ROGER SCHOFIELD

Roger Snowden Schofield

26 August 1937 – 8 April 2019

elected Fellow of the British Academy 1988

by

RICHARD SMITH
Fellow of the Academy

Summary. Roger Schofield gained an international reputation for his contributions to the innovative reconstruction of the population history of England, co-authored with E.A. Wrigley and published in two seminal volumes: *The Population History of England 1541–1871* (1981), and *English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580–1837* (1997). Both monographs were based on laboratory-like and interdisciplinary teamwork at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, University of Cambridge, undertaken when he was a research officer from 1966 and Director from 1974 to 1994. The two monographs were distinctive in crossing several branches of the social sciences. Roger Schofield played an important role in the international development of historical demography through his work on behalf of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. In England he was of central importance in the foundation of the Local Population Studies Society, and for 30 years fostered the research of local amateurs using registers of the Anglican church to reconstruct parochial population history. During his early career, he had been a postgraduate student of Geoffrey Elton at Clare College when he did important research on early Tudor taxation that has remained seminal. In 1965 he was appointed to a post in Tudor history at Queen Mary College (London) but resigned in the same year just before his lecturing was due to begin. He was never thereafter to hold a formal post in a university department of history but was always supported by the SSRC/ESRC. At his intellectual peak in 1988, aged 51, he suffered the first of a series of strokes which cruelly forced his retirement in 1994 on grounds of ill health.

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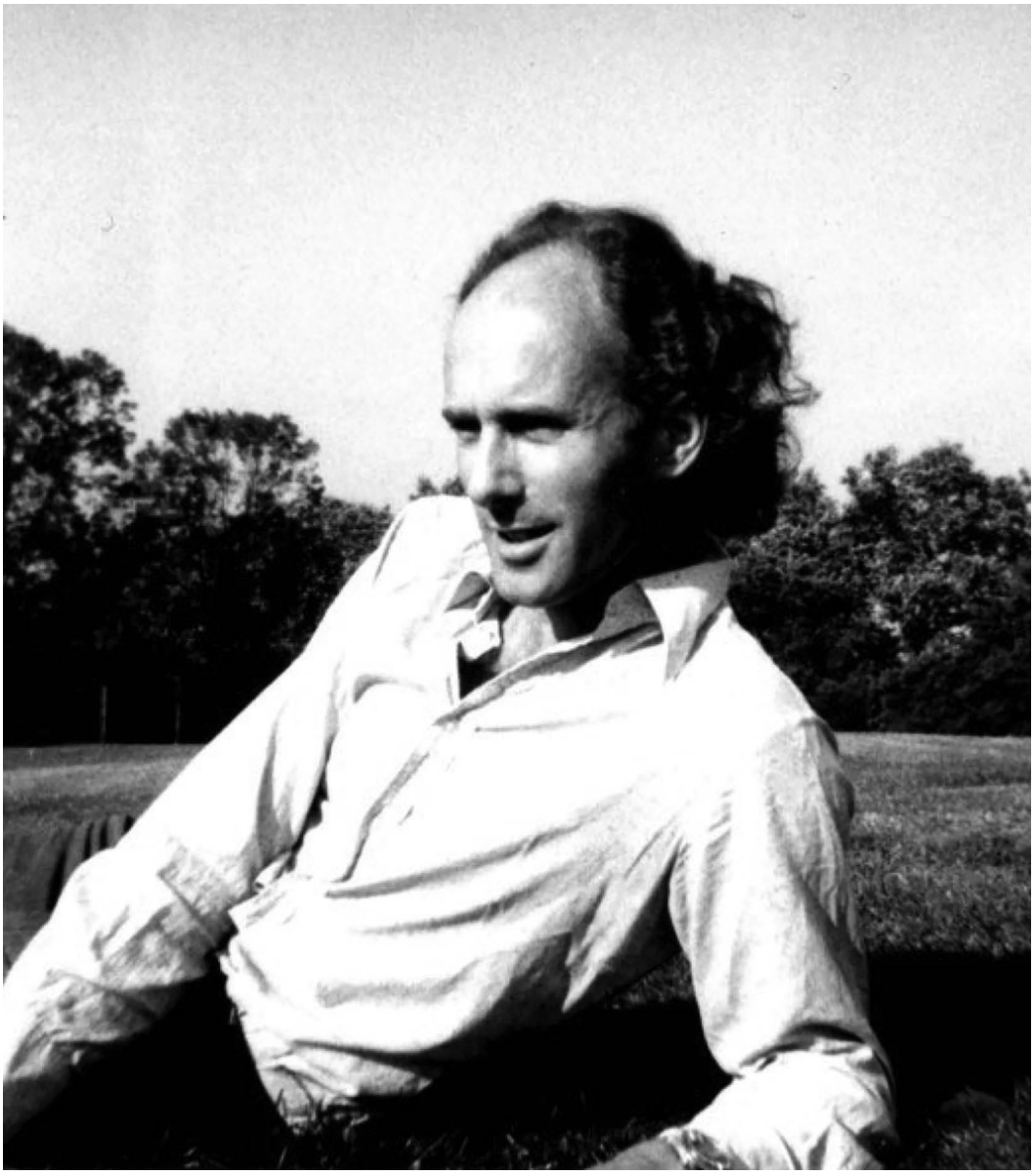

Roger Schofield

Roger Schofield was born on 26 August 1937 in Leeds, the son of Ronald Snowden Schofield and Muriel Joyce Braime. His father was the eldest son of Snowden Schofield who had founded the Leeds department store, Schofield's, before the First World War. Schofield's went on to become the principal and highest quality department store in the city, often described as the 'Harrods of the north'. The store had other Yorkshire branches in Skipton, Harrogate and Sheffield.[1] Ronald succeeded Snowden as managing director although he died relatively young when aged 63 in 1969. Headship of the firm then transferred to Peter Schofield, Ronald's younger brother who remained the firm's managing director until 1988 when it was sold to the House of Fraser, although its name was retained until 1996, and it continued as a prominent local landmark. Although engagement in retailing as well as involvement in various civic activities in Leeds were central pursuits of the Schofield family, there were some distinctive academic inclinations to be found among certain of the family members. For instance, Roger's uncle, Ronald's younger brother, Michael, had as an undergraduate read psychology at Clare College, Cambridge, after which he had a distinguished career in the Second World War as a fighter pilot. He spent a year at the Harvard Business School in 1946–7 to prepare him to work in the family firm which he did for two years. But it was not to his liking. He embarked upon a career that eventually resulted in him becoming a leading, much published, sociologist of sexuality, culminating in the publication of his best-known book *The Sexual Behaviour of Young People* in 1965.[2] He was especially interested in sociological methods and worked with many important social science bodies, as well as being a leading member of national committees that concerned such matters as the legalisation of homosexuality, prison reform and the furthering of access to free contraceptives.

Like his uncle Michael, Roger Schofield's family background might suggest the real possibility that he would never have pursued an academic career. In 1969, when his father died, Roger was 32 years old and could well have assumed a leading role in his family's firm. Having been a boarder at the Quaker school of Leighton Park in Reading, Roger went on to read History at Clare College, Cambridge in 1956 where his uncle had been before the Second World War. By the time of his father's death, Roger was firmly embarked on an academic career although had he been so inclined he could have followed a pathway more lucrative financially. One early factor in that choice most certainly derived from the presence in the Clare College fellowship of Geoffrey Elton. He was already a senior history fellow when Roger arrived at Clare College as well as a force to reckon with in the Cambridge History Faculty, setting a cracking pace in the revision of Tudor and especially early 16th-century English history. Roger, following an impressive

[1] Alan Bennett makes what was an almost reverential reference to eating at Schofield's renowned café as a child and the purchase of luggage in the Leeds's store before going to Exeter College, Oxford in 1954, Alan Bennett, *Writing Home* (London, 1994), pp. 14, 322–3.

[2] M. Schofield, *The Sexual Behaviour of Young People* (London, 1965).

performance in the History Tripos in 1959, chose, and was also encouraged by Elton, to do research for his doctorate under his supervision and opted to work on the legislation, administration and yield of parliamentary lay taxation between 1485 and 1547, which constituted a subject he referred to 40 years later as his 'first love'.[3] Elton had, just before Roger arrived in Clare, published in the space of three years *The Tudor Revolution*, the fruits in particular of his highly innovative study of Thomas Cromwell, and *England under the Tudors* which was an exceptionally influential text among both sixth-formers and undergraduates. He had begun to assemble around him a group of especially talented graduate students who were fully engaged with a PhD supervisor who was not himself a product of Cambridge.[4] Elton adopted a highly professional, seminar-based framework for the generation and scrutiny of research by his students, in a manner unlike the more gentlemanly and light-touch relations between supervisor and student then usual in Cambridge. Elton's research students produced work of very considerable quality and generally completed their PhDs within three years, as did Roger between 1959 and 1962.

Roger at this stage in his career certainly endorsed and replicated that Eltonian *sine qua non*, namely the complete command of the archive, particularly those state records that were such an essential by-product of the precocious administrative machinery that constituted late medieval and early modern English government and set it apart in key respects in Europe more widely.[5] Roger was a fine Latinist and had the ability to conduct high level academic discussions in French and German. He would also become linguistically well equipped to work on primary Swedish sources. Elton certainly imbued his students with the requirement that they had to possess a true understanding of the purposes for which the evidence that they studied was originally created. Indeed, this was a methodological starting point for the aspiring researcher which cannot be stressed too forcefully as a characteristic of that school. For instance, Diarmaid MacCulloch, another of Elton's postgraduate students, reiterates this point about his mentor in what he states in the introduction to his magisterial biography of Thomas Cromwell was Elton's desire 'To privilege on every occasion the message of the primary sources over those who have sought to interpret them'.[6]

Roger's thesis, with almost certain support from Elton, was well received and resulted in his election to a Clare College research fellowship in 1962.[7] As an apprentice work it revealed much of what came to characterise the mature Roger. His probing of key sources

[3] R.S. Schofield, *Taxation under the Early Tudors* (Oxford, 2004), p. xiii.
[4] G.R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government: Administrative Changes in the reign of Henry VIII* (Cambridge, 1953); G.R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955).
[5] G.R. Elton, *Return to Essentials: Some Reflections on the Present State of Historical Study* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 51.
[6] D. MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell: a Revolutionary Life* (New York, 2018), p. 4.
[7] R.S. Schofield, 'Parliamentary Lay Taxation, 1485–1547', PhD thesis (Cambridge, 1962).

that needed both to be tracked down and interpreted was perfectly reflected in his very first paper co-authored with Sybil Jack on early Tudor financial memoranda, which appeared in 1963 in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*.[8] His thesis contained enormous tabulations of data based upon a remarkably comprehensive survey of the mass of records at the Public Records Office which he was able to complete in the very brief time that he spent on the thesis's production. Not only did the thesis produce calculations of the yields of the subsidy, it also provided elaborate statements of every incidence of certain types of business found in the Exchequer records and hence gave enormous detail on how the subsidy was administered. The unpublished thesis was subsequently ransacked by other scholars and had a citation rate as an unpublished body of research on Tudor England that few would match, until a version of the thesis was published in 2004.[9]

Roger's very considerable achievement and important academic contribution was to demonstrate how and why taxation based on direct assessment of every tax-paying individual was revived during the reign of Henry VIII after having been abandoned in 1334 as unworkable. During the almost 150 years that preceded the accession of the first Tudor, the standard mode of parliamentary taxation had been the fifteenth and tenth (equivalent respectively to tax rates of 6.7 per cent and 10 per cent) and applied to a specified sum of money fixed in 1334 which was little altered thereafter from every vill and urban ward in the country. It was a very simple tax of fixed yield, levied in the first instance on lands and moveables, on communities rather than individuals. Roger examined the continuation of this mode of parliamentary taxation under the early Tudors, but the chief focus of the thesis was on the new 'subsidies' as a radical fiscal innovation by which taxes were imposed on and collected from *individuals*, based on periodic assessments not only of their properties and moveables, but also their financial incomes from rents, profits, fees, annuities and – most surprisingly for this era – from wages as well (in many subsidies at least). Parliament granted both types of taxation in 43 per cent of the regnal years of the two earliest Tudor monarchs, and they were remarkably successful both in terms of the yields achieved and particularly for the 'political buy-in' to the revived task of taxing individuals.

