

# **Chasing Ancestors: Searching for the roots of American Sign Language in the Kentish Weald, 1620-1851**

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by  
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## **Statement**

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

**Signature:**.....

## Summary

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

Mary E. Kitzel

Chasing Ancestors: Searching for the roots of American Sign  
Language in the Kentish Weald, 1620-1851

SUMMARY

Late twentieth-century discourses regarding deaf people and sign language provide the theoretical background for investigating early modern families with hereditary deafness within the Kentish Weald. The first of its kind, this thesis described the methods used to ascertain the presence of sufficient numbers of networked Deaf people to maintain a natural sign language.

A source-driven work, it began with two data sources – a list generated by previous American genealogical research of the first known European-American Deaf families originating from seventeenth-century Kent and the 1851 Census of Great Britain, a previously unexplored resource of the first attempt to fully enumerate deaf people in Britain. This thesis was based on an analysis of primary documentation and a critical reading of previous primary and secondary sources seeking to connect the two initial sources. Its framework was predicated on a stance that acknowledges and values Deaf culture and its embodied performed manifestation, sign language. Examining the discourses surrounding deaf people throughout the period, it relied upon the concepts of representation, individual identity, and group identity to query the existence of a Deaf group identity predating the labels used to describe it.

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## ***Abbreviations***

### **Languages**

ASL – American Sign Language

BSL – British Sign Language

LSF - Langue des Signes Française

MVSL – Martha’s Vineyard Sign Language

OKSL – Old Kent Sign Language

SEE – Signing Exact English

### **Sources**

BPP – British Parliamentary Papers

CEBs – Census Enumerators’ Books

CKS – Centre for Kentish Studies

GRO – General Records Office

NTID – The National Technical Institute for the Deaf at the Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, New York

RCSD – Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate

### **A note on the term ‘deaf’**

Throughout the thesis the term ‘deaf’ is used in different ways. Chapter 2 has a section on this, but for the reader’s ease, here is a quick reference:

deaf – a hearing loss, pathology

Deaf – An indicator of cultural identity and group affiliation

DEAF – a gloss or indicator of the English translation for the sign ‘deaf’.

deaf and dumb – without hearing and speech, an antiquated term

# Chapter 1 Introduction



Figure 1.1 Kitchen's 1760 Map of Kent for the London Magazine (Source: [http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU\\_files/ENG/KEN/kitchin\\_ken\\_1760.htm](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU_files/ENG/KEN/kitchin_ken_1760.htm). Date accessed: 13 Sept 2013)

## 1.1 Introduction

The prologue of Gannon's 1981 *Deaf Heritage: A Narrative History of Deaf America*, a canonical American Deaf history, opens with the heading 'A Journey Begins'.<sup>1</sup> What follows is a brief version of a much longer epic told over and over by Deaf people in the United States. It is the Deaf America creation myth. Set in the second decade of the nineteenth century, it tells the tale of two men, Thomas H. Gallaudet, a young minister, and Laurent Clerc, a Deaf teacher from the school in Paris, and their founding of the first school for the deaf in America in Hartford, Connecticut. The school and its apocryphal foundation story functions as a focal

<sup>1</sup> Gannon, J. R. 1981: *Deaf heritage, a narrative history of Deaf America*. National Association of the Deaf: xxi

point for Deaf people across the United States. It also marks the beginnings of their modern language, American Sign Language.

To people who use sign language (hereafter signing peoples) in North America the founding of the first school for the deaf represents the origin of their culture. Repeating similar developments in France, Scotland, and England (see Chapter 5), the schools for the deaf formally assembled signing peoples for the first time. These schools drew people to them, including the children of signing peoples, and provided a material nucleus from which deaf education, sign language, and Deaf cultural values could flourish and spread. It also functioned as a place for supporting and affirming the validity of internal and, by extension, external deaf identities for some deaf people who, for the most part, would have otherwise likely lived in relative isolation. Yet just a few years after the *Narrative History* was published another book came on the scene, stretching the origins of European-American Deaf history even further back in time, all the way to the pilgrims.

Published in 1985, *Everyone here spoke sign language: Hereditary deafness on Martha's Vineyard* presented new evidence of an earlier European-American Deaf community. It was based upon Groce's doctoral thesis of her ethnographic study of Deaf families on the island of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> Groce demonstrated that the island's population carried a recessive gene for deafness and through endogamous marriage produced unusually high percentages of Deaf people. Groce traced these deaf families back to early English colonists, most of whom came from parishes in the Weald of Kent. The first work of its kind, Groce's research on Martha's Vineyard's rural communities was an intriguing glimpse into a new form of Deaf history. The book quickly and uncritically entered the canon of Deaf Studies and is still considered a foundational reading for Deaf Studies students. As a history of a location where everyone could sign, it developed rather quickly into a Deaf utopian legend, a Shangri-La. Subsequently, other American

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<sup>2</sup> Groce, N. E. 1985: *Everyone here spoke sign language: Hereditary deafness in Martha's Vineyard*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press. Hereafter, *Everyone here*.

Deaf historians traced the origins of other early American Deaf families in Henniker, New Hampshire, and the Sand River Valley, Maine. They traced the origins of some of their families to Kent as well, sometimes via the Vineyard.<sup>3</sup>

I first came across Groce's book just a couple of years after its publication. I was an interpreting student at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID) at the Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT), in Rochester, New York. Our campus community included more than a thousand deaf students. After graduation, I stayed on at RIT to work as an interpreter. As a member of that community I used sign language on a daily basis. Throughout my years as a university interpreter, I returned regularly to Groce's *Everyone Here* in preparation for course assignments. While Martha's Vineyard was always marked as an important moment in American Deaf history, the founding of the school at Hartford continued to hold sway as the genesis moment of Deaf culture in the United States. The reasons for this may be that the school drew people to it, including the Vineyard's deaf student-aged population, and provided a place for supporting and affirming the validity of an internal deaf identity for people who, for the most part, would have otherwise likely lived in relative isolation, and a location from which all those previously listed cherished expressions of Deaf culture could flourish and spread.

In the spring of 2007, I reread Groce's book in preparation for an interpreting assignment. At the time, I was also getting ready to move to England and begin my post-graduate studies at Sussex. Reading the portions of the book that ascribed the origins of the first European-American Deaf communities to a portion of Kent called the Weald caught my attention. I had spent the previous two summers on the edges of the Sussex Weald and had grown fond of the area. I began to wonder if any additional work had been done on this as Groce stated in *Everyone Here* that

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<sup>3</sup> Lane, H., Pillard, R.C. & French, M. 2000: Origins of the American Deaf-World: Assimilating and differentiating societies and their relation to genetic patterning. *Sign Language Studies* 1, 17-44; Lane, H., Pillard, R. & Hedberg, U. 2007: Nancy Rowe and George Curtis: Deaf lives in Maine 150 years ago. *Sign Language Studies* 7, 15, 152-166; Lane, H., Pillard, R.C. & Hedberg, U. 2011: *The people of the eye: deaf ethnicity and ancestry*. New York: Oxford University Press.

she planned to continue the project.<sup>4</sup> A search showed neither she nor anyone else had published any additional research in this area. And while others had continued studying the Americans, the British work remained neglected. By the time I attended my first supervision meeting the following autumn, I had this project proposal already in mind. This thesis is the result.

This chapter introduces the origins of my thesis project. It also discusses the development of the research questions addressed and how the study was organised. It outlines Groce's argument in favour of Old Kent Sign language. It discussed sign languages and some of the current typologies currently used by sociolinguists in an effort to critically assess the languages of the study, MVSL and OKSL, and found that while MVSL, though extinct, probably qualifies as a natural sign language, OKSL remains a hypothetical language based on fragile evidence. The use of Pepys' diary as evidence of a signed language in the later part of the seventeenth century was questioned based on more recent assessment of his voluminous work. Finally, it locates the study and previews the rest of the thesis. In the next section, the rationale, aim and scope of the project will be laid out. It will also describe the disciplinary intersections that made the thesis possible.

## **1.2 Rationale, Aim and Scope of the Project**

In *Everyone here*, Groce hypothesized that Kent colonists brought a sign language with them, Old Kent Sign Language (OKSL); one the colonists knew because there were sufficiently large enough numbers of hereditarily deaf people back home in wealden parishes to support and sustain a language.<sup>5</sup> Deaf studies scholars on both sides of the Atlantic have yet to substantiate or refute this hypothesis, though many have expressed opinions.<sup>6</sup> Directly or indirectly, and from their different

<sup>4</sup> Groce, N.E. 1983: 'Hereditary deafness on the island of Martha's Vineyard: An ethnohistory of a genetic disorder' Department of Anthropology, Providence, RI: Brown University: 300.

<sup>5</sup> Groce 1983; Groce 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Bahan, B. & Poole-Nash, J. 1996: The formation of signing communities in J. Mann, editor, *Deaf Studies IV conference proceedings*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University College of Continuing Education, 1-16; Bragg, L. 1997: Visual-Kinetic Communication in Europe Before

stances within Deaf studies, they call for research that identifies this early modern English Deaf community and their language. *Everyone Here* was published simultaneously with the development of the ‘Deaf culture’ model in the 1980s. New research supporting this cultural model was eagerly and, at least initially, fairly uncritically embraced. The signing idyll of Martha’s Vineyard sparked the imaginations of American Deaf people. It offered a form of Deaf social Utopia that has only recently been called into question.<sup>7</sup> OKSL, though only proposed by Groce, suited the cultural narrative that was being constructed, and even without additional proof of its actual existence, continues to persist in both academic and lay literature.

This thesis answers that call - it reports an investigation of a portion of English, and by extension American, Deaf history. By doing so, it opens a new area of inquiry for historical and cultural geographies. I chose geography as the appropriate overall home for this research because of the discipline’s methodological flexibility and

1600: A survey of sign lexicons and finger alphabets prior to the rise of deaf education. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* 2, 1-25; Ladd, P. 2003: *Understanding Deaf Culture: In Search of Deafhood*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters Ltd.; Padden, C. & Humphries, J. 2005: *Inside Deaf Culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Poole, J.C. (date unknown): A Preliminary Description of Martha Vineyard’s Sign Language: Its Origins and Influence Upon American Sign Language. (Unpublished manuscript) Chilmark, Massachusetts: Chilmark Free Public Library.  
[http://catalog.chilmarklibrary.org/pdf/pdf\\_files/professional\\_research/preliminary%20description%20of%20mv%20sign%20language%20influence%20and%20origins\\_jcpoole.pdf](http://catalog.chilmarklibrary.org/pdf/pdf_files/professional_research/preliminary%20description%20of%20mv%20sign%20language%20influence%20and%20origins_jcpoole.pdf)  
 (Date accessed: 18 January 2013); Stone, C. & Woll, B., 2008: Dumb O Jemmy and Others: Deaf people, interpreters and the London courts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Sign language studies*, 8(3), 226–240; Woll, B. 1984: The comparative study of different sign languages: Preliminary analysis in Loncke, F. Boyes-Bream, P. & Lebrun, Y., (eds), *Recent research on European sign languages*, Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, 79-91; Woll, B., Sutton-Spence, R., & Elton, F. 2001: Multilingualism: The global approach to sign languages in Lucas, C., (ed.), *The sociolinguistics of sign languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 8-32.

<sup>7</sup> In personal correspondence, Groce expressed frustration with the utopian image people have drawn around the signing community on Martha’s Vineyard. 18 February 2010. Kusters, A. 2010: Deaf Utopias? Reviewing the Sociocultural Literature on the World’s “Martha’s Vineyard Situations”, *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 15, 1, 3-16; Schembri, A., Cormier, K., Johnston, T., McKee, D., McKee, R., & Woll, B. 2010: Sociolinguistic variation in British, Australian, and New Zealand Sign Languages in Brentari, D., (ed), *Sign languages: A Cambridge language survey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 498.

emphasis on context. As a project of cultural geography, I relied upon concepts borrowed from post-structuralism: representation, individual identity and group identity. Using these, I queried the existence of a Deaf group identity predating the labels currently used to describe it. I also examined the importance of the discourses both within and without the group, and the development of a dialectically false binary between the notions of deaf and hearing. Chapter 2 will elaborate on these ideas, and Chapter 5 will describe the historical development of them. Thus far, non-signing people have dominated various social science and history research agendas. Their interests have not focused on this relatively small subset of the population and thereby have frustrated Deaf studies researchers attempting to work from a Deaf epistemological approach.<sup>8</sup> The majority of research in this area has been published in specialist Deaf studies journals. Even within these journals, publication of research into early modern Deaf communities remains rare, especially those that focus on Deaf history before the advent of social institutions for deaf people.

On-going Deaf history research based in New England has produced genealogical evidence showing a connection between early European-American families with hereditary deafness and communities within the Weald of Kent.<sup>9</sup> For the most part, this research begins with the arrival of the colonists' ships to the New World. In their work, they primarily rely upon American sources, including Groce's brief exploration of the English origins of these colonial families. Thus far, British Deaf historians have tended to concentrate their efforts on two categories of research: notable individuals and social institutions.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to human geography, the project drew on concepts from several disciplines: Deaf studies, sociolinguistics, and local and community history. Deaf studies offered ways of negotiating constructions of 'deaf' and 'sign language', and

<sup>8</sup> Ladd 2003: 449-450.

<sup>9</sup> Lane, et al. 2000; Lane, et al. 2007; Lane, et al. 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Lee, R., editor, 2004: *A Beginner's Introduction to Deaf history*. Feltham, Middlesex: British Deaf History Society Publications.

sociolinguistics functioned as a way to make the connections between language communities. These fields provided the theoretical structure for the research. Local and community history provide the background of county, parish and community events.

The framing of this project could not have happened fifty years ago, or even when Groce wrote her thesis in the 1980s.<sup>11</sup> Deaf studies has been highly politicised from its earliest beginnings. The suppression of sign language in deaf education and attempts to suppress the formulation of Deaf individual and group identities began as far back as the second half of the nineteenth century. This systemic oppression meant that any effort to support sign language or a Deaf culture identity was political and subversive. As a discipline, Deaf Studies provides the academic evidence in support of the worthiness of both the language and Deaf culture. Any research supporting Deaf culture and sign language was emancipatory and eagerly embraced by advocates of a Deaf political view. Groce's work has seen as proof positive of a successful Deaf community in history and was cherished for its narrative of a location of acceptance, where everyone spoke sign language, an overwhelmingly attractive notion to an oppressed people.

In this environment, Groce's research was yet to be replicated or extended, though her two-pronged method would be impossible to replicate now. In addition to archival research, she collected oral histories from the local elders, and more than half of them had died before she completed the project.<sup>12</sup> With so many of her informants gone, this aspect of the deaf Vineyarders' experience is lost.

British Human Geography needed to be accepting enough of the Deaf culture model to begin to allow a 'culture frame' to be applied within a Deaf context. 'Deaf geographies' began to appear in geography journals with the trailblazing research

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<sup>11</sup> Groce 1983

<sup>12</sup> Groce 1985: 109

of Skelton and Valentine and Batterbury, Ladd, and Gulliver.<sup>13</sup> Dedicated sessions at both the Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers 2011 conference and the Association of American Geographers 2011 and 2012 conferences all indicate a growing interest in this area for geographers.<sup>14</sup>

### **1.3 Hereditary Deafness**

The assumption of hereditary deafness in Kent was based on Groce's work and is fundamental to this thesis. As Groce demonstrated, descendants of the Martha's Vineyard colonists were carriers of a recessive gene for deafness, and through endogamous marriages, this trait made a regular appearance in the island's population.<sup>15</sup> Hereditary deafness has more than one origin. The Human Genome Project has dramatically expanded our understanding of genetic deafness.

According to Dagan and Avraham, approximately 60 per cent of hearing loss today is genetic.<sup>16</sup> These may be divided between syndromic - hearing loss that includes other features, and nonsyndromic - hearing loss with vestibular dysfunction, but no other signs. Most genetic hearing loss is of the latter type.

Nonsyndromic hearing loss is very heterogeneous, that is, mutations in many genes lead to hearing impairment. This can be seen in different modes of inheritance (recessive, dominant, X-

<sup>13</sup> Skelton, T. & Valentine, G. 2003: 'It feels like being Deaf is normal': An exploration into the complexities of defining D/deafness and young D/deaf people's identities. *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe canadien* 47 (4): 451–66; Valentine, G. & Skelton, T. 2003: Living on the edge: the marginalisation and 'resistance' of D/deaf youth. *Environment and Planning A*, 35: 301-321; Valentine, G. & Skelton, T. 2008: Changing spaces: the role of the internet in shaping Deaf geographies. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9 (5): 469-485; Batterbury, S.C.E., Ladd, P. & Gulliver, M. 2007: Sign Language Peoples as indigenous minorities: Implications for research and policy. *Environment and Planning A* 39: 2899-2915.

<sup>14</sup> 'Intersecting Geographical Imaginations: Social Geography and Deaf Studies' panel session at Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers Annual Conference, London, 11 September 2011; 'Deaf Space, Signed Languages, and d/Deaf Culture, 1 & 2', panel sessions, Association of American Geographers Annual Conference, Seattle, Washington, 14 April 2011; 'Deaf Geographies I, II, & III,' panels sessions, Association of American Geographers Annual Conference, New York, New York, 27 February, 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Groce 1983; Groce 1985

<sup>16</sup> Dagan, O. & Avraham, K. 2004: The complexity of hearing loss from a genetics perspective in Van Cleve, J. V., editor, *Genetics, disability and deafness*, Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 81-93: 83

linked, or mitochondrial), different ages of onset, (prelingual, postlingual) differences in severity (mild, moderate, severe or profound), differences in stability, and differences in site affected (middle ear for conductive hearing loss or inner ear for sensorineural hearing loss).<sup>17</sup>

In 2003, about 1 in 1000 British children were born deaf. It was estimated that genetic causes account for at least 60 per cent of these cases. Of those genetic cases, 70 per cent of deafness occurred in the absence of other clinical features – signs or symptoms – and was termed ‘non-syndromic’. Recessive genes account for 80 per cent of such deafness, which represented about one-third of all hereditary deafness.<sup>18</sup> One gene in particular, connexin 26, has been identified as the origin of the commonest form of genetic deafness in the United States and in Britain.<sup>19</sup> This gene causes more than half of all cases of genetic deafness.<sup>20</sup> Connexin 26 effects the development and functioning of the inner ear.

If the Weald’s population represented a deme, a small, relatively isolated group, like Groce found with the Vineyard’s population, a gene’s frequency, like connexin 26’s, could have increased until it became predominant in the local population. If, as she also found in the extinguishment of the Vineyard’s deaf population, the local people migrated to other areas for schooling, marriage, or employment purposes, the gene’s frequency would likely have dropped off again.

Discussions of hereditary deafness have had political ramifications for the Deaf community since the nineteenth century when Alexander Graham Bell famously campaigned to curb the rights of Deaf people to marry. He argued that if Deaf

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<sup>17</sup> Dagan & Avraham 2004: 83

<sup>18</sup> Ryan, M., Miedzybrodska, Z., Fraser, L., & Hall, M. 2003: Genetic information but not termination: pregnant women’s attitudes and willingness to pay for carrier screening for deafness genes, *Journal of Medical Genetics* 40, 6

<sup>19</sup> For the US, see Nance, W.E. 2004: The Epidemiology of hereditary deafness: the impact of Connexion 26 on the size and structure of the Deaf community in Van Cleve, J. V., editor, *Genetics, disability and deafness*. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press: 94. For Great Britain, see Ryan, et al. 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Nance 2004: 97

people married deaf people, more deaf children would be born.<sup>21</sup> His efforts were unsuccessful, but the persistent echoes of his rhetoric reappear in twenty-first century genetics literature.

In the case of deafness, ... the introduction of sign language was accompanied by the onset of intense linguistic homogamy, or the tendency of deaf persons to select marriage partners who are also fluent in sign language.<sup>22</sup>

## **1.4 The Myth of OKSL**

In this section I will critically summarise Groce's argument for the existence of Old Kent Sign Language (OKSL) and present new evidence that calls into question the language's existence.

### **1.4.1 Summary of Groce's argument**

Groce began the process of making the historical connection between ASL and BSL by searching for evidence of sign in Kent. She used the excerpt from Samuel Pepys' Diary to argue that a sign language, OKSL, was in use in Kent in the mid-seventeenth century by both Deaf and hearing people:

But, above all, there comes in the dumb boy that I knew in Oliver's time, who is mightily acquainted here, and with Downing; and he made strange signs of the fire, and how the King was abroad, and many things they understood, but I could not, which I wondering at, and discoursing with Downing about it, "Why," says he, "it is only a little use, and you will understand him, and make him understand you with as much ease as may be." So I prayed him to tell him that I was afeard that my coach would be gone, and that he should go down and steal one of the seats out of the coach and keep it, and that would make the coachman to stay. He did this, so that the dumb boy did go down, and, like a cunning rogue, went into the coach, pretending to sleep; and, by and by, fell to his work, but finds the seats nailed to the coach. So he did all he could, but could not do it; however, stayed there, and stayed the coach till the coachman's patience was quite spent, and beat the dumb boy by

<sup>21</sup> Gordon, J. C., editor, 1892: *Education of Deaf Children: Evidence of Edward Minor Gallaudet and Alexander Graham Bell, presented to the Royal Commission of the United Kingdom on the condition of the blind, the deaf and dumb, etc. with accompanying papers, postscripts, and an index*, Washington, D.C.: Volta Bureau.

<sup>22</sup> Nance 2004: 98

force, and so went away. So the dumb boy come up and told him all the story, which they below did see all that passed, and knew it to be true.<sup>23</sup>

Groce attached significance to the anecdote, claiming Downing had been raised in Maidstone, ‘the very heart of the Kentish Weald,’ and it is there he may have learned the local sign language as a boy.<sup>24</sup> She also said, ‘The later easy acceptance of sign language on the Vineyard may in fact be rooted in its acceptance in such places as Maidstone.’<sup>25</sup> Groce claimed in her title that everyone used sign language, but the level and skills of individual signers undoubtedly varied depending on the prevalence of deafness in particular areas and amongst particular families. In England, a person’s level of activity in community affairs was often based on class. It was not a meritocracy. There was a lack of evidence in the study parishes of named Deaf people accepting alms or being in the workhouse. This points to a level of economic achievement on par with their hearing counterparts. The records of the parishes that Groce identifies which are actually within the Weald remain remarkably silent about their deaf parishioners.

