parish requested in 1653 that Elizabeth's father, William Attenborough of Beeston,

¹⁴³ Cressy, 60-65; Erickson, 67, 204-211.

¹⁴⁴ The 1683 will of George Attenborough of Ruddington, cited earlier (pp. 43-44), exemplifies the third of these motives.

¹⁴⁵ NAO, ECY original will, Richard Attenborough of Lenton, weaver [3.18.1644/5] 2.10.1646/7.

¹⁴⁶ NAO, ECY original will, George Attenborough of Ruddington [1.13.1674/5] 11.6.1678.

oversee the execution of his estate, surely he was expressing confidence in a distant relative in another parish, as well as fondness for him.¹⁴⁷ Likewise, Richard Attenborough of Clifton [b 1672] was clearly showing great trust in his “couson” Robert Attenborough of Ruddington when he asked Robert in 1728 to serve as his children’s trustee.¹⁴⁸ Family reconstruction data indicate that Robert and Richard were, in fact, merely second cousins.

Clues that familial contact spanned geographical and genealogical distances are not restricted to data found in probate and land documents. Details relating to Attenborough baptisms, marriages, and burials from the 16th to the 19th centuries also imply that extended kinship ties were often important to individuals despite the impediment of geographical separation. It is noteworthy, for example, that when his daughter died in 1793 in Titchmarsh, Northamptonshire, John Attenborough purchased her grave marker from the Winfield stonecutters of Wymeswold, Leicestershire, who were his wife’s cousins.¹⁴⁹ Unequivocal evidence of this nature is rare for the preceding century. The 1672 burial in Ruddington of a widow named Susanna

¹⁴⁷ PRO, PCC register copy will [nuncupative], Vol. 226 Brent:73 (Richard Attenborrow of Attenborough [6.12.1653] 9.29.1653). The precise relationship between Richard of Attenborough and William of Beeston is a matter of speculation since it is not clear how William’s great great grandfather Thomas of Beeston fits into the Attenboroughs of Attenborough family tree. Nor is Richard of Attenborough’s identity certain, although he appears to have been the child born to Richard Attenborough [1572-1608] of Attenborough and his wife in 1605. In any case, the testator and William of Beeston cannot have been nuclear kin. Most likely, they were only distant cousins.

¹⁴⁸ NAO, ECY original will (Richard Attenborough of Clifton, husbandman [1031.1728] 6.20.1729)

¹⁴⁹ Data on file with author.

Attenborough, however, warrants comment.¹⁵⁰ Family reconstructions make it clear that the woman's deceased husband did not belong to the Ruddington branch of the Attenborough family.¹⁵¹ One may, therefore, speculate that unless she was merely buried in the parish, Susanna came to Ruddington after her husband's death in order to be near either her own blood relatives or other Attenboroughs living in the parish.

A comparison of multi-parish reconstruction files for the 16th to 19th century Attenborough, Barker and Wilkinson families, which are studded with examples of inter-marriage,¹⁵² suggests that members of the Attenborough family group must have had many parish neighbours and extra-parochial friends who were also distant relatives. That extended kin worked together,¹⁵³ and sometimes married is thus hardly surprising. Whether they were actually aware of their genealogical links, however, and whether those links had a bearing on the frequency and kind of contact they had is difficult to discern from family reconstruction data. Nevertheless, given that the Attenborough surname is

¹⁵⁰ NAO, Ruddington bishop's transcripts and parish burial register.

¹⁵¹ Susanna may have been the widow of William Attenborough of Beeston [d 1631].

¹⁵² The Wilkinsons for whom genealogical data are available lived primarily in Ruddington, Stapleford and Nottingham. The Barker surname would appear to include several genealogical lineages, which may or may not have been related. The Barkers of Ruddington were, however, clearly related to people of the same surname in Clifton, Bunny and Radford parishes. Attenborough/Wilkinson marriages occurred in the 1590s, and in 1677. Wilkinsons married Barkers in the 1550s and 1645. Attenborough/Barker unions occurred in 1709, 1716, and 1777. All of these families were also inter-connected through marriage to other "dynastic" families such as the Burrows. Reconstructions on file with author.

¹⁵³ For example, Robert Attenborough and Henry Wilkinson, who in the late 1600s shared a holding in the Western Close in Ruddington, cited on page 56, were second cousins as well as neighbours. Both descended from Richard Wilkinson of Ruddington, who died in 1602. Detailed reconstructions of all the "dynastic" families living in Ruddington would undoubtedly reveal other examples of distant kin inter-acting in a similar manner.

distinctive, and that Attenboroughs were prominent in village affairs in both Stapleford and Clifton, it seems safe to assume that when William Attenborough of Stapleford and Mary Attenborough of Clifton married at Nottingham in 1741, they knew the nature of their kin ties.¹⁵⁴ Based on the evidence of a marriage licence issued in 1677 to William's grandfather John Attenborough, moreover, one may speculate that it was continued personal interaction between the Clifton Attenboroughs and at least some of their Stapleford relatives after the 1620s that afforded the couple the chance to meet. According to family reconstruction files, John spent the majority of his life in Stapleford. His licence, however, states that at the time of his marriage he was living in Clifton parish. Possibly, he was in service. Whether or not John was actually living with his great uncle Richard of Clifton's son George [1638-1722], John's first cousin once removed, the two undoubtedly visited during John's sojourn in the parish.

The Attenborough family reconstruction yields subtle but intriguing evidence that practical and sentimental bonds between extended kin could foster population mobility not only by encouraging people to travel beyond their parishes for brief visits or temporary sojourns with absent relatives, but also by stimulating permanent re-settlement, or at least by influencing its direction.

¹⁵⁴ Mary, born in 1720 to Richard and Ellen Attenborough, was the great granddaughter of Richard Attenborough of Clifton. William, born in 1716 to Francis and Ellen Attenborough, was the great grandson of the elder Richard's brother William, who had settled in Stapleford c1720. Richard and Mary Attenborough were third cousins. Based on the fact that all but one of their children were baptized in Lenton, it would appear that the couple took up residence in this parish sometime around 1746.

Instances in which related individuals moved to the same locale or to destinations close to each other constitute the most obvious evidence of such directed movement. In 1853, for example, Mary Attenborough of Braybrooke Northamptonshire emigrated to Melbourne, Australia with her brother James. In 1863, Winfield Attenborough of Titchmarsh, Northamptonshire, their third cousin joined them in Melbourne. Several years later, Winfield's nephew followed.

The Attenboroughs of 19th century Braybrooke and Titchmarsh worked together in London and elsewhere, and moved in the same social circles. Since Winfield's brother, moreover, married a sister of James and Mary Attenborough, there is little chance that the moves to Australia were coincidental.¹⁵⁵ Clearly they reflect the sort of "chain migration" which is well documented in the annals of 19th and 20th century history.¹⁵⁶ What the Attenborough family reconstruction suggests is that this phenomenon has a long tradition in England, stretching back at least to early modern times.

Except in terms of the geographical scale of the movement, the mid-19th century Attenborough migration to Australia would seem to have much in common with the Attenborough migrations in 1778 from Nottinghamshire to

¹⁵⁵ Data on file with author.

¹⁵⁶ In his insightful study of the early 20th century British community in Winnipeg, Manitoba, A. Ross McCormack, for example, argues that "... immigrants from the UK used networks ... based in the nuclear family, sustained by chain migration, and elaborated through ethnic institutions, to maximize group advantage in Canada's heterogeneous society." See Ross McCormack, "Networks among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society: Winnipeg, 1900-1914," in *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives*, ed., G. Tulchinsky (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman Ltd. 1994), 203. See also Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 233-234. Erickson provides an interesting discussion of the relationship between migration and family from a female perspective on pages 239-265.

Northamptonshire. Although the evidence is circumstantial, John Attenborough and his cousin George appear to have moved to their respective new homes sequentially. Three years after George established residency in Braybrooke, he was joined there by his brother John.¹⁵⁷

Gervase and George Attenborough's exits from Clifton to an adjacent parish in the late 1630s may also have been a case of "chain migration".¹⁵⁸ In one sense, however, the 17th century migration stands apart from its later counterparts. While the historical record provides no evidence that prior Attenborough kin connections in Northamptonshire or Australia influenced the initial choice of the 18th and 19th century destinations, circumstantial evidence suggests strongly that well-established familial links with people in Ruddington figured prominently in the Attenboroughs' eventual decision to settle in the parish.