Roger published his second academic paper in 1965 at the conclusion of his research fellowship at Clare College. The paper clearly grew out of his command of English taxation practices both in the later Middle Ages and the early modern centuries. It was entitled 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334–1649', appearing in the *Economic History Review* and was reprinted some years later in a seminal collection

[8] S. Jack & R.S. Schofield, 'Four Early Tudor Financial Memoranda', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 36 (1963), 189–206.
[9] Schofield, *Taxation under the Early Tudors*, p. xiii.

of essays that Roderick Floud edited for the Economic History Society entitled *Essays in Quantitative Economic History*.[10] While Floud, an early advocate of the use of statistical methods by historians, had chosen the paper specifically to demonstrate Roger's effective use of Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient and Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient, it has many other qualities that reveal Roger to be the complete historian which would go unconsidered if the paper were only to be regarded somewhat narrowly as an exercise in the use of a particular statistical methodology.

Roger's article challenged the claims of E.J. Buckatsch in a paper also published in the *Economic History Review* in 1950 and which, like Roger, had used correlation analysis (perhaps the first time that this statistical test was to appear in that journal) to underwrite the case. Buckatsch's claims were that 'the geographical distribution of wealth appears to have remained remarkably stable from the early fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, and to have changed very greatly during the eighteenth century'.[11] This might be regarded a rather conventional chronology for economic change, supposedly representing a period that was not terminated until the Industrial Revolution. More specifically, Buckatsch argued that the tax assessments of 1453 and 1504, central to his argument, showed that practically no geographical redistribution of wealth had taken place in the 150 to 200 years after the early 14th century. Roger in his paper was not contesting the use of tax assessments to gauge wealth and its geographical distribution but arguing that, as sources for that purpose, tax assessments had to be genuine tax assessments made in the year to which they purported to refer, and not merely repetitions of earlier assessments and hence incapable of measuring change. Buckatsch had employed printed sources and lacked technical expertise in the ways of the late medieval English Exchequer. Roger, however, had complete command of the relevant primary sources and his incisive source criticism showed that Buckatsch's use of published tax data in 1453 and 1504 revealed various interpretational failings. He also took steps to determine if the inclusion of clerical taxes might alter the picture if only lay subsidies were employed. Roger's assessment of the subsidies of 1514 and 1515 indicated that they might legitimately be compared with the 1334 lay subsidy, and the small values of the rank and product moment correlation coefficients were used to demonstrate considerable geographical change in wealth in the 175 years following the Black Death. In 1334, except for Kent, Roger showed that the wealthiest counties lay along a narrow band starting in Gloucestershire in the south-west through the south Midlands and into northern East Anglia. By 1515 the wealthiest areas of England were to be found south of

[10] R. Schofield, 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334–1649', *Economic History Review*, 18 (1965), 483–510, reprinted in Roderick Floud (ed.), *Essays in Quantitative Economic History* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 79–106.

[11] E.J. Buckatsch, 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England 1086–1843', *Economic History Review*, 3 (1950), 200.

a line from the Wash to the Severn estuary and the 12 richest counties were now concentrated in two areas: in the west one included Somerset and Gloucestershire and in the east one stretched from Berkshire through the Home Counties into Essex, Suffolk and Kent. There was also a striking growth in London's or Middlesex's share of national wealth. London by 1515 had 10 per cent of national assessed tax wealth compared with less than 3 per cent in 1334.

This paper suggested that the geographical underpinnings of wealth were changing as the economy diversified away from agriculture *per se*, to include textiles and mining (e.g. Devon), and also drew attention to the emerging dominance of London as it attracted trade away from many other older centres in the 15th century and powered ahead thereafter to become the largest urban centre in north-west Europe. Some of these were features of the early Tudor English economy that continued to develop and became more fully evident by 1600 when the non-agricultural share of male employment was already substantially higher than it had been in 1381. The work, undertaken from 2000 at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population, by Leigh Shaw Taylor, Sebastian Kiebek and Tony Wrigley, has been able to demonstrate, using parish registers and probate evidence an even sharper fall in the agrarian population by 1700.[12] The central quality of Roger's paper was not its use of correlation analysis, but the display of source criticism that underpinned it, which would have appealed to Geoffrey Elton although he may have found Roger's resort to statistical analysis much less digestible. Another noteworthy feature of the paper was its revelation of Roger's capacity to work at a high level as both medievalist and early modernist and to cross the so-called '1485 divide', indicating his reluctance to be tightly branded chronologically in his research.

Early in 1965 Roger was appointed to a lectureship in Tudor history at Queen Mary College London, and spent a good deal of the time before the start of the new academic year in the autumn producing lectures for the courses assigned to him by Professor S.T. Bindoff. At short notice, just before the beginning of the autumn term, Roger decided to decline the lectureship, much to Elton's amazement and very evident frustration. It remains a mystery why Roger did this. It may have been a realisation that full-time teaching was not to his liking: he had spent a year following his research fellowship working on a short-term appointment in the Public Record Office, cataloguing Tudor probate records which also gave him new insights into the taxable wealth of individuals that would cast further light on their tax liabilities which he was keen to link with the tax amounts these persons actually paid. Perhaps too he always knew that his financial situation as a member of a relatively wealthy business family made the search for economic security through conventional academic employment a less pressing matter than it might

[12] See in particular S. Keibek, 'The Male Occupational Structure of England and Wales 1600–1850', PhD thesis (Cambridge, 2017).

otherwise have done. He had married, while a graduate student in 1961, Elizabeth Cunliffe, a fellow native of West Yorkshire and in the early stages of developing what would become a successful career as an actress performing under the name of Katherine Schofield.[13] Roger and Katherine inhabited a particular social world divided between their London and Cambridge residences that sat somewhat awkwardly with the life of a committed, full-time and very junior university teacher.

Roger continued his research focused on Tudor tax assessments, particularly on their accuracy including the turnover from year to year of those on the taxpayer lists. He was acutely aware that those assessed solely on their wages were those most likely to disappear from the lists from one year to another, but could not determine if this volatility was the results of evasion or genuine geographical mobility. He also wanted some means of obtaining the size of local populations against which to compare taxpayer totals and he had experimented in the use of Chancery Certificates to secure those totals in the 1540s. At this moment it seemed highly unlikely that his career would take the turn that it did. Peter Laslett had pioneered the study of local population turnover in his research on the inhabitants of late 17th-century Clayworth (Northants.) and Cogenhoe (Notts.) that had appeared in 1963,[14] but being published somewhat obscurely in a *festschrift* this had not come to Roger's attention, unlike another publication by Laslett that was published in late 1965. This was his *World We Have Lost*, which immediately gained notoriety in part because of the hostile reception it received from conventional historians both on the political right and left.[15] Roger at a later date admitted, with some embarrassment, that he was entirely persuaded by a very negative review from E.P. Thompson (then written, as all reviews in that publication, anonymously) appearing in the widely read *TLS* on 9 December 1965. Nearly a decade previously Roger as an undergraduate had attended Laslett's lectures on political thought in the Ancient World and found his engagement with and endorsement of what might then have been termed historical sociology interesting if somewhat perplexing.

Early in 1966 Roger heard a talk on the Third Programme given by Wrigley on the possibilities opened by the systematic computer analysis of parish registers to reconstruct the population history of early modern England that certainly sparked his interest. The Cambridge Group had been founded by Laslett and Wrigley in 1964 and had already received some encouraging support by local historians, including non-graduate housewives, in collecting evidence from parochial registers and listings of inhabitants. The Group had recently had its funding significantly boosted by a grant from the newly

[13] Katherine Schofields's career as an actress was taking off in the 1960s when she appeared in various television productions such as *The Saint* (1962), *Doctor Who* (1963) and *Nana* (1968).
[14] P. Laslett & R. Harrison, 'Clayworth and Cogenhoe', in H.E. Bell & R.L. Ollard (eds), *Historical Essays 1600–1750 Presented to David Ogg* (London, 1963), pp. 157–84.
[15] P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965).

founded SSRC. These resources made it possible in March 1966 for the Group to establish a new 'research assistantship'. The advertisement for the post stated that 'applicants should have qualifications and experience of research in one or other of the following fields: Demography or Historical Demography, Economic and Social History, Sociology or Social Anthropology, Geography or Social Anthropology'. These subject areas cut across a substantial swathe of the social sciences, and although Roger did not think he was at all qualified he had been inspired by hearing Wrigley's radio talk. He therefore applied for the post and on interview pledged that if appointed, although he had no skills in computing whatsoever, he would learn to be a programmer. He was appointed. He later wrote 'flushed with success I went to see my research supervisor Geoffrey Elton, to tell him of my change of direction in research. Elton it should be said was the arch defender of traditional history as it had always been understood and an arch enemy of any whiff of trendiness in a subject. He listened and I told him of my interview with Tony and Peter, and its result and he said, in suitably rounded English tones and after a long pause: You realise don't you, that you have rendered yourself unemployable by any proper historian'.[16] Although Elton's prediction was technically correct in the sense that Roger was never a post holder in any university history department, he remained in the employment of the SSRC/ESRC for another 28 years until retiring in 1994. He did, however, receive from the Cambridge History Faculty the title of Honorary Reader in Historical Demography somewhat belatedly in 1991 and a higher doctorate in 2005.

The research assistantship which began when the Cambridge Group had just moved its activities to the rather cramped office accommodation in Silver Street was certainly better fitted to his personal circumstances, and facilitated the development of what was to become his very distinctive scholarly *modus operandi* in ways that a junior lectureship in London could never have achieved. However, Roger maintained for at least another two decades a house in Camden Town, commuting most days from Kings Cross to Cambridge, and returning each day to London where Katherine's successful acting career was largely based.