Groce hypothesizes that the colonists from Kent brought a natural sign language with them; one they knew back home in the wealden parishes, where there were enough Deaf people to support and sustain a language.<sup>26</sup> If indeed they had this shared progenitor then aspects of ASL’s and BSL’s lexicons should be shared. Additional research by Bahan and Poole-Nash supports the idea of British Sign Language having originally been brought over by the colonists. They report that a British Deaf signer identified 40 per cent of the signs as British Sign Language cognates when presented with Martha’s Vineyard sign elicited from elderly hearing residents in 1977.<sup>27</sup>

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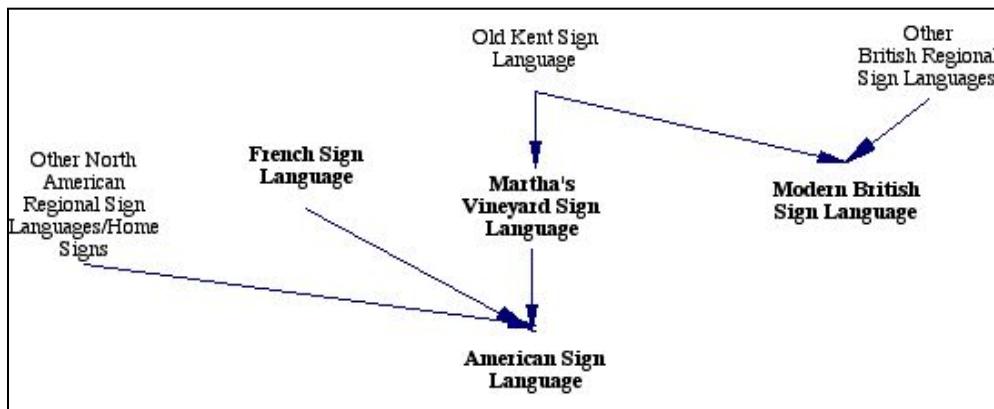
<sup>23</sup> Pepys, S. 1666: *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, November 1666, by Samuel Pepys. EBook 4169. Release date: December 1, 2004 Downloaded from Project Gutenberg <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/4/1/6/4169/4169.txt> Date Accessed 28 February 2013

<sup>24</sup> Groce 1985: 30

<sup>25</sup> Groce 1985: 30

<sup>26</sup> Groce 1983: 296

<sup>27</sup> An ASL informant found 22 per cent overlap. Bahan & Poole-Nash 1996



**Figure 1.2 A Diagrammatic Proposal of American Sign Language's Roots. Authenticated languages in bold type. Others shown are hypothesized.**

Groce wrote that the language(s) already in use within the Deaf communities of Martha's Vineyard and the Sandy River Valley influenced the development of ASL at Hartford. These communities provided the largest two contingents of students at the Connecticut Asylum for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Persons, founded in 1817, for several decades.<sup>28</sup> If some of the Sandy River Valley families also came from Martha's Vineyard and the Martha's Vineyard students' language was originally brought from Kent, then it follows ASL and BSL are related languages through MVSL and OKSL. Following this hypothesis, Figure 2.4 shows the possible relationships between the languages.

#### 1.4.2 The Myth

Padden and Humphries maintained a sceptical stance towards the linkages between ASL and BSL. ASL is distinct from other European signed languages whose history they claimed does not intersect with ASL. Like the creation narrative as described by Gannon at the beginning of this chapter, they credited the beginning of ASL with the founding of schools for the deaf.<sup>29</sup> According to them, British Sign Language is not related to American Sign Language because of the origins of the schools for deaf American children. The first school in the United States was

<sup>28</sup> Groce N. E. 1985: 73; Like the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children in England eventually becomes the Royal School for Deaf Children, the Connecticut Asylum, in West Hartford, Connecticut, will eventually come to be called the American School for the Deaf. See Gannon 1981;16

<sup>29</sup> Padden & Humphries 2005: 3; Gannon 1981: xxi-xxii

founded in 1817 not by a Deaf British signer, but by a Deaf French Signer, whose influences on ASL can still be seen today in some of the vocabulary ASL shares with LSF.<sup>30</sup>

I have not found any published research demonstrating Martha's Vineyard Sign Language (MVSL) is a natural sign language. Baham and Poole conducted interviews with the last users of the MVSL, and Groce collected additional footage of the language's last known user, but MVSL is now considered extinct.<sup>31</sup> Applying Bragg's criteria for a natural sign language - that it must have a grammar and a lexicon, was learned by at least some infants during their normal language acquisition age, was capable of expressing any thought on any topic and, lastly, was a living, growing system - to the descriptions of the language available, it would seem to qualify.<sup>32</sup> If Groce's hypothesis is incorrect and the migrants did not bring a sign language from Kent, the origins of MVSL remain unknown.

Additionally, Woll provided a summary of Woodward's 1978 comparative study between ASL and LSF using standard glottochronological techniques. Woodward concluded that viewing ASL as a creole of LSF and some other language(s) is necessary as the percentage of common cognates is far too low for such a recent separation date as 1816. At the time of Woodward's study, only 162 years after the languages separated, not enough time had lapsed to account for the difference between them.<sup>33</sup> Other language(s), including MVSL, must have had an impact on ASL. This study was interested in tracing the potential influence of a sign language from Kentish colonists on those languages.

The reported overlap between American Sign Language (ASL), Martha's Vineyard Sign Language (MVSL) and British Sign Language (BSL) may be no more than

<sup>30</sup> Padden & Humphries, 2005: 3

<sup>31</sup> Baham & Poole-Nash: 1996; Poole, J.C. (date unknown); Groce, N.E. 2007: Personal communication. 3 November 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Bragg 1997: 2

<sup>33</sup> Woll 1984: 81

coincidental. Research by Kyle and Woll into four other Western European sign languages thought to be unrelated, demonstrated that 'forty per cent of the signs in the four languages were closely similar or identical.'<sup>34</sup> There are issues with applying comparative linguistic measurement tools used for spoken languages to sign languages and there must be acknowledgment that sign languages are dynamic and living, and are therefore subject to changes and shifts over time. Additional comparative research between ASL, Auslan (Australian Sign Language), New Zealand Sign Language (NZSL), and BSL found that Auslan, NZSL and BSL had an 80 per cent similarity. Additionally, NZSL and Auslan were more similar to each other than they were to BSL. The researchers also reported anecdotal evidence that NZSL and Auslan were similar to old BSL signs that had fallen out of use in Britain.<sup>35</sup> If this is the case, then old BSL signs should have a direct connection and Groce's hypothesis is true to MVSL and, by extension, ASL.

Sign languages vary by region as well. Mutual intelligibility tests the distance by which one signer could still understand another signer.

'If two variants of a language are mutually intelligible, then they can be called dialects of the same language. If they are mutually unintelligible than they should be considered separate languages.'<sup>36</sup>

In 2001, after more than 200 years of deaf education, Woll, et.. al., report their findings of mutual intelligibility in the UK. Fifty-eight per cent of signers could understand another signer from a town 100 kilometers away and 84 per cent could always understand those in their own town.<sup>37</sup> These figures are surprisingly low and demonstrate the profound dialects in the country.

Padden and Humphries neglected to mention the pre-existing extended and extensive Deaf families in Maine and New Hampshire as well as on Martha's

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<sup>34</sup> Woll, et. al. (2001) citing a study conducted by Kyle and Woll (1985) between British Sign Language, Sign Language of the Netherlands, Italian Sign Language and Walloon (Francophone Belgian) *Sign Language*: 23

<sup>35</sup> McKee and Kennedy 1998 reported in Woll, et. al. 2001: 23.

<sup>36</sup> Woll, et. al. 2001: 24

<sup>37</sup> Woll, et. al. 2001: 25

Vineyard and the languages that these people were using.<sup>38</sup> Woll is more cautious about the similarities between sign languages, warning that all of their historical links may not be known. Borrowing might have occurred through contact between signers using different languages. There might be a propensity among some cultures towards labelling ideas similarly, or there may just be accidental similarities.<sup>39</sup> Making the linguistic connections between the ASL and BSL are beyond the scope of this thesis. A historical connection between the users would first need to be shown, an objective of the present study.

Stone and Woll questioned Groce's hypothesis claiming that it is conjecture and supposing it more likely that Downing used 'home sign' instead of a formal language. In their study, they investigated cases from the Old Bailey in search of early evidence of interpreters. Before the school for the deaf, the Old Bailey relied upon friends or relations to provide interpreting in legal cases involving deaf people. Their work is not conclusive as the evidence Stone and Woll offered was a case from Glasgow. They used it as a demonstration that there were only home signs used at the Old Bailey until the first mention of the use of the Bermondsey-based school's teachers as interpreters in 1808.<sup>40</sup> It is unclear why they picked an illustrative case from Glasgow to represent a lack of natural sign language in the southeast of England, especially in light of the profound dialectic regionalism previously discussed.

As it turns out, Groce did not have the right Downing from Pepys. The only reference Pepys made to a Downing talking to a deaf person is on the night of 9 November 1666. That night he attended a small party at 'Mrs. Pierces, by appointment, where we find good company: a fair lady, my Lady Prettyman, Mrs. Corbet, Knipp; and for men, Captain Downing, Mr. Lloyd, Sir W. Coventry's clerk, and one Mr. Tripp, who dances well.'<sup>41</sup> In the same entry, Pepys uses the term

<sup>38</sup> Padden and Humphries 2005

<sup>39</sup> Woll 1984: 91

<sup>40</sup> Stone and Woll 2008: 230

<sup>41</sup> Pepys 1666

'Captain' twice to describe the Downing attending this soiree. Pepys would have made the distinction between this captain and Sir George Downing as he worked for Sir George Downing at the Exchequer from 1656-1660.<sup>42</sup> This Captain John is probably 'John Downing of the 1<sup>st</sup> Footguards: commissioned ensign in 1661 and captain in 1668.'<sup>43</sup> But if John Downing was not promoted until 1668, he still ranked as an ensign on the night of the fire, so therefore the 'Captain Downing' Pepys identified in 1666 is still unclear.

I would also suggest that neither of Stone and Woll's nor Groce's claims may be substantiated for another reason. The logic of these examples as proof of either sign language or home sign is faulty. At this time, it is not possible to know with any certainty whether the sign being used by Downing (John or Sir George) or in the Old Bailey prior to 1808 is home sign or a natural sign language. Their arguments rely upon records made by people who did not know sign language. Some form of sign was being used. That it satisfied criteria for a natural language or home sign as described above cannot be shown. Lee summarizes, 'How Downing understood or came to learn a sign language is as yet a mystery to this day.'<sup>44</sup> In cases of isolated deaf persons without access to other deaf people these would most likely be examples of the use of home signs and gestures and therefore would not be called a language, but the situation of several families in a relatively small and isolated geographic area like Martha's Vineyard or the Weald over the space of a couple of hundred years would satisfy the criteria for natural sign language.

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<sup>42</sup> According to the website, <http://www.pepysdiary.com/> (accessed 28 February 2013), there are 63 references to Sir George Downing and only two to a Captain Downing. The site references the Latham and Matthews Companion (Latham, R., Matthews, W. & Pepys, S., 1970. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys. A New and Complete Transcription Edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews. Contributing Editors: William A. Armstrong [and Others]*, Berkeley, University of California Press [1970]-1983. X.)

<sup>43</sup> Pepys, S. 2000. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, University of California Press. 97

<sup>44</sup> Lee 2004: 9

Unfortunately, direct evidence of the usage of sign language in the Weald during the seventeenth and eighteenth century remained elusive throughout this research project. Prior to the 1792 opening of the South-east region's first public school for the deaf, the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children in Bermondsey, literacy rates among the wealden parishes' labouring poor Deaf people would likely have been low, so finding Deaf-authored materials was unlikely. Instead, the goal for my research was to show groups of families with hereditary deafness in the Weald to demonstrate, at least circumstantially, that there was social opportunity for a natural sign language to occur.

### **1.5 Research questions**

This thesis was based on an analysis of primary documentation and a critical reading of previous primary and secondary sources on the subject. Its framework was predicated on a stance that acknowledges and values Deaf culture and its embodied performed manifestation, sign language.<sup>45</sup> Its goal was to identify a group of signing people in the Kentish Weald.

Identifying a population of signers in a given area is problematic under any circumstance as sign language does not traditionally have a written form. In addition, recessive genetic traits are known to skip generations, necessitating a temporal element to the identification of signers. This is especially a challenge in the case of early modern Kent when the only regularly kept records were birth, marriage, and death records beginning in the 1530s. These were often inconsistent for a number of reasons that will be reviewed in Chapter 2, and, with very few exceptions, offered no descriptions of the people they recorded so even an extrapolated estimate based on the number of deaf people in the area is not possible. When any description is offered at all it tends to be in the case of a tragic death. Demonstrating proximity and social interaction amongst signing families

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<sup>45</sup> For more on 'frames of description', see Wishart, D. 1997: The selectivity of historical representation in *Journal of Historical Geography*, v23, 2, 111-118

that have deaf members offered one potential route to identifying this group of people, but they first needed to be located.

At the outset of the project I formulated a series of related research questions that were primarily based on Groce's earlier project. Initially I asked whether there were genetically deaf families maintaining a Deaf community and living in the Weald in the seventeenth century? Did the deaf people living at that time perceive of themselves as a community? How did the wealden Deaf community maintain itself? Was there something special about Kent and specifically the Weald as a location? Why did members of this community migrate to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and carry their sign language with them? Is it possible to connect the English Deaf community and the American Deaf community?

All of these questions focused very specifically on the purported wealden deaf community in the seventeenth century, some members of which moved to the colonies. But, even after a short time working in the archive with the list of colonist's names, it became apparent that finding 'signing people' in seventeenth century archival documents was going to be more problematic than I had supposed. I had to cast my net over a longer period and a wider field. With that, the research questions evolved into questions of method, from 'why' to 'how' and 'where'. How and where can deaf individuals and communities, and their use of sign language, be identified in the historical record?

### ***1.6 Locating the study***

This study represents a first for historical geography. The investigation focused on what Black called 'the need to consider the "silences" in the historical record.'<sup>46</sup> It draws on a wide set of archival sources, both official and privately-held, to reconstruct a special minority language community, one that used a visual language that has no written form. This study was purely archival and 'source-

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<sup>46</sup> Black, I.S. 2010: Analysing historical and archival sources in Clifford, N., French, S., Valentine, G., editors, *Key Methods in Geography*, 2nd ed., London: Sage: 468

driven' as there was no previous body of evidence on which to draw except for Groce's work on their American cousins. With the exception of a 1988 review of *Everyone Here* in the Kent Family History Society's journal, local historians have not written on Kent's Deaf history.<sup>47</sup> This was not surprising. There are very few libraries and archives that focus on this aspect of their catchment area's history. This was the first work of its kind in both its location and its purpose. Whereas Groce's Vineyard work began as an ethnographic study and with the knowledge that hereditary deafness was indeed present on the island, this research project began without confirmation of any Deaf people in the location beyond the conjecture of Groce's earlier work.

As well as identifying deaf individuals and networks, the Weald's relative isolation was explored as a potential genetic island. If a form of hereditary deafness could be associated with the Weald, then fluctuations in population and migratory patterns would have an impact on the frequency of deafness among the local population. This is the notion of genetic drift. In the population of a remote village, a gene might vanish or become fixed in a relatively few generations because 'the population is so small that even a slight change in the actual number of people carrying a gene causes a large change in the percentage of the population endowed with that trait.'<sup>48</sup>

Brandon claimed the isolated tendency of the Wealden rural settlement occurred as a 'cycle of rural development associated with a young "frontier" type of community in the Middle Ages.'<sup>49</sup> This theory says hamlets evolved out of large and mostly unimproved holdings, held singly, into a cluster of family farms owned by kin. The reclamation process and an accompanying population increase led to larger settlements. These were subject to contractions at some periods caused by

<sup>47</sup> Gough, H. 1988: Stone Deaf in the Vineyard, Kent Family History Society Journal 5,8 September 1988:294-296

<sup>48</sup> Cavalli-Sforza, L.L. 1972: 'Genetic Drift in an Italian population' in Morris, L.N. (ed.) *Human populations, genetic variation and evolution*. San Francisco, Chandler Publishing: 331

<sup>49</sup> Brandon, P. 2003: *The Kent & Sussex Weald*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co Ltd.: 42

epidemics and subsequent population dips. As the population grew again, the cycle of reclamation would begin again. Brandon described the idea this way:

'The size of communities in the past at one point in time is less helpful when considering the works of historians. Obviously, cross-sectional population needs to be multiplied by the number of years over which the population is studied.'<sup>50</sup>

Groce traces the origins of Martha's Vineyard's Deaf families to the Kentish Weald.<sup>51</sup> Subsequent research in New Hampshire and Maine identify early Deaf families as coming from the same region.<sup>52</sup> How did Deaf families live and perhaps flourish in the Weald? Assuming they faced the same social and economic forces as their hearing counterparts, what factors led to the Weald's declining attraction as a place to live and their eventual migration out of the region?



**Figure 1.3 Map of England highlighting Kent (source: Wikipedia 2013 'Kent locator map 2010')**

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<sup>50</sup> Macfarlane, A., Harrison, S. & Jardine, C. 1977: *Reconstructing Historical Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 6

<sup>51</sup> Groce 1983, 1985

<sup>52</sup> Lane, et al. 2000; Lane, et al. 2007, Lane, et al. 2011S

### 1.6.1 Kent and the Weald

Kent is the south-eastern-most county of England. It has a land area of 1,368 square miles and approximately just over 350 miles of coastline.<sup>53</sup> The Kentish Weald occupies the south-western area of the county. Geologically, the Weald is a combination of Hastings Beds, Weald Clay, and Lower Greensands. Its topography can be divided between the High Weald and Low Weald. The High Weald is made up of east-west ridges and valleys and the Low Weald is primarily a clay vale bounded on its eastern edge by greensands.<sup>54</sup> Additional information about the county is introduced at the beginning of Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

The Kentish Weald is a place of contradictions. It was one of the last settled places in England, and also one of its earliest industrial regions. Travellers described it as an inhospitable backwater with atrocious roads, a place to get through as quickly as possible, but the local population remained stable and even grew at times while other adjacent areas, such as the Coastal Fringe, underwent population loss. The ‘natives’ were independent, tending towards radicalism in matters of faith and politics yet remaining conservative in embracing new ways to work the land.<sup>55</sup>

The Weald’s formidable woodlands and frequently impassable roads encouraged a different kind of community development than that which occurred in much of rural England. Compared to other parishes in the county, wealden parishes were much larger and characterised by small and dispersed settlements. Instead of the more common nucleated-type villages, people tended to live in interrelated family groupings and hamlets.<sup>56</sup> This made it a challenge for the Church to exercise a centralised authority as it did more easily outside of the Weald. Church buildings

<sup>53</sup> Kent County Council 2013: ‘Kent in a nutshell’ (June 2013), <https://shareweb.kent.gov.uk/Documents/facts-and-figures/kent-in-a-nutshell-june2013.pdf> (Date accessed 22 July 2013)

<sup>54</sup> Short, B. 2006: *England’s landscape: the South East*. London: Collins; English Heritage: 52-53

<sup>55</sup> Brandon 2003; Brandon, P. & Short, B. 1990: *The South East from AD 1000*. London: Longman Publishing Group.

<sup>56</sup> Brandon 2003: 42

were often erected some distance from these settlements making attendance difficult, especially during the wet winter months. Small chapels without regular clergy were built closer to home, further weakening the church's influence on the daily lives of its parishioners and fostering independent, sometimes heretical, thinking among them. As a result, the Weald was fertile ground for nonconformist sects, some of who would eventually strike out for new territories in the colonies.<sup>57</sup>

Farming presented several challenges to the Weald's residents. The original settlement of the region required the process of reclaiming farmland from the forest. Bowing to the broken topography and the poor soil of heavy clays and sands, arable fields tended to be small and irregularly shaped assarts surrounded by shaws, the encroaching remnants of woodland (see Figure 1.3). The land was generally too poor for arable cash crops, so almost all families were engaged in a variety of economic activities, many of which exploited the wealth of the timber resources in the region. After times of profound human population loss from periods of plague and other human catastrophes, the reclamation process from the woodland regrowth had to begin again, making most farmers into foresters.<sup>58</sup> In addition to subsistence farming and forestry, farmers also engaged in pastoral activities focused on raising sheep and cattle as a cash crop sold in the London markets. Tradesmen and craftsmen often farmed or kept livestock to supplement their purses and table as well, hiring seasonal workers to assist at planting and harvest times.<sup>59</sup>

Generally, holdings tended to be small. Between the years 1502 and 1639, forty-one per cent of holdings were less than five acres and seventy-nine per cent were less than fifty.<sup>60</sup> Gavelkind, the system of partible inheritance, subdivided holdings

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<sup>57</sup> Brandon & Short 1990

<sup>58</sup> Brandon 2003: 42

<sup>59</sup> Brandon 2003: 186

<sup>60</sup> Brandon & Short 1990: 171

and kept family labour within the region.<sup>61</sup> Eventually, the system of gavelkind was eliminated by a series of laws between 1539 and 1624 and which became one of the factors encouraging smallholders away from the land.



**Figure 1.4 Goudhurst, Kent. Aerial Image. Even in 2013, evidence of medieval fields and shaws can be seen in the Weald. (source: Google Earth. Date accessed 23 March 2013)**

By 1650, the wealden economy was struggling. Unable to sustain itself because of increased competition from the 'New Draperies' made in East Anglia and the loss of markets during the Thirty Years War, the clothing industry, the eastern Weald's largest proto-industry, was in a long and slow decline.<sup>62</sup> The second largest, the iron industry, was also declining as new coal-firing techniques helped draw the manufacturers to midland, Welsh and northern coalfields. This placed pressure on

<sup>61</sup> Short, B. 1989: The de-industrialization process: A case study of the Weald, 1600-1850 in Hudson, P. (ed.), *Regions and industries: A perspective on the industrial revolution in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 159

<sup>62</sup> Zell, M. 1994: *Industry in the countryside: Wealden society in the sixteenth century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 241

the early industry owners, not coincidentally also the largest property holders, to cut losses and costs where possible.<sup>63</sup>

With industrial decline, the configuration of farm labour changed too. Poor houses were brimming as fewer agricultural workers were given year-round employment on the larger farms and estates. Instead, they were hired seasonally. This meant in the off-season, they may well become reliant on parish relief.<sup>64</sup> Simultaneously, many of the commons were enclosed across most of the Kentish Weald, forcing people without their own smallholdings and only intermittent employment into the poor houses.<sup>65</sup> The urban-industrial migration meant that those smallholders also engaged in industry-related by-employment activities were now in a cash crisis based on less income and higher taxation as the poor rates placed additional demand on smallholders.<sup>66</sup> These economic pressures encouraged people to follow employment opportunities out of the Weald. They went to the dockyards of northern Kent and the fruit and hops farms of mid-Kent. Some people also migrated to places such as the American colonies.

Even an initial reading of the wealden context caused me to wonder several things. How did Deaf families participate in wealden life? Were they marginalized or fully integrated? What social-spatial institutions (ie. home, family, church, and workplace) did they engage in? If marginalized by larger English social institutions, did the radical sects and politics of the region attract Deaf families? Did the Weald's reputation for non-conformity and peaceful isolation draw them or were they already there?

There were, and still are, six main regions in Kent. From north to south we broadly encounter the marshland from the Thames past the Swale to Thanet Minster; the

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<sup>63</sup> Brandon & Short 1990: 191

<sup>64</sup> Brandon 2003:186

<sup>65</sup> Short, B. 1989: 156-174.

<sup>66</sup> This essentially amounted to a form of employer welfare, helping those who owned larger properties to keep their employment costs down by spreading the financial responsibility for the under- or un-employed across all ratepayers.

Downland with its southern scarp and winding northward valleys; the wooded ragstone hill and Holmesdale; of the Low Weald with its many ‘dens’; the High Weald and its ridge of ‘hurst’ villages; and the Marsh from Stone to New Romney.<sup>67</sup> Kent is the ninth largest English county. Chalkin described it as sixty-eight miles east to west and thirty-eight miles north to south.<sup>68</sup> This study included parishes in both the High and Low Weald, two different geological areas, composed respectively of the Hastings Beds and Weald clay. Much of the soil is poor and acidic with difficult drainage. The hilly terrain of the High Weald encouraged small fields and large shaws (see Figure 1.3). Agricultural activities were of the pastoral variety.