The ties are revealed in the 1602 will of Richard Wilkinson, a Ruddington husbandman.¹⁵⁹ Details of the will indicate not only that Richard was the grandfather of the two Clifton Attenboroughs who moved to Ruddington in the 1630s, but also that his relationship with his daughter's family was a close one.

¹⁵⁷ Braybrooke was apparently not to John's liking. After a year, he returned to Bradmore, Nottinghamshire, dying there in 1838. Data on file with author.

¹⁵⁸ George Attenborough appears in the parish registers as the parent of a baptized child on September 30, 1638. On February 5, 1638/9, a marriage licence is issued to Gervase Attenborough to marry a Ruddington widow, Elizabeth Elliot. The wedding takes place the next day, February 6, at Stapleford, where Gervase's brother William is now living. The licence describes Gervase as "of Ruddington", so the two brothers may or may not actually have moved to Ruddington at the same time.

¹⁵⁹ BI, ECY register copy will 28:174, Richard Wilkinson of Ruddington [4.27.1602] 7.15.1602.

The document shows, for example, that Richard had helped the family out by loaning his son-in-law "... vi strikes of pease ... and two bullocks of three yeares old". As part of his daughter's portion, he forgave the debt in his will. That he was fond of his daughter's husband and trusted his judgement is reflected in the fact that he appointed George Attenborough as one of his two estate overseers. It is worth noting, moreover, that his second overseer was a brother-in-law named Robert Barker the elder. The details of Robert Barker's own will, written in 1610, suggest that Robert was one of the wealthiest yeomen in Ruddington in the early 1600s.¹⁶⁰ On the evidence of family reconstruction files, in fact, there can be little doubt that the Barkers were one of the most influential and affluent of Ruddington's "middling" farm families from the mid-1500s, when they first appear in records relating to Ruddington, until the mid-18th century.¹⁶¹

These data suggest that by the 1630s, the sons of George Attenborough senior of Clifton would have been well-known amongst Ruddington's most prominent residents, who included the Attenboroughs' maternal relatives. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that Gervase might meet and marry a Ruddington widow, or that he and his brother, George junior, might move to Ruddington

¹⁶⁰ BI, ECY register copy will 31:519, Robert Barker the Elder of Ruddington [5.24.1610] 1.18.1610/11. In addition to unspecified farmlands, Robert left two oxgangs of land in Ruddington and holdings in Bradmore field, all of which he passed on through entail.

¹⁶¹ BI, ECY register copy will 11:742, Robert Barker of Rodington [3.31.1543] 5.8.1544. Robert mentioned several pieces of land, including "... land lieing in Bradmore felde". He left each of his children "... a silver spone." By every available measure, widow Ann Barker (née Wilkinson) was one of the wealthiest tenants in Ruddington during the later 1600s and early 1700s. Her personal estate in 1707 was worth £300. (Probate inventory dated 2.3.1707/8, filed with original will at NAO, no accession number.)

rather than to another nearby parish. Nor is it unexpected that after immigrating to the parish, they might be quickly absorbed into the upper echelons of village society.¹⁶²

The evidence contained in Richard Wilkinson's will is intriguing because it highlights some of the hidden factors which may have helped sustain the links between kinship and individual mobility in pre-industrial England. One might argue, more specifically, that extra-parochial kin could not only broaden a child's range of economic opportunities, but also expand his geographical horizons, and inculcate feelings of affection for people and places beyond the parish. In short, kin living in other parishes may have performed a significant function in moulding children's mental image of the world, thus predisposing them to entertain the option of moving to new but familiar places if the need or opportunity arose.

Maternal kin networks in particular, such as those visible in the Attenborough family files, may have played a critical role not just in directing individual lives, but also in helping to shape and sustain inter-parochial neighbourhood communities. As Chaytor has commented, marriage "... ensured more than sons to work the land and daughters to give away in marriage; a wife could bring

¹⁶² Maternal kin links may also have had a bearing on Richard Attenborough's 1709 move from Ruddington to neighbouring Bunny parish. Richard, it will be recalled, married Prudence Barker in 1709. The Barker family of Ruddington appears to have had long-standing ties with Bunny parish. William Barker, the brother of Robert Barker (d1544; see footnote 161), was vicar of Bunny parish until his death in the early 1540s. Numerous people named "Barker als Thompson" lived in Ruddington and Bunny and Bradmore during the 1500s. "Thompson als Barkers" lived in Gotham at the same time.

valuable resources to the household whether land, a dowry of money or animals or simply the goodwill of her original kin group.”¹⁶³ The analysis of Nottinghamshire marriage licences, cited earlier, indicates that these bonds of duty and amity frequently crossed parish boundaries. The Attenborough family reconstruction data, moreover, support earlier research indicating that it was more often the immediate families of wives rather than husbands who lived out of parish.¹⁶⁴

The family trees of the Attenboroughs of Ruddington, Stapleford, Clifton and Bunny between 1558 and 1750 contain 72 verified marriages. Of the 32 marriages for which both the partners’ places of origin and their subsequent residence can be demonstrated unequivocally, 21 unions involved people from the different parishes.¹⁶⁵ Only three of these couples settled in the wife’s family’s parish.

The stark lists of names, dates and places which constitute a “family tree” yield few hints of the quality of the relationships couples maintained with their affinal kin. They do, however, provide good evidence that couples who settled away from a wife’s home parish were not necessarily isolated from the woman’s parents and other relatives living “at home”. In 1713, for example, Richard Attenborough of Clifton [1672-1729] married a woman whose family lived in Upper Broughton. While the couple resided in Clifton, they baptized their first

¹⁶³ Chaytor, 38.

¹⁶⁴ Snell, 31. Lord, 182-133, 186.

¹⁶⁵ It should be noted that not all of the eleven remaining couples stayed in their home parish.

child in Upper Broughton.¹⁶⁶ Likewise, John “the Younger” of Ruddington [1718-1770] and Millicent Hubbard of Plumtree lived in Ruddington after their 1743 marriage. They baptized the first of their five children, however, in Plumtree.¹⁶⁷

If the marriage patterns visible in the Attenborough record are similar to those in place in other dynastic families, the implications are clear. The practical bonds forged between newlywed husbands, their fathers-in-law and other affinal kin in their roles as vestry officers and lenders and borrowers in their respective parishes must have contributed greatly to the inter-parochial networks of socio-economic influence which Mitson believes formed the foundation of neighbourhood communities. If it was more often women than men in dynastic families who moved after marriage, it also seems reasonable to infer that migrant wives themselves made significant if “silent” contributions to the web of inter-parish bonds that identified the neighbourhood communities in which the Attenboroughs participated.

Because their role was subordinate to that of men and lay largely within the household rather than in the public sphere, women – except in their capacity as widowed or unmarried moneylenders¹⁶⁸ -- do not figure prominently in the

¹⁶⁶ At his death in 1728, Richard Attenborough of Clifton held land in both Upper Broughton, and in Shardlow, Derbyshire. See ECY original will [10.31.1728] 6.20.1729. The Upper Broughton land may be the property mentioned in NAO land indenture DDQBW1/60 (year 1762).

¹⁶⁷ Considerable research indicates that this baptismal practice was common. See, for example, Snell, 30-31. For a comprehensive discussion of the various factors influencing place of baptism, and the correlation between birth, and baptismal records, see Colin D. Rogers, *The Family Tree Detective: A Manual for Analysing and Solving Genealogical Problems in England and Wales, 1538 to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 52-90.

¹⁶⁸ For example, Wrightson, *English Society*, 52.

documents historians have generally consulted to gauge the impact of individuals on a community. Vann has suggested, in fact, that "... kinship becomes a different, and perhaps a lesser, structural element in society when it becomes more the affair of women."¹⁶⁹ Recent research suggests, however, that as purveyors of custom, women within the Northern European cultural tradition have long exerted a subtle but pervasive influence on the communities in which they live. Voisey, for example, has demonstrated convincingly that women were in good part responsible for maintaining what residents of an early 20th century Anglo-North American pioneer community in Alberta regarded as "tradition".¹⁷⁰ Lord has likewise argued that women helped define the spatial and social boundaries of multi-parish neighbourhoods in Surrey during the mid-18th to mid-19th centuries by "... maintain[ing] social attitudes, ... foster[ing] a sense of communal identity, and ... transmit[ting] these to the next generation."¹⁷¹ Chaytor makes a similar point when she speaks of the "unofficial power" women exerted in late 16th and early 17th century Ryton, Durham, while they "... spen[t] time

¹⁶⁹ Vann, 367.