In the late 1960s it was still the view among most historians that historical research, unlike research in economics and sociology, was to be undertaken by lone scholars who should steer clear of quantification and statistical analysis. F.J. Fisher in an inaugural lecture delivered in the same year that Roger entered Clare College as an undergraduate had remarked that 'A generation ago, the main requirement of an economic historian was that he should be able to read, since most of his sources were literary. The archetype of the learned monograph consisted of a thin rivulet of text meandering through wide and

[16] R. Schofield, 'Through a Glass Darkly', *Social Science History*, 22 (1998), 119–20.

lush meadows of footnotes.'[17] He then went on to assert in a less than complimentary fashion that 'The archetype of our modern fashion is one in which a stream, often a less than limpid stream, of text tumbles from table to table and swirls round graph after graph.[18] Including 'Group' in the title of the newly established institution that Roger joined in 1966 symbolised the different character of much of the research it was undertaking, while his publications showed his willingness to quantify and to apply statistical techniques. Roger's range of interests expanded almost exponentially after 1966, and his abilities in the assembling of large bodies of data and making sense of them is perhaps best reflected in his essay on 'Sampling in historical research', published in 1972 when he had become a director of the Cambridge Group.[19] He set out all the problems and dangers involved in basing a description and analysis of a body of data on a small fraction of the information available. In his summary of the ground he had covered in his essay, he remarked that 'confidence in the results of a sample depends entirely on the exclusion of all factors other than chance from the selection of the sample items … Sampling therefore requires constant vigilance, and a patent honesty in describing how the sample was drawn, so that others may be in a position to judge the validity of the results.'[20]

A noteworthy example of Roger's approach, pursued very soon after he joined the Group, is afforded by his study of the increase in literacy in England. This was a subject that Laslett had given some prominence in the *World We Have Lost*, and in his early days in the Group it would be Roger's most important contribution as he must clearly have come to regard that work more favourably than he had done initially. Roger quickly mastered what was an entirely new field for him and published a key conceptual and methodological paper in a seminal collection of essays on literacy in traditional societies under the editorship of Jack Goody in 1968. Important much-cited early results appeared in print in 1973.[21] Measuring literacy levels presents problems both of definition and arising from the limitations of the available sources, and Roger produced a probing discussion of these issues.[22] He suggested reasons why ability to sign one's name provided tolerably reliable evidence of literacy, noting that an excellent source is available in the Anglican parish registers. He made the important point that, although the signature was

[17] F.J. Fisher, 'The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: the Dark Ages of English economic history?', in N.B. Harte (ed.), *The Study of Economic History* (London, 1971), pp. 181–200.
[18] Ibid., p.184.
[19] R. Schofield, 'Sampling in Historical Research', in E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society,* (Cambridge 1972), pp.146–90.
[20] Ibid., p. 183.
[21] R. Schofield, 'The measurement of literacy in pre-industrial England', in J. Goody (ed.), *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 311–25; R. Schofield, 'Dimensions of Illiteracy, 1750–1850', *Explorations in Economic History*, 10 (1972–3), 437–54.
[22] Schofield, 'Dimensions of illiteracy'.

a troublesome criterion for charting literacy incidence, it was a social scientific tool that had the advantage of being 'universal, standard and direct'. Under the provisions of Hardwicke's Act of 1753, a valid marriage could take place only in a parish church, and the bride and groom must both sign the register – the only exemptions were Jews, Quakers and members of the royal family. He discussed the view that a literacy rate of 40 per cent was a prerequisite for modern economic growth, noting that the coincidence of economic growth with a rise in literacy 'seems to confirm the usefulness of regarding education as an investment in human resources, which brings both direct economic benefits in the form of increased productivity, and indirect economic benefits in the form of the replacement of a traditional set of values by another set, sometimes characterized as "modern" or even "rational".'[23] He drew a random sample of 274 parish registers to cover the period from Hardwicke's Act until the start of civil registration in 1837, and revealed only a modest rise in male literacy from *c.* 62 per cent to *c.* 66 per cent although the female percentage increased substantially more, from *c.* 37 to *c.* 51 per cent.[24] While there was some slow growth it was not until after 1880 that there was a sharper rate of improvement to reach 99 per cent for both sexes by the outbreak of war in 1914.[25] Roger's very first postgraduate student, David Cressy, a student at Clare College, took the technique formulated by his supervisor based on parish registers, adding a range of other sources, to produce the first major study of literacy in early modern England. Cressy knew Roger well and greatly appreciated his skills as an undergraduate supervisor at Clare College, where Roger had become a full fellow in 1969. Cressy warmly acknowledged Roger's skills as a PhD supervisor, singling out his statistical skills that enabled him to devise a sampling procedure to secure comprehensive coverage of what for one person would have been an impossibly large body of evidence to be analysed in the period of time normally allocated to research a PhD dissertation.[26]

Throughout the period from the late 1960s to early 1980s a great deal of the data collection for the construction of the demographic history of England was being carried out by local historians who were happy to devote many hours to calculating the monthly totals of baptisms, burials, and marriages in a local parish register. In his first five years in the Group Roger made highly specific contributions through his strategically important interactions with these local historians. Notwithstanding the lofty international standing in the field of historical demography that he was subsequently to acquire, he devoted nearly 30 years of his career to serving that society, its members and the many authors who published in *Local Population Studies*. The durability of that association is

[23] Ibid., 438.
[24] Ibid., fig. 2, 445.
[25] Ibid., fig. 1, 442.
[26] D. Cressy, 'Literacy, Social Structure and Local Social Drama', *Local Population Studies*, 105 (2020), 56–67; D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge, 1980).

ample testimony both to Roger's commitment, particularly in the early days of that journal's existence, to the amateur local population historian's role in this field and his genuine belief in the value of the localised case study as an essential element in the historian's tool kit and evidence base. Roger was involved with this initiative from its very beginning: soon after joining the Cambridge Group he was an organiser of a summer school at Madingley Hall in August 1967, which brought together a good number of people who were then working on their own or in groups but who had all been in contact with the Cambridge Group in response to appeals for evidence via articles in the *Local Historian*, circular letters to local history societies and in some cases through broadcasts on The Third Programme by Laslett and Wrigley, subsequently appearing as articles in *The Listener*. It emerged that while as individuals those attending the Madingley meeting were almost all very well known to the Group, they were not in communication with each other, so that there was a desire to develop some sort of contact enabling common problems and new ideas to be discussed as well as aiding the techniques used in the field to be explained and examined. In response the first *Local Population Studies Magazine and Newsletter* appeared in the autumn of 1968. The initial editors were David Avery, Colin Barham, Christopher Charlton and, representing the Cambridge Group, Roger. Roger outdistanced the whole of that board in his editorial longevity, remaining as chair of the board until 1997.

It is very clear that Roger's presence on the board indicated that this publishing initiative was to have the support and significant input from the Cambridge Group. Furthermore it was conceived as a two-way relationship, since in a statement of which Roger was co-signatory with Wrigley and Laslett there was a pledge to:

> … contribute to the newsletter by writing progress reports of our research and by offering advice on questions of technique. We shall learn from the newsletter by reading the reports of others' research. We are very aware that by concentrating our resources on large and technical subjects we shall effectively deny ourselves the opportunity of studying in detail the links between population and local history. We believe that local studies are vital to a proper understanding of the relationship between population, social and economic history, and we look forward to learning much from the contributions of local historians.[27]

Roger, soon after his appointment in 1966, had become a regular correspondent with those local volunteers, whose data-gathering efforts were endowed with greater accuracy as a result of his patient attentiveness to detail in these communications which were far more onerous than the internet and email now provide. Roger's own work as a historical demographer was to exemplify the views expressed in the above statement. His particular contribution specifically through the role he performed with *Local Population*

[27] P. Laslett, R. Schofield & E.A, Wrigley, 'Campop and LPS', *Local Population Studies*, 1 (1968), 4.

Studies was to ensure that local case-study based research should, to use a distinction famously drawn by Munia Postan, be inclined more often than not towards the 'micro-cosmic', rather than 'microscopic' in its significance.[28] Under this editorial oversight through the published interchanges and comparisons, *Local Population Studies* ensured that local research never turned into a laborious accumulation of minutiae for one place with no regard to its relevance to anywhere else. In the earliest decade of that journal's existence Roger frequently commented on miscellaneous pieces of information, responding to letters about previously published articles, as well as offering guidance in his most uncluttered prose on technical matters regarding such issues as the ambiguity of percentages, aggregative analysis, the definition of 'crises' and the representativeness of family reconstitution.[29] None of these comments have dated in their accuracy or ease of understanding thanks to Roger's clarity of expression. Throughout the 30-year period of Roger's presence, the board produced a sequence of reports involving its members' attendance at meetings with officials from the Office of Population, Census and Surveys over access to the 19th-century manuscript census returns and correspondence with the Registrar General over use of the civil registers. Noteworthy too was the role played by the board on behalf of the Local Population Studies Society in lobbying the synod of the Church of England about proposals to charge what were thought to be exorbitant fees for the consultation of parish registers, whether in the care of local incumbents or county archivists, with the avowed intention of limiting what was seen as their burgeoning and damaging use for historical research. Roger played a central role in all these discussions. Furthermore, the journal's standing was at an early date enhanced when it was agreed that it should go to every student then enrolled in a famous and innovative Open University course D301 under Michael Drake's excellent oversight. Roger made some early appearances in television presentations that were part of this course, much to the delight of Laslett whose role with Michael Young in founding this new element in Britain's higher education provision had been vitally important.

From its foundation in 1964 the Cambridge Group forged close links with the Computer Laboratory of the University of Newcastle, which stood out nationally in its promotion of the application of computers for research in archives and parish registers as an example of how to take computers into the analysis of non-numeric evidence. Data supplied to Newcastle University by the Cambridge Group was integral to the laboratory's research programme, partly funded by the Science Research Council, to develop computer-based means of analysing nominally linked records. At that point in time, it

[28] M. Postan, *Fact and Relevance: Essays on Historical Method* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 20–1.
[29] R. Schofield, 'Problems in the Use of Percentages', *Local Population Studies*, 1 (1968), 38–39; R. Schofield, 'Some Notes on Aggregative Analysis in a Small Parish', *Local Population Studies*, 5 (1970), 9–17; R. Schofield, 'The Representativeness of Family Reconstitution', *Local Population Studies*, 8 (1972), 13–17; R. Schofield, '"Crisis" Mortality', *Local Population Studies*, 9 (1972), 20–2.

was necessary physically to take computer tapes from Cambridge to Newcastle to be read and processed on site, as the computing facilities in Cambridge could not at that time handle these kinds of data. Trips by Roger and Wrigley to Newcastle were therefore quite common in the late 1960s, where they worked with Ros Davies on early approaches to computer-assisted nominative linkage. In 1970 when Cambridge computing facilities had been upgraded, Ros moved to become a full-time member of the Group's staff and to work particularly closely with Roger.

Roger swiftly equipped himself to be a self-taught computer programmer, and with Wrigley invested much time in the complex issue of how most effectively to identify with reasonable certainty an individual when undertaking nominative linkage. Wrigley spent the academic year 1970–1 at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton, where part of his time was focused on various conceptual issues of nominal record linkage by computer and the logic of family reconstitution. With support from the Mathematical Social Sciences Board, he convened a conference on Nominal Record Linkage in History at the Institute, which Roger also attended, and the papers given were published in revised and expanded form.[30] In that volume Roger and Wrigley co-authored a seminal paper in which a variety of criteria were identified in determining the character and probabilities of false and true links when engaging in nominative linkage both by hand and by computer.[31]

Computer-assisted nominative linkage of the kind being pioneered became a long-lasting aspect of the work that Roger and Davies undertook which would be fundamental to the assembly of a growing collection of parish family reconstitutions. However, the time-consuming task of collecting the raw data would in most instances continue to be undertaken by local, mainly amateur, volunteers. Roger and Davies developed in the early 1970s a flexible file-handling system which was essential for early computer analysis of the large data sets that were being amassed in Cambridge. It provided a means of inputing data from parish registers and other sources in ways that preserved the structure of the original source material, thereby avoiding the restrictive requirements of forcing the primary evidence into a fixed format that was straight-jacketing researcher's freedom of movement through adherence to the longstanding image and overbearing influence of the 80-column punch card. It came to be known as GENDATA, and was adopted by a number of historians both in and outside Cambridge as a means of data inputing and analysis long before the commercially available relational databases provided such a facility a decade or more later.[32] Roger in the 1970s was an undoubted pioneer in the

[30] E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Identifying People in the Past* (London, 1973).
[31] E.A. Wrigley & R. Schofield, 'Nominal Record Linkage by Computer and the Logic of Family Reconstitution', in Wrigley (ed.), *Identifying People*, pp. 54–101.
[32] R Schofield & R. Davies, 'Towards a Flexible Data Input and Record Management System', *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 7 (1974), 115–24.

application of computer-based data handling to historical sources, and already in 1970 had become a member of the computing committee of SSRC. From 1977 to 1979 he was a member of the UK Computer Board's software provisioning committee.