A different kind of community development occurred in the Weald as compared to most other parts of rural England. This was due to its dense woodlands and poor roads. Within the county, wealden parishes were much larger than other parishes and were characterised by small and dispersed settlements. Instead of the more common nucleated-type villages, people tended to live in interrelated family groupings and hamlets.<sup>69</sup>

Settlement patterns developed differently in the Weald than in other parts of the county. Most wealden farmers maintained their lands as freeholds, including the rights to free tenures and free alienation. These were held as dispersed parcels of land. Land sales were fairly regular as farmers with a cash surplus acquired land and sold it off again during lean times. The promise of a piece of the family’s holdings, building a cottage on ‘the waste’, and obtaining part-time industrial work encouraged families to remain local, but a series of laws between 1539 and 1624 eliminated the system of gavelkind, and thus becomes one of the factors encouraging smallholders away from the land.

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<sup>67</sup> Everitt, A. 1966: *The community of Kent and the Great Rebellion, 1640-1660*, Leicester: Leicester University Press: 20

<sup>68</sup> Chalkin, C. 1965: *Seventeenth-century Kent: a social and economic history*. London: Longmans.8-9

<sup>69</sup> Brandon 2003: 42

### **1.6.2 The Study's time period**

The project dates range from 1621 to 1851 to take into account colonial migration to the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies and the first full British enumeration of deaf people, the 1851 Census. While this lengthy time period was occasionally unwieldy during the research, it provided the opportunity to observe a range of changing representations of 'deaf' in the archive. Within this period new humanist discourses as well as advances in the life sciences transformed society's perception of Deaf people. Enlightenment consciousness and principles were enacted through the founding of the first schools for the deaf. These institutions were to have a profound impact on many deaf people's daily lives. Chapter 5 will address these changes.

Initially, I thought I would be able to provide three snapshots of the data, but as directly identified deaf people were so difficult to track in sources aside from the 1851 census, it was very challenging to stick to this original model. Instead, working with what I had available, I reported on data available for the seventeenth, eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Along with this I also provided a description of the prevailing attitudes towards deaf people and how that affected the wealden deaf families at the local level.

### ***1.7 Organisation of the thesis***

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical approaches used to frame the project and the thesis in light of previous efforts. It provides background information about sign language research and related research in the developing field of Deaf geographies is reviewed. Next, the process by which signing deaf people are marginalised over the course of the study period is described, including a focus on the predominant discourses regarding deaf people are described using a Deaf cultural stance. Finally,

a new way of considering Deaf space is presented as a framework for considering the ways Deaf space manifests itself.

Chapter 3 discusses the methods used to apply the above framework in an archival investigation of Kent's early Deaf families. Previous research strategies of family and community reconstruction succeeded in areas where there were reliable records and clear geographical boundaries. While this project attempted to locate and describe both, early Deaf communities and their spaces resisted conformity with these previous methods, so a different method was necessary, one that considered how the historical development of 'deaf'-related discourses in the period might be expressed in archival materials. Two sources of data - a list of names provided by American researchers and the 1851 Census - provided the bookending entrances to the enquiry. The methods used for developing these data sets were separate and will be discussed. I then describe the search for archival sources, including parish and county records, media coverage, and the first regional school for the deaf, using the developing constructions of 'deaf'. The investigation stretched to include materials from over 230 years. The remaining chapters detail the evidence of deaf people found in the beginning, middle, and end of this period.

Chapter 4, the first of the empirical chapters, introduces and describes the origins of the American colonial families. Their kinship was deeper than previously demonstrated in the Deaf studies literature. This chapter also discusses the potential of the Weald as a region capable of creating and fostering families with hereditary deafness and the reasons signing people in the region could have had a competitive edge over people who did not use sign. Social, political and economic conditions at the time of the American 'Great Migration' are explored, including the accelerating demise of the broadcloth industry and the growth of nonconformist churches.

Chapter 5 provides an overview of the changes that happened in the region and the project's families during the period between the American colonial migration and the first reckoning of deaf people in 1851. It will show how the socio-economic

change affected all the families in the Weald, and also highlight those pivotal events on larger regional, national and international scales that influenced Deaf families specifically. The study families' baptisms were charted across three hundred years (1550-1850), demonstrating the steady and ongoing presence of some of these families and disappearance of others. Additionally, the chart helped to indicate how some events, for example the Civil War, had a profound impact both on record keeping and on the lives of some of these families. The stayers and leavers are noted. During this period, deaf people in the Weald and across the county became more evident in the archive. It will also highlight how the development of deaf discourses influenced the lives of deaf people.

Chapter 6, the final empirical chapter, focuses on the first full picture of deaf people in the county. The 1851 Census gave space to enumerate deaf people (and blind people) for the very first time. With this first picture of deaf people, the county's deaf individuals and families can be 'found' in archival materials *en masse*. This chapter shows the ramifications of the marginalisation processes that deaf people have undergone throughout the period addressed by this project.

Chapter 7 summarizes the project, reflects on the evidence as a whole, and highlights the potential for further research in this area. As a new and dynamic field of research in human geography, Deaf geography, and the exploration of Deaf space offers theoretical and methodological opportunities to understand the world through the visual lens of signing peoples. Future projects will propose an expanded use of the sources for this thesis, the application of the methods created here for additional projects, and a discussion of just some of the ways signing peoples' geography can contribute to the greater field.

## Chapter 2 Theoretical Approaches

### 2.1 Introduction

*Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power.*<sup>70</sup>

This thesis represents the first project of its kind to be undertaken in Great Britain. American research into early Deaf communities began with Groce's work on Martha's Vineyard and continued with further investigations by Lane, Pillard and French; and Lane, Pillard and Hedberg.<sup>71</sup> Searching for what Nonaka called 'speech/sign communities' in archival sources is challenging. According to her, communities that have these hallmarks:

- widespread fluency in the local sign language among deaf and hearing people;
- neutral to positive attitudes toward deafness, deaf people, and sign language;
- a high degree of integration of deaf people into the mainstream of village life.

No numbers are assigned above, lest they suggest a definite causal ordering. Rather, the three factors are simultaneous and inextricably linked, and together, they generate a sociolinguistic phenomenon greater than the sum of their parts.<sup>72</sup>

The search for an early modern 'Deaf community' in the Weald, that is a speech/sign community, requires a definition of the term 'community'. In the modern usage of the phrase 'Deaf community', and in the sense it is used here, at least two of William's five senses of 'community' apply: '(iv) the quality of holding something in common, as in community of interests, community of goods' and '(v)

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<sup>70</sup> Hall, S. 1990: 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in J. Rutherford (ed.) *Identity: Community, culture, difference*. Lawrence & Wishart: London: 394.

<sup>71</sup> Groce 1883; 1985; Lane, et al. 2000; Lane, et al. 2007; Lane, et al. 2011.

<sup>72</sup> Nonaka, A.M. 2009: Estimating size, scope, and membership of the speech/sign communities in undocumented indigenous/village sign languages: The Ban Khor case study. *Language and Communication* 29: 213

a sense of common identity and characteristics.<sup>73</sup> In *Reconstructing historical communities*, MacFarlane lists Redfield's indices for describing 'community'. These include frequent interpersonal contacts, wives taken from within the area, and group feeling in political emergencies. Redfield also suggests that the community will have a common name, common sentiment and the payment of debts within the community.<sup>74</sup> MacFarlane refines these indices and notes dialect; costume; range of gossip and scandal; and areas of joint agricultural activity, economic exchange, support in various crises and recruitment to rituals, and a field for informal social control within which the prestige hierarchy operates.<sup>75</sup>

North American research has been undertaken tracing and locating deaf communities and include Eickman's mapping of the American schools for the Deaf, and Benoît, Apparicio, and Séguin's mapping of services for the deaf community in Montreal, Canada.<sup>76</sup> Both of these projects focused on a particular and important aspect of modern Deaf communities, what Eickman calls 'the four Deaf community pillars': schools for the deaf, Deaf sports clubs, Deaf clubs, and national Deaf associations.<sup>77</sup> Eickman saw them as a manifestation of Deaf identities in the landscape.<sup>78</sup> In the case of England, these types of organisations do not begin to form until the mid-nineteenth century, several generations beyond the families that previous researchers identified as having hereditary deafness in the early seventeenth century.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Williams, R. 1985 *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 76

<sup>74</sup> Macfarlane, et. al.1977: 118-121

<sup>75</sup> MacFarlane, et al. 1977:10-11

<sup>76</sup> Eickman, J. 2006: Tracing Deafhood: exploring the origins and spread of Deaf cultural identity in *Deaf Studies Today! Simply Complex Conference Proceedings*, Utah Valley State College, Orem, Utah. Deaf Studies Today: 127-144, Benoît, C., Apparicio, P., and Séguin, A. 2011: 'Mapping out Deaf spaces in Montreal – GIS applications to Deaf geography'. Presentation given at the American Association of Geographers Annual Conference: Seattle, US.

<sup>77</sup> Eickman 2006: 127.

<sup>78</sup> Eickman 2006: 128.

<sup>79</sup> Groce 1883; 1985; Lane, et al. 2000; Lane, et al. 2007; Lane, et al. 2011.

This chapter presents a new taxonomic model for considering Deaf Space, but will first outline the new and growing field of Deaf geography a quickly developing area of human geographic study, and its central project, the theorizing and describing of the manifestations of Deaf spaces. Building a post-structuralist argument requires the exploration of language as the ‘medium for defining and contesting social organisation and subjectivity.’<sup>80</sup> The search for evidence of sign language in the archive also requires an understanding of the nature the sign language itself and the various discourses used throughout history to describe deaf people and their language. Before relating the search for early Deaf communities and their spaces in the upcoming chapters, it is important to lie out a foundational conceptual framework and introduce the frequently coinciding operative constructs of the discourses related to signing peoples. These were used in the study to develop a foundation with which to approach both the archive and the literature used in support of the project. I will describe sign languages and some of the typologies currently used by sociolinguists in an effort to critically assess and characterise the languages of this study. In this process, Deaf communities, the subject of this research project, and the idea of a DEAF-WORLD. will be presented along with a brief exploration of ‘Deaf as Other.’

## ***2.2 Deaf Geographies***

Human Geography began its exploration of Deaf space and place in the past ten years, beginning with Valentine and Skelton’s work on the marginalisation and identity issues of Deaf young people.<sup>81</sup> This early work was framed within the disability context. In 2007, Batterbury, Ladd and Gulliver struck out in a new direction towards a ‘deaf geography’, and Skelton and Valentine published along the same lines the following year.<sup>82</sup> With those few important exceptions, little work in Deaf geographies currently being conducted by geographers has been published in geography journals. In regards to historical geography, Gulliver has

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<sup>80</sup> Pratt, G. 2000: Post-structuralism in Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G., & Watts, M., editors, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 625.

<sup>81</sup> Valentine & Skelton 2003: 301-321; Skelton & Valentine 2003: 451–466

<sup>82</sup> Batterbury, et al. 2007: 2899 – 2915; and Valentine & Skelton 2008: 469-485

written the one piece of published work that draws on historical materials. He used it as a vehicle for theorising ‘Deaf place’.<sup>83</sup> Most published work on that might be considered ‘Deaf geographies’ is being made available through Deaf studies journals.<sup>84</sup> In the UK, much of this work has been conducted at the Centre for Deaf Studies (CDS), University of Bristol, in conjunction with other departments.<sup>85</sup> In a hopeful sense, the number of unpublished PhD theses is growing annually. One example is Harold’s thesis on modern urban landscapes and the performance of Deaf spaces embedded in the socio-normative ‘hearing’ soundscape.<sup>86</sup>

The framing of this project could not have happened fifty years ago, or even when Groce wrote her thesis in the early 80s. Deaf studies need to be further along in its maturation process and to be in a place where it could become reflexively critical of itself. British Human Geography needed to be far enough down the road of post-colonialism and accepting enough of the concept of Deaf culture to begin to allow a ‘culture frame’ to be applied onto the Deaf context.

This present thesis was initiated from a Deaf cultural standpoint, and I have consistently and consciously resisted labelling this project a disability geography. However, one of the important facets of the research project became the process by which deaf people developed an expressed Deaf identity. This was a direct

<sup>83</sup> Gulliver, M. 2008: ‘Places of Silence’, in Vanclay, F., Higgins, M. & Blackshaw, A. (eds.) *Making Sense of Place: Exploring Concepts and Expressions of Place through Different Senses and Lenses*. Canberra: National Museum of Australia, pp. 87- 94

<sup>84</sup> Eickman, J. 2006: 127-144; Mathews, E. S. 2006 ‘Place, Space and Identity – Using Geography in Deaf Studies’ in Deaf Studies Today! Simply Complex Conference Proceedings, Utah Valley State College, Orem, Utah. *Deaf Studies Today*, 215-226; Kusters, A. 2009: Deaf on the Lifeline of Mumbai, *Sign Language Studies* 10, 1, Fall 2009, 36-68; and Kusters 2010.

<sup>85</sup> Gulliver, M. 2009: ‘DEAF space, a history: The production of DEAF spaces emergent, autonomous, located and disabled in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century France’, Unpub. PhD thesis, University of Bristol; Kusters, A. 2011: “Since time immemorial until the end of days”: an ethnographic study of the production of deaf space in Adamorobe, Ghana’. Unpub. doctoral thesis, University of Bristol.

<sup>86</sup> Harold, G. M. 2012: ‘Deafness, Difference and the City: Geographies of urban difference and the right to the Deaf city’, Unpub. doctoral thesis, School of the Human Environment: Geography and School of Applied Social Studies, National University of Ireland, Cork.

response to the process of objectification they underwent, that is, the growth in the hegemonic perception of deaf people as problematic for society and requiring some form of institutional social intervention, be it medical or charitable. So in that sense, it might be associated with disability history and geography, but it does not come from a disability theoretical stance and therefore qualifies as a Deaf geography.

As yet, there is not much geography-generated literature available on Deaf space. Gulliver's work on the Paris Banquets offers the only other study of historical Deaf geography. In his PhD thesis, Gulliver, explored the notion of 'DEAF spaces', first by examining and rejecting a model of Foucauldian resistance. He then examined the works of disability geographers, Valentine and Skelton, and Kelly's 2003 thesis, all of which acknowledge Deaf space in its contemporary sense but then do not attempt to describe it.<sup>87</sup>

The previously mentioned work of Skelton and Valentine, Gulliver, Batterbury, Ladd and Gulliver, as well as sessions at the RGS with IBG 2011 conference and the AAG 2011 conference all point to the growing interest in this area for geographers. Unfortunately, the leading light that was CDS has now extinguished; the University of Bristol has decided to shut it down. The timing of this decision, just as the interest in Deaf geographies is beginning to gain momentum, leaves an institutional gap for geographers working in this area. Deaf geography needs a home where it can grow.

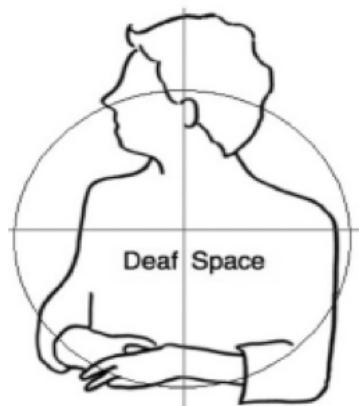
### ***2.3 Sign languages***

Sign languages are visual gestural languages used by Deaf communities around the world. They are not a universal gestural system, rather they could be said to have as much variation as spoken languages. The first modern academic recognition of

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<sup>87</sup> Gulliver 2009. See also: Skelton & Valentine 2003; Valentine & Skelton 2003; Valentine & Skelton 2008; and Kelly, E. 2003 "Embodying difference: hybrid geographies of deaf people's technological experience" Unpub. PhD thesis, Bristol: University of Bristol.

sign language by Stokoe in 1969 is thus relatively recent, and almost every year since then new sign languages have been, and are being, identified.<sup>88</sup> Natural sign languages have gained acceptance among linguists as complex, visual-kinetic grammatical systems that include all the same central ingredients of their oral-aural counterparts. The term ‘natural language’ is usually limited to those natural communication systems that have a grammar and a lexicon, are learned by at least some infants during their normal language acquisition age, are capable of expressing any thought on any topic and, lastly, are living, growing systems.<sup>89</sup>



**Figure 2.1 Sign space in sign language (Image source: <http://blogs.ubc.ca/etec540sept12/2012/10/01/oral-cultures-and-writing-where-does-deaf-culture-fit-in/>. Date accessed: 12 July 2013)**

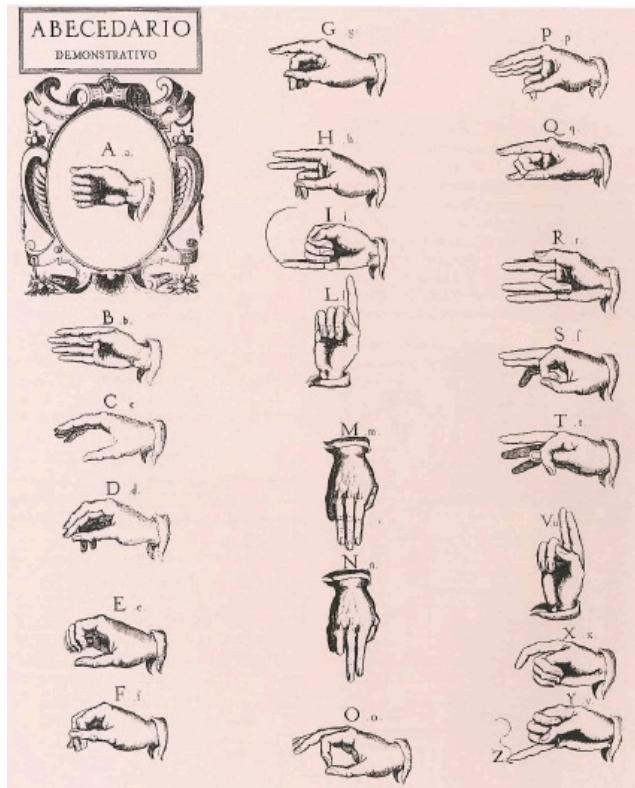
It may be helpful to pause for a moment and describe the mechanics of sign language. A signer creates a sign in an area that is usually delimited in what is called ‘sign space’. That is the area from the top of a person’s head to their waist and from shoulder to shoulder. Figure 2.1 shows a conventional rendering of this area. Although this space is presented two-dimensionally, it is actually a three-dimensional area beginning just behind the signer’s shoulders and extending to the fingertips of a fully extended arm. Sign space projects forward from the body and back over the shoulder to express time, and while ordinarily, signs are made fairly close to the body, there are multiple exceptions to this when the neutral

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<sup>88</sup> Woll, et al. 2001; Stokoe Jr, W.C. 1969: Sign Language Diglossia. *Studies in Linguistics* 20, 27-41

<sup>89</sup> Bragg 1997: 2

positioning, pictured by the circle in figure 2.2, can be broken. It is within this signing space, a signer will use his hands, body and face to compose a sign.



**Figure 2.2** *Abecedario Demonstrativo*, Juan Pablo Bonet's one-hand alphabet from 1620.  
(Source: Eriksson, P. 1998: *The History of Deaf people, a source book* (English version), Örebro, Sweden: Daufr: 29.)

Linguists have developed typologies of sign systems, drawing distinctions between types of natural sign languages and their counterparts: artificial sign languages (or lexicons), gesture, and home sign.<sup>90</sup> It is important to separate sign languages from the use of codified signs or gesture systems, sometimes called 'secondary' sign languages, and usually created by hearing people for use in particular settings as co-verbal gestures.<sup>91</sup> The other three forms of visual-gestural communication do not satisfy these four criteria for natural language. They were developed and first used outside Deaf communities. These are often coded versions of spoken languages and have specific applications. Sometimes they function as a 'lingua

<sup>90</sup> Senghas, R.J. & Monaghan, L. 2002: Signs of their times: Deaf communities and the culture of language. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, 69-97: 74

<sup>91</sup> Bragg 1997: 2-3

franca', as in the case of the American Plains Indian nations' sign language or those engaged in the European markets under mercantilism. Artificial sign systems are found in situations where spoken languages are not allowed, as sometimes occurred amongst religious orders that have taken a vow of silence.<sup>92</sup> Artificial sign systems include manual alphabets (i.e. fingerspelling) and visual-gestural coding systems for spoken languages. (See Figure 2.2.)

Some artificial sign systems were developed for another usage, as a form of 'planned' or artificial languages. Teachers of the deaf created these manual systems to teach speech or literacy.<sup>93</sup> For example, Cued Speech, a method taught in the United States and United Kingdom, or those that borrow the grammar of spoken language like Signing Exact English (commonly known as SEE) have enjoyed fitful popularity at different times in history. Indeed, in Britain, the first schools for the deaf relied on one of these systems, the Braidwood Method, to teach speech (see Chapter 5).

Some features of artificial languages are incorporated into natural sign languages. Like many western European countries, ASL uses a one-handed manual alphabet, the roots of which may be seen in Figure 2.1. BSL, however, adopted the two-handed system.<sup>94</sup> The difference might be traced to the influence of French Sign Language (LSF) on ASL after the founding of the first American School for the Deaf at Hartford, Connecticut in 1816.<sup>95</sup> (See Figure 2.3 for samples of manual alphabets.)

The final category is home signs and gesture. They are used in situations where deaf individuals are living without a Deaf community. Home signs are 'ad hoc systems developed to meet an individual's or small group's needs for

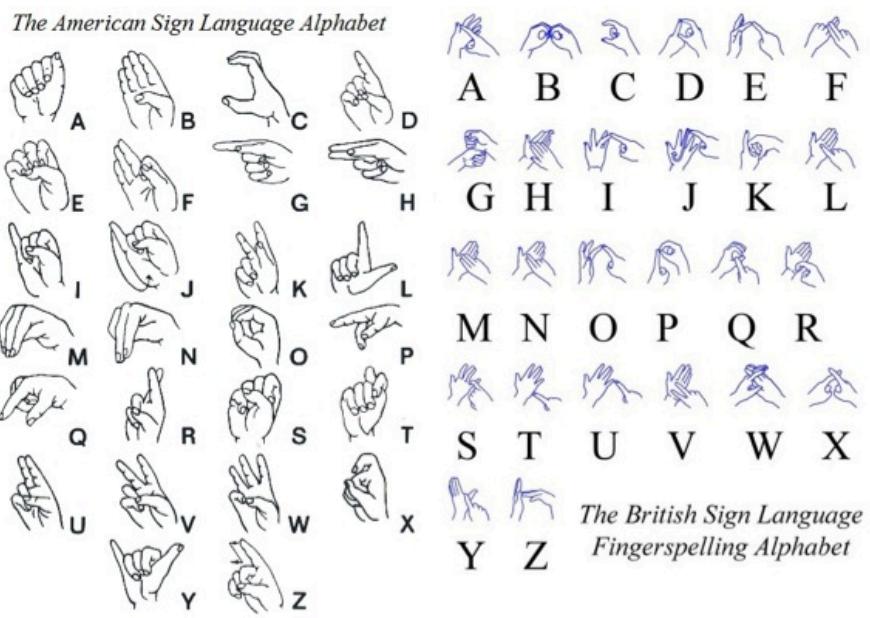
<sup>92</sup> Woll, et. al. 2001: 9

<sup>93</sup> Woll, et. al. 2001: 18

<sup>94</sup> Lee 2004: 9

<sup>95</sup> These borrowed features are often the first linguistic difference mentioned between BSL and ASL users today.

communicating.<sup>96</sup> As such, they tend to be short-lived and do not satisfy the criteria listed above for a natural language. Home signs often function as the starting point for sign languages that develop when deaf people come together and are what Bragg labels ‘protolinguistic’.<sup>97</sup>



**Figure 2.3 American Sign Language and British Sign Language Manual Alphabets.** (source: [www.redeafined.com](http://www.redeafined.com). Date accessed: 15 May 2013)

National sign languages developed as a consequence of Deaf education and the subsequent cascade of Deaf social institutions. By focusing on these language groups, the previously described research neglects two considerations: groups of signing people who are not perceived as Other within their communities and groups of signers in history that pre-date the formation of national sign languages. Nonaka’s sociolinguistic research with Ban Khor Sign Language users in Ban Khor, Thailand, describes another specific group of signers who she labels as part of a typology of village/indigenous sign language communities. In a similar way to Groce’s description of the sign communities on the Martha’s Vineyard, Nonaka reports that signers in Ban Khor have not developed a differentiated Deaf identity

<sup>96</sup> Senghas & Monaghan 2002: 75

<sup>97</sup> Stone & Woll 2008: 228; Bragg 1997: 2

within their communities. ‘Rather, in villages with indigenous sign languages, deaf people share with their hearing counterparts the local (e.g. familial, tribal, and/or village) identity(ies).’<sup>98</sup>

Sociolinguists and anthropologists are conducting on-going investigations into current communities with a high rate of inherited deafness, and they have developed typologies of sign languages.<sup>99</sup> Each of the typologies attempts and utilizes geographic terminology to circumscribe and draw distinctions based on physical boundaries. Kusters recently summarised the work being undertaken globally on signing communities with hereditary deafness, including island populations (e.g. Amami Island near Japan), villages (e.g. Ban Khor in Thailand), and amongst social groups (e.g. the Al-Sayyid Bedouins in Israel), but was critical of the typologies researchers have applied to sign languages, calling for more research or the abandonment of the project altogether. She borrowed Kisch’s terminology of ‘shared signing communities’ to describe these groups.