¹⁷⁰ Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of A Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 32, 93-97. Most Vulcan residents were of Anglo-European stock. While the socio-cultural "traditions" they brought to Vulcan descended in good part from those of early modern England, this baggage was obviously the hybrid product of many influences, including the prior pioneering experiences of the settlers. Such an observation does not, however, vitiate the relevance of Voisey's study since it is not the detailed *content* of Vulcan's "traditions" which is at issue here. The point is simply that the settlers *associated* women with the traditions. Women, rather than men, were clearly seen as the custodians and transmitters of customary behaviour.

¹⁷¹ Evelyn Lord, "Communities of Common Interest: the Social Landscape of South-East Surrey, 1750-1850," in *Societies, Cultures and Kinship 1580-1850: Cultural Provinces and English Local History*, ed., C. Phythian-Adams (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1993), 178.

together, washing, brewing, spinning and gossiping.”¹⁷² Lord describes women as “keepers of the communal memory, and the holders of local and family consciousness,” passing on local customs and personal values through their influence on their children. She concludes that “... the geographical and social background of the mother was, therefore, important to the child, the husband and his kin, and ultimately to the community at large.”¹⁷³

Lord’s observation brings the discussion of kinship and mobility full circle. Clearly, the Attenboroughs maintained a presence in numerous parishes over many generations, drawing members of other dynastic families into Attenborough kin networks as the years progressed. In each generation, however, some Attenboroughs left their home parishes. Habits of mobility, which incorporated short-term visits to other parishes, temporary sojourns, and permanent resettlement, shifted the spatial focus of kinship networks and broadened their geographical scope through time.

At the parish level, this meant that individual nuclear families were not surrounded in their daily activities by a full contingent of maternal and paternal kin, although the cadre of extended Attenborough kin present in various villages was undoubtedly larger than “kinship density” figures culled from parish based studies would indicate. It did not, however, mean that geographically and genealogically distant kin necessarily vanished from people’s lives. To the

¹⁷² Chaytor, 49.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

contrary, kin ties with absent relatives would seem to have encouraged additional travel and, in at least some instances, influenced the direction of permanent migration. In short, kinship ties and mobility patterns constituted what looks like a self-sustaining feedback system. This system influenced the lives not just of individual Attenboroughs and their affinal kin but also of entire parish populations, drawing them into neighbourhood communities which the Attenboroughs, as members of their villages' relatively permanent core settlements, helped define.

In this connection, it is worth noting that the geographical zone over which the Attenborough kinship network operated during the 16th and 17th centuries encompassed areas both east and west of the Trent River, which Mitson identifies as the eastern periphery of her Southwestern Neighbourhood.¹⁷⁴ A cursory inspection of the Attenborough family reconstruction files implies that lines of family contact, as reflected in residence and marriage locations, straddled the river prior to the 1640s. The Stapleford and Ruddington branches of the family seem, however, to have been enmeshed in different spatial spheres of interaction thereafter.

Of the 32 known marriage locales and places of residence of couples belonging to the Stapleford branch of the Attenborough family between 1640 and 1799, only eight lie east of the Trent. Six of the references are to Nottingham.

¹⁷⁴ See above, 50-51.

Five of these, which constitute nuclear families who moved to the town during the late 1700s, represent the first of a sizeable contingent of Stapleford Attenborough families drawn to Nottingham from the 1770s onwards. The remaining two references both represent the wedding places of couples who later settled west of the Trent. Of 64 such place references included within the family reconstructions for the Attenboroughs of Clifton, Ruddington, and Bunny during the same period, only two are located west of the Trent.¹⁷⁵ As the discussion of William and Mary Attenborough's 1741 marriage illustrates,¹⁷⁶ these data do not necessarily imply that Attenboroughs living on either side of the Trent River did not maintain contact. The geographical shape of 17th and 18th century Attenborough marriage and settlement networks would, however, seem consistent with Mitson's hypothesized river boundary.

¹⁷⁵ The list includes fourteen references to Nottingham, all of which are marriage locations. The fourteen couples, who settled in other locales, may have chosen to marry in Nottingham for reasons of status and prestige.

Based on references to marriage and residential locales in the Wilkinson and Barker family reconstruction files, the 17th - early 18th century Wilkinsons of Ruddington seem to have had limited contact with their namesakes in Stapleford, west of the Trent. Likewise, the Barkers of Ruddington are associated genealogically largely with parishes east of the Trent, including Clifton, Gotham and Bunny. This perception may be simply a product of inadequate genealogical data, however, since even the combined inventories of records from numerous parishes do not reveal the names of many Barker wives. Many Barkers of the mid-16th century, moreover, bore aliases. Barkers, Thompsons, and people named "Barker als Thompson" lived in Ruddington and Radford. Gotham was home to the related "Thomson als Barkers". There is no evidence that these family groupings were related to the "Barker als Milners" of Attenborough parish. Reconstructions and data on file with author.

¹⁷⁶ See p. 74.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

As this study has endeavoured to illustrate, assessing the nature of pre-industrial English kinship is a far more complex task than it appears on initial inspection. The answers one finds in the empirical record, moreover, are in good measure a function of one's frame of reference.

In the first place, the spatio-temporal limits imposed on an investigation of kinship directly affect both the data available for examination and how one interprets the recovered data. As described in the pages of parish registers and tax lists, villages were clusters of households sheltering families who were by and large secluded from all but their most immediate kin. Viewed from the village green as they went about their daily business, the majority of these nuclear families appear to have existed in a genealogical vacuum. However, the brief inspection of Ruddington and West Bridgford households presented here suggests that pre-industrial household heads opened their homes to aunts, uncles, cousins and assorted other relatives when the need arose. This finding, which is consistent with other research,¹⁷⁷ serves as a reminder to historians that the parents and children of pre-industrial parishes may have had more frequent direct contact with extended family relatives than records like the hearth tax listing may indicate. Examined from a more distant geographical perspective,

¹⁷⁷ See above, Chaytor, "Household and Kinship," 25-60; Katz, *The People of Hamilton*, and Zvi Razi, "The Myth of the Immutable English Family," in *Past and Present*, No. 140 (1993): 3-44.

moreover, many nuclear families shed their isolated disguises, changing into nodes within dense kinship networks that describe larger neighbourhoods or regional communities.

Secondly, the demographic focus of a kinship study has a profound impact on the depth and density of the networks one finds in a given geographical area since the spatial contours of kin networks varied according to the socio-economic status of the people who created them. Historians have long been aware, for example, that kin networks in aristocratic circles, while dense, often spanned large geographical areas.¹⁷⁸ Both Mitson's examination of southern Nottinghamshire neighbourhoods, and the present study indicate that the "middling" farmers such as the Attenboroughs, who formed the relatively stable cores of parish communities, maintained similarly dense kin networks. These networks, however, operated within geographical zones that differed from those of the aristocracy.

Thirdly, the density and depth of kin networks one finds in a given locality are partly a function of the criteria one uses to identify the networks. Genealogical networks constructed on the basis of circumstantial evidence will be denser and deeper than those based on proven links. Likewise, identifiable kin relationships will expand in number as the temporal scope of a study increases. The kin networks which the Attenboroughs maintained in 17th

¹⁷⁸ See also Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of A City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 139-44, 148-155, for remarks

century Ruddington offer a case in point. An inspection of Ruddington's parish records dating between 1628 and 1707 yields few hints that marriages dating from the 1500s bound members of the Attenborough family into an intricate web of affinal relationships incorporating other "core" Ruddington families such as the Wilkinsons, Barkers and Lovatts.

It should also be borne in mind that the scope and content of the networks people *recognized* and *acknowledged* within their identifiable kindreds are not easy to determine. Again, the Attenboroughs of 17th century Ruddington illustrate the problem well. The Attenboroughs were surrounded by a byzantine maze of extended kin, many of whom lived within the confines of the parish. Given their unusual surname, most members of the family group undoubtedly recognized people called Attenborough as relatives of some sort. Whether they were equally aware of distant kin ties with neighbours and friends named Lovatt or Smith, however, is a moot point.