The year that Roger joined the Group was highly significant for the publication of Wrigley's classic article on Colyton introducing the first fruits of the application of the Henry-style family reconstitution to the registers of this East Devon parish, much inspired by what had been undertaken previously at INED in Paris.[33] It also saw the publication of a set of methodological essays in the volume edited by Wrigley, *An Introduction to English Historical Demography*, which formed for English researchers a guide equivalent to Fleury and Henry's volume that had appeared the previous year.[34] It seemed then that, following the French, historical demography in Cambridge would be pursued by a steady geographical spread of this technique to as large a number of parishes as possible, notwithstanding the time-consuming nature of the task when undertaken on a parish-by-parish basis.

In fact, if one were to judge the stated preferences for research at that date, it would have been on localised family reconstitution-based work, since Roger in a paper he delivered to the Royal Historical Society in 1970 saw so many of the earlier attempts to derive meaningful demographic measurements when pitched at a national level as flawed. In particular he was dismissive of previous use of the flawed Parish Register Abstracts that John Rickman had requested parochial incumbents to collect in the early 19th century, and viewed them as incapable of resolving the ambiguities that surrounded simple attempts to measure crude birth and death rates.[35] Hence family reconstitution was seen to be the means by which those evidential lacunae would be overcome, and discussions were to be conducted using far more refined elements in the tool kit of formal demography. Roger recognised that the number of parishes with the requisite sources was likely to be small and the work time-consuming. He appeared quite restrained when he reflected on the parish-by-parish basis of family reconstitution that 'It is therefore unlikely that it will be possible to generalise with confidence, whatever results are obtained. But it is already known that there was considerable local variation in the past both in demographic and social and economic arrangements, and in such a situation a study of differences is often more valuable than a summary view'.[36] He went on to suggest that 'at this stage, therefore a period of careful study of the inter-relationships

[33] E.A. Wrigley, 'Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England', *Economic History Review*, 19 (1966), 82–109.
[34] M. Fleury & L. Henry, *Nouveau manuel de dépouillement et d'exploitation de l'état civil ancient* (Paris, 1965).
[35] R Schofield, 'Historical Demography: Some Possibilities and Limitations', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 21 (1971), 119–32.
[36] Ibid., 132.

between economic, social and demographic change in a few selected communities might not come amiss'.[37] Circumstances would change fundamentally within the next decade, and the focus would be on one national story as opposed to local accounts of English past demographic behaviour.

There followed several single and co-authored pieces that show Roger practising what he had preached in his Royal Historical Society lecture. In the same year as that lecture, Roger published a paper in *Annales de Démographie Historique* showing the potential of the unusually detailed 18th-century listing of the inhabitants of the Bedfordshire village of Cardington to reveal what came to be regarded as an almost template-like pattern of age-specific mobility. This paper also identified gender-specific anomalies reflecting the impact of lace-making as a key female by-employment, helping to retain females in their natal parish.[38] Roger went on to complete the first detailed case study making what was rare use of family-reconstitution derived data to unpick the age- and sex-specific patterns of mortality from bubonic plague, through a detailed focus on the 1643 plague outbreak in Colyton which killed around 20 per cent of the local population.[39] In this work Roger was able to demonstrate that the pattern of deaths by family or household offered important clues to the nature of the disease and its mode of transmission. He made what at the time was a novel distinction between the clustering of deaths in families and the variation in the death rate according to family size. In fact, the tendency of deaths to cluster in certain households and the lack of any positive correlation with family size allowed him to conclude that there was no airborne mode of transmission, but the key determinant was proximity to a nearby vector which might itself be randomly distributed over space. He concluded that proximity to rats and their runs was the key determinant of a spatial mortality pattern that use of family reconstitution had, admittedly with much hard labour, revealed. At about the same time that he was investigating these issues in England, he extended this mode of analysis with similar results to two Swedish cases from the early 18th century, revealing notable command of the relevant primary sources.[40] He had become a regular visitor to Sweden and was an influential figure in enabling researchers, particularly at the University of Lund, to develop their reputation as sophisticated practitioners in the newly emerging field of historical demography.

[37] Ibid., 132.
[38] R Schofield, 'Age-Specific Mobility in an Eighteenth-Century Rural English Parish', *Annales de D*émographie *Historique* (1970), 261–74, republished in P. Clark & D. Souden (eds), *Migration and Society in Early Modern England* (London, 1980), pp. 253–64.
[39] R. Schofield, 'Anatomy of an Epidemic: Colyton, November 1645 to November 1646', *The Plague Reconsidered* (Local Population Studies supplement; 1977), 95–126.
[40] R. Schofield, 'Micro Demography and Epidemic Mortality: Two Case Studies', in J. Sundin & E. Söderlund (eds), *Time, Space and Man* (Stockholm, 1979), pp. 53–67.

With a co-author and Group-based research assistant Midi Berry, Roger probed a large number of parish registers to chart what has become a definitive set of measurements of the widening period between birth and baptism in the 18th century. An allowance for any resulting loss of baptisms and burials would come to be central to any estimates of fertility and mortality whether done using aggregative analysis or family reconstitution.[41] Mortality was the focus of another paper co-authored with Wrigley that appeared in the late 1970s with its focus on infant and child mortality in late Tudor and Stuart England, initially from the perspective of eight parishes that possessed relevant measurements derived from family reconstitution, followed by a narrowing of the focus on the small market town of Ludlow in Shropshire.[42] Given the limited size of the parish sample the two authors were circumspect in pushing their findings, yet the results were to become more firmly established geographically when far more evidence became available. They showed that, when set against what was known about early-life mortality in Europe, the evidence from these parishes revealed relatively favourable life chances by wider pre-industrial standards. There was nonetheless considerable variability from place to place, and the small market centres with populations in the size range of 2–3000 carried a significantly enhanced mortality when compared with most rural communities. It was hence evident that the urban penalty became markedly apparent in the lower-most echelons of the urban hierarchy. Nonetheless, all places showed a worsening in mortality among children in the age range 1–4 years by the end of the period covered, and a tendency of the age patterns of mortality to conform more readily with that to be found in a Princeton Model North life table rather than Model West. The authors suggested that this feature might reflect increased exposure to new kinds of infectious diseases among those who had passed the age of weaning and were no longer afforded the protection that was available to those still fed at their mother's breast. Roger, the lead author in this collaboration, proved very insightful in devising a means of dividing burials into three categories which was revealing despite the absence of ages given in the parish register: those occurring to infants, whose mortality could be measured using both the baptism and the burial register; 'children', identified as 'X, son or daughter of Y' and deemed to be largely under age 10; and 'adults'. Time series of deaths in the three categories showed that mortality surges when they occurred did so in ways that differed greatly in their impact across these age groups. Furthermore, it was also shown that infant death frequencies by season closely mirrored the seasonality of births, but among young children the most hazardous months were concentrated in summer when this group having been

[41] R. Schofield & B.M. Berry, 'Age at Baptism in Pre-Industrial England', *Population Studies*, 25 (1971), 453–63.

[42] R Schofield & E.A. Wrigley, 'Infant and Child Mortality in England in the Late Tudor and Early Stuart Period', in C. Webster (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 62–95.

weaned were particularly vulnerable to the higher temperatures and infections from contaminated foods. This remarkably innovative paper had opened considerable possibilities for larger scale analysis using regional samples, although surprisingly it employs approaches that have still not yielded the investment of research time in more geographically extensive study that it surely deserves.

Family reconstitution and variant forms of nominative linkage were certainly in pole position as far as concerted approaches to reconstructing demographic processes in the English past were concerned in the early 1970s. A seminal PhD was completed by David Levine under Roger's supervision using this method with the registers of two Leicestershire communities to test arguments that had emerged about the demographic behaviour of communities heavily engaged in proto-industrial work.[43] Fiona Newall, an historical geographer, also under Roger's supervision, pioneered linkage between a parish family reconstitution of Aldenham (Hertfordshire), completed by the remarkably industrious amateur historian Bill Newman Brown, who worked on parish registers and other local sources each day during his lunch hours. Newall investigated among other things the use of parish women as wet nurses for infant orphans or abandoned babies brought out into the Hertfordshire countryside from London, with surprising discoveries concerning the care with which the wetnurses were chosen to maximise the survival chances of the infants concerned.[44] Others, under Roger's doctoral supervision or guidance, were using GENDATA to squeeze demographic and associated economic data from medieval manorial court rolls.[45]

In 1973 Wrigley was offered the Halford Mackinder chair of Geography in Oxford, which coincided with a period in which the Group's funding situation was sufficiently uncertain for him to negotiate with Oxford the possibility of the Group moving there if he accepted the appointment.[46] However, the then chair of the SSRC Robin Matthews,

[43] D. Levine, 'The Demographic Implications of Rural Industrialisation in Two Leicestershire Parishes', PhD thesis (Cambridge, 1974).

[44] F.A.C. Newall, 'Socio-Economic Influences in the Demography of Aldenham: An Exploration of the Techniques and Application of Family Reconstitution', PhD thesis (Cambridge, 1985); see too Fiona Newall, 'Wet Nursing and Child Care in Aldenham, Hertfordshire, 1595–1726: Some Evidence on the Circumstances and Effects of Seventeenth-Century Child-Rearing Practices', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as Mothers in Pre-industrial England* (London, 1990), pp.122–39.

[45] R.M. Smith, 'English Peasant Lifecycles and Socio-Economic Networks. A Quantitative Geographical Case Study', PhD thesis (Cambridge, 1974); L.R. Poos, 'Population and Resources in two Fourteenth-Century Essex Communities: Great Waltham and High Easter, 1327–89', PhD thesis (Cambridge, 1983). An SSRC-funded project at the University of Birmingham in the late 1970s headed by Professor R. Hilton used GENDATA in analysing the Suffolk manor of Lakenheath and the Staffordshire manor of Alrewas. See J. Williamson, 'On the Use of the Computer in Historical Studies: Demographic, Social and Economic History from Medieval English Court Rolls', in A Gilmour-Bryson (ed.), *Computer Applications to Historical Studies* (Kalamazoo MI, 1984), pp. 51–61.

[46] E.A. Wrigley personal papers in the possession of Tamsin Wrigley.

who was soon to move to Cambridge and to become the Master of Roger's college, informed the Group that it could be made a Unit of the SSRC. That offer was gratefully accepted and Wrigley turned down the professorial offer from Oxford. Roger would then assume the full responsibilities of Director and become an employee of SSRC, which would involve overseeing the day-to-day activities of the Group as well as fulfilling a key role as researcher. Laslett continued as a Reader in the History Faculty, and Wrigley, because of the more lucrative funding that Unit status involved, had resigned his university lectureship in Geography in Cambridge on receipt of a professorial stipend from SSRC. Richard Smith, another of Roger's PhD students, who then held an assistant lectureship in the Cambridge Geography Department, became a research officer in the Group in 1975, extending the Group's research back into the Middle Ages while also working on later periods.