Kusters criticises the efforts to divide natural sign languages into typologies, stating that it is not appropriate to base them on Western developments of similar communities.<sup>100</sup> This research is situated within the frameworks of linguistics and anthropology.<sup>101</sup> Additionally, the current typologies are subject to the problems of attempting to establish a classification system based on socio-political boundaries. For example, Nonaka identified three different varieties of sign languages: national, original, and indigenous sign languages.<sup>102</sup> National sign languages refer to the ‘languages of the national Deaf community of a given country’ such as BSL. This is

<sup>98</sup> Groce 1983; Groce 1985; Nonaka 2009: 212

<sup>99</sup> Woodward, J. 1996: Modern Standard Thai Sign Language, influence from ASL, and its relationship to original Thai Sign varieties, *Sign Language Studies*, 92, Fall: 227-252; Zeshan, U. 2004: Interrogative constructions in signed languages: cross-linguistic perspectives. *Language* 80 (1): 7–39; Meir, I., Sandler, W., Padden, C., & Aronoff, M. 2010: Emerging sign languages in Marschark, M. & Spencer, P.E., (eds), *Oxford handbook of deaf studies, language, and education*, 2: 268

<sup>100</sup> Kusters 2010: 5

<sup>101</sup> Kusters 2010: 3

<sup>102</sup> Nonaka 2009

further complicated when studying historical sign languages. Original sign languages pre-date the development of national sign languages, but their origin and development are often unknown. Woodward hypothesized they ‘develop in market towns and urban areas where deaf people have regular and sustained opportunities to meet and converse’.<sup>103</sup> The third variety, indigenous, refers to languages that develop spontaneously in rural locations with unusually high levels of hereditary deafness in a relatively isolated population.<sup>104</sup> In these circumstances, OKSL and MVSL might problematically be classified as ‘indigenous’.

Developing a basic understanding of these sign language typologies demonstrates the challenge of conducting historical research into sign languages from a geographic perspective. Kentish Deaf communities across the early modern and into the early part of the Victorian era were not static, but subject to the push and pulls of their time. Deaf people in Kent did not remain stationary. Like their speaking counterparts, they too, migrated from the rural to urban environments. From a historical geographic perspective, these typologies have a limited usefulness. Their prescribed boundaries should acknowledge levels of fluidity and permeability over time because Deaf communities, in general, are not stationary.

Finding evidence of natural sign languages in history, especially original and indigenous languages, is not at all easy. Very little is known about the history of sign languages; most evidence is anecdotal.<sup>105</sup> Natural sign languages have no written form. Instead they require a time consuming and laborious effort to describe. Prior to the invention of the printing press, the labour and material costs to record information already widely known or available on an informal basis would have been too exorbitant.<sup>106</sup> Most early writing regarding visual-kinetic communication describes various types of manual alphabets, the artificial systems

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<sup>103</sup> Nonaka 2009: 211 footnote

<sup>104</sup> Nonaka 2009: 211

<sup>105</sup> Woll 1984: 81

<sup>106</sup> Bragg 1997: 1

described above, not natural sign languages.<sup>107</sup> With very few exceptions, those who wrote about these systems could hear, and it appears most did not know a natural sign language.

## ***2.4 Deaf as Other***

There had been ‘Others’ and ‘Strangers’ of a different sort in the Weald region for some time. Henry VIII had welcomed Flemish craftsman and Huguenot weavers into the Southeast where they retained a separate ‘Stranger’ identity for generations, and now there was closer scrutiny of people who often lived on the margins of their communities, including people with physical and mental differences.

Most people’s sense of identity has little to do with their sensory abilities. They have no conception of themselves as ‘hearing’. A hearing person is almost never in a situation where she has to consider her auditory state of being. It is a position of privilege. When circumstances cause this consciousness of self to occur, it also carries the potential to perceive deaf people as Other. Ladd expressed the importance of this:

‘Before oppressed groups can be understood in their own terms, it is necessary to comprehend the perceptions and constructions of them developed by major societies... [T]he process of ‘unlearning’ and deconstructing one’s own culturally inherited perceptions is the precursor to an engaged understanding.’<sup>108</sup>

The societal changes that led deaf people to be pushed to the edges of their communities converged during the expansion of the British Empire and the Enlightenment era. Discursive expressions of these processes are seen in the sermons of the church, the justifications of empire builders, as well as the writings of the academy, and were promoted through the growing press. The development of these colonial-style discourses used for and against Deaf people echoes in the

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<sup>107</sup> Lee 2004: 9

<sup>108</sup> Ladd 2003:76

simultaneous formation of colonial discourses for the Empire. These parallel processes tempt the comparison of Deaf people's experience to that of their colonised counterparts. While in the strictest sense Britain did not colonise itself, colonising behaviours were regularly and diligently performed on the domestic front.

Since the Reformation, the Church of England, in its efforts to increase every man's access to God, was also engaged in activities that alienated signing people from the most central institution of their parish lives, the church. The whitewashing of the churches took away Deaf people's ability to engage with the spectacle of the physical location, an undoubted draw for parishioners who could not understand the Latin liturgy. When church buildings communicated aspects of the Bible, Deaf people were not excluded. When services were no longer in Latin, signing deaf people were now at a disadvantage to access the Word. Additionally, the English language Bible also now placed an increased importance on literacy.

Enlightenment advances in medicine and physiology placed Deaf people in the unenviable position of being scrutinised for their difference, both for the difference in the ears' functioning or dysfunction and the workings of the 'mute' brain. Again, deaf people are held aside as different and Other. In the academy, this awareness first appeared in print in the second half of the seventeenth century in Digby's *Treatise on the Nature of Bodies*. It can also be found in a 1662 letter written by Dr John Wallis to Robert Boyle, later published by the Royal Society.<sup>109</sup> The subsequent debate was taken up by a group of linguists at Oxford in the seventeenth century. George Dalgarno, William Holder, John Wallis, and the Savilian Professor of Astronomy, Seth Ward, all worked on the ideas of sign language, gesture, and the educability of Deaf people.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Seigel, J.P. 1969: The Enlightenment and the evolution of a language of signs in France and England, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 30,1: 99

<sup>110</sup> Arikha, N. 2005: Deafness, ideas and the language of thought in the late 1600s. *British Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 13, 2: 236-237

Christian faith groups continued to be critical for the development and maintenance of social ordering. The missionary efforts in the colonies were also reproduced at home. The engine driving the establishment and subsequent support of the asylum system was composed of active clergy. Baynton described the impact of the Evangelical movement upon American Deaf people in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it could be extended to Britain as well:

Reformers of this period usually traced social evils to the weaknesses of individuals and believed that the reformation of society would come about only through the moral reform of its members. The primary responsibility of the Evangelical reformer, then, was to educate and convert individuals. The Christian nation they sought, and the millennial hopes they nurtured, came with each success one step closer to fruition.<sup>111</sup>

In England, ministers functioned as the earliest missionaries of deaf people. Not unlike their colonial counterparts, they held up their 'poor unfortunates' as objects worthy of pity and charity and sought assistance from within the central charitable institution - the church. From its' 1792 outset, leaders of the nascent Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children were, in parallel to other missionary efforts of the both the charitable and colonial kind, using the pulpit and the 'special sermon' as a key method for fundraising. The memoirs of the Asylum's founder, the Rev. John Townsend, trace his fundraising tours to churches across the country.<sup>112</sup> Created and reproduced under the guise of 'charity', the founding of a variety of these institutions, not just for deaf people but for other 'unfortunates' as well occurred in this era. These institutions and their accompanying fundraising efforts also served as an opportunity for the wealthy and aristocratic to engage in philanthropic spectacle. (See chapter 5 for more.)

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<sup>111</sup> Baynton, D. C. 1992: "A Silent Exile on This Earth": The metaphorical construction of deafness in the nineteenth century, *American Quarterly*, 44, 2: 220

<sup>112</sup> Townsend, J 1828: *Memoirs of the Rev. John Townsend, founder of the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb and of the Congregational School*. London: J.B. and John Courthope: Chapter 4. Rev. John Townsend, like the American colonist Rev. John Lathrop, was a Congregationalist minister. The repeated appearance of Congregationalists in English Deaf history is a fascinating topic, worthy of additional research.

An increasingly literate and secular society created a time-space compression. The creation of the popular press and the proliferation of print media permitted an awareness of one's community in comparison and contrast to others in new ways. Missioners like Townsend also used the press in a clever fashion to further the cause.<sup>113</sup> Eighteenth-century English periodicals reflected this growing awareness of deafness:

Unfortunately again the interest was neither psychological or philosophical: the deaf were seen, with a few exceptions, as curiosities; and if they were cured of their deafness or taught to speak they were considered prodigies.<sup>114</sup>

Sign language, if there was one in use in the Weald at the time, would likely have gone from a form of village sign language used in a sign/speech community to the beginnings of a national sign language over the study period, an effect of the missionary-style displacement of deaf children to schools for the deaf. With the formulation of the schools, the earliest purpose-built spaces intended to gather deaf children into a single location, we also see the beginnings of Deaf spaces and Deaf communities as they are described today.

The development of today's discourses regarding deaf people occurred over the centuries encompassed by this study. Being 'deaf' stops being something that 'just happens in our family' and becomes something extra-ordinary through the process of making 'deaf' a pathology or an affliction that should be remediated. It is also through this process of external ascription that deaf people become Othered, both within and without their homes.

In the next section, I review how these ideas are developing within and through the growing field of Deaf geographies. Theoretical developments in the notion of Deaf

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<sup>113</sup> For multiple examples, see Chapter 5, and Lee, R. (ed.), 2003: *Gems from the 'Gentleman's Magazine': a collection of published articles and letters referring to the Deaf*. Feltham, Middlesex: British Deaf History Society Publications.

<sup>114</sup> Seigel 1969: 101

space are reviewed and built upon, and relate the efforts to describe pre-Victorian deaf community histories.

## **2.5 Discourses of d/Deaf**

*'Deafness is a cultural construction as well as a physical phenomenon.'*<sup>115</sup>

Applying twenty-first century discourses to describe historic phenomena related to deaf people must be done cautiously. Until 1792 and the founding of the first 'public' school for the deaf in Britain, the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children at Bermondsey, there was little known Deaf-generated writing.<sup>116</sup> Referential evidence of Deaf people and sign language was written by hearing people, so without further evidence we do not know how Deaf people perceived themselves in the earlier part of this research period. Still, current as well as contemporary discourse categories provide a useful tool for engaging with the topics of 'deaf' and 'sign language' and are outlined below.

The reader will have undoubtedly noticed by now the use of the term 'deaf' presented with both lower and upper case 'D/d'. This is intentional. In the pathological sense, 'deaf' is an all-encompassing term used to describe any and all types of hearing loss. The lowercase 'd' is applied in three forms of discourse, as described below. Indeed, the usage of the lowercase 'd' when spelling 'deaf' functions as a signifier of these discourses. Additionally, the reader is being signalled to the possibilities that either the writer does not have an affinity to the Deaf community or their affiliation remains unknown. The upper case form of the term signifies an acknowledgement of a person's identification with a particular group of people (described below), so the convention tends to follow in the same

<sup>115</sup> Baynton 1992: 216

<sup>116</sup> I use the term 'public' in the sense that application to attend was open to all. Deaf children from wealthy homes already had some access to education in the form of private education. See Chapter 6 for more on beginnings of Deaf education in Britain. The earliest authenticated document written by a Deaf person in England is the will of Framlingham Gaudy, dated 2 May 1672. Note: as often happened before standardised spelling conventions became the norm, are two different spellings of the surname of the Gawdy/Gaudy family. See Jackson, P. 2004: *The Gawdy manuscripts*. Feltham, Middlesex: British Deaf History Society Publications.

way that it would occur when writing about a cultural group, for example, the British.

Four discourse types surround the term ‘deaf’ and continue to dominate understandings of the term. The first three are constructed as an individual occurrence, as a pathological condition, and as a disability. The fourth type, the cultural model, is discussed below. The first three are all persistent parts of the larger hegemonic epistemology surrounding the notion of ‘deaf’ today. Ladd described the first view, deafness as ‘individual circumstance’, as that of a deaf person as an afflicted, powerless individual, unaffiliated with a larger group or history. It is an historic and persistent paradigm supporting the notion that a deaf person is helpless, isolated and impaired with no relationship to any other Deaf person, past, or present.<sup>117</sup>

Lane and Rosen described the second and third discourse types. The second is the most widespread and persistent view, the pathological.<sup>118</sup> In this discourse deaf people represent a deviation from the normal, healthy state. According to Gregory and Hartley, emphasis is placed ‘on remediation and normalization—on overcoming hearing loss to restore ‘normal’ functioning’.<sup>119</sup> Bragg stated that this construction developed during the Renaissance and is maintained by hearing medical professionals, including general practice physicians, audiologists and otologists, but not by Deaf people.<sup>120</sup> This discourse uses medical terminology and focuses on techniques to test and remediate, if not cure, symptoms. The third construction, deaf is a disability, frames the focus away from medical considerations. This construction emphasizes communication access, and the goal is to assimilate deaf people into the hearing-dominated world. This ideology is also

<sup>117</sup> Ladd 2003: 163

<sup>118</sup> Lane, H. 1995: Constructions of Deafness. *Disability & Society* 10, 171-190. See also Rosen, R.S. 2007: Descriptions of the American deaf community, 1830-2000: epistemic foundations, *Disability & Society*, 23, 2: 129.

<sup>119</sup> Gregory, S. & Hartley, G. 1991: Introduction in Gregory, S. & Hartley, G., editors, *Constructing Deafness*. London: Pinter Press: 2

<sup>120</sup> Bragg 1997: 4

individualistic and often applicable in cases of late deafening or moderate hearing-losses. Ladd called this a ‘social model’.<sup>121</sup> The ideological ramifications of these three discourses are incredibly persistent over time. The medical and disability constructs developed during the period covered in this thesis. In Deaf studies and among Deaf activists today, these would be labelled ‘audist’ or hegemonic sensibilities: that is, privileging hearing people’s sensibilities over deaf people’s experiences.

Three types of hearing loss distinctions may be made. Firstly, a person’s hearing loss may be permanent or temporary. Secondly, it can be described in a range from partial to profound. The third distinction is the age of onset, whether a person is born deaf (congenital), becomes deaf before learning speech (pre-lingual) or after spoken language acquisition has occurred (adventitious).<sup>122</sup> The causes of adventitious hearing loss before antibiotics and health and safety regulations include disease, fever, hygiene, and occupation. Hereditary deafness does not necessarily have to be in congenital form. Some types of hereditary hearing loss do not manifest until a person is older.

## ***2.6 DEAF-WORLD/Deaf community***

[Community is] a social network of interacting individuals, usually concentrated into a defined territory... Community membership involves a ‘matter of custom and of shared modes of thought or expression, all of which have no other sanction than tradition’: one belongs to a community, but may only be conscious of that when it is threatened. Thus a community does not involve emotional ties, which characterise communion: a community may stimulate such experiences, providing the context within which they can develop, but all communities are not necessarily in communion.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ladd 2003: 166

<sup>122</sup> Cockayne, E. 2003: Experiences of the Deaf in early modern England *The Historical Journal* 46, 3: 494

<sup>123</sup> Johnston, R. 2000: ‘Community’ in Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., Pratt, G., & Watts, M., editors, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Malden, Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing: 101

The fourth discourse type, 'Deaf', applies to a cultural/linguistic minority. It is a rejection of the hegemonic constructions above, although Lane did not frame it in quite that manner. He described it as the discourse Deaf people use to express the values within their own communities, including the cherishing of their own embodied and actively produced manifestation of that cultural affinity: sign language.<sup>124</sup> In contemporary contexts, individual Deaf identification with a collective, or Deaf group identity, can be subtle and, at times, ambivalent.<sup>125</sup> In general, people with Deaf identities reject the suggestion they have a disability. In contrast to people with disabilities, they do not experience ambivalence towards being Deaf but pride in their unique languages, values, customs and history. They are glad to be Deaf and consider it a good thing.<sup>126</sup> They consider themselves members of a signing community and therefore would be a part of the Deaf community.

Padden and Humphries identified two particular signs connected to this discourse, DEAF-WORLD and DEAF-WAY, as the expression of a sense of Deaf group identity. Expressing these ideas in sign-glosses, written translations of the signs rather than in English highlights the Deaf-value standpoint. That is, Deaf-generated constructions like these are much older than the construction of 'Deaf culture', which had its beginnings in the early 1980s.<sup>127</sup> DEAF-WAYS are the 'internal forms, the values, beliefs, norms and patterns by which (Deaf people) interact with each other.'<sup>128</sup> DEAF-WORLD are the places Deaf people create to associate with each

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<sup>124</sup> Lane 1995: 171-90

<sup>125</sup> Leigh, I. 2010: Reflections on Identity in Marschark, M. & Spencer, P.E., editors, *The Oxford handbook of deaf studies, language, and education*, v1, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 195-209

<sup>126</sup> Lane, H. & Grodin, M. 1997: Ethical Issues in Cochlear Implant Surgery: An exploration into disease, disability, and the best interests of the child. *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 7: 234

<sup>127</sup> Padden & Humphries 2005: 1. In linguistics, sign glosses, or written equivalents of signs, are conventionally expressed in the uppercase.

<sup>128</sup> Ladd 2003: 167

other. Today they include, 'schools, clubs, organisations, art forms, culturo-historical societies, libraries, and museums of their own.'<sup>129</sup>

Batterbury, Ladd and Gulliver characterised DEAF-WORLD as being community-centred.<sup>130</sup> It maintains a collectivist ethos and sense of reciprocity that fosters group cohesion and solidarity. There is an expectation amongst community members that one will watch out for the needs of others in the group and may have expectations of being watched over. This includes everything from employment opportunities to matchmaking to childrearing.

DEAF-WORLD places a high priority on information sharing and communication. Without access to passive listening opportunities, signing peoples rely on each other to share news and information that their hearing counterparts are exposed to routinely. DEAF-WORLD is context dependent in its language and is past oriented. Like other cultural groups whose language is without a written form, DEAF-WORLD includes a folkloric tradition and an emphasis on storytelling as an important method for transmitting and embodying narratives, beliefs, mythologies and living history.

DEAF-WORLD also follows a polychronic time system. Traditionally, face-to-face communication is highly valued because opportunities to congregate with other signing people can be infrequent, and therefore is considered much more valuable than precise timekeeping. For example, leave-taking rituals are extended, as all parties will take the time to agree on their next meeting before the interaction ends. In affluent locations, this is undoubtedly changing in light of the availability of mobile video communication technologies, but the underlying values persist.

Gulliver described these concepts in a different way. He said DEAF-WORLD includes 'all those who inhabit DEAF [sic] space, or are associated with it; DEAF-WAY is

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<sup>129</sup> Ladd 2003: 167

<sup>130</sup> Batterbury, et. al. 2007: 2899-2915

'doing something in a way that explicitly adopts DEAF [sic] space norms'; and added 'DEAF CULTURE' is the process of 'following rules that are authored and learned within DEAF [sic] space.'<sup>131</sup> Woll and Ladd claimed that the term 'Deaf community' has almost replaced DEAF-WORLD in its English vernacular use. They defined the term broadly as consisting of those Deaf people who use a sign language.<sup>132</sup>

Bragg expressed concerns about applying DEAF-WORLD discourse to history, rightly warning us not to assume that deaf communities and natural sign languages have existed in all times and places:

Deaf history seems insufficiently sceptical about such claims concerning societies where low population density and rigid social structures kept people relatively isolated. When the general population is resident in such small, isolated, static groups that people in neighbouring villages have difficulty understanding one another's dialect, as was universally the case during late antiquity and the Middle Ages, the modern historian must assume the burden of proof for the existence of a natural sign language in a deaf community.<sup>133</sup>

Until fairly recently the term 'deaf and dumb' was used to describe signers who did not use speech communication. This terminology was regularly used during the period covered by the research in this thesis. I use it as appropriate and with a non-pejorative intention, understanding that this is a part of Deaf history. As will be shown in Chapter 6, the difference between 'Deaf and dumb' and 'Deaf' had a serious impact on reporting in the 1851 census. It is important to note that in some situations, as is often the case of an elderly person who experiences a gradual sensory loss, individuals may never develop a cultural affinity or identity as a Deaf person. Instead, they maintain an identity firmly rooted in their level of successful assimilation within the larger society.

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<sup>131</sup> Gulliver 2009: 44

<sup>132</sup> Woll, B. & Ladd, P. 2003: Deaf communities in Marschark, M. & Spencer, P.E., editors, *The Oxford handbook of deaf studies, language, and education*, v1, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 151

<sup>133</sup> Bragg 1997: 4

In *Deafhood*, Ladd offers a new way to consider deafness, using the phrase ‘signing peoples’.<sup>134</sup> This more inclusive definition must be considered when researching historical deaf communities. In places where deafness and sign are ‘normalised’ it does not mean they disappear or are not different from their neighbouring communities. If we were to show a map of the United States to a group of Deaf people and ask them where the deaf people are, today they would point to the cities with the largest deaf educational institutions because they provide employment and social outlets for this linguistic minority. Batterbury, Ladd and Gulliver use the term Sign Language Peoples.<sup>135</sup> This suggests a hybridity that extends the traditional model of a Deaf-only epistemology to include people who engage in DEAF-WORLD and DEAF-WAYS, but might not have a hearing loss, as in the case of signing hearing family members.<sup>136</sup>

In *The people of the eye*, Lane, Pillard and Hedberg set out the argument in favour of describing ‘DEAF-WORLD’ in terms of a Deaf ethnicity by examining the properties of ethnic groups and comparing them to the properties of ‘the ASL minority’.<sup>137</sup> Components of Lane, Pillard and Hedberg’s argument are attractive for specific applications in support of the social-political activism of the American ‘Deafhood’ movement and perhaps other Western Deaf empowerment struggles, however they are using ‘national’ sign languages to draw boundaries around specific language groups, a problem described earlier.