How one should gauge the *importance* of recognized kin relationships constitutes an additional concern for historians. It is not a foregone conclusion, for instance, that recognizing extended kin amongst their parish neighbours affected people's day-to-day behaviour. While Robert Attenborough and Henry Wilkinson¹⁷⁹ may have known that they were related, for example, it does not follow that the relationship had any bearing on the fact that they were jointly

on the broad geographical scope of dense kin networks maintained by the urban elite of Coventry in the 1500s.

¹⁷⁹ See p. 56.

responsible for the 1698 rents on a Ruddington farm field. Unfortunately, the proposition that kin ties affected the location of farm holdings in Ruddington cannot be tested for want of adequate data.

One cannot assume, furthermore, that depth and density are sure guides to the significance of recognized networks. Cressy's sample of letters asking for assistance on the basis of stipulated kin ties affords incontrovertible proof that 17th century extended kin could, on occasion, perform valuable services for particular individuals, even when kin networks were stretched thin across the geographical landscape.¹⁸⁰ As Cressy comments, early modern English kin ties -- like their 20th century counterparts -- seem to have represented "... possibilites [for] advice and support, ... financial help and career encouragement, ... emotional comfort and political solidarity," rather than definitive "obligations." Cressy emphasizes that what was at issue was "... not propinquity, network density or frequency of involvement, but rather the potency and instrumentality of extended family ties. What mattered was not how far apart you lived or how often you saw each other, but what the relationship was worth when it came to the crunch."¹⁸¹

Unfortunately, direct proof that extended kin relationships influenced how people acted is in short supply. Wills stipulating the names of people living in individual households, letters requesting favours or assistance from relatives,

¹⁸⁰ Cressy, 44-49.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 49.

and other written verifications that people saw extended kinship links as relationships involving particular rights and duties or “possibilities” are, for example, rare. Nevertheless, the review of the Nottinghamshire marriage licence abstracts conducted here, kin references cited in Attenborough wills and land documents, the examination of Attenborough migration patterns, and studies such as Mitson's analysis of marriage and money lending networks in southern Nottinghamshire all suggest strongly that kin networks extending beyond the nuclear family, and beyond parish boundaries did profoundly influence individuals' behaviour within a sizeable sector of the 17th century population. Indeed, if this were not the case, it would be virtually impossible for historians to reconstruct the pedigrees of mobile families such as the Attenboroughs.

At the same time, however, even assuming that the Attenboroughs' experiences typified those of many English families, the details of a single family's history are inadequate grounds for making grand pronouncements about the value that individuals in pre-industrial England themselves assigned to kinship. Such extrapolations are particularly unwise if one uses population numbers as direct guides to the significance of kinship.

The Attenboroughs and other dynastic families can be fairly described as common folk. As noted earlier, though, they belonged to a privileged elite within village society. This thesis has dealt only in passing with the cottagers,

labourers and poor villagers who made up the bulk of England's early modern population. Genealogically and geographically distant relatives may well have exerted only a marginal impact on the lives of this less privileged majority. Despite their methodological flaws, parish-based family reconstructions and studies of name turnover rates make it clear that these 17th century villagers cannot have had much daily contact with extended kin simply because they moved too frequently to establish dense kin networks in any one place. In that straight-forward sense, extended kinship networks were undoubtedly of limited significance in pre-industrial England, as Wrightson and Levine suggest. Such a verdict, however, ignores the critical distinction between assessing the direct importance of kin networks in structuring individual lives, and their significance as societal structures.

Final judgement regarding the importance of extended kinship networks must incorporate an evaluation of kinship from a communal as well as an individual perspective. Mitson's argument that kin ties linking influential core family dynasties within separate parishes helped define neighbourhood communities highlights this difference. It suggests, moreover, that kinship ties may have influenced pre-industrial society in ways that were both more subtle and more pervasive than Wrightson and Levine's appraisal of Terling parish documents would indicate. Put simply, if kin networks maintained within the upper echelons of local, regional, and national society helped to structure the communities in

which even the most humble and genealogically isolated individual lived, then extended kin networks obviously intruded at every turn on the lives of all English folk, regardless of their social standing and economic status.

One of the major themes of this study has been that kinship, in both its individual and communal roles, was intimately connected with patterns of population mobility. Both the local study of Ruddington parish and the family study of the Attenboroughs illustrate that understanding how people moved about the geographical landscape is an important key to understanding how kinship worked in pre-industrial England from either an individual or communal viewpoint. Eliminating the chance that individuals "missing" from the hearth tax list were living in other parishes, for example, raises the possibility that these people were dwelling in Ruddington households with extended kin in 1674. The parish and family studies also illustrate, however, that the shape of kinship networks in pre-industrial England and the way in which they functioned had a profound impact on patterns of mobility.

According to the evidence of parish records, approximately a third of Ruddington's households in 1674 sheltered nuclear families for whom the village seems to have been little more than a temporary domicile. Most such households were apparently devoid of extended family connections within the parish. If these compact units of parents and children decided to move, they could do so unimpeded by concerns about extended kinfolk left behind. Even

the kin networks that more stationary Ruddington families like the Attenboroughs developed through time did not prevent family members from moving on a regular basis. Indeed, when viewed from a broad temporal and spatial perspective, it is clear that for the Attenboroughs migration was something of a family tradition which altered little except in scale from the 1500s to the 1800s.

This observation, however, does not necessarily imply that the geographical movements visible in the historical record occurred despite family connections. It cannot be assumed that because people moved frequently, kinship was of little importance to them. On mapping the migrations of members of the Attenborough family through time, one can discern patterns of motion that may, in fact, have been triggered by kinship bonds. If these movements demonstrate that kin ties in their parishes of residence did not keep all the members of individual families sequestered in ancestral villages over the generations, they also imply that as family members fanned out from their home parishes, the kin relationships they maintained with people back home could become “pull” factors that helped sustain family traditions of migration.

Both the parish and family reconstructions outlined in this study highlight the systemic nature of the relationships between kin networks, the frequency and direction of population movements, and the shape and structure of community life. They also illustrate well the assets and defects of different modes of investigating the connections.

The records of individual parishes provide stores of raw material without which kin networks cannot be analyzed in depth. As the analysis of Ruddington's 17th century population indicates, however, parish records studied as isolated bundles of data are not enough to identify and assess kin networks even at a local level. Historians investigating the role of kin networks even within the confines of the parish must clearly enlarge the geographical parameters of their community studies. Replacing restrictive parish studies with broader neighbourhood or regional community studies addresses many of the practical and theoretical problems of mapping kin networks at the parish level simply by expanding the inventory of kinship data available for study. The importance of kinship in pre-industrial England cannot, however, be understood solely through the lens of community studies, irrespective of scale. If communities themselves were partly the product of kinship and mobility patterns, individual and collective family studies defined only by genealogical boundaries have a useful role to play in the on-going effort to understand how kin networks were affected by population movements, and how they functioned through time to help direct patterns of mobility.

Early modern English families did not live in closed settlements circumscribed by an inward-focused tapestry of kin relationships. Parishes were merely places where networks of kindred stretched over a broader geographical map intersected in dynamic, changing configurations. If patterns of population

mobility and the kin ties that followed people across parish boundaries helped to *define* the changing spatial contours of geographical communities, historians clearly cannot afford merely to note them in passing as if they were distinctive features of a static communal landscape.

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Charity indenture, *Henry Wilkinson of Nottingham, 1628*. NAO, PR 3126.

PROBATE RECORDS FOR RUDDINGTON

Prerogative Court of Canterbury Printed Indexes, 1383-1693, ed., Thomas M. Blagg. British Record Society, Ltd.

Register copy wills for Ruddington Residents. Microfilms of original mss housed at PRO.

Exchequer Court of York / PCY printed indexes 1389 to 1688.

Manuscript calendar for the ECY and PCY.

Act Books for the Deaneries of Nottingham with Bingham (Vols. 1G to 5G).

Register copy wills for Ruddington, from the PCY/ECY Register Books Volumes 1 - 58, housed at the Borthwick Institute.

Original ECY wills for Ruddington, at the NAO, no accession numbers.

Cited Wills

1544, John Walker of Gedling. BI., ECY reg. copy will 11:740.