With the new government headed by Mrs Thatcher in 1979, researchers receiving funds from the SSRC were increasingly subjected to the scrutiny of their political paymasters who were suspicious of much of the social scientific research that it was undertaking. A formal review by Lord Rothschild included individual interviews with each member of the Group's research staff (who as government employees signed the Official Secrets Act), as well as with many grant holders nationally. Rothschild's report to Sir Keith Joseph resulted in the SSRC changing its title to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) with the hope that this would serve to placate those in government who thought that the research it funded was too sociological and left leaning. The Group survived the review and retained SSRC/ESRC Research Unit status until 1990, when it became a Designated Research Centre of the ESRC, although then lodged formally within the Cambridge History Faculty where it would reside for another 11 years before transferring to the Cambridge Geography Department in 2001.

As a result of this significantly enhanced financial resourcing of the research from 1974, the Cambridge Group moved to offices at 27 Trumpington Street where it was also possible to have a free-standing library and seminar room, in which morning coffee and afternoon tea became occasions for discussion of research progress and many other matters that engaged the interest of the staff, a growing number of postgraduates and the host of academic and many international visitors who were now welcomed in remarkably large numbers. A regular seminar programme began, and those who participated will have very clear memories of Roger's invariably illuminating contributions that regularly served to remove any academic fog in which the discussion might have become shrouded. Roger was certainly a key force in facilitating the almost laboratory-based atmosphere of collective research endeavour that came to pervade the daily routine in the new offices. He was also distinctive among the directors in finding time to discuss with and offer concrete advice to visiting researchers, whether young and inexperienced or academic grandees, which was a factor in their tendency to return regularly. He was

also lecturing in a demography course that Geoffrey Hawthorn had initiated in the recently established Social and Political Sciences Tripos, and was the lead teacher in another new paper entitled 'The Population and Family History of England' which was offered as a final-year option in the Cambridge History Tripos.

Consistent with locality-focused research, a list of English registers that appeared to meet the requirements for family reconstitution was being drawn up by the Cambridge Group, with the hope that parishes employed would create for England a data set equivalent to that which Louis Henry in Paris was overseeing. Many of these registers were still in parish church vestries or at best in county record offices, with exceedingly small numbers in printed editions such as that fortuitously available for Colyton. Volunteers were particularly asked to make notes concerning the level of detail found in the register which would indicate its suitability for family reconstitution, such as whether the relationship of a deceased person to the head of his or her family or whether the name of the mother and or father were recorded in an individual baptism or whether occupations were entered along with the place of residence. The response to this appeal proved to be much greater than initially anticipated, and aggregative counts on far more registers than initially identified were forthcoming. So large was the data set made available from this response that it was decided to make the most of these millions of data in what would be a form of advanced aggregative analysis. The seeds had been sown with a method that Ron Lee had pioneered in 1974 with a view to constructing vital rates and a host of associated demographic parameters for England as a whole from the aggregative returns.[47] The late 1970s had clearly become a phase in which family reconstitution was to take a back seat to sophisticated forms of aggregative analysis of demographic events, although two dozen parishes had been identified possessing registers of the quality required for reconstitution, and those local historians undertaking this backbreaking work were still being encouraged by Roger and Wrigley. Roger took on the formidable task of checking sample years of the many hundreds of aggregative returns from the volunteers, and in effect was very much the court of last resort as far as engagement with the original records in churches and record offices while determining their acceptability. Simultaneously he was deeply engaged in the subsequent analysis of the data that was being input for computer-based analysis in Cambridge. The result of this labour, only possible with the scale of funding that a body such as the ESRC could provide, was the publication in 1981 of the Group's magnum opus, *The Population History of England 1541 to 1871: a Reconstruction* (London, 1981) – *TPHE* hereafter, a book of nearly 800 pages, with over 150 pages assessing and correcting the parish register based data. Some 404 registers were deemed sufficiently accurate, providing the raw data for the book.

[47] R.D. Lee, 'Estimating Series of Vital Rates and Age Structure from Baptisms and Burials: a New Technique, with Applications to Pre-Industrial England', *Population Studies*, 28 (1974), 405–512.

Nonetheless the scale of the auto-critique of their sources was not to the taste of many readers who wished to gain rapid access to the key findings, but it was a reaction on the part of Roger and Wrigley to the fact that with so much research council funding it was essential that, following the scientific method, the research underpinning this project could be assessed to the fullest extent possible.[48] Further, as a result of the heavy dependence on the records of the Anglican church, as opposed to a system of civil registration underpinned by parliamentary statute, the parish registers were a source that had to be subject to very considerable scrutiny regarding their completeness, particularly as a result of the significant growth in nonconformity over the period considered. There were inbuilt biases flowing from the fact that the 404 parishes eventually selected for the level of their completeness did not in any sense constitute a random sample, but were in effect the 'gift' of local volunteers who collected them. Roger was the ideal historian to oversee the correction of sample bias because of his command of sampling theory within statistical methodology and the result of an apprenticeship served under Elton. As Roger later put it, a large part of the book appeared as 'a mammoth exercise in historical positivism', the reconstruction of English population 'as it actually happened' to use a classic Rankean and undeniably Eltonian notion.[49]

While Wrigley was the lead author, in terms of words written, the publication of *TPHE* was perhaps the most significant moment in Roger's academic career. Another researcher at the Cambridge Group with whom Roger worked closely from 1976 was Jim Oeppen, another migrant from the Cambridge Geography Department. Oeppen devised a means of improving upon the methods that Lee had pioneered through an inverse projection from the 1871 census to 1541, which would generate population size, age structures and fertility and mortality rates needed to determine patterns of population growth. Roger and Wrigley were fully committed to the view that it was necessary to get the facts right before attempting to interpret them. To do that would require resort in a Popperian sense to conceptual devices and some prior knowledge of theories of what was worth investigating. Roger was fully abreast of what these theories were or might be, and as a result there were key sections that can certainly be attributed to Roger alone. None perhaps was equalled in its importance as his contribution to the book's central argument that nuptiality and hence the gross reproduction rate was more responsive to the economic context in early modern England than was mortality and therefore in the round was the prime force in driving the intrinsic demographic growth rate. In a section on 'the determinants of the intrinsic growth rate' in chapter 7, Roger adapted three key

[48] R. Schofield, 'Through a Glass Darkly: the Population History of England as an Experiment in History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 15 (1985), 571–93, reprinted in R.I. Rotberg & T.K. Tabb (eds), *Population and Economy: Population and History from the Traditional to the Modern World* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 11–34.

[49] 'Through a Glass Darkly', *Social Science History*, 122.

formulae relating to the characteristic of a stable population, as originally set out by Ansley Coale, to create a graphical device plotting, simultaneously, the gross reproduction rate (GRR), the probability of surviving to the mean age of maternity (p(m)) and life expectation at birth (e0) to generate an array of diagonals representing the intrinsic growth rate.[50] Any combination of the GRR and p(m) can be plotted as a point, such that any vertical movement on the graph represents a change in fertility and any horizontal movement a change in mortality. Since the two axes are isometric with respect to the intrinsic growth rate, the relative scale of the movement in the two directions will show the relative importance of contributions made by changes in fertility and mortality to any change in the rate. In two figures, 7.9 and 7.12, the essentials of English demographic history are strikingly portrayed and show unequivocally that the lion share of demographic movement from 1551 to 1871 was on the vertical axes represented by the GRR. When similar plots were made of the available data for France and Sweden, very different types of demographic 'terrain' were seen to apply in each of the three cases, but England stands out at once as having a regime in which nuptiality movements reigned as causally supreme. Roger had created a statistical device that would be much used by others thereafter, but its roots were firmly grounded in the resolution of a the key issue in a longstanding debate over the course and cause of demographic change in the first industrial nation.[51] The book had also brought Malthus' preventive check into centre stage as a framework within which to assess demographic change in early modern England, and this resurgence of interest saw Roger taking a leading role with David Coleman of Oxford in co-organising a major international meeting on Malthusian theory and its relevance to contemporary demographic argument to coincide with the 150th anniversary of Malthus' death.[52]

Roger made other highly significant contributions to *TPHE* in chapter 8 regarding analysis of seasonal patterns and the short term movements of baptisms, marriages and deaths in relation to each other and to real wages, offering a rather more user-friendly approach to these issues than that which Ron Lee adopted in a more formally econometric fashion that appeared as chapter 9 in that volume.[53] A much cited appendix of

[50] Wrigley & Schofield, *The Population History of England*, pp. 236–48.

[51] Roger's innovative methodological contribution was recognised by his election to the Fellowship of the Royal Statistical Society in 1987.

[52] The papers were subsequently published as D. Coleman & R. Schofield (eds), *The State of Population Theory: Forward from Malthus* (Oxford, 1986), and were distinctive in addressing a range of conceptual issues that the more empirically minded demographers were less inclined to confront.

[53] Wrigley & Schofield, *The Population History of England*, pp. 284–354. Roger took opportunities to refute the role played by nutrition in driving English mortality change and population growth that had emerged very forcefully through such works as T. McKeown, *The Modern Rise of Population* (London, 1976). A particularly good example is to be found in R. Schofield, 'Population Growth in the Century after 1750: the Role of Mortality Decline', in T. Bengtsson, G. Fridlizius & R. Olfsson (eds), *Pre-Industrial Population Change: The Mortality Decline and Short-Term Population Movements* (Stockholm, 1984), pp. 17–40.

almost 50 pages that he contributed dealt with crisis mortality, and reveals fundamental geographies to these episodes, but major changes over time in the susceptibility of the set of 404 parishes to these kinds of demographic shocks and their causes.[54] Roger's influence is also very clear in the concluding chapter 11 when pre-industrial populations are considered in modelling terms, starting with systems in which in a static economy of fixed niches, mortality changes could be seen to drive marriages and hence fertility so as to maintain demographic equilibrium.[55] In effect this took the form of a classic homeostatic or negative feedback system, which was further embellished through considerations of the impact of exogenous shocks as well as shifts that engendered positive rather than negative feedback in the relations between demographic and economic parameters. The seeds of this approach are to be found in a paper that Roger had published five years earlier, where he used the simple and easily understood device of the 'box and arrow diagram' to both identity key interrelationships along with a striking elegance of expression to convert these ostensibly simple diagrammatic devices into particularly powerful concepts.[56]

There were high expectations following the publication of *TPHE* that Roger and Wrigley would proceed quickly to publish their findings from family reconstitution studies, since there were a host of demographic measurements that aggregative analysis could not provide, notwithstanding the powerful tool then available through inverse projection. However, it was only possible to produce an interim report from 13 parishes, as the time-consuming data gathering and checking of a substantial number of other reconstitutions were still in train.[57] They constituted a mixture of market towns, industrialising parishes and those that were predominantly agricultural. It was noted that there was little evidence indicative of parity-specific family limitation in the late 17th century which had been proposed 17 years earlier in Wrigley's family reconstitution of Colyton. Nonetheless marital fertility levels were low, indeed among the lowest at that date known in Europe. Infant mortality was also by pre-industrial standards modest and, when fertility and mortality were taken together, suggested to Roger and Wrigley that England possessed what they termed a 'low pressure' demographic regime. But perhaps the most striking feature of the 13 reconstitutions was the consistent decline in marriage ages across all parishes in the late 18th and early

[54] Wrigley & Schofield, *The Population History of England*, pp. 645–93.
[55] Ibid., pp. 457–66.
[56] R. Schofield, 'The Relationship Between Demographic Structure and Environment in Pre-Industrial Western Europe', in W. Conze (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 147–160, much inspired by the thinking of Mackenroth a neglected German scholar whose work Roger first brought to the attention of the Anglophone world. See G. Mackenroth, *Bevölkerungslehre* (Berlin, 1953).
[57] E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, 'English Population History from Family Reconstitution: Summary Results 1600–1799', *Population Studies*, (1983), 157–84.

