## POPULATION RETURNS FOR BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, 1676.

In the collection of MSS. at the Salt Museum at Stafford is preserved a bulky volume, formerly in the possession of H.R.H. the late Duke of Sussex, and containing the returns of a religious census taken by order of Archbishop Sheldon in 1676. These returns give for each parish the number of Conformists, "Papists," and Nonconformists respectively, above the age of sixteen. In a similar census taken in the reign of William III. the number of those above the age named was doubled in order to get at the entire population ; and this computation is, I believe, regarded as approximately correct. Applying it to Buckinghamshire, we find that in 1676 the population of Bucks (excluding a few parishes omitted in the return) was 68,618 , of whom 364 only were Romanists, and 3862 were Nonconformists. The latter gives a proportion of 1 in 18 , while for the whole diocese of Lincoln the proportion was 1 in 21, and for Bedfordshire it was as high as 1 in 12 .

In the original MS. the parishes are scarcely arranged on any perceptible method. In the following list I have given them in alphabetical order to facilitate reference, and have added in each case the approximate population of each parish on the basis of the estimate just now mentioned. The letters C, P, and N denote the number of Conformists, Papists, and Nonconformists respectively.

In some cases I have compared with these figures those given in the Browne Willis MSS. in the Bodleian Library. But these latter suffer under several disadvantages. They are largely given in round numbers, and sometimes by families; and they do not appear all to refer to the same date, though I believe they may mostly be referred to 1712-1714. Nor have I examined the whole of his very voluminous memoranda. We generally calculate five to a family in such cases; but I have assumed six as likely to be nearer the mark for rural districts early in the last century.

Browne Willis also divides the inhabitants of each parish according to their religious profession, following the " odd arithmetic" for which the King of Brobdingnag laughed at Captain Lemuel Gulliver; and his notes on this point have preserved some curious facts, to which I may perhaps refer in a future paper.

## TABLE OF PARISHES.

AdDington.-C, $68 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 142. Adstock.-No return.
"Akley" (Akeley).-C, 104 : estimated total, 208.
Amersham.-C, 646 ; N, 215 ; estimated total, 1724. Willis, 2000.
"Ashington" (Ashendon).-C, 80 ; estimated total, 160. Willis, " 29 families," say 174.
Aston Abbots.-No return.
Aston Clynton.-C, 290; estimated total, 580. Willis, " 100 families," say 600.
Aston Sanford.-C, 41; estimated total, 82.
Astwood.-C, $80 ; \mathbf{N}, 4$; estimated total, 168. Willis, 165.
"Alisbury" (Aylesbury).-C, 887; N, 45; estimated total, 1864. I am inclined to think there must be some error here. Willis says, 4000. Perhaps the first number given should be 1887, which would give an estimated total of 3864.
Barton Hartshorn.-No return. Willis says, " 20 families," say 120.
Beachampton.-C, $98 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 202.
"Beckonsfield."-C, 637 ; N, 12 ; estimated total, 1298. Willis, 550 !
Biddlesden.-No return.
"Birton cum Stoke Mandil."-C, $380 ; \mathrm{P}, 4 ; \mathrm{N}, 24$; estimated total for two parishes, 816 . Willis gives that of Bierton as 494 , and that of Stoke as 200 ; total, 694.
Bledlow.-No return. Willis gives 620 as the population.
Bletchley.-C. 453 ; N, 27; estimated total, 960.
Borstall.-C, 77; estimated total, 154.
"Brandingham" (Bradenham).-C, $76 ; \mathrm{N}, 9$; estimated total, 170.

Bradwell.-C, 106; estimated total, 212. Willis, 150.
"Bowbrickhill."-C, 175 ; N, 13 ; estimated total, 376. Willis, 300.

Great Brickhill.-C, 233 ; N, 7; estimated total, 480. Willis, " 400 to 500. .
Little Brickhill.-C, 148 ; N, 7 ; estimated total, 310. Willis says, " 70 families," say 420.
"Birill" (Brill).-C, 340; estimated total, 680.
Broughton.-C, 81; N, 2; estimated total, 166.
Buckingham.- $\mathrm{C}, 1377 ; \mathrm{P}, 9 ; \mathrm{N}, 17$; estimated total 2806. Willis says, 2800.
Buckland.-No return. Willis, 196.