1558, Nicholas Walke[r] of Gedling. BI, ECY reg. copy will 15.5:273.

1581, John Walker of Gedling. BI, ECY reg. copy will 22:158.

- 1592, Thomas Walker als Else of Bunny. BI, ECY reg. copy will 25:1040.
- 1595, Isabell Walker als Else of Bunny. BI, ECY reg. copy will 26:110.
- 1604, John Walker of Gedling. BI, ECY reg. copy will 29:293.
- 1604, Myllicent Horsleye of West Bridgeforde, spinster. BI, ECY reg. copy will 30: 664 (5.—.1604).
- 1605, Richard Walker of Wysall ("buried Ruddington"). BI, ECY reg. copy will 29:586.
- 1608, William Wheatley of West Bridgeford, husbandman. BI, ECY reg. copy will 30:663 (proved 7.15.1608).
- 1684/5, George Attenborrow of Ruddington. BI, ECY reg. copy will 58:309. (1.5.1684/5). Orig. will at NAO.

PROTESTATION RETURNS

"Ruddington: Protestation Oath subscribed 9th March 1641," in *Protestation Returns, 1641/2, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire*, W. F. Webster, ed. Nottingham: Technical Print Services, c1980. NAO, BC20.1a, pp. 82-83, printed transcript.

SETTLEMENT RECORDS

Settlement Bonds, Ruddington. NAO mss.

Settlement Certificates and Removal Orders 1696-1863, Nottinghamshire Family History Society Record Series Vol. 43.

TAX LISTS

Nottinghamshire Hearth Tax 1664:1674, Thoroton Society Record Series Volume 38, ed., W. F. Webster, 1988. Nottingham: Technical Print Services.

Lay Subsidies

PRO Lay Subsidy 1543, E179/159/146 (Rushcliffe Wapenstake).

PRO Lay Subsidy 1543, E179/159/150 (Broxtowe Wapenstake).

Nottinghamshire Subsidies 1689, ed., G. W. Marshall. Worksop: R. White, 1895.

VITAL STATISTICS: PARISH RECORDS

International Genealogical Index, 1992 microfiche edition. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Ruddington Parish Registers, 1633-1900. Microfiche copy of original documents housed at the NAO, Red.29:1.

Ruddington Bishop's Transcripts, 1628-1812. LDS microfilm 0503813, copy of mss at the NAO.

Bishop's Transcripts, Parish Registers for other southern Nottinghamshire parishes. LDS microfilm copies of original documents at the NAO.

Sources Used in Attenborough Family Reconstruction Study

The family reconstruction was based on the following sources in addition to the parish materials cited above.¹⁸²

ACADEMIC RECORDS

Foster, J., compiler, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714, 1715-1886*. Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprints, 1968 [Oxford: Parker 1888-92].
Venn, John, and J. A. Venn, compilers, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, 1544-1751 and 1752-1900*. Microfilm of original, No date.

APPRENTICESHIP RECORDS

Apprenticeship indentures for various parishes. NAO mss.
Register of Apprentices, Nottingham, 1724-1833. Nottingham City Library, MS 1558A-F [Index], MS 1553-1554 [Register 1723-1767], MS 1555-1557B [1767-1846].
Index of charity apprenticeships. NAO.

BASTARDY BONDS

Bastardy bonds 1788-1817. LDS microfilm 0495208, copies of NAO mss.

BURGESS AND FREEMAN RECORDS

Burgess Rolls for the Borough of Nottingham, 1688-1863. Microfilm copies of NAO original records CA 1567, CA TC 4/1, CA 4137, CA 4589-90, CA 4649, CA 4824, CA FR 394-396, 398.
Baptismal Certificates of Nottingham Burgesses, 1676-1701, 1765-1844. LDS film 1471016:4-6, 11, copy of original mss at the NAO, CA 3968, CA 4037.
Freemen. Roll of Freemen, Nottingham, 1817-1850. NAO, FR 397.

CENSUS RECORDS

Census returns for Nottinghamshire, and for Thrapston District (Titchmarsh and surrounding parishes) in Northamptonshire, 1841 to 1891. PRO.

¹⁸² This list of sources used in the Attenborough family reconstructions is not exhaustive. A full listing is on file with the author.

CHARITY INDENTURES

Charity indentures for various Nottinghamshire parishes. NAO, PR 3126.

ENCLOSURE RECORDS

Parliamentary enclosure survey documents. Ruddington, 1767. NAO, DD72/17. Plan of Allotments for the Enclosure of 1767. NAO.

Parliamentary enclosure documents, Titchmarsh, 1778. Transcripts of mss at Northants CRO on file with author.

GENERAL RECORDS

Extracts of Proceedings of the Court of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham 1565-1675, ed., Colonel Hodgkinson, NAO, M463, pp. 270, 247, 481, 484, 547, 613.

Records of the Borough of Nottingham, Volume XXI, July 20, 1255. Also *Excerpts from Records of the Borough of Nottingham, Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham, Volumes 1-VI (1155-1760)*. London: Thomas Forman & Sons, 1882.

JUROR LISTS

Freeholders qualified for Jury Duty, Nottinghamshire, 1732-1780. LDS film 510687, copy of mss at NAO.

LAND INDENTURES, including

NAO, Land Indentures M4032 and M4033 (1767).

NAO, Land Indenture M4035-M4037 (1783-1784).

NAO, Land Indenture M4040 and M4041 (1786).

NAO, Land Indenture M12722 (1707).

NAO, Land Indentures M22359 (1741), M22722 (1743), M22360 (1748), M22364 (1754), DDQBW10/190 (1753), DDBQW10/94 (1755), DDQBW 1/60 (1762).

MANOR RENTALS AND COURT PRESENTMENTS

Parkyns Estate

Ruddington, Presentments, 1708. UNL, Parkyns of Bunny Manuscripts Collection, Pa M27.

Ruddington, Court Roll, 1708. UNL, Parkyns Manuscripts, Pa M28.

Bunny, Court Roll, 1709. UNL, Parkyns Manuscripts, Pa M18.

Bunny and Bradmore Parishes, View of Frankpledge and Court Baron, 1709. UNL, Parkyns Manuscripts, Pa M19.

Bunny and Bradmore Parishes, View of Frankpledge and Court Baron, 1710. UNL, Parkyns Manuscripts, Pa M20.

Clifton Estate

Clifton *cum* Glapton, Rental of lands descending to Sir Gervase Clifton after the death of his grandmother Lady Thorold and his mother Mrs. Carvill. UNL, Clifton of Clifton Manuscripts, CI A1.

Clifton *cum* Glapton, Early 17th century Manor Rental. UNL, Clifton Manuscripts, CI A2.

Clifton *cum* Glapton, View of Frankpledge and Court Baron, 1604. UNL, Clifton Manuscripts, CI M52.

Clifton *cum* Glapton, Presentments and Pains 1605-6. UNL, Clifton Manuscripts, CI M54.

Clifton *cum* Glapton, Presentments and Pains 1613-1614. UNL, Clifton Manuscripts, CI M55.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AND OBITUARIES

Monumental Inscriptions, Ruddington, Bunny churchyards. Transcripts on file with author.

Miscellaneous listings, including lists for Flawford churchyard.

Monumental Inscriptions in Nottinghamshire, Nottinghamshire Family History Society Record Series No. 6, 18-21, 27, 57, 59, 69, 72.

Monumental inscriptions for Northamptonshire, 15th to 19th century. LDS films 919193 and 919194, copies of original papers at Northants CRO.

Obituaries, Northamptonshire, 1800-1859. LDS film 0452545.

MILITARY RECORDS

Military documents relating to Nottinghamshire regiments, 17th, 18th and 19th century, including *Soldiers' Documents, 68th Regiment of Foot, 1760-1854*, LDS film 898303, copy of original mss at PRO.

Militia Lists, Nottinghamshire, 1689-1918, from records of the Court of Quarter Sessions. LDS film 1471012, copies of mss at NAO.

Militia Lists, Northamptonshire, 1762, 1771. LDS film 919266, copies of mss at Northants CRO.