19th centuries, which was a finding fully compatible with the prominent role that marriage change had been given in *TPHE*.

Roger was taking a lead role in addressing issues raised and criticisms made of *TPHE*, and produced a significant defence and elaboration of the book's methods and underlying philosophy as part of a special issue of the *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*.[58] He also took the primary responsibility for a lengthy 37-page introduction to a second edition of *TPHE*, appearing in 1989, that contained a considered set of responses to the book. Some attention was given to possible biases suggested in the raw counts of baptisms, marriage and burials, and further work on the internal logic of backward projection that enabled a reply to some of the doubts surrounding the method that had been raised by Lee. They did not comment directly on or deviate from the argument in the first edition regarding a proposed lagged relationship between real wage changes and nuptiality that had proved controversial. However, they did acknowledge that the real wage series they used were far from adequate for the task to which they had been put, and much more consideration to household earnings and particularly the contribution made by women was needed. Furthermore, they remained committed to the approach that they had taken in 1981 to reject the use of formal econometric methods to calibrate the interrelationships between the component parts of England's economic and demographic system. An interesting response was made to the econometrically based claim made by Lee that denied the primacy of a Malthusian basis to the analysis in which he claimed that the whole economic and demographic system responded to exogenously driven mortality changes.[59] Roger and Wrigley argued, although tentatively, that the secular fluctuations of mortality were themselves the product of wider changes in the economy, arising from the development of a more integrated network of marketed goods and large-scale movements of people both nationally in association with rapid urbanisation (especially the great growth of London) and significant international migration. Such a perspective, they claimed, permitted the treatment of mortality as determined endogenously, since it was responding to major structural changes in the national and international economy.[60]

As the 1980s progressed, Roger continued as the principal responder to most of the criticisms of *TPHE*, particularly through his work on marriage and its place in a broader consideration of early modern society and economy. In effect he had become the lead and ever-present Director of the Cambridge Group following Laslett's retirement from

[58] Schofield, 'Through a Glass Darkly: *The Population History of England* as an Experiment in History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1985), 571–93.
[59] R.D. Lee, 'Population Homeostasis and English Demographic History', in R.I. Rotberg & T.K. Rabb (eds), *Population and Economy: Population and History from the Traditional to the Modern World*, (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 75–100.
[60] E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: a Reconstruction*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1989).

his university post and his move to work on ageing both past and present and to found the University of the Third Age. In addition, Wrigley's move first to the LSE in 1979 and then to All Souls Oxford in 1988, where Richard Smith, his assistant director since 1979, had also gone in 1983, significantly enhanced Roger's role in Cambridge. He was particularly involved in seeking out and editing the growing number of monographs that were appearing from 1984 in the Group's distinguished series *Cambridge Studies in Population Economy and Society in Past Time*, published by Cambridge University Press. His standing was clearly recognised by his election as a Fellow of the British Academy in 1988.

Roger's interests were further developed in this period by an especially close editorial liaison and intellectual bonding with the University of Essex based historian, John Walter, who had made important contributions to the politics of early modern English dearth, particularly grain shortages, food riots, their causes and impacts. They jointly co-edited a seminal set of essays appearing in 1989 as *Famine, disease and the social order in early modern society*.[61] The collection was dedicated to Roger's great friend Andrew Appleby, who like Roger had also turned his back on a relatively well rewarded career in a significant family business in California to hold a post in history at the University of California, La Jolla. Appelby's was a sadly short career before his sudden premature death, but he made a significant impact on thinking about issues to do with subsistence crises, their periodicities and geographies in early modern England. Roger's ventures into this area reveal great empathy with ideas that Appleby had initially formulated.[62]

The co-editors' introduction was a long and deeply considered essay addressing issues to do with food availability, mortality crisis and political reactions to harvest failures, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries, with comparisons between England and various parts of Europe. Roger's own single-authored contribution, more than any other article that he wrote in his whole career, captures so much of what he had come to understand over two decades of research into those features of English society that determined its demography in the early modern period. In many respects it captures the interpretational essentials of what the Cambridge Group was then managing to achieve at what many would see as its highest reputational point internationally. The essay begins by acknowledging the fact that historical demography had reached over the previous 20 years a level of considerable technical abstraction, but that there were significant lacunae in understanding the parameters that accounted for success or failure in the ways

[61] R. Schofield, 'Family Structure, Demographic Behaviour and Economic Growth', in J. Walter & R. Schofield (eds), *Famine Disease and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 279–304.

[62] J. Walter & R. Schofield, 'Famine, Disease and Crisis Mortality in Early Modern Society', in Walter & Schofield (eds), *Famine, Disease and the Social Order*, pp. 1–73.

that populations related to the economic space that they inhabited. Roger does not engage in the presentation of new or sophisticated statistical analysis of pre-existing data. Rather he reflects in ways that display a distinctive combination of conceptual clarity along with a remarkable command of key aspects of England's early modern society, polity and economy that Roger viewed as essential for understanding some central features of its demography. These aspects are primarily viewed within the context of explaining how the preventive check was deployed within England between 1550 and 1850. Roger wished to take very seriously criticisms of how the data bearing on nuptiality had been related to the estimates of the GRR in *TPHE*. In fact Louis Henry and Didier Blanchet at INED in Paris and David Weir in Stamford had shown that the marriage rate changes presented in *TPHE* were incompatible with the calculated changes in the GRR.[63] Weir had devised an ingenious way of deriving more plausible measures both of changes in marriage age and proportions ever married that would accurately generate GRR changes that had been derived from the baptismal data from 404 parishes. Roger had in a paper published a few years earlier further refined Weir's method and confirmed his original suspicions, and made chronologically more precise an intriguing feature of marriage behaviour that when plotted graphically exhibited a major shift among those born after *c.* 1700.[64] Changes in the marriage rate before 1700 were largely the product of shifts in the proportions ever-marrying but after that date marriage age changes assume the main determinative role. What Roger offers is an object lesson in how to think in remarkably flexible ways about the contexts within which the preventive check might vary, although located unambiguously within the wider geographical boundaries set by Hajnal's 'European Marriage Pattern'.[65] While accepting that a relatively late age of female first marriage (above *c.* 22 years) and on average around 10 per cent or more never marrying by age 45 or 50 were important criteria that might set Europe apart from most other parts of the world, Roger shows how considerable the marital variations might be between certain types of economy and polity across the area encompassing this nuptiality regime. In this approach his focus is not on cross-sectional measurements of marital age and incidence, but on nuptiality's dynamic qualities through time. He reminds his reader that Malthus, although often misrepresented by those with an overenthusiastic tendency to work with a 'tractable theoretical model of the widest possible generality', was at pains to stress the importance of political power structures and institutions in his understanding of the ways in which societies reached an accommodation between the processes of

[63] L. Henry & D. Blanchet, 'La population de l'Angleterre de 1541 à 1871', *Population*, 38 (1983), 781–826; D. Weir, 'Rather Never than Late: Celibacy and Age at Marriage in English Cohort Fertility', *Journal of Family History*, 9 (1984), 340–54.

[64] R. Schofield, 'English Marriage Patterns Revisited', *Journal of Family History*, 10 (1985), 2–20.

[65] J. Hajnal, 'European Marriage Patterns in Perspective', in D.V. Glass & D.E.C. Eversley (eds), *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography* (London, 1965), pp. 101–43.

economic and demographic change.[66] Roger goes further to stress the significance of those institutions determining the ownership of wealth and the allocation of rewards to labour, and of particular significance the place of value systems affecting inter-personal relations within the family and between the family and the wider 'collectivity'. He stresses the key attributes in broad-brush terms of what he defines as a peasant or 'niche-based' economy that is overwhelmingly agrarian and relatively socially undifferentiated when economic resources are principally acquired through inheritance, thereby impacting on the timing of marriage, levels of familial support for the elderly and constraints upon migration. The aforementioned features contrasted with a society in which a significant section of the population sold its labour to exploit capital over which it had no control, children chose their marriage partners, geographical mobility was relatively high and many children were in no position to provide elder care, the responsibility for which fell upon the wider community to achieve. Hence Roger's characterisation of such societies as 'individualist-collectivist'.

A society operating according to the peasant model is likely to have displayed a form of homeostasis in which marriages were strongly linked to deaths via inheritance, such that death and marriage rates would be chronologically tightly aligned such as in early modern France. No such association would show through strongly in the individualist-collectivist society which Roger feels was exemplified by the English case. He offers explanations for why after 1700 crude marriage rates will have been driven largely by a lowering of marriage ages in an economy with very large labour demands outside of agriculture. In addition he is alert to what might have been factors encouraging earlier entry into marriage as certain economic roles changed or vanished: the development of cottage industries serving distant markets; the disappearance of farm service for males and to a lesser extent for females, giving way to male labour hired on farms by the day; the reduction of women's economic opportunities, especially in the male dominated arable farming regions, along with de-industrialisation in the older textile-producing areas helping to bring about steady removal of spinning as a means of female employment which was given a final death blow by mechanisation of the process and its eventual concentration on the coalfields. Roger is keen (like Malthus) to see the collectivity's increasing tendency to inject a form of welfare funding into wage labourer households headed by married males with dependent children under the late 18th- and early 19th-century poor law as another encouragement to early marriage.

Roger concluded that the greater the degree of connections between demographic and economic behaviour that were mediated through a diffuse and complex network of market relations, along with substantial welfare injected into household economies from communal sources, the more opportunities there were to disable the preventive check

[66] Schofield, 'Family Structure, Demographic Behaviour', p. 279.

and facilitate or sustain demographic growth at the great pace achieved in England after 1750. However, the preventive check will be far more stable and predictable in a more subsistence-oriented peasant economy although still in possession of a European marriage pattern such as prevailed in Ancien Régime France. While these arguments can now be subject to some qualifications, particularly those on the destabilising effect of parish welfare, they still remain central to our wider attempts to explain historic change.[67] Reflections of this kind have become fewer among the now far smaller community of practising historical demographers who disproportionately apply this craft more often than not on data from the 19th and 20th centuries, consequently lacking the historic breadth that Roger was able to bring to these issues. The current somewhat fashionable debate pursued by economic historians and a sizeable corps of economists over the extent to which the European Marriage Pattern was conducive to economic growth looks somewhat blunt analytically when viewed against the subtlety of much that is contained in the arguments that led Roger to offer an almost subversive view of that marriage regime in the English case. The absence of this paper in the references cited by the participants in that debate remains surprising and made more poignant in the knowledge that Roger was never able to take his characteristic intellectual scalpel to much of this recent literature.[68]

While Roger had sustained a remarkable momentum in his publications as an historical demographer in the 1980s, he gave a notable reminder of his skills, so evident when a postgraduate, in an essay on a topic that took him back to his earlier interests in Tudor taxation in a *festschrift* presented to Geoffrey Elton in 1988 on his retirement from the Cambridge Regius Chair by his British graduate students published under the revealing title of *Law and Government under the Tudors*.[69] Roger appropriately begins his own contribution by stating that 'a study of taxation … should throw light not only on the social and economic characteristics of a society, but also on its political and

[67] E.A. Wrigley & R. Smith, 'Malthus and the Poor Law', *Historical Journal*, 63 (2020), 33–62, and R. Smith, 'Social Security as a Developmental Institution? The Relative Efficacy of Poor Relief Provisions under the English Old Poor Law', in C.A. Bayly, V. Rao, S. Szreter & M. Woolcock (eds), *History, Historians and Development Policy: A Necessary Dialogue* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 75–102.