Burnham.-C, 436 ; N, 4 ; estimated total, 880. Willis puts it as high as 2000 families.
Calverton.-C, 249; N, 8; estimated total, 514. Willis, 250.
"Castle Thorpp."-C, $140 ; \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 284.
"Chalford" (Chalfont) St. Giles.-C, $140 ;$ N, 78 ; estimated total, 436. The large proportion of Dissenters in this always intensely Puritan parish is very noticeable. Willis says, " 100 families."
Chalfont St. Peter.-No return. Willis, 480.
"Chelsley" (Chearsley).-C, 100; estimated total, 200.
Chednington.-C, $72 ; \mathrm{N}, 10$; estimated total, 166. Willis says, " 32 families," say 192.
"Chenis."-C, 121; N, 11; estimated total, 264. Willis, 173.
Chesham.-I find no return of this large parish. Willis gives 3000.

Chesham Boys.-C, 49 ; N, 3 ; estimated total, 104. Willis says, " 13 families," say 78.
Chetwode.-No return. Willis, " 15 families," say 90.
"Cichley" (Chicheley).-C, 101; N, 2 ; estimated total, 206.
Chilton- ©, 138; N, 1; estimated total, 278 . Willis, 230.
"Choldsbyry" (Cholesbury).-C, 34; N, 11; estimated total, 90 B. Willis gives it as only 20 !

Claydon, East and " Bottle" (Botolph).-C, 205 ; N, 2 ; estimated total, 414.
Claydon, Middle.-C, 148; N, 1; estimated total, 298.
Claydon, Steeple.-No return. Willis, 200.
Clifton Reyns.-C, 120; N, 2; estimated total, 244. Willis, 200.
Cold Brafield - No return.
Colnbrook.-The returns for this town are no doubt included under Horton and Langley. Willis gives the population of Colnbrook as " 140 families," say 840.
Crawley, North.-C, $359 ; \mathrm{N}, 42$; estimated total, 802. Willis, 750.

Creslow.-No return.
Cublington (called "Tublington") - C, $113 ; \mathbf{N}, 5$; estimated total, 236.

Cuddington.-C, 159 ; N, 22 ; estimated total, 362 . Willis, " 60 families," say 360.
Datchet.-No return.
Denham.-C, 301; N, 4; estimated total, 610. Willis, 500.
Dinton.-No return. Willis, 600.
Dorney.-C, 83 ; P, 2 ; N, 6 ; estimated total, 182. Willis only gives 90.
Dorton.-C, 19; estimated total, 38. Willis, " 11 families."
Drayton "Becham."-C, 83; N, 12; estimated total, 190. Willis, 80.

Drayton Parslow.-C, 144; P, 4; N, 10; estimated total, 316. Willis, 150.
Dunton.-C, 52 ; estimated total, 104. Willis, 84.
Edlesborough.-C, 275; N, 42; estimated total, 634. Willis, 800.
"Edgcoat."-C, 71; N, 3; estimated total, 148.
"Elsborough."-C, 163; N, 7; estimated total, 340. Willis, 270.
Emberton.-C, 253; N, 2; estimated total, 510. Willis, 400.