OCCUPATIONAL DIRECTORIES

These include *Dearden's Directory of Nottingham and Adjacent Villages, 1834*; *Pigot's Directory of Nottinghamshire, 1842*; *Post Office Directory of Nine Counties, 1846*; *History and Topography and Directory of Northamptonshire*. London: William Wellan & Co., 1849; *Post Office Directory of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire*, E. R. Kelly, ed. London: Kelly & Co., 1855; *Kelly's Watford Directory, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1899, 1902, 1909-10, 1924, 1937*.

PROBATE RECORDS

Civil Court Records

Principal Probate Calendar, 1858-1910. LDS films of originals at PRO.

Selected Register Copy wills. LDS films of mss at PRO.

Ecclesiastical Court Records

The Prerogative Court of Canterbury

Prerogative Court of Canterbury Printed Indexes, 1383-1693, ed.,
Thomas M. Blagg. British Record Society, Ltd.

Selected register copy wills. Microfilms of mss housed at PRO.

The Prerogative Court of York with the Exchequer Court of York

ECY/PCY printed indexes 1389 to 1688.

Manuscript calendar for the ECY and PCY.

Act Books for the Deaneries of Nottingham with Bingham (Volumes 1G to 5G) dating to years not included in the indexes and calendars for the ECY. (All indexes, calendars, Act Books, and original and register copy wills can be obtained on microfilm through branches of the LDS Family History Library.)

Selected register copy wills from the PCY/ECY Register Books Vol. 1 - 58, Bl. All wills proved between 1514 and 1620 (Vol. 9-35) by testators from the following parishes: Attenborough, Beeston, East and West Bridgford, Barton in Fabis, Bunny and Bradmore, Clifton, Edwalton, Gedling, Gotham, Holme Pierrepont, Keyworth, East and West Leake, Lenton, Plumtree, Rempstone, Ruddington, Tollerton, and Wilford. No register copy wills survive for the period between 1636 and 1652. Extant original wills are housed at the NAO. A printed index has been compiled for all ECY and PCY wills of the period.

The Chancery Court of the Archbishop of York, 1427-1579. Original wills, LDS film 99373.

The Court of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (the primary court of probate in Derbyshire). Probate index, and microfilm copies of selected administrations and register copy wills.

The Archdeaconry Court of Northampton. Probate Calendar, 1467-1858, LDS film 919265. LDS Microfilm copies of selected administrations and register copy wills.

The Consistory Court of Peterborough. Probate Calendar 1541-1858, LDS film 919264. LDS microfilm copies of selected administrations, original wills and inventories housed at the Northants CRO. LDS microfilm copies of selected administrations and register copy wills.

The Commissary Court of the Bishop of Lincoln (which had jurisdiction over the Archdeaconry of Leicestershire). Probate index and selected register copy wills, LDS microfilm copies of mss at the Leicestershire CRO.

Cited Wills

- Attenborough. 1559, Richard Addynborrowe of Clifton. BI, ECY reg copy will volume 15.3: folio 360 (4.19.1559).
- Attenborough. 1590, William Attenburrowe of Clifton, husbandman. BI ECY reg. copy will 24: 307 (5.14.1590).
- Attenborough. 1647, Richard of Lenton, weaver. NAO, ECY orig. will (1.10.1647).
- Attenborough. 1652, William Attenborowe of Stapleford, yeoman. PRO, Reg. copy will not indexed (proved at London 5.29.1652), copy or file with author.
- Attenborough. 1653, Richard Attenborrow of Attenborough. PRO, PCC reg. copy will [nuncupative] Brent vol. 226:73 (9.29.1653).
- Attenborough. 1653, William Attenborrow of Arnold. PRO, PCC reg. copy will Brent vol. 226:189 (9.29.1653).
- Attenborough. 1678, George Attenburrow of Ruddington. BI, ECY reg. copy will 43:81 (11.6.1678). Orig. will at NAO.
- Attenborough. 1684/5, George Attenborrow of Ruddington. BI, ECY reg. copy will 58:309. (1.5.1684/5). Orig. will at NAO.
- Attenborough. 1701, Robert Attenbrough of Ruddington, husbandman. NAO, ECY orig. will (6.25.1701).
- Attenborough. 1729, Richard Attenborough of Clifton. NAO, ECY orig. will (6.20.1729).
- Attenborough. 1754, Ann Attenborrow, Ruddington widow. NAO, ECY orig. will (3.4.1754).
- Attenborough. 1763, Robert Attenbrow, Ruddington yeoman. NAO, ECY orig. will (7.20.1763).
- Attenborough. 1783, Robert Attenborow of Ruddington, farmer. NAO, ECY orig. will (7.31.1783).
- Attenborough. 1786, Richard Attenborough, senior of Bradmore, farmer. NAO, ECY orig. will (10.10.1786).
- Barker. 1544, Robert Barker of Rodington. BI, ECY reg. copy will 11:742 (5.8.1544).
- Barker. 1611, Robert Barker the Elder of Ruddington, yeoman. BI, ECY reg. copy will 31:519 (1.18.1610/11). Filed under "Parker" in index.
- Barker. 1707, Ann Barker, Ruddington widow. NAO, ECY orig. will (2.4.1706/7).
- Barker. 1744, Robert Barker of Radford. NAO, ECY orig. will (1.19.1743/4).
- Bowskill. 1729, Thomas Bowskill of Ruddington, yeoman. NAO, ECY orig. will (6.20.1729).
- Wilkinson. 1602, Richard Wilkinson of Ruddington. BI, ECY reg. copy will 28:714 (7.31.1602).

RECUSANT LISTINGS

Nottinghamshire County Records, Appendix A (Popish Recusants), NAO, No accession number, pp. 149, 150.

REMOVAL ORDERS, TRANSPORTATIONS

Removal Orders, Nottinghamshire, from Nottingham Quarter Sessions records, 1723-1858. Microfilm copies of NAO mss.

Transportations: *Documents pertaining to the transportation of felons*, from Nottingham Quarter Sessions records. Microfilm copies of original records at NAO.

VITAL STATISTICS

Index to the Civil Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths for England and Wales (1837-1906). Microfilms of mss at St. Catherine's House, London.

International Genealogical Index, 1992 microfiche edition. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Parish Registers

Ruddington Parish Registers, 1633-1900, Microfiche copy of original documents housed at the NAO, Red.29:1. *Stapleford Parish Registers*, photocopied extracts from NAO. *Clifton Parish Registers*, photocopied extracts from NAO. *Titchmarsh Parish Registers 1543-1812*, LDS film 840222, microfilm copy of original registers at Northants CRO. *Fakenham, Norfolk, baptisms 1719-1900; marriages, 1719-1788; burials, 1804-1901*. LDS film 1595483.

Bishop's Transcripts

Bishop's Transcripts for Attenborough, Barton in Fabis, Beeston, East Bridgford, West Bridgford, Bunny and Bradmore, Clifton, Cotgrave, Farndon, Gotham, Keyworth, East Leake, West Leake, Lenton, Normanton on Soar, the town of Nottingham, Rempstone, Ruddington, Stapleford, Sutton Bonnington, and other southern Nottinghamshire parishes. LDS microfilm copies of original documents at the NAO.

Strays Index 1, Nottinghamshire Family History Society Record Series No. 56, 1986.

Strays Index 3 and Index 4, Nottinghamshire Family History Society Record Series No. 77, ed., E. M. Beech. Nottingham: Technical Print Services, c 1990 and 1991.

Society of Friends, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting, Births, Marriages and Burials 1637-1806. LDS microfilm 0813512, copy of PRO original records RG/6/1526, 1606, 1592, 1607, 1368.

Society of Friends, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire Quarterly Meeting: Marriages 1659-1725; births 1632-1725; burials 1627-1729. LDS microfilm 0441396.

VOTER LISTS

Alphabetical List of Burgesses and Freeholders ... polled ... 1818: for the election of two burgesses from the borough of Nottingham. Nottingham: Sutton & Son, 1818.

Poll for Two Knights of the Shire for the County of Northamptonshire ... 1831. LDS film 0908277, copy of original record at Northants CRO.

Register of People Entitled to vote ... in the Borough of Nottingham, 1832-1884. Microfilm copies of orig. records at the NAO.

Register of Voters, Nottingham, 1832, from records of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace, 1380-1800. NAO mss CA 1573.

WATCH AND WARD LISTINGS

Watch and Ward Listings, Nottingham, 1812, 1816. NAO. Lists for the town of Nottingham.