The argument in favour of Deaf ethnicity weakens when applied to d/Deaf people across time. In the case of this study, the ‘Deaf’ cultural movement did not yet exist for the Weald’s hereditary deaf families. As we will see, the archives indicated almost no evidence of the presence of deaf people in the area, so demonstrating the early modern families with deaf members as ethnically Deaf is not possible at

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<sup>134</sup> Ladd 2003

<sup>135</sup> Batterbury, et al. 2007

<sup>136</sup> As a former sign language interpreter, I find this is an attractive construction because it leaves the possibility for my own voice to be included in DEAF-WORLD discourse.

<sup>137</sup> Lane, et. al. 2011

this time. As the industrial revolution began and progressed, the lives of these rural people changed. Many people left their rural homes to follow employment and educational opportunities, especially with the beginnings of deaf education through the auspices of the charity movement. Groce showed how the lives of the deaf islanders were profoundly changed when they had access to education on the mainland. They began to marry off-islanders and settle 'away' from their home communities. They also had the advantage education provides to better themselves economically beyond what they might have done previously as subsistence farmers engaged in by-employment activities.<sup>138</sup>

## ***2.7 Deaf Space, a taxonomy***

[Deaf people's] places are created by sharing and interaction lived out in the visually interactive world of sign language. This means that deaf places, the knowledges that produce them (and the knowledges that are produced within them) have developed over time in ways that make them profoundly different in nature and priority from those of hearing people.<sup>139</sup>

Woll and Ladd acknowledged that defining the boundaries of today's 'Deaf communities' is challenging for a number of reasons, including the affects of technological advancements and oral education and the changing nature of social interactions for younger deaf people away from the traditional deaf social institutions. They also acknowledge that attempts to generalise theories of Deaf community developed in modern post-industrial Western societies to non-Western societies with large deaf populations are problematic.<sup>140</sup> For this study, instead of seeing this boundary question as problematic, it was more useful to embrace the idea that Deaf-WORLD is contingent, permeable, and temporary. To borrow loosely from Lester,

[Deaf people have] 'a relational approach to space—one in which space is conceived as being dynamically constituted by the

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<sup>138</sup> Groce 1983; 1985

<sup>139</sup> Gulliver 2008: 91

<sup>140</sup> Woll & Ladd 2003: 151-152

relationships among and between objects, rather than pre-existing as a neutral grid or backdrop on which they are positioned.<sup>141</sup>

I needed a way to search for the Deaf-WORLD in a specific location, the Weald. This lead me to consider the ways Deaf-WORLD could have manifested itself and, crucially, how that manifestation might then be expressed in archival records. This led me to consider how sign language, as previously discussed, and Deaf spaces are created and maintained.

Deaf people are not and were not always on the margins of their communities. They lived and worked, married and raised families amongst their relatives and home communities. Like Groce finds on the Martha's Vineyard and Nonaka in the speech/sign community of Ban Khor, othered spaces do not exist. A recognisable, separate, and purpose-built space for deaf people begins with the origins of deaf education - the founding of schools for the deaf. So while this is the first time these spaces are identified, Deaf space had been maintained informally and in temporary ways over time within larger, hegemonic social spaces in a permeable and parallel landscape created by families with a visual language.

Defining these Deaf spaces in geographical terms is still relatively new. Deaf spaces have multiple configurations and may be described as they are produced and presented in a scalar model from the imaginary geographies of visual language users to emerging global Deaf networks. A methodological taxonomy of Deaf space could create a set of boundaries that is useful for investigating DEAF-World (though in the case of the Weald, the using the term SLP is a more accurate definition).

I considered were the Deafspaces I had observed and sometimes created since my own introduction to DEAF-World. The taxonomic model was developed not only

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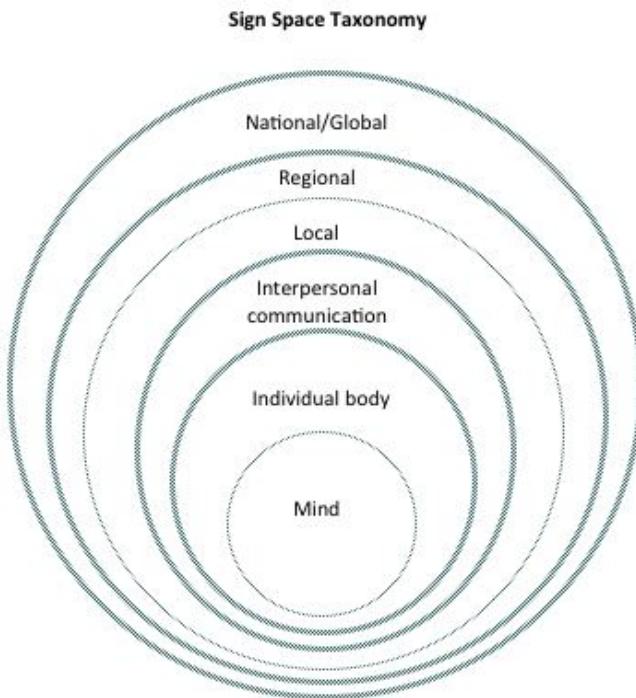
<sup>141</sup> Lester, A. 2012: Personifying colonial governance: George Arthur and the transition from humanitarian to development discourse. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102, 6: 1470.

from my personal experience, but as a result of the investigation of the Weald's undocumented Deaf community. They ranged from the personal, psychological imaginary spaces created through the process of visualising sign within an individual mind; to the physical and performed manifestations of that imaginary space created when the individual expresses that visualisation through sign language via the location immediately around the body in a person's 'sign space'; to the formal, built environments where signing people congregate for long periods of time; to the (often) temporary and telescoping spaces (distances) of communication with and between other signers; and lastly, but by no means exhaustively, to the notions of community and network. To help me envision this, I drew a diagram (see Figure 2.3).

The diagram of the model has limitations. For example, like the signing space figure (2.1), it is merely a two-dimensional model. Additionally, each of the drawn divisions can be critiqued and either expanded or collapsed.

The model has potential as a tool for future research. Its application provides a faceted lens with which to interrogate archival sources. For example no purpose-built Deaf spaces were recorded in the Weald across the period of this study, although they were being built in the region by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (see Chapters 5 and 6), but the earlier episode in Pepys's diary provides a glimpse at a temporary and relational space via his observations of the interactions between Downing and the deaf boy and could be placed at the interpersonal level.

Looking at the model itself, the first ring, 'National/Global', entails the most frequently described and theorized Deaf Space put forward thus far, though not by geographers. This space has been called by a variety of names, each of which try to capture different aspects of Deaf group identity formulations. It encompasses



**Figure 2.4 Sign Space Taxonomy**

terms I described in Chapter 2, including the notions of Deaf Nation, DEAF-World and Deafhood and describes the manifestation of the Sign Language Peoples as a collective – their international and national institutions and social landscapes. Additionally, the Internet and mobile technologies have had a profound impact on the lives of those individuals with access to them, especially for signing people. Virtual Deaf spaces of the digital age, from YouTube to chat rooms to video telephony, have fostered a growing body of visual texts that permits an unprecedented level of access between signers all across the globe and to different sign languages. The ramifications of this time-space compression will require additional study.

Jumping to the centre of the model and the smallest ring, the mind, may be one of the most intriguing in the accessing of the geographic imagination. Storyboarding, the graphic cinematic technique of describing scenes, and mind mapping techniques could provide a way to unpack the riches of these imaginary spaces for people who do not use sign language and to question the visual organisational

conventions of internal landscapes. The most direct visual expression of these internal landscapes is sign language, as it requires no other material for its manifestation than the body.

One way to describe this may be by engaging in a part of a guided visualisation exercise used to train sign language interpreters. It begins like this: Picture an aeroplane. What does it look like? Did you picture it from the inside or the exterior? Consider the exterior, the size, shape and colour. From what materials is it made and how many wings does it have and where are they set on the fuselage? Do you see its landing gear? If so, does it have wheels or skis? What is the form of propulsion? Next, locate the plane. Is it in the air, on the ground or water? Is it at an airfield or a commercial airport or within a hanger? If this exercise was conducted with a group of people, and each one of them was then asked to describe the plane and its location, each would describe something different: from a toy plane made of balsawood propelled by an elastic band to private, commercial, or military planes, from the Wright brothers machine at Kittyhawk to the Concorde. The aeroplane is likely something from a memory, but it does not necessarily have to be.

The scope of our internal landscapes is potentially limitless, bounded only by the limits of a person's imagination. But the geography of a signer's imagination is expressed, or mapped, directly through its expression of her ideas in sign language. Her internal representation(s) guide the signer in the ordering and locating her signs and so, the communication of this imaginary landscape is directly expressed. This performance provides a direct, shaped expression of the signer's internal landscape in a picture that, for people who do not sign, is usually only visually accessible through the mediums of the visual arts. Sign language works succinctly as it does not require the additional media of computer or canvas and brush or paper and pen that the visual arts do. A signer's eloquence might be judged on how well she is able to recreate her imagined and performed landscape in the minds of her audience. For a non-signer, landscape art gives the closest approximation of this in that it is a performed expression of the geographic imagination, but it may

not be so easily passed from one person to the other. By recreating and then navigating this landscape in their own minds the receiver of a message may reflect it back, embellish upon it, and potentially in turn relay that imagery to others.

The second and third rings, the Body and Interpersonal Communication, cover the areas most directly connected with the archival materials of this study. Deaf bodies and interpersonal communication are the focus of the three earliest discourse-types previously identified. Researching the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the outer rings, Local, Regional and National/Global, came into play with the development of deaf education in Europe and the development of the print media, i.e. newspapers, pamphlets and magazines.

## ***2.8 Conclusion***

This chapter described a relatively new area of human geography study, Deaf geographies. Previous work was reviewed and discussed, pointing out the lack of research conducted by geographers on this subject. It then provided background information about sign languages and research that has been conducted on it that connects to this study. Next, the chapter laid out the foundational concepts on which the thesis relied. It critically framed the major discourses related to signing peoples and placed them within their historical context. It also described development of the Deaf cultural model used in the positioning of this thesis. It also related signing people's social values. Variously described as DEAF-WORLD and Deaf communities, individual and group Deaf identities, were characterised and present as the subject of this research project.

The manifestations of Deaf spaces, from the global to the imaginary, were described and theorised and a Deaf Space taxonomy was proposed. With the development of proscribed and ascribed individual and group identities, these Deaf spaces began to be recorded and, in some circumstances, especially created for and, in even more rare cases, by Deaf people during the study period.

Each of the foundational concepts described in this chapter continue to evolve, especially in light of the ongoing Deaf rights movements in the UK and the US. The exploration of these foundational concepts, most especially their etymology, played a pivotal role throughout the data collection process. In the next chapter, the methods for applying these foundational concepts within the archive were presented.

## Chapter 3 Methods

### ***3.1 Introduction***

Establishing the methods and parameters for this project was led by the data sources available on deaf people in Kent. The first American colonists carrying the potential for hereditary deafness, including those identified both by Groce and in the course of this research, migrated from their parishes in Kent to the New England colonies as early as 1621. These people are well known to American historians though their connections to hereditary deafness were not until Groce's project became available. (American historians still often overlook the connection; though commenting on why that might be so would be nothing more than speculation.) With exceptions that are addressed in this thesis, British historians have not demonstrated an interest in this aspect of early modern British Deaf social history on this scale. They have focused their efforts on individuals and institutions.

Two hundred and thirty years later, the 1851 Census of Great Britain provided the first data relating to the deaf population as a whole in the country. For many reasons that will be explored, the census is not a perfect tool for assessing the state of the deaf population, but it was the first comprehensive effort to name every signer, so with the potential of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books and the names of the American colonists gleaned from Groce and other American historians, the work of this study was to search for connections between them. Thus, 1620 and 1851 functioned as bookending dates for the project.

The project divided into three uneven segments: locating the colonists in their parishes of origin and demonstrating their interconnectedness, creating and analysing the database of 1851 deaf people in Kent, and connecting the nineteenth century deaf with the seventeenth century American colonists. The work broadly broke down into a five-step investigation, each requiring a slightly different approach. These included considering and adapting previously used methods to suit the location and the nature of the population; identifying potential sources; understanding the underlying social, political and economic changes across the

time period at different scales; developing an understanding of the changing discourses surrounding deaf people across the established time periods to ultimately identify signing people in archival documents; and finally to identify those people. This chapter will discuss each of these research tracks.

There are a few points worth noting about the sources. People functioning outside of Deaf culture generated all primary sources and some key secondary sources for this paper. For the most part, their work was presented in a dialogic nature and the assumption that to hear is better than to be deaf. Because of this, deaf people no matter what their feelings of identification and affiliation might be, function as poor ‘unfortunates’, with the occasional exceptional case that is spectacular and somewhat magical. This might happen when a deaf person’s abilities demonstrated the training they have received from their teachers and benefactors to an audience. Thus enabling those who do hear, by virtue of this capacity, to feel physically, intellectually, and morally superior, no matter how altruistic their motivation.

Secondly, these resources are not presented for a Deaf audience, but as a platform from which the writers could maintain their hegemonic stance. Thirdly, there are unconscious assumptions about the hearing state versus the deaf state of being. Having hearing is better than not, and having the ability to hear is normalized. An indication is that the writers of these selections do not identify themselves as hearing. Additionally, the secondary sources, with a couple of important exceptions, continue the ‘poor unfortunates’ framework, most especially in a published history of the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children, *A Tower of Strength* by Beaver.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>142</sup>The Asylum’s name has changed several times since its foundation. It’s currently called the Royal School for Deaf Children Margate. I refer to the school as the Asylum, the name that was in use in the period of the research. See Beaver, P. 1992: *A Tower of strength: Two hundred years of the Royal School for Deaf Children Margate*. Lewes, Sussex: The Book Guild.

### **3.2 The task**

How and where can deaf individuals, families, and communities, and their use of sign language, be identified in the historical record? Languages without written form are presented in the archive by two potential sources: either outsiders describing the language they witness or someone who is bi-lingual referencing the language itself or its usage. For this research, I assumed that deaf men and women engaged in normative social practices at the time – marriage, employment and child rearing. If this was so, I could then also assume that they had a language - speech, sign, or both - that permitted their involvement in both social and economic spheres within their communities.

By extension, a Deaf social network or community might be shown by finding evidence of Deaf families intermarrying, most especially if these marriages are occurring outside of marriage distance norms. It would also be demonstrated through Deaf-based business and social interactions such as members of signing families working with and for each other or visiting one another. This might then be assumed to demonstrate an internalised Deaf identity among those individuals and a larger Deaf group identity.

#### **3.2.1 Research strategies considered**

Groce's research strategy included both oral history and genealogical methods. Knowing Groce did her study almost thirty years before I did, and that I was not beginning the project with a knowledgeable set of island elderly informants as she did, I had to consider other methods for gathering data. I considered two additional methods of reconstruction as potential methodological frameworks by which to structure the project – community reconstruction and family reconstitution. Macfarlane, in collaboration with Harrison and Jardine describe a method of studying historical communities.<sup>143</sup> The work of his research team focused on single parishes in Essex and Cumbria that had intact records. *Reconstructing historical*

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<sup>143</sup> Macfarlane, et. al. 1977

*communities* establishes that the notion of ‘community’ is problematic as there are so many different types of communities studied by various disciplines. For example, [c]ommunity can serve as an activity specific word.’<sup>144</sup>

Ultimately, historical community reconstruction was rejected as a method. Firstly, I did not know if I was actually working with a real sign language community. Old Kent Sign Language was Groce’s hypothesis, so I needed to search out the existence of an actual community before I could investigate it. Secondly, if I did find a group of sign language peoples, I did not know if I would be able to place them within a particular administrative (parish) location(s) consistently across the duration of the study. Finally, if I was able to locate deaf families or a deaf community in a concentrated location, there was no guarantee that particular administrative location(s) would have complete or nearly complete records. Those were the requirements of community reconstruction work: a known community, a known boundary, and a full set of records available.

Family reconstitution offered another potential way to investigate the data. Wrigley and Schofield described this process as requiring the basic data of birth, marriage, and death of each family member. If this is known for every member, the family reconstitution in its simplest form is complete and recorded on a family reconstruction form.<sup>145</sup> Souden argued that when information is incomplete within a parish, it might be because of migration.<sup>146</sup> In the case of the colonist families in this study, it was also an issue of nonconformity. As will be shown, many of the descendants of the American colonists’ families in this cohort did not baptise or marry in the Anglican church, so they would not be represented in the record.

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<sup>144</sup> Macfarlane et al. 1977: 13

<sup>145</sup> Wrigley, E.A., Davies, R.S., Oppen, J.E., & Schofield, R. 1997: *English population history from family reconstitution 1580-1837*, v32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 13

<sup>146</sup> Souden, D 1984: Movers and stayers in family reconstitution populations. *Local Population Studies*, 33 (Autumn): 13

The methods used to approach this research were led by the data acquired. The investigation was built on a series of leads. It meant that this work also serves as a survey of the data sources available at this time. Based on research of other communities that trace their origins to the region, this project tested the hypothesis that there was a community of signing people in the Weald in the early modern era.

### **3.2.2 Sources**

The data collection began with two important conversations that led to the first sources for the project. In the first, a supervision meeting with Brian Short, I learned about the nineteenth century censuses and the enumeration of deaf people that was conducted in Great Britain in all the censuses between 1851 and 1911.<sup>147</sup> The *Census Enumerator Books* (CEBs) provided information about deaf people in what we came to call ‘the final column’ indicating the place of the information on the pages of the enumerators’ books. The second conversation was a phone call with Nora Groce. She told me the names used in *Everyone here* were not the actual family names. Those were in her dissertation.<sup>148</sup> On the recommendation of Groce, I also contacted Harlan Lane. He and his colleagues were also conducting research into hereditarily Deaf families in New England for *The people of the eye*.<sup>149</sup> Lane, like Groce, generously shared the names of those people his group had identified as coming from Kent, though their project utilised a more extended timeline than Groce’s work. Lane’s list included all the individuals Groce included on hers and more.<sup>150</sup> This compiled list of names from Groce and Lane became my starting point for entry into the archive (see Figure 3.1). The project divided itself along the lines of available sources. Nineteenth century records were abundant, but sixteenth, seventeenth and even eighteenth century documentation of deaf people were not.

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<sup>147</sup>Short, B. 2007: Personal communication. 18 October 2007 University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.

<sup>148</sup>Groce, N.E. 2007: Personal telephone interview. 3 November 2007

<sup>149</sup>Lane, et al. 2011

<sup>150</sup>Lane, H. 2008: Email correspondence. 5 October 2008

ALLEN, Samuel	FARNUM, Thomas	LYNNELL, Hannah
ATHEARN, Simon	FESSENDEN, Nicholas	PARTRIDGE, George
BAKER, Joyce	FOSTER, Richard	PERKINS, Elizabeth
BEARSE, Sarah	GOWEN, Margaret	REEVES, Mary
BIGGE, Patience	HAMBLIN, James	SAVERY, Elizabeth
BUTLER, Nicholas	HINCKLEY, Susanna	SCOTT, Ann
CLEMENTS, Joanna	HOUSE, Hannah	SKIFFE, James, Sr.
CURTIS, William	JELLISON, William	SMITH, John (rev.)
CUSHMAN, Andrew	KENNARD, Edward	SNOW, Lydia
CUSHMAN, Thomas	LAMBERT, Thomas	TEMPEST, Isabel
DAGGETT, Hepzibah	LATHROP, Benjamin	TRACY, Sarah
DAVIS, Dolar	LIBBY, John	TRIPP, John
EDDY, John	LITTLEFIELD, Edmund	WAKEFIELD, John
EDDY, Samuel	LORD, Abraham	WALLEN, Joyce
FANUM, Ralph	LORD, James	WHITMORE, Ann
FARNUM, Ralph (2nd)	LORD, Nathan	WHITNEY, Hannah
		WILLARD, Margery

**Figure 3.1 Previously identified American colonists with deaf descendants. (sources: Groce, 1983; Groce, N.E. 2009: Personal Interview at the University of Sussex, Brighton, 3 March 2009; Lane 2008.)**

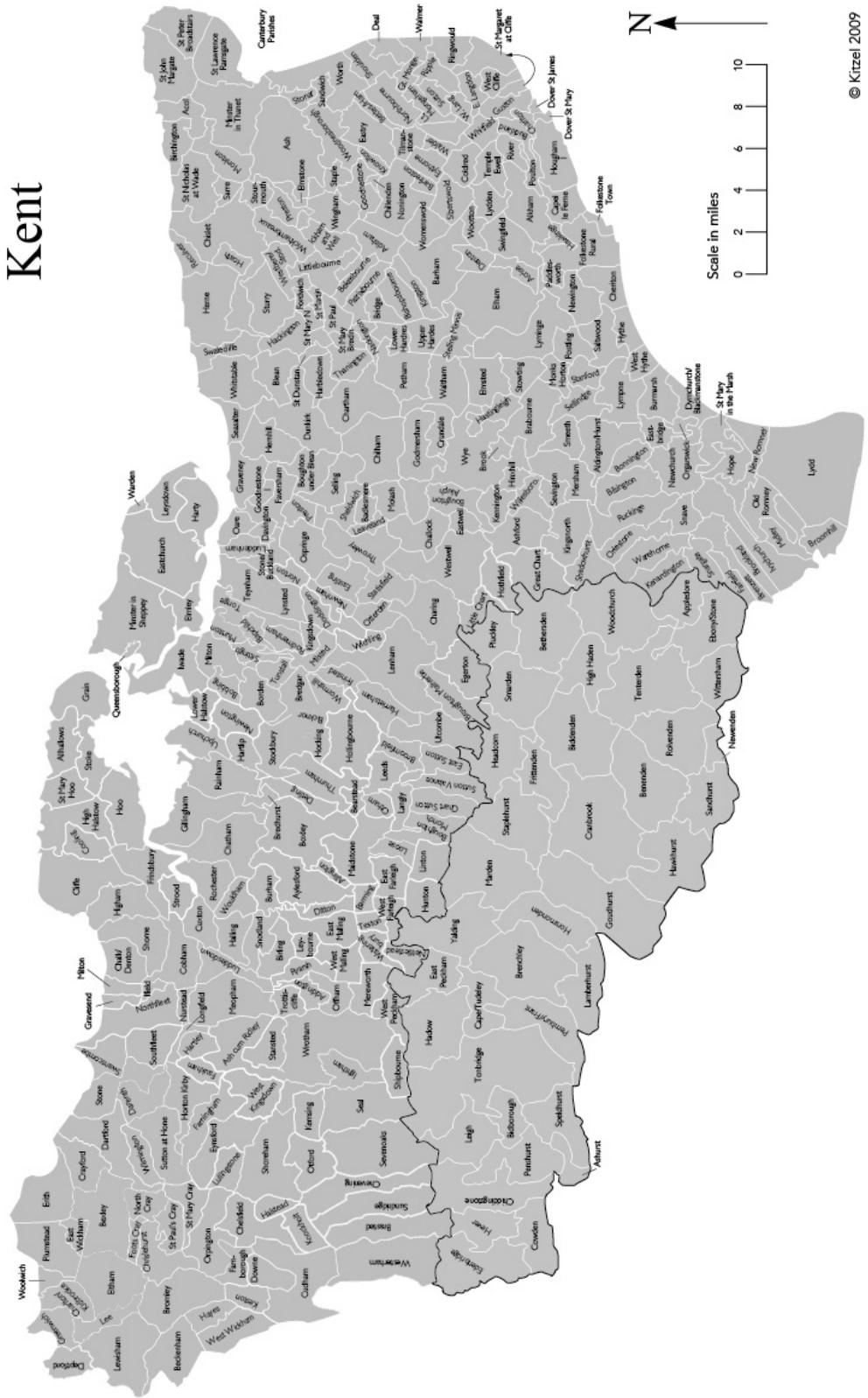
The parishes selected for the study needed to satisfy criteria I developed. First, they needed to be within the Weald. Second, they needed to have intact parish records. Thirdly, based upon Higg's research regarding marriage and labour mobility, I decided to use contiguous Wealden parishes.<sup>151</sup>

Benenden	Hawkhurst	Rolvenden
Betthersden	Headcorn	Smarden
Biddenden	High Halden	Staplehurst
Cranbrook	Marden	Tenterden
Frittenden	Newenden	Wittersham
Goudhurst	Sandhurst	Woodchurch

**Figure 3.2 The study's wealden parishes**

<sup>151</sup> Higgs, E. 1987: Women, occupations and work in the nineteenth century censuses. *History Workshop Journal* 23(1): 59-80

## Kent



**Figure 3.3 Kent parish map. Note: Weald parishes outlined in black**

### ***3.3 Locating the colonial families***

I contacted Groce about the research she conducted in Kent on the earliest colonists. She generously pointed me to her PhD thesis where the actual names of the colonists could be found.<sup>152</sup> There she wrote that documentary evidence was thin:

Surprisingly, with the exception of one or two very early newspaper articles, and a handful of scattered references in nineteenth century publications for the deaf, it appeared that no work had been done on or about this subject.<sup>153</sup>

In later personal correspondence she added,

I don't wonder that you're not getting much from the archives as to who was deaf - If I had to rely on the Vineyard archives rather than the oral history, I wouldn't have been able to find many folks either.<sup>154</sup>

All of the discourse types described in Chapter 2 were encountered during the course of this research project. Given the unlikely prospect of finding Deaf-written evidence for a Deaf community in the Weald, I concentrated on searching for performative expressions of DEAF-WORLD. That is, reports of sign language usage, Deaf families intermarrying or living in proximity to each other, and business interactions, such as fostering and apprenticing one another's children, could all be construed as performance of DEAF-WORLD. In the nineteenth-century Sandy River Valley, Lane reported there was a tendency among Deaf families to live in relatively close range and maintain close social networks. 'No doubt other Deaf settlers came as word spread of Deaf settlement in Maine, and some no doubt landed there for reasons unrelated to their being Deaf.'<sup>155</sup> Did Deaf families intermarry? Did they live in close proximity to each other? Did they support one another economically? Did they foster or apprentice each other's children?