[68] This comment applies to leading participants in this debate. See for example: T. De Moor & J.L. van Zanden, 'Girlpower, The European Marriage Pattern (EMP) and Labour Markets in the North Sea Region in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Period', *Economic History Review*, 63 (2010), 1–33; T. Dennison & S. Ogilvie, 'Does the European Marriage Pattern Explain Economic Growth?', *Journal of Economic History*, 74 (2014), 651–93; J. van Zanden, T. De Moor & S. Carmichael, *Capital Women: The European Marriage Pattern, Female Empowerment and Economic Development in Western Europe, 1300–1800* (Oxford, 2019).

[69] R. Schofield, 'Taxation and the Political Limits of the Tudor State', in C. Cross, D. Loades & J.J. Scarisbrick (eds), *Law and Government under the Tudors: Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Retirement* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 227–56.

administrative structure and its constitutional concepts of *obligation* and *consent*'.[70] Here we observe Roger just as interested in issues to do with political relationships as with economic matters and also revealing his considerable breadth as a historian. These interests were set within that particularly important episode in the history of taxation in England given, as has already been noted, that it was under Henry VIII that taxation based on the direct assessment of the wealth of everyone was revived after having been abandoned in the 14th century. This phase was not long lasting, and it was abandoned in the 17th century after decades of complaints about evasion and under-assessment, and would not be revived again until the very end of the 18th century under the exigencies of the government funding needs to fight the French Revolutionary Wars. In the long run the early Tudor experiment was abandoned, but Roger attempts to measure the extent of its success and the reasons for its eventual failure were pursued with a view to casting light on what most pointedly he termed 'the political limits' of the early Tudor state.

The essentially progressive system of taxation that in theory underpinned the early Tudor subsidies meant that they were intended to reflect the current value of the wealth of every adult, whether in the form of income from whatever source or moveable goods. Responsibility for ensuring this case rested squarely on the shoulders of the commissioners. Clearly so wide-ranging and complex a form of taxation posed a massive challenge to the Tudor polity. Could it manage the task administratively, Roger asked? Above all, was there sufficient political commitment to the national interest among the leading social classes, from whose ranks the tax commissioners were drawn, to ensure that the assessments certified to the Exchequer were really based on the true substance and value of every taxpayer? Roger's formidable knowledge of the Tudor administrative machinery and record-keeping led him to suppose that the manpower and skills were sufficient to manage the task, but he reached a very different conclusion about the extent of political commitment on the part of Tudor elites over the long run. He was aware that the yields of the tax were not rising in ways that were commensurate with inflation in the reign of Elizabeth and especially the second half of the 16th century, from the late 1570s onwards. His suspicion had been stimulated by work of another scholar on the peerage who were a group assessed by special commissions so that their assessments should in theory have not been affected by any under-valuations arising from local collusion among commissioners.[71] However this work showed a rising tendency for this group's assets to be markedly undervalued in the later 16th century. Roger looked for a means of testing the accuracy of the subsidy assessments against independent valuations of individual incomes or wealth made within a short period of time of the

[70] Ibid., p. 227.

[71] Helen Miller, 'Subsidy Assessments of the Peerage in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 28 (1955), 15–34.

subsidy assessments. One such source was the probate inventory of an individual's moveable goods, which enabled him to do some rudimentary nominative linkage with those same individuals when they appeared in the tax assessments. While a short-lived member of staff at the Public Records Office in 1965, Roger had collected almost 600 of these inventories but had not used them subsequently. Almost 25 years later, in honouring Geoffrey Elton, he attempted to compare the identified individual's own subsidy assessment over the period from 1524 to the 1570s, enabling him to take into account the complexity of the wealth, the time elapsing between the making of the inventory and the subsidy assessment, region, exemption limits prevailing in the tax, time period and net wealth of the individual. There was the potential for considerable interaction between these factors, so Roger employed a form of multiple classification analysis (a multivariate form of variance analysis) enabling him to estimate the magnitude of the independent influence of each of the six explanatory factors that have previously been outlined. He was able to show how the time period within which the taxation occurred as well as the net wealth of the taxpayer were unambiguously associated with the accuracy of the subsidy assessments. Their accuracy declined steadily through the Elizabethan decades, but by far the most striking finding was the fact that the wealth of the taxpayer accounted for almost three times more variation in the accuracy of the assessments than could be attributed to time period, the next strongest factor. The allegations made by Queen Elizabeth and her privy councillors that rich taxpayers were being more favourably treated than the poor in the later 16th century were amply confirmed. While not surprising, what emerged from this statistical analysis most powerfully was not the collapse of the efficacy of direct assessment over time, but the fact that in Henry VIIIs reign the leading social classes and the crown displayed a striking, possibly unparalleled, later medieval and early modern willingness to operate a system of taxation that revealed a high degree of distributive justice, several centuries ahead of its time. It tells us a good deal about the very considerable effectiveness of the early Tudor taxation state, significantly endorsing one element of the Tudor Revolution in government, to use Elton's terminology. It is ironic that a statistical tool of the kind that Elton himself would have regarded with deep suspicion, possibly repugnance, was being used by Roger emphatically to endorse a central element in Elton's 'Tudor Revolution'. This paper also shows just how rounded was Roger's approach as an historian, displaying an array of talents that ranged across a broad spectrum of historical issues, sources and techniques. It provides evidence to indicate that, had he wished, Roger could have created a position for himself as a Tudor constitutional and political historian of a similar status to that which he achieved as a historical demographer.[72]

[72] John Walter recalls, based both on Roger's published work and his memory of undergraduate supervisions with him, that 'he demonstrated not just an ability to move across the (too often) discrete labels under

Very soon after the publication of *Famine, disease and the social order*, in the same month in 1988 that he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, Roger suffered the first of the strokes that ushered in 30 years of ill health. Initially, following a promising recovery from the first stroke, he was able to meet certain of his obligations as both member and chair of the Historical Demography Committee of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) by organising two significant seminars. These gave rise to two publications edited collaboratively with David Reher of Complutense University, Madrid, who was especially important in assisting Roger to regain his capacity once again to work effectively. Regrettably, Roger was never again able to prepare articles with the intellectual sparkle and economy of argument that characterised his work in the 1980s.[73] He somehow managed to produce a technically highly precise chapter on British population change between 1700 and 1871 for *The Cambridge Economic History of Britain since 1700* which appeared in 1994.[74] Furthermore, he finally succeeded in bringing his PhD into print in 2004, which certainly helped to boost his sense of academic usefulness when it was becoming particularly difficult for him to undertake new document-based research, although he could burrow into the Group's family reconstitution data files to write an intriguing essay on the diurnal patterns concerning baptisms, marriages and burials that appeared in *Continuity and Change* in 2005.[75]

Roger's incapacity in the 1990s had inevitably set back the arrival of the Cambridge Group's next major publication based on the 26-parish set of family reconstitutions that eventually appeared in 1997.[76] It is difficult not to suppose that, had his intellectual powers been retained after 1988, this volume would have arrived sooner and benefited from his distinctive inputs. Roger's work had been central to the design of the reconstitution-parish data set and trailers for the long-awaited results appearing in the 1970s and 1980s indicate how vital had been his foundational contribution to culmination of the

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which historians corral more complex lived experience but the absolute necessity to do so. It was one of the indirect lessons I learnt from the experience of being supervised by him when in our freewheeling discussions I used to return frequently to the wisdom? of separate constitutional/political and social/economic history papers- heuristic gain from specialisation but also loss, and ironically a driver for me in my own work to try to work beyond the labels'. Email from John Walter to Richard Smith, 8 January 2025.

[73] R. Schofield, D. Reher & A. Bideau (eds), *The Decline of Mortality in Europe* (Oxford, 1991), and R. Schofield & D. Reher (eds), *Old and New Methods in Historical Demography* (Oxford, 1993).

[74] R. Schofield, 'British Population Change, 1700–1871', in R. Floud & D. McCloskey (eds), *The Economic History of Britain since 1700*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1994), I, pp. 60–95.

[75] Schofield, *Taxation under the Early Tudors* and R. Schofield, '"Monday's Child is Fair of Face": Favoured Days for Baptism, Marriage and Burial in Pre-Industrial England', *Continuity and Change*, 20 (2005), 93–109.

[76] E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J. Oeppen & R. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution* (Cambridge, 1997).

project.[77] However the only subject in *English Population History From Family Reconstitution 1580–1837* (*EPHFFR*) that was clearly the product of original research by Roger concerned his very deft treatment of maternal mortality, the principal findings for which had appeared earlier in his essay in a *festschrift* presented to Laslett.[78] That work still shone through as a result of Roger's use of primary research on Swedish historical population data that could be employed as a surrogate for key missing data in the English evidence. In the case of live births, English registers omitted precisely those stillbirths in which a mother's life was most at risk. It was therefore necessary to find data that could be used to correct for this omission. Swedish evidence does contain this information, and it was fortuitous perhaps that Roger had become so accomplished in its usage and understanding. He worked from the position that English and Swedish mortality regimes were very similar in the 18th century, and noted that there was also rough parity in maternal mortality levels in both countries in the 19th century data. Hence Roger used evidence from Swedish population registers to supply this information to provide corrected and significantly enhanced maternal mortality rates from the English registers. A striking improvement of maternal mortality along with that of perinatal mortality was revealed for the century or so after 1750, and has proved to be a very significant development in our understanding of mortality trends more generally in that period. This work again shows the inherent cleverness of Roger's approach and his impressive command of and an ability to generate historical demographic data from another European setting.

EPHFFR repeated in large measure a preference for the aggregation of parish data from 26 English parishes into a 'national' data set that had also characterised the use of 404 parishes in *TPHE*. While this approach was understandably adopted to facilitate a comparison with the data set used in *TPHE*, only in investigations of infant and child mortality and ages at first marriages were parish-by-parish variations considered.[79] The book, while exceptionally sophisticated in its generation of a host of demographic measurements, was of far more interest to demographers than had been *TPHE* to historians in 1981. If not in *EPHFFR* but through his own work and that of his graduate students as well as the many amateur historians with whom he had developed such warm

[77] For example, R. Schofield & E.A. Wrigley, 'Remarriage Intervals and the Effect of Marriage Order on Fertility', in J. Dupaquier *et al.* (eds), *Marriage and Remarriage in Past Populations* (London, 1981), pp. 211–27; Wrigley & Schofield, 'English Population History from Family Reconstitution: some Summary Results'.