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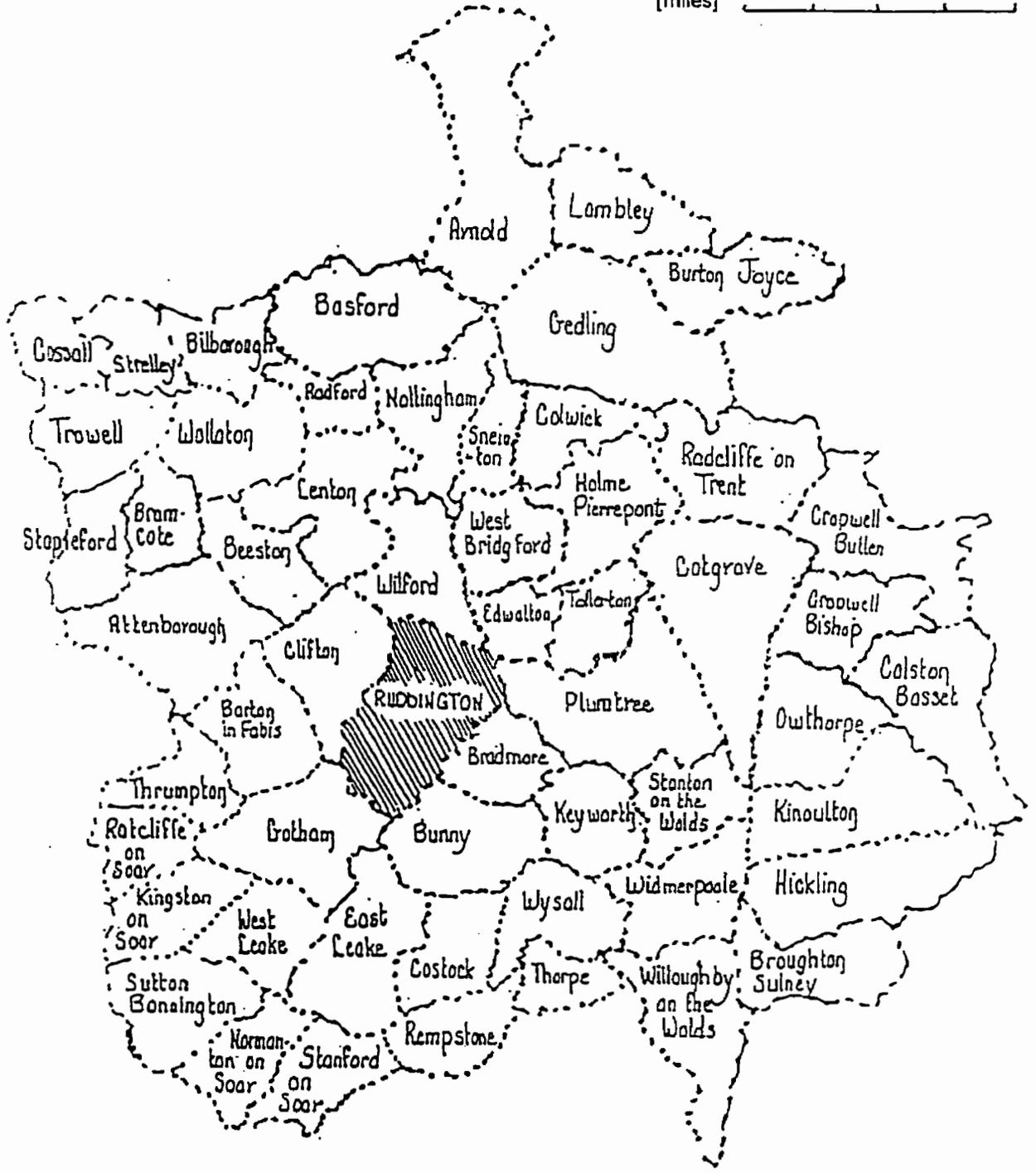
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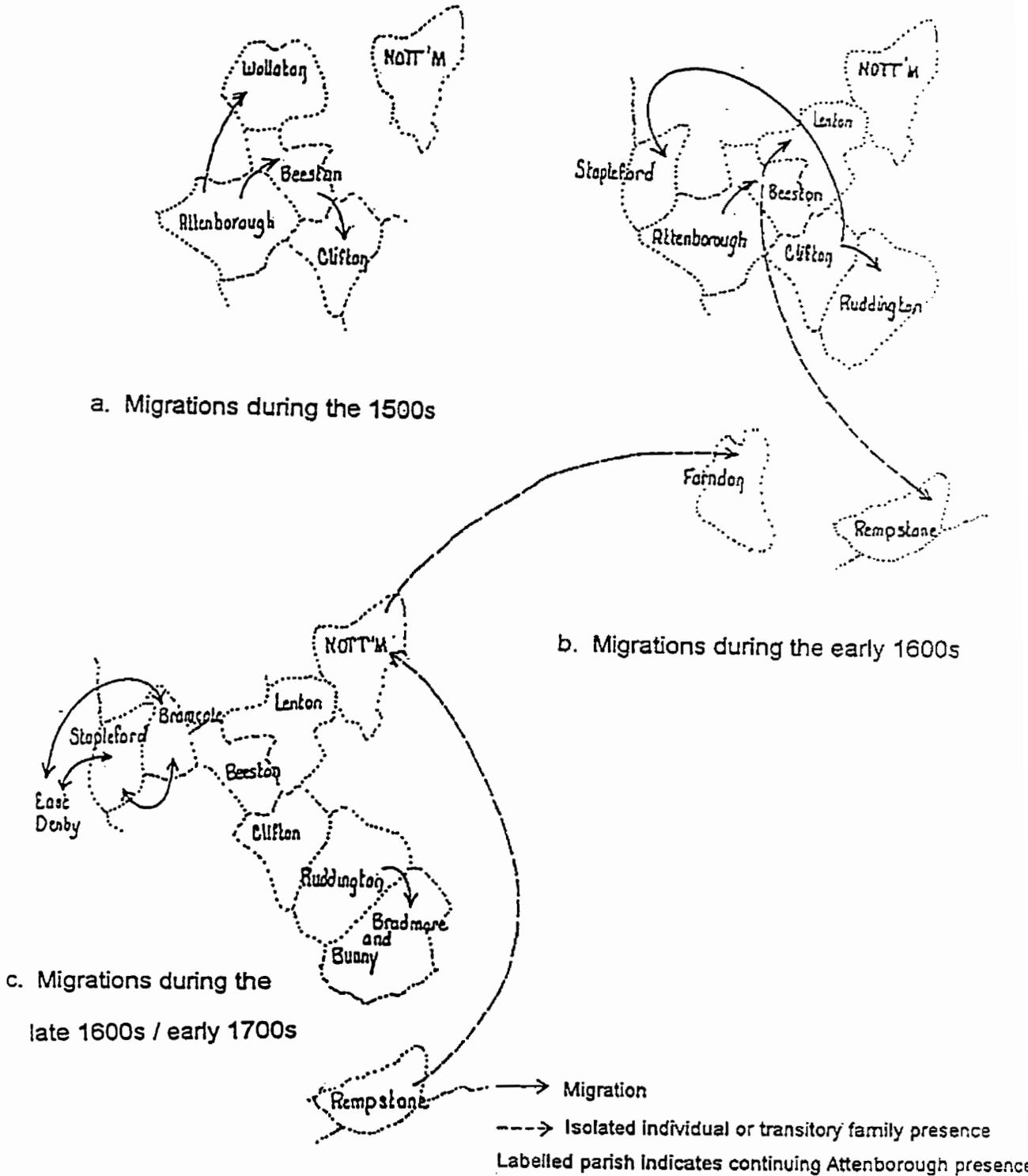
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Map 1: Ruddington, Nottinghamshire and Surrounding Parishes