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<sup>152</sup> Groce, N.E. 2007: Personal telephone interview. 3 November 2007

<sup>153</sup> Groce 1983: 45

<sup>154</sup> Groce, N.E. 2010: Email correspondence. 18 February 2010

<sup>155</sup> Lane, et al. 2007: 152-153

### 3.3.1 Identifying the American colonists and their families

As already noted in the previous chapter, the first locations of potential Deaf families comes from Groce's dissertation work on Martha's Vineyard where she identified the following Weald parishes: Benenden, Betherden, Horsmonden, Cranbrook and Tenderden.<sup>156</sup> She also provided the names of the Vineyard settlers descended from wealden families (see Figure 3.1). Other early New England Deaf surnames included the Brown family of Henniker, New Hampshire. According to Lane et, al. the Henniker Browns traced their English roots from Jabez Brown.<sup>157</sup> Jabez Brown was a first generation American, the son of Captain Thomas and Bridget Browne. Originally from Lavenham, Suffolk, the Thomas Browns migrated in 1640 and were amongst the founders of Concord Massachusetts.<sup>158</sup> There were five deaf Browns listed in the *1851 Kent Census* (See the complete listing of deaf people in 1851 Kent on the attached CD-ROM.)

### 3.3.2 Previous research on colonial families

Following Groce's footsteps, I went to the Centre for Kentish Studies in Maidstone armed with my list of surnames. One of the archivists recommended De Launay's notebooks - manuscripts consisting of extensive research notes on early colonial migrants from the Weald.<sup>159</sup> Each early migrant's genealogical information was provided. In addition to cataloguing the parish records and assizes recording the details of each migrant, De Launay also provided references to each individual in the work of authoritative genealogists working on early European American colonists.<sup>160</sup> De Launay also references the *New England Historical and*

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<sup>156</sup> Groce also includes the parishes of East Farley, Egerton, Ashford and Wye. These parishes are outside the Weald but within five miles of its boundaries. See detail of the 1851 Census Kent Deaf map in Appendix ??

<sup>157</sup> Lane, et al. 2000: 18

<sup>158</sup> Brown-Groover, M-A. 1977: From Concord Massachusetts, to the wilderness: The Brown family letters, 1792-1852, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 131: 28

<sup>159</sup> De Launay, J, (Date unknown) Kent Pioneers, v.I-IV, CKS TR2896.57-60

<sup>160</sup> In addition to parish records and assizes, De Launay used the following references throughout his notebooks: Banks, C.E.1961: *The planters of the Commonwealth (1620-1640)* Baltimore Genealogical Publishing Co. (reprint): Banks, C.E. 1937: *Topographical*

*Genealogical Register (NEHGR)*, a scholarly publication of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society.<sup>161</sup>

Fifteen people of the thirty-seven individuals on my list compiled from Lane's and Groce's information were catalogued in these notebooks. The colonist list from Lane did not include anything other than the colonists' names. Information regarding when some of the individuals migrated and so forth was unknown to me, so perhaps they fell out of De Launay's pre-1640 chronological interest range. Some of the individuals on the list may have originated from other counties. For example, the name Jellison does not turn up in the eighteen parishes at all. I looked for the possible social, economic, or kinship connections between these people. I also looked to connect them to their Kent parishes, as those who did not migrate are the people that were of interest to the project.

### **3.4 The 1851 final column: enumerating deaf people**

Between the years 1851 and 1911, the government added an additional column to the householders' schedules for the census. The final column instructions for the householder read quite simply, "Write 'Deaf-and-Dumb' or 'Blind' opposite the Name of the Person."<sup>162</sup> It is remarkable how much interpretation was given to this

*dictionary of 2885 English emigrants to New England, 1620-1650.* Brownell, E.E., editor, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.; *The England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Multiple volumes.); Sherwood, G. 1932: *American colonists in English records*. London: G. Sherwood; Hotten, J.C. 1880: *Our early emigrant ancestors. The original lists of persons of quality, etc.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, New York: Empire State Book (reprint 1962); Holmes, F. R. 1923: *Directory of the ancestral heads of New England families 1620-1700*, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company (reprint 1964); Pope, C.H. 1900: *The Pioneers of Massachusetts, Boston*: Charles H. Pope; Savage, J. 1860-1862: *A Genealogical dictionary of the first settlers of New England*. 4 vol. See also: De Launay, J, (Date unknown) Kent Pioneers, v.I-V, CKS TR2896.57/58.

<sup>161</sup> The NEHGR is now available online, making it possible to crosscheck De Launay's notebooks.

<sup>162</sup> British Parliamentary Papers 1851: Forms and Instructions for use of persons employed in taking account of population of Great Britain, 13 & 14 Victoria c.53. 1851 xlvi (1339) 1. House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online. ProQuest Information and Learning Company 2005.

<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/fulltext/fulltext.do?id=1851-027699&DurUrl=Yes> (Date Accessed: 15 March 2013).

instruction. All kinds of ‘infirmities’ were recorded including Imbecile, Insane, Idiot, Lunatic, Cripple and Dumb. Cases with these other designations were ignored for this database.

Working with a scanned version of the Kent 1851 Census Enumerators’ Books (CEBs), I identified all the deaf people in the county at the time of the census and created a database of their records.<sup>163</sup> Every identifiable case with the word ‘deaf’ in the final column was re-entered, as completely as possible, into a separate Excel database. This included information regarding the exact location of the entry, both the .pdf file name and page of the CD and the original CEB leaf and page numbers (for future referencing), the Town or Parish of residence, the street address, name (surname and given), relation to head of household, marital status, sex, age, rank, profession or occupation, county of birth and parish of birth, and the exact designation of ‘deaf’.

Using the CEBs as a source is enlightening but problematic for several reasons. The enumerators’ books have deteriorated through the years. Some pages are illegible. Secondly, the scanning process used to generate the CD-ROMs did not always capture the entire page. Thirdly, nineteenth century penmanship, writing and spelling conventions vary from those of the present day. Even using prompts from other sources, some data could not be deciphered. Other than these practical difficulties, there were issues about the original collection of this information. Higgs critically investigates the reliability of using nineteenth century census materials. ‘...The process of accumulating, arranging and analysing census data was not a value-free exercise especially with regard to the work of women.’<sup>164</sup> I would broaden that statement to include deaf people. The individual householder, or a literate assistant, recorded their household’s information on a schedule, which was then passed to the enumerator who created the books used in this study. The

<sup>163</sup> Great Britain 2005: Kent 1851 Census (CD set). S&N British Data Archive.

<sup>164</sup> Higgs 1987: 60

householder schedules were destroyed, so the CEBs are the closest-to-the-point-of-origin documents remaining.

Parish or Township of Chapmanwicks	Ecclesiastical District of Town	City or Borough of -	Town of -	Village of -			
Name of Street, Place, or Road, and Name or No. of House	Name and Surname of each Person who abode in the house, on the Night of the 30th March, 1851	Relation to Head of Family	Condition	Age of Male   Female	Rank, Profession, or Occupation	Where Born	Whether Deaf & Dumb
24 High St.	Matthew George	Head	Years	59	Baker & Biscuit Baker	Mint Greenwicks	
	Elizabeth	Wife	Years	50		Matthew Greenwicks	
	William G. Coulter	Sophew	Years	13	Scholar	Mint Greenwicks	
36 Broad Lane	William Bartholomew	Head	Years	56	Pelt Dyer	Mint Greenwicks	
	Elizabeth	Wife	Years	51	Craft Worker	De Clumbergate Craft Ground	
	Henry	Son	Years	16	Scholar	Never been rated 20-40-	
	John	Son	Years	19	Scholar	Q. - Q. - 20-40-	
	William	Son	Years	14	Scholar	Q. - Q. - 20-40-	
	Richard	Son	Years	12	Scholar	Q. - Q. - 20-40-	
	Ann	Daughter	Years	9	Scholar	Q. - Q. - 20-40-	
	Elizabeth	Daughter	Years	6	Scholar	Q. - Q. - 20-40-	
16 Broad Lane	Robert Watson	Head	Years	33	Bookbinder	Defford Murray	
	Annunia	Wife	Years	34		Defford Murray	
	George	Son	Years	12	Scholar	Near Defford	
	William	Son	Years	8	Scholar	Q. - Q. -	
Total of Persons	I 3 U B	Total of Persons...		9			

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Reference 107 1613  
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PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON

**Figure 3.4 Sample page from the 1851 Kent Census Enumerators' Books. Note the five individuals from a single family listed as 'Deaf & Dumb' (source: S&N British Data Archive, 2005)**

The final column also yielded four different designations of deaf, including, 'Deaf', 'Deaf and Dumb', 'Deaf and Blind' and 'Nearly Deaf'. No operative definitions of these terms are included in the instructions to householders. (See Appendix B for the Householder's Instructions.) Separating 'Deaf and Dumb' from 'Deaf' in the CEBs points to dividing people based on their ability to use speech communication. It seems to mean that being 'mute' was a secondary but important way of categorising people. This limited reporting begs at least one tangential question: why take this measurement of the population? Schools for the deaf were being run as independent charitable institutions at the time. According to a 1852 report by Peet in the *American Annals of the Deaf*, several European countries and the

United States, all made this query at the time in their censuses of the period.<sup>165</sup> The British government may have been copying other countries' measurements.

The 1851 Census Report confirmed this difference by reporting only 'Deaf and Dumb' people.<sup>166</sup> Clearly, 'Dumb' was the important delineator, not 'Deaf'. It is important to note that the denotation of 'dumb' at the time was not a reference to weak intellectual capabilities as it has come to be used in twentieth century vernacular. At the time, it meant 'speechless'. The Census Report only included those 207 individuals labelled as 'deaf and dumb', and ignored the other labels used such as 'deaf' and 'nearly deaf'.<sup>167</sup> The implications for this are interesting. The labels used in this period appeared to discriminate based upon a person's ability to speak. An individual who lost her hearing after she learned to speak but still had speech or learned to speak regardless of her inability to hear may not have been considered 'infirm' by Victorian standards.

Another possible explanation for this underreporting was that the census officers were being pedantic in their reporting. I returned to the contemporary documents surrounding the census, including the order for the census from parliament and the instructions to the householders and the enumerators.<sup>168</sup> I found no discussion about the decision to include the final column at all. The remarkable difference in the numbers of unreported deaf people in the county with the simplicity of the instructions, no matter how they were interpreted by the householders or the enumerators, led me to the conclusion that I could not rely on published census reports to estimate the numbers of people using sign language in the county.

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<sup>165</sup> Peet, H. 1852: Statistics of the Deaf and Dumb, *Americans Annals of the Deaf*, October, v: 1-21

<sup>166</sup> BPP 1852: cxiii-cxv

<sup>167</sup> Great Britain, 1854: The census of Great Britain in 1851. London: Longman: cxiii

<sup>168</sup> Census of Great Britain, 1851: *Forms and instructions prepared under the direction of one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, for the use of the persons employed in taking an account of the population of Great Britain. by virtue of the act of 13 and 14 Victoria, cap. 53.* BPP 1851 XLIII 1-. [1339].

In a study of Deaf families, Lane, Pillard and Hedberg identified Deaf families in the 1850 American Census. They limited the parameters to those families with individuals labelled as ‘deaf and dumb’ and surnames appearing at least twice in the census.<sup>169</sup> In the database I created, all 924 people listed in the CEBs were included because the labels used did not appear to be universally applied, nor were the enumerators considered reliable within and across registration districts.<sup>170</sup> Extending Lane, *et al.*’s method, the largest concentrations of ‘deaf and dumb’ people in the county can be found in communities outside of the Weald in the north-western and most industrial communities including Deptford (18 people), Greenwich (11), and Woolwich (12). Gravesend, farther out from London but still along the Thames and also an industrial community, had fifteen deaf and dumb residents. Within Sevenoaks, a parish that lies partially in the low Weald, ten deaf and dumb individuals were returned, though five of them were from a single family.

### ***3.5 Changes***

In this section I will account for the archival sources utilised for the interim period between 1640 and 1851. The first set was used to search for occurrences of signing people based on the increasing interest in deaf people’s welfare and the growing popular sentimental attitudes of deaf as disabled, pathetic and helpless. These archival sources include medical records, diaries of local people, parish removal records, and records for the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children. The second set of documents, the study parishes’ baptism records, was used to continue the investigation of the families identified in the first part of the study.

#### **3.5.1 Discourses**

Experience in the archive taught me that certain types of documents offered more detailed information than others. I continued to search for manuscript documents, letters, diaries, news items, etc. in the parishes, and I focused my efforts on the

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<sup>169</sup> Lane, et. al. 2007: 152

<sup>170</sup> Higgs, E. 1989: Making sense of the census: the manuscript returns for England and Wales, 1801-1901, London: H.M.S.O.

overseers records, especially examinations for settlements and removals, relief books, and apprenticeship and indenture papers.

Groce's earliest evidence comes from an off-islander's observation and there are other travellers' tales of such sightings.<sup>171</sup> Turning therefore to the British context, early travel writers including Celia Fiennes in the 1690s and Daniel Defoe in the 1720s visited the Weald.<sup>172</sup> But Defoe and Fiennes both skip quickly over their experience in the Weald. Fiennes travelled from Tunbridge Wells to Rye, and Defoe made the trip through the Sussex and Kent Weald from Battle to Tunbridge Wells. Both ignore the intervening ground. Defoe writes:

After I had fatigued my self in passing this deep and heavy part of the country [the Weald parishes], I thought it would not be foreign to my design, if I refreshed my self with a view of Tunbridge-Wells, which were not then above twelve miles out of my way.<sup>173</sup>

Neither writer makes mention of people they might have met on the journey though they both comment on the heavy soils and the cattle produced. These were the published accounts. There may be more in unpublished manuscripts and letters, but I have found no mention of Deaf people in the medical records, diaries, letters, and family records I investigated.

### 3.5.2 Medical Records

Following on the pathological construction of deafness, I explored medical documents and records, including the earliest available patient case notes for the

<sup>171</sup> Groce 1983: 5; Kusters 2010: 4

<sup>172</sup> Fiennes, C. 1888: *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary* (London: Field and Tuer, The Leadenhall Press) in Great Britain Historical GIS Project, 2004: 'Great Britain Historical GIS'. University of Portsmouth.

[http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap\\_page.jsp?jsessionid=5CA50FA32139EC9A7CFF86080D0BE952?t\\_id=Fiennes&c\\_id=18](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?jsessionid=5CA50FA32139EC9A7CFF86080D0BE952?t_id=Fiennes&c_id=18) (Date accessed 2 May 2012); and Defoe, D. 1724-1727: *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journeys, Letter 2, Part I, Kent Coast and Maidstone*, (London: JM Dent and Co, 1927) in *The Vision of Britain through time*: Letter 2, part 1

[http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap\\_page.jsp?t\\_id=Defoe&c\\_id=6](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?t_id=Defoe&c_id=6). (Date accessed 3 May 2012).

<sup>173</sup> Defoe 1724-1727: Letter 2, part 1

county mental hospital Oakwood Hospital, Barming, from 1833-47 and local medical records and notes where available.<sup>174</sup> Oakwood Hospital was something of a dead end, and I questioned the usefulness of the exercise. After reading the records of at least a thousand patients, only three patients were noted as being deaf and only one of those is listed as 'Deaf Dumb & Blind'.<sup>175</sup> The numbers of undiagnosed deaf people in asylums even until recent times now is documented and was a scandal in the US.<sup>176</sup> Reading through some of these cases, especially those of younger people, I could not help but wonder if this might not be occasionally happening in Kent. I would not anticipate this happening among Deaf families, as they would recognise the difference between mental illness and deafness.

At the Centre for Kentish Studies, I also read the local 'doctor's' records from the period. The most detailed records remaining for the location are those of Richard and Thomas Hope, father and son respectively, barber surgeons of Cranbrook between 1669 and 1715.<sup>177</sup> Richard Hope's account book listed the remedies prescribed to their patients and the charges associated, and their 'Physicks Book', a handwritten notebook of remedies included their origins and lists of ingredients, preparations, and applications. The Hope family documents appear to be an early application of the pathological construction of 'deaf' described in Chapter 2. The popular press picked up on the treatments for hearing loss later in the eighteenth century.<sup>178</sup> If deafness was a longstanding and regular experience within the Cranbrook community, the barber surgeons were probably not called upon to attempt remediation very often. The instances when they record treating people's ears and their remedies are discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>174</sup> Oakwood Hospital records: CKS MH/Md2/Ap25/1. Hope family records: CKS U442 F5/3, U442 F5/9.

<sup>175</sup> Oakwood Hospital records: CKS MH/Md2/Ap25/1: 204

<sup>176</sup> For one of multiple examples of misdiagnosis of a deaf person as being mentally deficient see Bolander, A.M. & Renning, A.N. 2000: *I was number 87: A deaf woman's ordeal of misdiagnosis, institutionalization, and abuse*. Washington, D.C., Gallaudet University Press

<sup>177</sup> CKS: U442 F5/2,3,4,9,12; CKS U442 F6/1

<sup>178</sup> Lee 2003

### 3.5.3 Diaries

I continued to read the diaries from the research region and period that were available at CKS. Some were more interesting and useful for my research than others, mostly because they provided a view into the lives of local individuals. Sir E. Dering's journal was of a personal nature. Recorded between April 1673 and Sept 1675, he periodically mentions Sir George Curtiss by name. Dering's spidery handwriting was quite challenging to comprehend, but it appeared they were both in the market for a bride.<sup>179</sup> The Reverend Chawner of Hawkhurst kept a household diary in 1772. It primarily contained information regarding his income and expenditures and includes transactions with named local individuals.<sup>180</sup> John Ellis Mace, a doctor living in Tenterden kept a personal diary between 1825 and 1842. His diary functioned more as a social calendar and was filled with 'musicing' evenings with friends and notations of the deaths of locals. I mention these three as samples of diary keepers across the entire study period, though none of the writers mentioned anyone identified as deaf within their diaries. The case of Tenterden's doctor, Mace, is the most important of these, because the 1851 Census reported that 12 deaf people were enumerated in the parish just nine years later and that 8 of those individuals were born in Tenterden too.

### 3.5.4 Print media

Newspapers and periodicals occasionally had stories related to Deaf people. Discourse developments about deaf people were addressed in Chapter 2 and additional examples are provided in Chapters 5 and 6. Moving through the study's time period the mentions of deaf individuals appear to become more frequent. Additional research into the development of Deaf discourses in popular media of the period is necessary, especially in light of the popular press's function as a societal mirror.

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<sup>179</sup> CKS U2981 F1 Sir E. Dering's Journal 1673

<sup>180</sup> CKS P 178/28/8

### 3.5.5 Removal Records

'Under the Act of Settlement (1662) a person who needed poor relief was the responsibility of the parish or township in which he or she was legally settled.'<sup>181</sup> The overseers of the poor in a particular parish could apply to the local justice of the peace to have a person not settled within the parish 'removed' or sent to their 'settled' parish. Removal records are the paper trail of this process and are held at the Centre for Kentish Studies. The removal records themselves are interesting in that they demonstrate the mobility of individuals and they sometimes provide additional details about a person's work history, family, and movements. These records were searched for occurrences of the colonial list families and the names in the 1851 Kent Deaf database. There were multiple reasons for this. I was searching for evidence in local records of the use of the descriptor 'deaf' and I was searching for details of the lives of deaf people already identified in the hope of connecting them with other deaf people and to get a sense of their mobility. While I found no person described as 'deaf', I did find evidence of an 1851 census-identified deaf person's family.

The Poor Laws changed in 1834. The new laws reorganised the process by which people might seek parish aid. Parishes were organised into unions and centralised workhouses were formed. Instead of directly applying to their parishes, now people in need of aid went to the union workhouse, a most inhospitable place. The cost of a parish's paupers remained with the individual's parish until 1865.<sup>182</sup> Chapter 7 describes the presence of deaf individuals in union workhouses in 1851.

### 3.5.5 Records of the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children

For the Deaf community there is an additional factor at work. Groce wrote that one of the main causes of diaspora from Martha's Vineyard was the founding of the first school for the deaf at Hartford. Relatively large numbers of young Deaf

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<sup>181</sup> Hey, D., editor, 1996: 'Removals' in *The Oxford companion to local and family history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 393

<sup>182</sup> Killingray, D. 2004a: 'The Poor Law 1834-1929' in Lawson, T. & Killingray, D., editors, 2004: *An Historical Atlas of Kent*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd.: 160.

islanders were sent off-island for the free educational opportunity, many did not return and some that did brought spouses from the mainland, effectively ending the previous pattern of endogamous marriage.<sup>183</sup> I anticipated that the same would hold true for Deaf people from the Weald.

School records also served as a way to identify those Deaf people who may be from the region, but would not be present in local records, so the second source came from records of the Bermondsey-based Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children currently housed at the Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate (RSCDC). RSCDC continues to hold most of the records for its history. Unfortunately, some were lost in a fire. The school allowed me access to their earliest extant records, including their Committee Books and Student Log Books.