Eton.-No return.
Farnham Royal.-C, $159 ; \mathrm{P}, 1 ; \mathrm{N}, 24$; estimated total, 368. Willis, 269
"Fawlet" (Fawley).-C, 52; N, 5; estimated total, 114.
Fenny Stratford.-C, 29; estimated total, 58.
Fingest.-C, 127; P, 1; estimated total, 256.
Foscott.-C, 38 ; estimated total, 76.
Fulmer.-No return. Willis, " 30 families," say 180.
"Gothurst" (Gayhurst).-C, 41; P, 24; estimated total, 65. The number of Catholics points to the influence of the Digby family.
Grandborough.-No return.
Grendon Underwood.-C, 182; estimated total, 364. Willis, 2 C0.
Grove.-C, 13 ; N, 2 ; estimated total, 30.
Haddenham (called "Naddenham").-C, 410 ; N, 51 ; estimated total, 922. Willis gives it as 500 .
Halton.-No return.
Hambleden (called "Hambleton").-C, 394; N. 5; estimated total, 798 . Willis says, " 127 families," say 762.
Hampden, Great.-C, 118; N, 2; estimated total, 240.
Hampden, Littlee.-No return.
Hanslope.-C, $654 ; \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 1312. Willis, 1800.
Hardmead.-C, 60; estimated total, 120. Willis, 70.
Hardwicke.-C, 240; N, 6 ; estimated total, 492. Willis, 400.
Hartwell-C, 100; estimated total, 200. Willis, 60.
Haversham.-C, 150 ; estimated total, 300. Willis, 150.
"Haridg" (Hawridge).-C, 61; N, 8; estimated total, 138.
Hedgerley - $\mathrm{C}, 38 ; \mathrm{N}, 4$; estimated total, 84 . Willis, 70.
Hedsor.-C, 61 ; N, 9 : estimated total, 140.
Hillesden.-C, 125 ; N, 2; estimated total, 254. Willis, 200.
Hitcham.-C, $51 ; \mathbf{N}, 4$; estimated total, 110. Willis, 40.
Hoggeston.-C, 82; P, 3; estimated total, 170.
Hogshaw.-No return.
Horsendon.-No return.
Horton.-C, $260 ; \mathrm{N}, 38$; estimated total, 596. But Willis gives it at 180! I am inclined to think, however, from the words he uses, that he refers only to the part outside of the town of Colnbrook.
Horwood, Great.-C, 327; N, 6; estimated total, 666.
Horwood Little. - No return.
"Hitchendon" (Hughenden).-C, 172; P, 4; N, 17; estimated total, 386. Willis puts it as high as 500 .
Hulcot.-C, 72; estimated total, 144. Willis, 93.
Ibstone.- No return.
ICKFORD.-C, 105; P, 2; estimated total, 214. Willis, 115.
Ilmer.-C, 28 ; N, 5 ; estimated total, 66.
Iver.-C, $460 ; \mathrm{N}, 9$; estimated total, 938 . Willis, 700.
Ivinghoe.-No return. Willis, 840.
Kimble Magna.-C, 135; N, 8; estimated total, 286. Willis, 206.
Kimble Parva.-C, 66 ; estimated total, 132. Willis, 80.
Kingsey.-C, 66; estimated total, 132.
"Langley Mash."-C, 285; N, 15; estimated total, 600. Willis. says, " 100 families," say 600 .

Lathbury.-C, $82 ; \mathrm{N}, 1$; estimated total, 166. Willis, 100.
Lavendon.-C, 405; N, 8; estimated total, 826. Willis, 522.
Lee.-C, 71 ; N, 6 ; estimated total, 154 . Willis says, " 24 families," which gives 144 .
Lillingston "Darrill" (Dayrell).--C, $50 ; \mathrm{N}, 6$; estimated total, 112. Lillingston Lovell was in Oxfordshire at this date.
"Lickhamstead."-C, $173 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 352. Willis, 200.
Linford Magna.-C, 111; N, 13; estimated total, 248. Willis, 193.
Little Linford.-No return.
Linslade.-C, 60; estimated total, 120.
"Longcrendon."-C, 238; N, 96; estimated total, 668.
Loughton.-C, $116 ; \mathrm{N}, 1$; estimated total, 234. Willis, 220.
Ludgarshall.-C, $210 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 416.
Mayds Morton.-C, 143 ; estimated total, 286. Willis, 126 only.
Marlow, Great.-C, 1137; P, $10 ; \mathrm{N}, 50$; estimated total, 2394.
Marlow, Little.-C, 250; N, 7; estimated total, 514.
Marshgibbon.-C, 238; N, 2; estimated total, 480. Willis, 300.
Marston, Fleet.-C, 18; estimated tetal, 36 .
Marston, North.-C, $215 ; \mathrm{N}, 16$; estimated total, 462. Willis, 350.