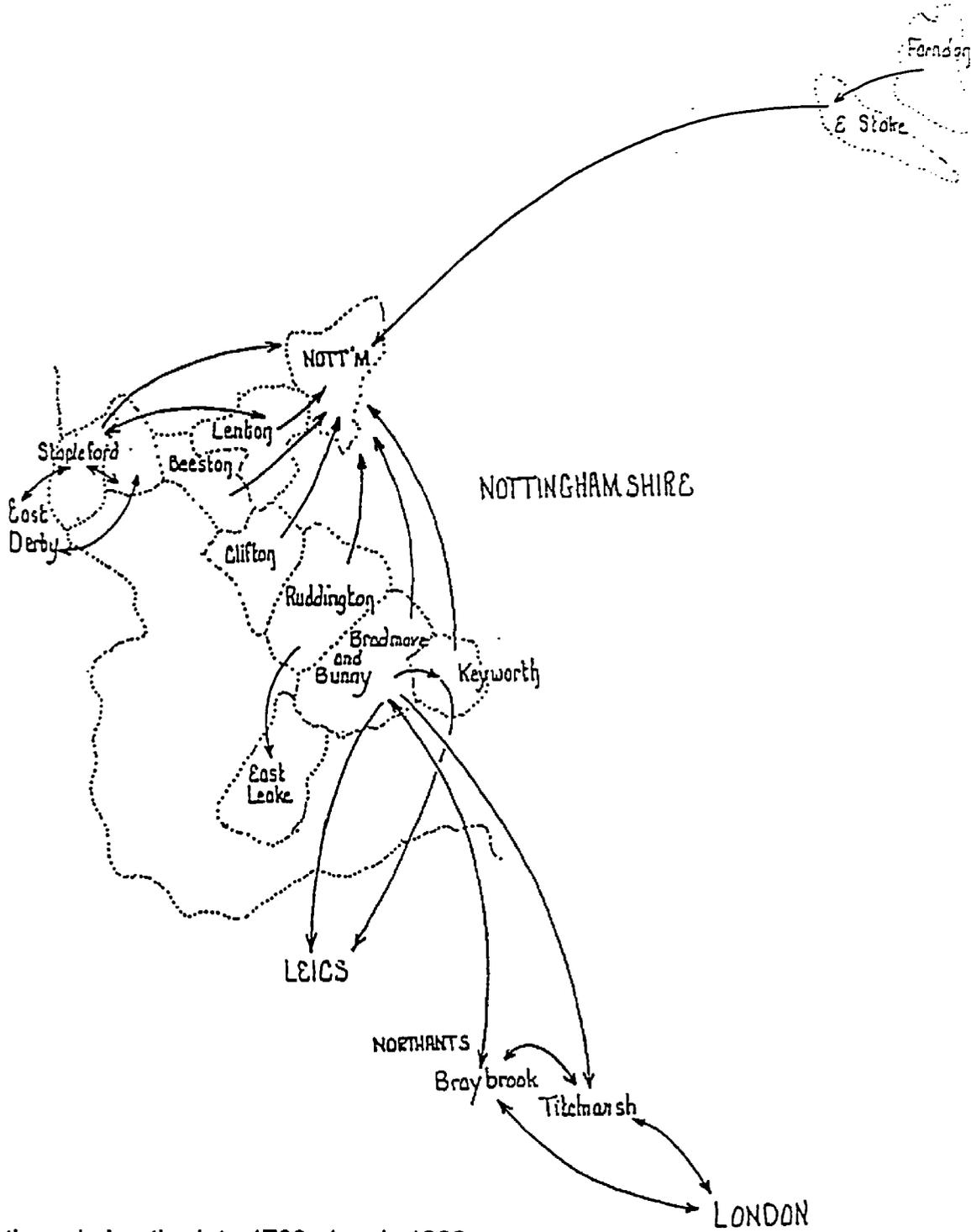
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Map 2: The Attenborough Family Migrations 1500-1850



Map 2 (continued): The Attenborough Family Migrations 1500-1800



d. Migrations during the late 1700s / early 1800s

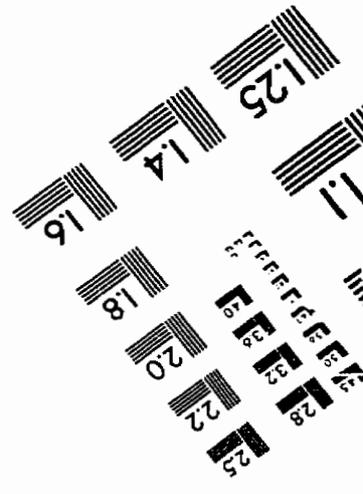
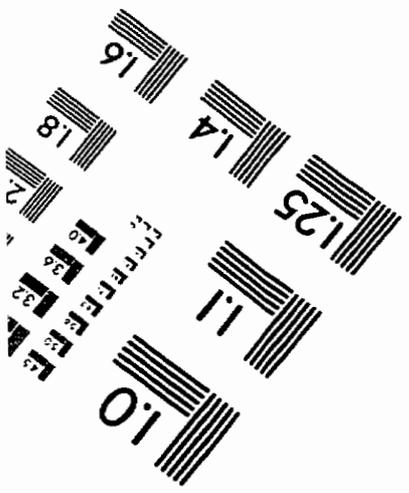
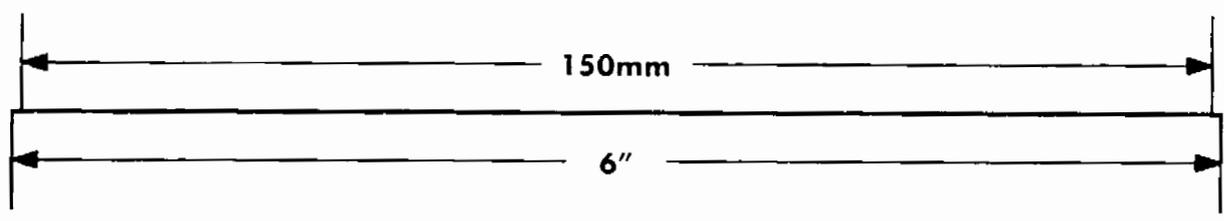
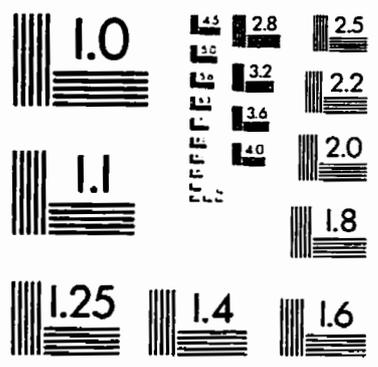
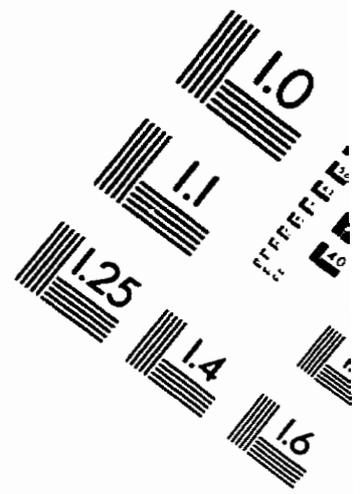
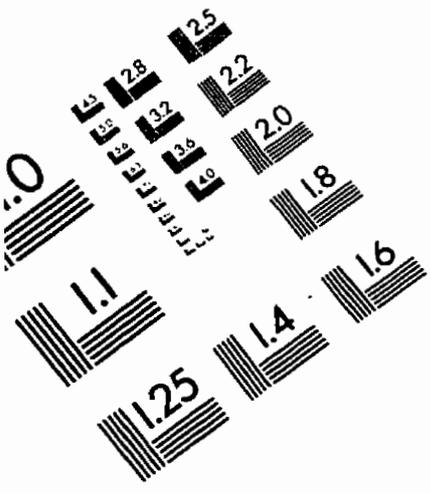
GENEALOGICAL APPENDICES: GENERAL KEY TO CHARTS

| | |
|---------------|---|
| (date) place | date and place of birth or baptism |
| (date) place | date and place of death or burial |
| =[date] place | date and place of marriage |
| (no date) | date unknown |
| ≠ | unmarried couple |
| (+/-date) | born or died before or after date cited |
| ? or _____ | relationship unconfirmed |
| ● ▲ | will or other probate document on file for individual |
| ○ △ | individual cited in will |
| Att | Attenborough parish |
| B | Beeston parish |
| SB | Sutton Bonnington parish |
| C | Clifton parish |
| N | Nottingham |

NOTES

1. The years indicated on the genealogical charts are Old Calendar dates.
2. Many of the 16th century and early 17th century genealogical relationships for Attenborough and Beeston parish reconstructions are highly tentative.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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