[78] R. Schofield, 'Did the Mothers Really Die? Three Centuries of Maternal Mortality in "The World we Have Lost"', in L. Bonfield, R. Smith & K. Wrightson (eds), *The World We have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 231–60, which forms the basis of Wrigley *et al.*, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution*, pp. 307–21.

[79] See the criticism of *EPHFFR* by E. Griffin, 'A Conundrum Resolved? Rethinking Marriage and Population Growth in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 215 (2012), 125–64.

and close relations, we could be reasonably confident that Roger, if physically fit, would have helped to produce a clearer sense of local variations and their determinants than was achieved. Such an approach is still needed, as English historical demography has become more focused on records based on the post–1837 period and far less concerned with innovative use of parish registers and their interlinkage with other nominative sources. Indeed, however grand was his reputation, Roger never lost touch while his health was good, and he was research active, with the stalwart members of the Local Population Studies Society.

The 404 parishes that had formed the basis of *TPHE* had been selected from those eventually numbering nearly 800 collected by the local volunteers.[80] The significance of those volunteers had caught the attention of Louis Henry when, in Cambridge for the award of an honorary degree in 1976, he had termed these amateur historians '*le* secret weapon *anglais*' to reflect their strategically central role in Group's work.[81] There was reference in *TPHE* to a plan to make their returns available as a data set, free of charge, for all, so that they would be usable by local historians for local and regional analysis.[82] In the event these were not made available until the year before Roger retired from the board, when he produced them with an accompanying CD-Rom as a *Local Population Studies* supplement.[83] In fact there must be some irony in the fact that the data collected by the local historians were ultimately to be used by the Cambridge Group largely in the creation of a national aggregate, the study of which was unable to give much attention to regional analysis, with the noteworthy exception of those parts of the *TPHE* where Roger discusses geographical variations in susceptibility to crisis mortality, in the seasonality of those crises and in the seasonality of burials and marriages. Nonetheless Roger's and Wrigley's debt to the 230 historians who had initially collected the data for that mammoth work was clear in the fact that the resulting book was dedicated to them.[84]

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[80] News from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure', *Local Population Studies*, 21 (1978), 9–10.

[81] Louis Henry, when shown the results of local studies of population in England assembled at the Cambridge Group, exclaimed 'Ah! c'est le secret weapon Anglais. Cela ne peut pas exister en France': 'News from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure', *Local Population Studies*, 19 (1977), 9.

[82] 'News from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure', *Local Population Studies*, 32 (1984), 8–10.

[83] R. Schofield, *Parish Register Aggregative Analysis* (*Local Population Studies* supplement; Colchester, 1996).

[84] 'News from the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure', *Local Population Studies*, 25 (1980), 10.

Roger's career was certainly not that of a conventional historian, notwithstanding his fellowship at Clare College where he very effectively taught economic and social history to many generations of undergraduates as well as to students from other Cambridge colleges.[85] He was principally employed by the SSRC and then its successor the ESRC (from 1966 to 1994) when it was the sole funder of the Cambridge Group. Despite his considerable successes as a young historian in the early 1960s and his fellowship of the Royal Historical Society in 1970, his credentials as a social scientist were his most widely recognised attributes. He became a trustee of the Population Investigation Committee from 1976, its treasurer 1988–96, a co-editor of *Population Studies*, a member of the software provision committee of the UK Computer Board, in fact its treasurer 1987–97, a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society, presidents of both the British Society for Population Studies and of the US-based Social Science History Association, one of the earliest Europeans on the editorial board of the principal North American journal, *Demography*, and a member of the Historical Demography committee of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population and its chair. When elected to the British Academy it was to an all-embracing 'Social Studies' Section which was then made up of Fellows across many disciplines. These then included Demography, Social Statistics, Sociology, Human Geography, Social Anthropology and Psychology, but which as subject areas now form three separate Sections. Roger nonetheless was immediately on election invited to join one of the two modern history Sections of the Academy.[86]

Roger was in his prime in 1988 when he experienced his first stroke. From the late 1960s to the late 1980s, he made some of the most seminal contributions to many aspects of English and comparative European population history, methodologically and conceptually. Equally insightful were his contributions to such fields as taxation and the Tudor fiscal state, to the launching of a systematic historical study of literacy, as well as genuine innovations that he made in the computer-based sorting and analysis of historical evidence more broadly. His graduate students were distinctive in researching topics ranging from the 13th to 20th centuries. They were invariably grateful for his astute observations and well directed criticisms of chapter drafts that came back annotated with

[85] David Cressy writes in 'Literacy, Social Structure and Social Drama' 56, that 'his supervisions in social and economic history were as revolutionary as his wardrobe, with chunks of the *Economic History Review* as well as tracts like *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*'. John Walter when an undergraduate at Trinity Hall also recalls supervisions with Roger in the late 1960s. He remembers Roger as 'an extraordinarily well-prepared teacher (who else gave out printed bibliographies for a range of topics at the first meeting?).' He also notes that '… timing our supervisions in his cramped Silver Street "garret" for later afternoons, Roger showed little regard for the clock and allowed me to debate and freewheel well beyond the topic and secondary reading, even though later as a university teacher myself, I realise the other demands he would have had on his time, not least the London train.' Email from John Walter to Richard Smith, received on 8 January 2025.

[86] Roger served on the British Academy's Records of Social and Economic History committee 1990–2000.

his highly distinctive italic script in a variety of colours. Several became influential in their field, including David Levine, Richard Smith and Simon Szreter in historical demography, and David Cressy and John Morgan whose interests had been in literacy and reading. His empathy with young researchers was widely appreciated internationally. In 2020 the European Society for Historical Demography, then under the chairmanship of Diego Ramiro Fariñas who as a Marie Curie Fellow at the Cambridge Group had received much help from Roger, honoured his scientific contribution by establishing an award in his name to recognise an outstanding young demographer. His inability to act as a PhD supervisor following his stroke had the unfortunate effect that his undoubted skills in enhancing the research output of the Group's and visiting graduate students were also lost to his many fields of expertise.

His lifestyle became quite severely limited because of his strokes, immobility arising from a broken hip and impaired eyesight through eye infections that led to periods in Addenbrookes Hospital, the Hope Nursing Home on Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge, and essential 24-hour care in his penthouse apartment in the city centre. Yet he never lost his delight in fine wine and good cheeses, and he often managed to get into Clare College to dine by deft use of his battery powered wheelchair and the kitchen's freight lift. His college, where he was a fellow for over 50 years, remained very important to him, offering him considerable solace and opportunity to socialise and particularly to meet younger scholars. He was greatly admired since he remained remarkably cheerful and was always appreciative of visits from friends, former colleagues and students.

Roger although primarily a researcher was a generous and enthusiastic undergraduate teacher in Clare, opening up new perspectives to how the past could be better understood, and with his warmth of spirit he helped to create, in the 1970s and 80s, a more humane, accepting atmosphere at the college for students of all backgrounds and genders. At Roger's funeral in April 2019, Polly O'Hanlon, one of Clare's most distinguished history graduates and herself a Fellow of the British Academy, who was among the very first intake of women into the college in 1972, spoke warmly of the ways in which Roger, in particular, made great efforts to ensure that the initial cohort of women was warmly received in a college where males numerically dominated the student body and the fellowship. Roger's scholarly range enabled him to undertake the task of cataloguing the rare book collection of the Fellows' Library, a place he wished to preserve and enhance for the use of future scholars. It was Roger's request that the substantial legacy of *c.* £1.2 million which he bestowed to the college at his death might especially benefit the graduate community, in which he had always taken a special interest. Those funds went a considerable way to cover the costs of a new graduate residence, the Schofield House, that opened in 2021. In this generosity, he resembled his uncle Michael Schofield who also took the academic route and endowed several charities with funds that he, like Roger, had also inherited from the family estate. Between 1968 and 2005

Michael had donated at least £3 million to small struggling charities, particularly groups working for civil liberties and for the protection of the environment. A noteworthy indication of Roger's empathy towards a less privileged section of the research community is evident in his covenanted donation to the Local Population Studies Society which ensures valuable financial assistance to local historians via the Roger Schofield Local Population Studies Research Fund.

Following his retirement as Director of the Cambridge Group, Roger retained an office in it although it was increasingly difficult to use that base and attend seminars. Notwithstanding worsening health, he remained especially valued in the United States, enabled by his loyal commitment to the Social Science History Association, the presidency of which he had assumed in 1997.[87] He had been the Sherman Fairchild Distinguished Scholar in the Social Sciences at the California Institute of Technology in 1984–5 when in his intellectual prime, and again in 1990 following a sadly short-lived recovery from his first stroke. He also served as Visiting Professor of Demography at that same institution twice between 1992 and 1994, where he was able to gain some relief from the strains of administering the Cambridge Group, conveniently timed to escape the worst of the English winter.

Roger's deep interest in the archives of the Tudor Exchequer left a fire in his belly that was never fully extinguished, since at the age of 77, after 26 years of debilitating physical crises, somehow he retrieved transcripts from his old Public Records Office notes and prepared an intriguing article based on an anecdotal case concerning a debt related to the lay subsidy being pursued by Henry Patenson, Sir Thomas More's personal court jester.[88] He also retained strong connections with Swedish friends and scholars, a long-standing academic association that he had built up initially in the 1970s. It was no accident that Roger's second to last appearance in print was in a paper he had left unpublished for more than 25 years that came out, initially online, in the *Economic History Review* in 2015. This article appeared 50 years after his first in that journal, and was concerned with measuring and determining the mode of transmission of an outbreak of plague in the early 18th-century Swedish community of Bräkne Hoby.[89]

Those who only saw Roger in his very final years saw someone gauntly shrunken; but those who had known him from the late 1960s will never forget that he had then been such a dashing figure, sporting an open neck, brightly coloured shirt, red spotted kerchief, safari jacket, Levi cords and Chelsea boots, looking entirely unlike the conventional

[87] Roger to date has been the only European president of this US Society, and the text of his presidential address was published as 'Through a Glass Darkly', *Social Science History*.
[88] R. Schofield, 'Still More Things to Forget in the Wiping of Henry Patenson's Bottom in the Exchequer', *Moreana*, 51 (2017), 29–43.
[89] R. Schofield, 'The Last Visitation of the Plague in Sweden: The Case of Bräkne Hoby in 1710–1711', *Economic History Review*, 69 (2015), 600–26.

Oxbridge don as he passed rapidly by, hair flowing, on his racing bike traversing the streets to the Cambridge Group from the city's railway station. He left a memorable impression at Group seminars that has never been replaced, where he even managed to stand out from his two distinguished, more senior and greatly honoured colleagues, through his remarkable quick-wittedness and capacity to expose wrongly interpreted or created statistics. Roger's indubitably brilliant contributions that he made in the 1970s and 1980s serve as a testimony to the heyday of historical demography, and evoke the intellectual excitement that attracted many into it as young researchers. It can only be wished that fate had been kinder, since better health would doubtlessly have enabled him to have added even more to the lustre of this historical sub-discipline than he most certainly succeeded in doing.

Roger had divorced Katherine in 1999, but she had remained on very good terms with him until she sadly died in 2002, but their daughter Melanie, through her loving care, gave him a remarkable tenacity to sustain his life despite acute physical suffering before his death aged 81 on 9 April 2019.

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Note on the author: Richard M. Smith is a past Director of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, and Emeritus Professor of Historical Geography and Demography at Cambridge University. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1991.

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