Marsworth.-C, 125; estimated total, 250. Willis, 140.
Medmenham.-C, 132; N, 2; estimated total, 268.
Mentmore.--C, 128; estimated total, 256. Willis, 220.
Militon Keynes.-C, $83: \mathrm{N}, 1$; estimated total, 168.
Missinden, Great.-C, 376; P, 7; N, 25 ; estimated total, 816. Willis estimates it as 1000, apparently a rough guess.
Missinden, Little.-C, $150 ; \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 304. Willis, 260.

Monks Risborough. - No return. (A peculiar of Canterbury).
Moulsoe.-C. 134; N, 32; estimated total, 332.
Mursley.-C, 120 ; P, 24; N, 10 ; estimated total, 308. Willis says 258.
Nash.-C, $130 ;$ N, 2 ; estimated total, 264.
Newport Pagnell.-C, $905 ; \mathrm{P}, 1 ; \mathrm{N}, 126$; estimated total, 2064. Willis has 3000 , another rough guess.
Newton Blossomville.-C, $92 ; \mathrm{N}, 4$; estimated total, 192. Willis, 229.

Newton "Lonvil."-C, $190 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 386. Willis says, " 80 families," say 480.
OAkley-C, $159 ; \mathrm{N}, 7$; estimated total, 332.
"Oulney cum Warington."-C, 832 ; N, 137 ; estimated total, 1938. Willis, 2000.

Oving.-C. $100 ;$ N, 10 ; estimated total, 220. Willis, 150.
Padbury.-C, $164: \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 332. Willis, 150.
"Pen."-C, 310; N, 20; estimated total, 660. Willis, 480.
"Pitchcoat."-C, 21; estimated total, 42.
Pitlesthorne.-C, 140 ; estimated total, 280. Willis, 220.
"Pidstoke" (a name I do not recognise).-C, 111; estimated total, 222.

Preston Bisset.-C, 129 ; estimated total, 258.
Prince's Risborough.--C, 646; N, 38; estimated total, 1368. Willis gives 1200 .
QuAinton.-C, $322 ; \mathrm{N}, 14$; estimated total, 672 . Willis, 450.

Quarrendon.-No return.
Radcliffe.-C, 128; estimated total, 256. Willis, 120.
Radnage.-C, $109 ; \mathrm{P}, 1 ; \mathrm{N}, 14$; estimated total, 224.
Ravenstone.-No return. Willis, 200.
Sanderton.-C, $85 ; \mathrm{P}, 2 ; \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 178.
Shabbinton.-C, $62 ; \mathrm{N}, 1$; estimated total, 126.
"Shaulstone."-C, 65; N, 3; estimated total, 136.
Shenley.-No return. Willis, 250.
Sherrington.-C, $200 ; \mathrm{N}, 30$; estimated total, 460. Willis says, " 120 families," say 720.
Slapton.-C, 87; N, 2; estimated total, 178. Willis gives only 36.
Soulbury.-C, 214; P, 2: N, 20; estimated total, 472. Willis, 440.
Stantonbury.-C, 12; estimated total, 24. Willis, 20.
Stewkley.-CC, 281; N, 47; estimated total, 656. Willis, 510.
"Stokegoldington."-C, 200; P, 1; estimated total, 402. Willis, 317.

Stoke Hamond.-C, 421; N, 10; estimated total, 862. But Willis says, " 40 families."
Stoke Mandeville.-See Bierton.
"Stokeposes" (Stoke Poges).-C, 280; N, 4; estimated total, 568.

Stone.-C, 161; N, 1; estimated total, 322.
STOW.-C, 108; N, 4; estimated total, 224. Willis, 180.
Stony Stratford ("West Side," Parish of st. Giles).--C, 329; N, 31; estimated total, 720.
iStony Stratrord ("East Side," Parish of St. Mary Magdalene).C, $246 ; \mathrm{N}, 10$; estimated total, 512 , making a total for the town of 1232 . Willis gives it as 1200 .
Swanburne.-C, $220 ; \mathrm{N}, 18$; estimated total, 476. Willis, 350.
Sympson.-C, 52; N, 12; estimated total, 128. Willis puts this parish as high as 320.
Taplow.-C, $144 ; \mathrm{P}, 5$; estimated total, 298.
"Tottenhoe" (Ta'tienhoe).-C, 11; estimated total, 22.
Thornborough.- C, 240; estimated total, 480.
Thornton.-C, 57 ; N, 1; estimated total, 116.
Towersey.-No return.
"Turfield" (Turville).-C, $159 ; \mathrm{P}, 1 ; \mathrm{N}, 14$; estimated total, 348. Willis, 200.