I spent several days in the school office at Margate, photographing and taking notes of the earliest extant school records including the earliest Committee Minute Books, the Student Enrolment index, and those portions of Student Log Book that pertained to the pupils from Kent only for the period between 1824 and 1847. I was conscious the entire time that my presence in the school office caused a disruption for the staff, and that I was there on sufferance. By taking photos of the records I was attempting to cause as little interruption to their daily routine as possible.

The Committee Books, the minute books kept by the governors of the school, stretch back to the school's founding in 1792. These minute books provide a carefully kept record of the proceedings of the school's governance committee, correspondence, fundraising and, at least initially, the names of the student applicants. Unfortunately, the books do not provide details about the students' origins.

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<sup>183</sup> Groce 1983: 48

The Student Log or enrolment books offer a great deal more information about the students' backgrounds. These records appeared to have been created at the time a student began to attend the Asylum, but included the date of their election to the asylum. They also included the student's enrolment number, home county, the student's name, the date they began school, their birth date; parents' names; father's occupation; the number of children in the family at the time of entry; the names, occupations, and addresses of their local sponsors and a witness to the student being a worthy candidate, usually a local minister. For example, Ann M. Larking, student number 1445, was elected on 8 August 1836 and admitted on the 'pay list'. This meant she was privately funded. She was born on 18 Feb 1827 to Henry and Jane Larking of Tunbridge (either the parish of Tonbridge or the town of Tunbridge Wells). Her father was a timber merchant with nine children, an additional two of whom are noted as Deaf and Dumb. Samuel Wybrant, Solicitor of Newington, and George Stenning, also a solicitor, from Tonbridge, sponsored Ann's candidacy for the Asylum. Her application was witnessed by the Rev. Edward Vinall.<sup>184</sup>

In addition to this background information, the student's health and inoculations were recorded at entry, and in cases when the student experienced ill health, their time either in the infirmary or the dates of their convalescence at home was noted. Some fascinating and sometimes tragic notes were made here. For example, Ann Larking was noted as being 'remarkably diminutive'. No other remarks were provided about Ann's size or general health. Looking only at the collected records of students from Kent, many of these general health related comments were left blank, as in Morris's in Figure 3.4. I assumed those children were in good health. Many were described as 'good', and one was listed as 'very good. Active boy.' The students who did have health issues were described too: '[D]elicate and of weak

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<sup>184</sup> Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate, Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Childrens' Headmaster's Book, 1824-1847

capacity', 'had ringworm on admission', 'very delicate', 'indifferent', 'middling'. In general, mostly healthy children were admitted to the asylum.<sup>185</sup>

Finally, the student's testing and progress were recorded. Returning to our example of Ann Larking, though it was noted when she began on 30 September 1836 and when she departed on 15 December 1845, no additional information was provided. Figure 3.2 is an example of a more complete student record.

**N<sup>o.</sup>** Name. Left the Asylum. *June 1834*

1109 Alexander Morris At First Examination. *18 June 1832*

When Elected. Birth. *5 Dec 1819* Apparent Intellect. good

Names and Residence of Parents. Translation from signs

County. John & Sarah Soldiers Cottages {  
Kent / Mother a Widow 5 Children. Woolwich Common }

Names and Residence of Securities. Progress at Second Examination. *1 June 1833*

John Gordon late Major Royal Artillery  
W. H. Bent. Capt. in Dr. Dr. excellent

Witness. Progress at Third Examination. *19 Mar 1834*

Entered the Asylum. *10 February 1830* good, writing good colour, bad voice  
ans. questions very well. In simple subjects  
Satisfactory examination.

If on Pay List. Remarks.

If had Small-pox. Cow-pox. Yes.

If had Measles. Yes. Hooping Cough. Yes.

State of Health on admission. Progress at Fourth Examination. *19 July 1835*

Left the Asylum. *June 1834* very good: writing good colour. Dr. Dr. in practice  
Satisfactory. Writing well. Wishes to learn Tailor.

Progress at Fifth Examination.

**Figure 3.5 Sample of a student record from the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children.**  
**(Source: Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate, Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children's Headmaster's Book, 1824-1847)**

### 3.6 Parish Baptisms Chart

Given the mobility of families in early-modern England, as demonstrated by historians such as Kitch and Souden, I began by reading the transcribed baptism

<sup>185</sup> Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate, Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Childrens' Headmaster's Book, 1824-1847

records and/or their indexes, where available, for three parishes: Cranbrook, Benenden and Biddenden, noting the years that the families from the colonists list had a baptism in those parish churches.<sup>186</sup> Baptisms were selected instead of marriages for the initial general sketch because of the implied longitudinal survival of families demonstrated through progeny. Initially, I chose these three parishes for a few reasons. Most importantly, they were the parishes I confirmed as the original homes of the New England colonists; secondly they were selected for their role in the local economy, as they were important centres for the Weald's cloth industry; and finally, it was pragmatic. The records for these churches were fairly complete and transcribed, thus making them easily accessible. I was casting a wide net, but I hoped to generate an overall picture of the continuity of the families within these parishes throughout the research period.

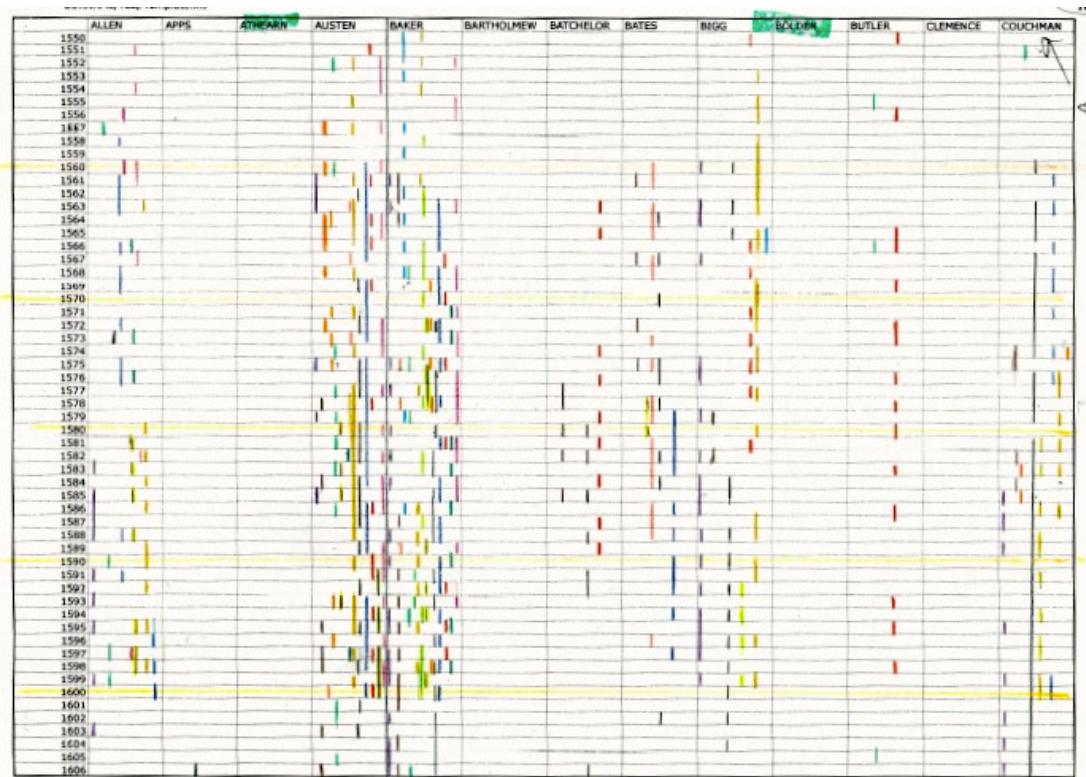
The result was a fairly unhelpful list of years scattered across pages of typewritten notes. I wanted some way to 'see' these families' presence in their places across time. Souden's work on family reconstitution offered inspiration for a way to visualise this data. He drew a schematic of life-cycle stages for individuals within their parishes that included the information on his family reconstitution forms.<sup>187</sup> It was the form he used that interested me more than the data, but I wanted to apply it to baptisms across multiple families in multiple parishes across multiple generations. To that end, I began to create a chart of the data. I made a large grid, listing the colonists' surnames horizontally and the years 1550 to 1850 vertically. Each of the parishes was represented by a different coloured pencil mark. Every year a family had at least one baptism in a particular parish, a line was drawn through the corresponding box in the grid. Over time, the lines crossed multiple years. Longer lines began to represent surnames with longevity in a particular locale. For example, the Austin, Baker, Butler, Couchman, Davis, and Smith families

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<sup>186</sup> Kitch, M. 1992: Population movement and migration in pre-industrial rural England in Short, B., editor, 1992 *The English rural community: image and analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Souden, D. 1984: Movers and stayers in family reconstitution populations. *Local Population Studies*, 33 (Autumn), 11-28

<sup>187</sup> Souden 1984: 13

had an almost continual presence in Cranbrook over the three hundred year period. Figure 3.7 is a sample of a single page of the much larger chart provided on the CD-ROM included with the thesis.



**Figure 3.6 Parish Baptisms Chart (section).** Years are listed in the left column, family names across the top. Each colour represents a different parish. A mark represents at least one baptism in that year for that family in that particular parish. The parish colour legend is available with the larger chart on CD-ROM attached to this thesis.

In all, I charted eighteen Weald parishes. Some of the data were collected from earlier transcripts of individual parish baptism records, some from parish record indexes. When possible for this part of the project, I worked with transcribed documents, as they are much easier and faster to read than the originals or microfilm copies of the originals. I started looking as early as 1550. Whether or not I needed to begin so far back is debatable. My means of data collection made it easier to extend further back in time, so I did. The additional information gave a sense of the depth and breadth of the families' presence and longevity in the region.

It was my first pass at the fundamental/foundational records of the parishes, and this preliminary survey usefully pointed to gaps in the registers and the dates when surnames cease to be recorded in some parishes. Sometimes, families moved across parishes. This was reflected in a change in colour down to show baptisms are occurring in a different parish. It also showed when a branch of the family moved to another parish. Some families, such as the Austins, Bakers, and Butlers, were spread out across the entire region for periods of time and then seem to concentrate their baptisms in a few parishes.

Some surnames disappeared from the chart for long periods of time, but would show a brief reoccurrence in the parishes with an occasional baptism and then later make a steady reappearance. A good case in point was the Tilden family. Between 1550 and 1600 the Tilden family baptised their children in four parishes, Tenterden, Marden, Benenden and Betherden, with the majority of the family's baptisms happening in Tenterden. After 1600, the family essentially disappears from the chart for the next ninety years with two exceptions recorded, one in Benenden (1630) and the other in Cranbrook (1655). After 1690, the year when seven Tilden progeny were baptised at Cranbrook, they appear regularly in that parish until 1735. After that, they disappear from the chart altogether. Sometimes, a surname disappeared completely from the parishes.

This chart, relating the families' chronologies with their spatial movements gave a visual tool that, when compared with more traditional historical timelines related to other aspects of British history, helped to explain the social forces at work in these people's lives. Closer examination of events of the time, including the activities of dissenter churches, pointed to a variety of reasons for these families to fall out of the record. For example during the Civil War, most parish administrations underwent serious upheaval. Ministers were replaced and replaced again reflecting the changes to and from parliamentary control. Parish recordkeeping was often inconsistent in this period. The baptism chart reflected this inconsistency with a significant drop off in the number of baptisms recorded in the 1640s.

Using this visualisation method was not without problems and looking at data in this way has limited usefulness. Unrelated families may have the same surnames and may appear either concurrently or consecutively in the records. This could apply to any or all the surnames, but I assume it most especially impacts some of the more common surnames, like Smith and Baker. This was a turbulent three hundred year period, politically, socially, and economically. The charts only measure the baptisms that occur in the Church of England churches in this period. But as we know the early American colonists were non-conformists and separatists, so we might surmise the families whose surnames this project follows were primarily non-conformists. Those families tended not to baptise their children in the local parish church. Even amongst themselves they argued about the appropriate age of baptism. In addition, during the Civil War period recordkeeping was almost non-existent. Families that did baptise their children in the period will often had the service in their 'home' parish, regardless of their current parish residence, thereby skewing the chart's accuracy.

### ***3.7 Limitations***

Knowing when to draw the line under the research process was quite challenging, especially with the on-going digitalization of records from both sides of the Atlantic. This meant renegotiating and resetting the project's parameters with my supervisors, as I was limited both by the needs of thesis timelines and finances. For example, the work of tracing all the English descendants of the colonial families was impossible given the project's constraints, especially as I had no indications that any of them were deaf.

In addition to the common difficulties of working within archival materials – missing and deteriorated records and poor recordkeeping - there were logistical issues too. Access to the Asylum records was limited to the flexibility and willingness of the Royal School's administrative staff, who were very generous, but having a researcher in their midst was a clear disruption to their work days. The

Centre for Kentish Studies, the central archive from which the study was conducted closed for several months in order to change locations.

### ***3.8 Conclusions***

In this chapter, I discussed the methods I used to conduct this study. Beginning with the list of American colonists with Deaf descendants and the 1851 Kent Census, this study was source-driven. The baptismal records for eighteen parishes were used to calculate the continuing presence of the colonial families' remaining members. Other archival documents including medical records, diaries, print media, parish removal records, records of the Asylum were all consulted in an effort to identify signing people in Kent regardless of their relationship to the colonial families.

In the next chapter, the first of the empirical chapters, I report what I learned about the 17<sup>th</sup> century colonial families and the family members that remained behind in Kent. I also describe the extent of the network that tied them together, in terms of commerce, faith, and kinship. The small group of wealden colonists would have a tremendous impact on the development of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies. Their motivations and means for removal will also be discussed as push and pull factors, though we must continue to speculate if one of the pushes had to do with hereditary deafness.

## Chapter 4 Seventeenth Century Ancestors: The Weald and the New England Colonies



**Figure 4.1 John Speed's 1611 Kent from The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine**  
 (source:

[http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU\\_files/ENG/KEN/speed\\_ken\\_1611.html](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~genmaps/genfiles/COU_files/ENG/KEN/speed_ken_1611.html). Date Accessed: 11 Sept 2013)

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores a relatively small group of people in Kent during the first half of the seventeenth century. It functions as the entranceway to identifying Deaf families in Kent. One goal of the chapter is to demonstrate how these people knew one another, their social and economic networks, and how these networks supported some of them in their decisions to migrate to the New England colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. Familial bonds, religious affiliations and economic networks were all at play for the colonists. Evidence from the Weald of their networks comes primarily through parish records, wills and passenger lists. New World evidence comes from additional church records, tax rolls and diarists.

To understand the intersections amongst the early New England colonists, it is necessary to understand their Kent backgrounds and their families' economic and social interconnectedness. The families described here are not just from within the Weald. As will be discussed, many of them were engaged with the broadcloth industry processes, and their network stretched out into the surrounding region. The Weald parishes function as hubs for economic activities for the families, and it is by understanding two central aspects of their lives, faith and economy, that we can understand their interrelatedness.

Untangling the relationships of the American colonists and the first two generations of their progeny after they have left Kent could not be undertaken within the scope of this thesis, but would be an interesting project. That being said, it is clear there are more wealden connections in place than previously identified. Chapter 6 will investigate more of these Kent Deaf families and their connection to the Weald.

## **4.2 Setting the context for migration from the Weald**

This section describes the landscape, population and economy of the early seventeenth century families. It explores some of the push and pull factors for migration to New England including: recovery of local population numbers from the plague, changes in the economy, and issues of faith. Woven throughout are the themes of family and kinship.

### **4.2.1 Population**

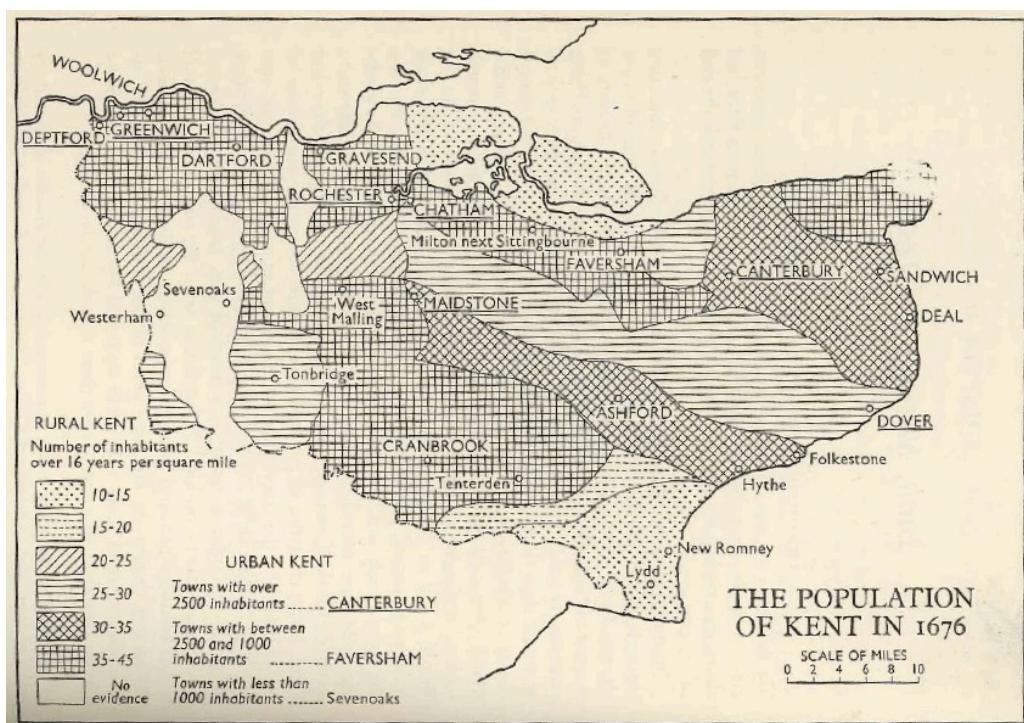
County population estimates for the beginning of the seventeenth century demonstrate a full recovery from the Black Death and plague lows of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. By the end of Elizabeth's reign in 1603, the population estimate was approximately 130,000.<sup>188</sup> The study parishes' population were estimated via the

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<sup>188</sup> Lawson, T. 2004: Population Trends: the Hearth Tax data in Lawson, T. & Killingray, D., editors, *An historical atlas of Kent*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co.: 65

Episcopal Returns of 1676.<sup>189</sup> The population of adults, those over the age of sixteen, across the study's eighteen parishes was 8,759. (See Appendix C.)

Population densities in the heart of this industrial area had a great deal of variance, but there were concentrations in the parishes of Cranbrook, Tenterden, Goudhurst, Hawkhurst, Horsmonden, Biddenden, and Benenden, where there were as many as forty to seventy inhabitants over the age of sixteen per square mile.<sup>190</sup> This high population density, the highest in the county, was due to and in support of the needs of the cloth industry.



**Figure 4.2 The Population of Kent in 1676. Note the wealden region around Cranbrook is ranked amongst the highest population density of the county. (source: Chalkin 1965: 28)**

<sup>189</sup> The Episcopal Returns, also known as the Compton Returns, must be used with some caution as they were assessed approximately thirty-five years after the end of the Great Migration to the New England colonies and the Civil War. Turner, G.L. (editor) 1911: *Original Records of early nonconformity under persecution and indulgence*, v1. London: Unwin. 20-26

<sup>190</sup> Chalkin 1965: 29

#### 4.2.2 Family and Kin

Kinship networks have been identified as one of the determinants that influenced the decision of some families in the area to emigrate to New England in the 1630s.<sup>191</sup> Within the seventeenth century context, the term 'family' might better be compared with our current understanding of 'household'. Everitt provided an example of this:

When Sir Edward Dering referred to his 'family,' he thought not only of his relatives but his servants and labourers. It was natural to do so when many farms and manor-houses lay isolated in Wealden woods or upland valleys, and master and labourer shared the same roof.<sup>192</sup>

Much debate has occurred about the importance of the nuclear family in literature of the period. It seems the argument is rather moot in the context of this study's families. Today, we use the term 'blended family' to sort out the intricacies of relations among multi-marriage families and step-siblings, parents, grandparents, and the like. In the seventeenth century, multiple marriages were a little less complicated than they are today. Divorce was rare, but early mortality for a variety of reasons was not. People made the decision to remarry after the death of a spouse for many reasons, often pragmatic, but it meant that each spouse could have had previous marriages before they wed. By extension, offspring from earlier marriages could be brought together too.

A good example of multiple marriages can be found amongst the parents of the early American colonists. Robert Cushman was a one of the Leyden Separatists, a group of English non-conformists who had left England to settle in Leyden, Holland, and later decided to move to the New World, so their children would not grow up to be Dutch. Cushman was the chief negotiator between the Mayflower colonists and the Merchant Adventurers, their financial backers, in London. He is the father of one of the founding American colonial families and is of interest here because of

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<sup>191</sup> Flisher, L. 2003: 'Cranbrook, Kent, and its neighbourhood area, c.1570-1670', Unpub. Doctoral Thesis, Greenwich: University of Greenwich: 154-5

<sup>192</sup> Everitt 1966: 47

his familial connections to the Tilden family. Cushman's father, Thomas Couchman of Hawkhurst, was Ellen (or Elinor) Hubbard's first husband (m.1568).<sup>193</sup> After his death in 1585/6, she remarried Emanuell Evernden of Rolvenden in 1587, and when he died in 1589, she married a third and final time in 1593, becoming the second wife of Thomas Tilden, yeoman, of Tenterden. His first wife was Alice Bigg (m.1576/7, d.1593).<sup>194</sup>

Endogamous marriages were common. Endogamy reinforced kinship bonds and supported economic stability within the families as this helped to consolidate family holdings and conserved wealth.<sup>195</sup> Several branches of families would reside in the same area over long periods of time. Because of the settlement patterns already described, cousin marriages were quite likely.<sup>196</sup> A case study of Cranbrook and Benenden marriages and banns between 1653 and 1662, reports that of the 224 cases where banns specify both the brides and their fathers, 86 per cent of the brides were living within a radius of six miles from their home. For bridegrooms, there was an 80 per cent chance they were living within a six-mile radius of their homes. The study summarises that '98 per cent of these marriages were between young people living in the same or the neighbouring parishes'.<sup>197</sup> These stable kinship networks were influential both economically and politically in the region.

Robert Cushman and his son were amongst the very first arrivals to the Plymouth Bay Colony, travelling on the second ship, the Fortune, in 1621. Nathaniel Tilden, Robert Cushman's stepbrother through the marriage of his father with Cushman's mother, was the third known wealden colonist to the Plymouth Bay Colony.<sup>198</sup> Nathaniel's parents were from Benenden, Thomas Tilden and his first wife Alice

<sup>193</sup> 'Cushman' and 'Couchman' were variations on the spelling of a single surname.

<sup>194</sup> NEHGR 65:322-333 and NEHGR 68:181-185

<sup>195</sup> Matthews, E.M. 1966: *Neighbor and kin: Life in a Tennessee ridge community*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press: xxiii-iv

<sup>196</sup> Endogamous marriages are crucial for the argument of the transmission of a recessive gene for deafness.

<sup>197</sup> Poole 2005: 48-9

<sup>198</sup> Stratton, E.A. 1986: *Plymouth Colony Its History & People 1620-1691*. Ancestry Publishing, Salt Lake City: 361

(Biggs). While Alice was herself not a New England colonist, her clothier family was closely interwoven with some of the earliest colonists in the Great Migration period.