Turweston.-C, 93; N, 3; estimated total, 192.
TIngewick-C, $202 ; \mathrm{N}, 34$; estimated total, 472. Willis gives it at 400 .
Twyford.--C, 188; N., 2 ; estimated total, 380.
Tyrringham.-C., 58; estimated total, 116. Willis, 100.
Upton.-C, $133 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 272.
"Wadsdon."-O, 389; N, 8; estimated total, 774.
Walton.-C, 55 ; estimated total, 110.
Water Stratford.-C, 63; estimated total, 126. Willis, 103.
Wavendon.-C, $226 ;$ N, 18 ; estimated total, 488. Willis, 370.
Wendover.-No return. Willis, 1000.
"West Bury."-C, 116; N, 1; estimated total, 234.
Weston Turvil.-C, $200 ;$ N, 11 ; estimated total, 422. Willis, 430.
Weston (Underwood).-C, $52 ; \mathbf{P}, 67 ; \mathrm{N}, 7$; estimated total, 252. Willis, 240. The very high number of Catholics here points to
the influence of the Throckmorton family; but the "Papists" in Willis's time had fallen to forty.
"Wraxham" (Wexham).-C, 54 ; estimated total, 108.
Whaddon.-C, 204; N, 2; estimated total, 412. Willis, 500.
Whitchurch.-No return.
Willen.-C, 39 ; estimated total, 78.
Winchendon (given without distinction of Upper and Lower).C, $73 ; \mathrm{P}, 2 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 156.
"WIG" (WING).-C, $250 ; \mathrm{P}, 2 ; \mathrm{N}, 18$; estimated total, 540 . Willis, 668.

Wingrave.-C, 211; N, 42 ; estimated total, 506. Willis, 630.
Winslow.-No return. This parish, with those of Aston Abbots, Grandborough, and Little Horwood, would be omitted as belonging to the diocese of London.
Wolston, Great.-C, $88 ; \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 180.
Wolston Parva.-C, 60 ; estimated total, 120.
Wolverton.-C, $80: \mathrm{P}, 3 ; \mathrm{N}, 3$; estimated total, 172 . Willis, 160.
Wooburn.-C, 200; N, 12; estimated total, 424.
"Wornal" (Worminghall).-C, $126 ; \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 256.
Wotton Underwood.-C, $129 ; \mathrm{N}, 2$; estimated total, 262. Willis, 270.
"Wooston" (Woughton?).-C, 106; es.timated total, 212.
Wrasbury.-C, $130 ; \mathrm{N}, 1$; estimated total, 262.
Wycombe, Chepping.-I was surprised to find no return for thisimportant town, and cannot account for the omission, nor for that of Chesham and Wendover. Willis gives the population of Wycombe at " 300 families," say 1800.
Wycombe, West.-No return. Willis, 1000.
In addition to these parishes, that of Caversfield, then included in Bucks, but now belonging to Oxfordshire, is included, with the return, "Conformists, 43," giving an estimated total of 86 .

The very noticeable discrepancy between the returns of 1676 , and those given by Willis nearly half a century later, is not easy to account for. As he generally gives a smaller number for the country villages, and a larger one for the towns, we might be tempted to suppose that the "agricultural exodus" was not unknown in his day; but I doubt if this is the explanation. The 1676 returns, as being official estimates, are surely more to be relied on than Willis's calculations; but the question may fairly be raised whether the basis of calculation I have followed in estimating the population does not give too high a number. Perhaps some statistical expert may be able to throw light on this question. In any case, the Stafford figures are not without an interest of their own.
W. H. Summers.