Kinship groups with useful patronage links provided a vital network for family members, which could include financial assistance and enhanced career opportunities, and which were often endorsed by religious ideals and political associations. It is self evident that family networks derived from both sets of parents. Kinship was not confined to the maternal or patriarchal line but may be traced bilaterally through both the father and the mother. Kinship networks could also achieve some degree of permanence, where long-staying families became influential in an economic or political sphere.<sup>199</sup>

The county's leading families practiced both gavelkind and primogeniture forms of inheritance in the period. According to Everitt, '...[B]oth kinds of tenure contributed to the intense corporate feeling of Kentish families, and to their patriarchalism.'<sup>200</sup> For families of respected tradesmen and farmers, kinship ties would have had an additional importance. Kin could provide cohesive support by maintaining reciprocating apprenticeships and work opportunities for each other's children. Gavelkind inheritance made consolidation of properties into large holdings difficult. Real estate continued to be inherited, bought and sold on a small scale throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>201</sup>

#### **4.2.3 Industry**

The Weald's proto-industries were loosely divided by region. The iron manufacturers set up in the High Weald parishes and the broadcloth industry dominated the central Kent Weald parishes. This division was maintained by the industries' on-going competition for timber resources.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Flisher 2003: 151-3

<sup>200</sup> Everitt 1966: 47

<sup>201</sup> Flisher 2003: 153-4

<sup>202</sup> Clark, P. 1977: *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, politics and society in Kent 1500-1640*. Hemel Hempstead: The Harvester Press: 472

The parishes of interest to this study were rich in the required resources for making broadcloth. Fleeces came from the adjacent pasturage of the Romney marshes and Downs. Fast moving streams and timber to make and maintain fulling mills and equipment were abundant, and so importantly, was the fuller's earth and marl necessary to the fulling process. Due to the small-scale nature of Wealden farming and the accompanying necessity of by-employment, as well as the local populations' recovery from earlier epidemics, there was a ready labour force of carders and spinners whose skills were passed down through the generations.

In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the parishes of the central Kent Weald bustled with commerce. Though they had a reputation for being socially insular, they were a locus of wealth and internationally renowned cloth manufacture. Clothier families, those engaged in managing this manufactory from fleece to finished broadcloth at market, made marriages that reinforced their control of this process. In today's business terms, this would be labelled vertical integration. Unsurprisingly, many of the migrant families had ties to this most important rural industry.

A young clothier could get started with comparatively little capital. In addition to basic equipment and raw materials, wool and dyes, he needed approximately £60 or more to finance the production of his first half dozen cloths. In the second half of the sixteenth century, cash legacies of this size were regularly left to younger sons of independent farmers, tradesmen and artisans. Wealthier families bequeathed much larger legacies.<sup>203</sup>

As the conductor of the woollen industry within the county, a clothier's activities would take him from the grazing lands in the marshes to the markets in London, Canterbury and Sandwich. (See Figure 4.5.) The 'Rye road' through Tonbridge, Sevenoaks and Bromley was the main thoroughfare for clothier products into

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<sup>203</sup> Zell 1994: 214

London. It was also the main drovers' road for cattle driven to Smithfield market and much of London's fish supply also travelled this road.<sup>204</sup> His mobility gave the clothier exposure to a wider variety of experiences and influences than most of his contemporaries. Armed with that worldliness, he would return home with news from abroad and perhaps ideas of a radical nature.

Kent's cloth industry occurred within a limited and well-defined area within the Weald and a few adjacent parishes and followed a pattern that lasted more than a century. It reached its zenith in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, though it never was as large as England's major woollen manufacturing regions, the Wiltshire-Somerset-Gloucestershire area, the Suffolk-Essex region and the Yorkshire industry. Kentish broadcloth was famous for its quality and considered a luxury fabric reserved primarily for the export market. Broadcloths were at least 28 yards long and weighed a minimum of 86 pounds. Only very small quantities were sold locally.<sup>205</sup>

The domestic form of production and capitalisation methods best utilised by the larger clothiers enabled them to amass levels of wealth that were on a par with the local gentry. Clothiers functioned as the conduit of the production process from collecting fleeces from the graziers to delivery of the final product at market. Most of the production happened by collecting and redistributing the product after each step in the process (see Figure 4.5).<sup>206</sup>

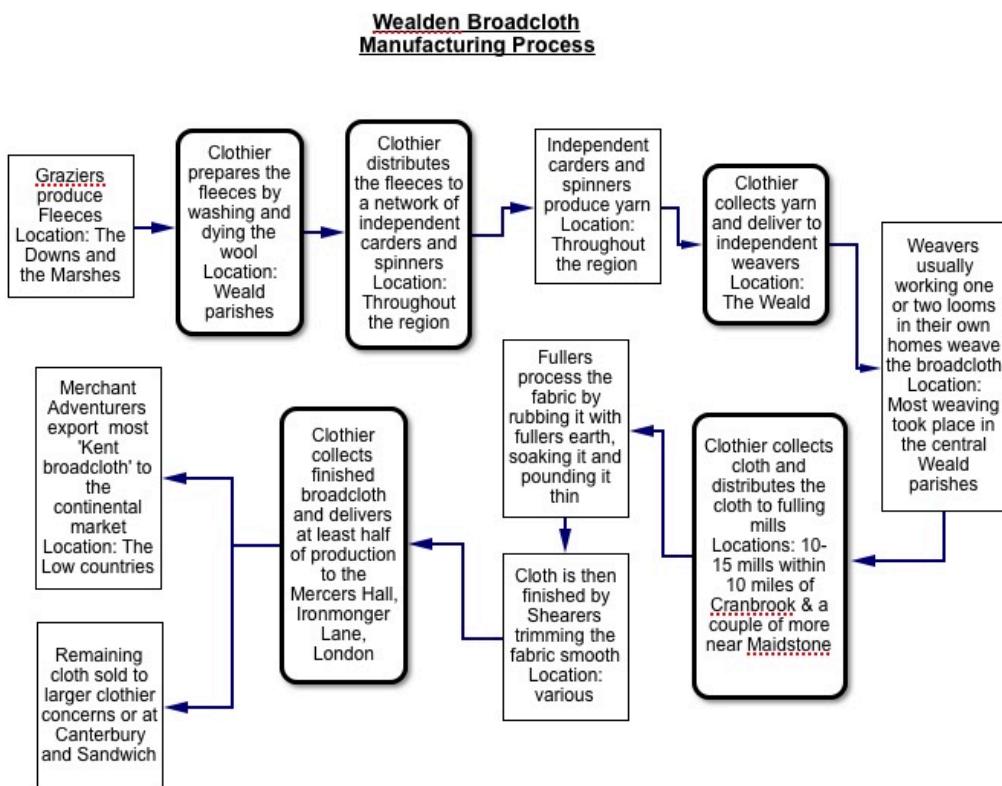
Their capitalisation method was played as a delicately balanced series of debts and payoffs. It was common for them to compensate independent spinners and weavers after the sale of the finished product in the London markets. Their material contribution in washing and dying the wools was an expensive step in the manufacturing process. The cost of dyes offset the relatively low cost of the technologies they used. Any profits from the sale of their finished cloths could be

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<sup>204</sup> Chalkin 1965: 164

<sup>205</sup> Zell 1994: 154-159

<sup>206</sup> Zell 1994: 153-154



**Figure 4.3 The wealden broadcloth manufacturing process.**

converted into buying additional stock from smaller producers or diverted into a more stable and long-term investment: land.<sup>207</sup> Some clothier families, like the Bigg family, used marriage and kinship networks to their advantage in a form of vertical integration that functioned to consolidate the debt system within the ‘family’.

As late as 1622 – at the height of the trade depression – Kentish broadcloths made up a substantial proportion of the cloths in store at Blackwell Hall. In the Main Storehouse there were 1,163 cloths unsold, of which 899 (or 77 per cent) were of Kentish origin.<sup>208</sup>

Competition developed in the eastern parishes of the county where continental migrants produced the lighter New Draperies. It is

<sup>207</sup> After the dissolution of the monasteries, the real estate market was much more fluid than it had been in the past.

<sup>208</sup> Zell 1994: 159

estimated that by 1600, almost half of Canterbury's population was Walloon and two thousand people were working in the industry.<sup>209</sup>

As far as the clothing industry was concerned the boom conditions of early Jacobean Kent had evaporated, never to return. However, it would be unwise to pre-date the later collapse of the industry. Cranbrook clothiers were still keen competitors for timber with the iron masters. In 1640, a group of wealden clothiers spoke of their 'having lived in good fashion upon their said trades' in previous years; and about the same time there were experiments in new dyeing techniques. This hardly suggests an industry near to paralysis. On the other hand, Dutch competition in the Old Draperies was now acute enough to generate concern sometimes verging on hysteria among Kentish clothiers about the export of fuller's earth to the Netherlands.<sup>210</sup>

Bishop Laud's regulation and reduction of the cloth export market, increased competition from other parts of Europe, and the New Draperies caused the decline of the broadcloth exports from the Weald. Before the Elizabethan period, broadcloth making was limited to the Weald and a few adjacent parishes. During the Elizabethan period that cloth manufacturing spread to other areas in the county. The 'new draperies', a lighter fabric, was being made in Sandwich and a few other parishes in northeastern Kent.<sup>211</sup>

The interactions with the London and continental markets were an additional economic factor that played an important role in the lives of these families too. The wealden clothiers sold their wares in London, and some of that product was in turn sold in the critical European markets. Importantly, the Merchant Adventurers controlled all international trade in broadcloth by sanctioned monopoly. As the

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<sup>209</sup> Killingray, D. 2004: Politics and parliamentary representation 1700-1885 in Lawson, T. & Killingray, D., editors, 2004: *An Historical Atlas of Kent*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd.: 146

<sup>210</sup> Clark 1977: 472, Footnote 17 Supple, Crisis and Change, 120ff.; Privy Council Registers, II, 339-40.

<sup>211</sup> Zell 1994: 155

premier makers of Kent broadcloth, there is no doubt that the wealden families had strong economic ties to this the Merchant Adventurers, the organisation that was also the primary financial backer for the Plymouth Colony. As an example of these ties, we return to the example of Robert Cushman, one of the Leiden Separatists' negotiators, whose wealden family has been previously discussed.<sup>212</sup>

In the broadcloth-making, from sheep farming to weaving to fulling to selling the finished goods, these families were more than likely known to each other. The study families engaged in the cloth industry in the Kent Weald included the Martin and the Bate families of Lydd, who would most likely have been involved with sheep pasturing happening on the Marshes. The Bigg, Tilden, Besbeech, Austin, and Stare families all had clothiers engaged in businesses centred in Tenterden and Cranbrook, and the Stare and Eddy families were also involved in nonconformist ministries.

#### **4.2.4 Faith matters**

The situation for dissenters across the country was troubled. By law, everyone in England was a member of the Church of England. As such, people were expected to at least demonstrate 'occasional conformity' and attend worship services in their parish church. If they did not, they could be heavily fined.<sup>213</sup> Objectors who refused to pay their tithe to the church might have the amount of tithe seized by church representatives or be fined at the Quarter Sessions. For example, at the 1673 Quarter Sessions, nonconformists were fined from 10s-40s for non-attendance at the Anglican Church.<sup>214</sup> Kent has been described as being one of the earliest places to embrace the Protestant Reformation. It was an early location for Lollard and Lollard-like beliefs, a decentralised faith that promoted the study of the Bible in English. Lutheran ideas also had easy access to Kent, as traders travelled between

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<sup>212</sup> Bradford, W. 1981: Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647 (Modern Library college editions) New York: Random House: 39

<sup>213</sup> Yates, N., Hume, R., & Hastings, P. 1994: *Religion and Society in Kent, 1640-1914*. Rochester: The Boydell Press & Kent County Council: 3

<sup>214</sup> Poole, A. 2005: *A market town and its surrounding villages: Cranbrook, Kent in the later seventeenth century*, Chichester: Phillimore & Company: 182-183

London, the Medway towns, the wealden clothmaking centres, the Cinque Ports, and then to the Low Countries. The subsidy rolls of 1524-25 also show there were numerous Dutch and German migrants living in Kentish towns by the 1520s. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, men and women in Maidstone, Ashford and the parishes between Cranbrook and the Weald were accused of heresy.<sup>215</sup>

The Weald's large parishes and dispersed settlement pattern made it a challenge for the Church to exercise a centralised authority as it did outside of the Weald. Medieval parish churches had often been erected in more substantial villages some distance from these settlements making attendance difficult, especially during the wet winter months. Consequently, small chapels without regular clergy were built closer to home, thus further weakening the church's influence on the daily lives of its parishioners and fostering independent, sometimes heretical, thinking among them.<sup>216</sup> As a result, the Weald was fertile ground for nonconformist or dissenter sects, including the Separatists and Congregationalists that were amongst the first American colonists and those of interest in this study.

Returning to the Episcopal Returns of 1676 provides a sense of the breadth of non-conformity in the Weald a generation after the initial 'Great Migration period' of 1620-1640. Of the study parishes, a total population of 8,759 adults are identified. Of these, 1,693 individuals are labelled as dissenters from 'Communion of the Church of England.' This is more than a quarter (26.93%) of the population. (See Appendix D.)

The depth of non-conformity can be seen in other ways. In 1672 ministers and congregations were able to apply for dispensation licenses to set up dissenting meetings for the first time. In the first year alone, fifty licenses were taken out for such meetings in Kent. The majority of meetings were established in towns. Of the wealden towns, Tenterden had meetings licensed for Baptists, Independents and

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<sup>215</sup> Zell, M. 2000: *Early modern Kent, 1540-1640*. Rochester: The Boydell Press & Kent County Council: 180-183

<sup>216</sup> Brandon & Short 1990: 142-6

Presbyterians, and Cranbrook, Rolvenden and Staplehurst had both Baptist and Presbyterian meetings. Independent and Presbyterian congregations that drew members from the study's families received licenses for Ash, Canterbury and Sandwich. Some of these newly licensed congregations had been in existence for many years. Before 1650, Independent meetings had been established at Canterbury, Dover, Sandwich, and Staplehurst. Some of the Baptist congregations, specifically Deptford and Eythorne, could claim even earlier origins, all the way back to the 1620s. By the 1650s, there were fourteen Baptist meetings across the county, of which five were represented at the general Assembly of Arminian Baptists held in 1656.<sup>217</sup>

Looking specifically at the study parishes, Frittenden, Rolvenden, Smarden, Sandhurst and Staplehurst, all had nonconformist populations of more than a fifth of the overall parish population.<sup>218</sup> Across all eighteen parishes in this study, twenty applications were submitted during the Charles II period of indulgences for meeting locations and licenses to minister. Of the study's families, two ministers applied for licences. Comfort Starre applied to preach in Sandhurst and Sandwich and John Savery applied for Presbyterian and Independent congregations to meet in his Ash-near-Sandwich home.<sup>219</sup> Most of these families belonged to one of two different sects of Protestantism: Separatists and Congregationalists. These new faith groups were still defining their beliefs, not only on what they believed and rejected, but also in comparison and sometimes opposition with each other.

The earliest of migrant non-conformists were Separatists. They also wanted a fresh start in a new place. In the first and second decades of the century, members of the Wealden families had already left the country in pursuit of a more tolerant religious climate. We know Robert Cushman and his family were living amongst the English nonconformists in Leiden, the Mayflower pilgrims. Several push factors

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<sup>217</sup> Yates, et. al. 1994: 15

<sup>218</sup> Yates, et. al. 1994: 15

<sup>219</sup> From Turner, 1911: For Starre: 437 S.P. Dom. E.B. 38A E(29), and for Savery: 398, S.P. Dom. Car. II. 321 (345)

caused the Leiden non-conformists to leave including a desire to have an easier life than they were experiencing in Holland and concerns for the aging populations of their congregation, and a fear of the end of the twelve year truce between the Netherlands and Spain and the possibility of the return of Spanish rule, and with it, the return of the Inquisition. It also included a desire to retain their culture mores and the English language, something that was reported as slipping as their children were growing up in Dutch society.<sup>220</sup>

The second group of believers were also non-conformists; they were early Congregationalists. Most of them came to New England with their outlaw minister, John Lothrop, who was released from a London prison only on the condition that he leave the country immediately. This group made the voyage in the first half of the 1630s, ten years after their cousins.

It may be very likely that there were reasons aside from faith that drew the American colonists out of these parishes. For example, John and Samuel Eddy were the sons of Rev. William Eddy, the long-time vicar of St. Dunstan's, Cranbrook. Eddy had a reputation for being a non-conformist minister, but St Dunstan's remained Church of England in the period.<sup>221</sup> The reverend had a large family of ten children. The Eddy sons' motivations for moving might have been a chance for greater economic wealth, a greater freedom to express their faith or perhaps it was the opportunity for adventure.

### ***4.3 Migration to the New England Colonies***

Weald-to-New England migration of this period can trace its beginnings to the Separatist community living in Leiden that included Robert Cushman in the second decade of the century. The majority of colonists of interest to this investigation and identified in Groce's and Lane, et. al's research made the journey later, in the

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<sup>220</sup> Bradford 1981: 24-28

<sup>221</sup> Flisher 2003: 197-198

period known as the ‘Great Migration’.<sup>222</sup> Many of them were already related and many were members of a single Congregationalist group, Lothrop’s congregation based in Egerton. These families were socially and economically interwoven in the generations leading up to their migration.

The bracketing dates of the colonial ‘Great Migration’ vary depending on the source. According to Allen, approximately 20,000 people moved to the American colonies from the late 1620s to 1640.<sup>223</sup> Anderson claimed it lasted only twelve years, from 1630 to the start of the Civil War in 1642.<sup>224</sup> Many of the wealden families in this investigation made the move in the first half of the 1630s. They were following their faith leader, John Lothrop, the former vicar at Egerton and Congregationalists.<sup>225</sup> But their way was also led by one of their own, Nathaniel Tilden, step brother of Robert Cushman, who arrived in the colonists’ first stopping place, Scituate, as early as 1630.<sup>226</sup>

Scholars of the early New England colonies debate the motives of the migrants, arguing for different mixtures of push and pull factors including religious, economic, and social reasons.<sup>227</sup> Those who left the Weald had a combination of these motives and, importantly, either the personal means to make the journey or the ability to negotiate them. Strangely, the debate ignored the idea of the adventure of the new world, which surely must have been a pull factor for at least some of the colonists. People may have also made the decision to migrate for

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<sup>222</sup> Groce 1983; Lane, et. al. 2011

<sup>223</sup> Allen, D. G. 1986: The Matrix of Motivation. *The New England Quarterly*, 59(3): 414

<sup>224</sup> Anderson, V.D.J. 1985: Migrants and Motives: Religion and the settlement of New England, 1630-1640. *The New England Quarterly*, 58(3): 340

<sup>225</sup> Groce 1983: 93-7

<sup>226</sup> Damon, D. E. 1884: History of Scituate and South Scituate in Hurd, D. H., editor, *History of Plymouth County, Massachusetts*. Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis and Company: 406

<sup>227</sup> See the debate as waged in *The New England Quarterly* between V.D.J. Anderson and D.G. Allen. Anderson 1985: 339-383; Allen 1986: 408-418; Anderson, V.D.J. 1986: Religion the common thread, *The New England Quarterly*, 59(3): 418-424

reasons that were related to family or community, as in a desire to maintain close proximity to affective relationships, in other words good friends, or perhaps a charismatic leader, as in the case of the Congregationalists who followed Lothrop.

John Lothrop was baptised in Yorkshire, graduated from Cambridge, finishing with a BA and an MA, and became the curate of Egerton parish in Kent in 1611, where he continued to preach until 1623. That year, he was asked to be the minister for the First Independent Church in Southwark as the previous minister had moved to Virginia. There, he conducted services in secret, but was imprisoned for this illegal activity in 1632. By 1634, his first wife, Hannah House, had died. For the sake of his children, the court agreed to release Lothrop on the condition he leave the country immediately.<sup>228</sup>

According to estimates, at least thirty men joined him on the voyage. Only two were known to be single at the time. Eight of the men were positively identified as married. They travelled with their wives, children and servants, an additional sixty people. Groce estimated many more of these followers came from the Egerton congregation than the London one.<sup>229</sup>

By this time, the region had passed its economic zenith and had begun a slowly accelerating decline in its fortunes. It was facing increased competition both in product, processes, and market access. As previously mentioned, within the Weald the new draperies, a lighter form of woollens made on smaller looms, were being produced in a limited fashion, but in the rest of the county it was being produced more frequently.

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<sup>228</sup> Groce 1983: 333-335; Stratton 1986: 320

<sup>229</sup> Groce 1983: 333

Settlement patterns similar to those practiced in the Weald were brought to the New World. The tendency for the migrants to live in already familiar groupings was sustained. By 1641, almost half of the early settlers of Scituate were from Kent.<sup>230</sup>

The first Weald man to make the move to the new colony at Plymouth was Robert Cushman.<sup>231</sup> Though he did not stay for long, his son and eventually many others of his extended family, including his stepbrother, Nathaniel Tilden, would make the journey. Cushman was born in Rolvenden and later moved to Canterbury to work as a grocer. As a dissenter, he made the choice to leave England and moved to Leiden, Holland. There he worked in the cloth industry, the mainstay for the English dissenting community that had formed there.

The wealden contingent of colonists was unusual in that most of the early colonists trace their English origins to East Anglia. Kent ranked third in the list of contributing counties, but sent a much smaller number than the two top contributors. Between 1630 and 1650, Banks estimated 188 men came from Kent.<sup>232</sup>

Weald families of this study were engaged with the founding of the Plymouth Colony. Some were among the Leyden Separatists who left England in pursuit of religious freedom in the Low Countries. Robert Cushman, mentioned above, was baptised in Rolvenden (9 Feb 1577/8) and served an apprenticeship in Canterbury with George Masters, likely a relative on his mother's side of the family. He was listed as a grocer at the time of his first marriage in 1606. Some time between 1607/8 when his son, Thomas was baptised at Canterbury, Cushman and his family joined Rev. John Robinson's colony at Leiden. In these years, his first wife died and he married a second time. In 1617, Cushman was sent as one of two negotiating agents for the Leiden congregation to the Council for Virginia. Robert and son, Thomas Cushman, sailed on the Fortune arriving November 1621. Robert returned

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<sup>230</sup> Groce 1983: 336-7

<sup>231</sup> Cushman was not the first of the Wealden migrants though. Richard Bigg went to the Virginia colony in 1610. (CKS TR2896/57)

<sup>232</sup> Groce 1983: 73

to England on the same ship a month later, leaving Thomas in the care of Governor Bradford. Cushman did not return to the colony.

Nathaniel Tilden, Cushman's stepbrother through the marriage of his father with Cushman's mother, was one of the next wealden colonists to make the move. Nathaniel's parents were Thomas and Alice (Biggs) Tilden (Thomas Tilden's first wife) of Benenden. While Alice was herself not a colonist, her family is deeply intertwined with some of the earliest colonists during the Great Migration period.

#### ***4.4 The colonists with deaf genes***

From Groce's dissertation and from personal correspondence with both Groce and Lane, the study began with the names of forty-nine individuals they identified as having deaf descendants (see figure 3.1).<sup>233</sup> None of them were known to be deaf themselves and no other contextual information, aside from the Groce's dissertation, was provided. Appendix 2 on the CD-ROM enclosed with this thesis lists each of these individuals and provides basic information on their Kent origins (if applicable), faith, linkages to the cloth-making industry, when they migrated and on what ship, and their settlement location in the colonies and the source of this information.

The numbers of English ancestors with deaf descendants thinned considerably when individuals were divided based on their date of migration, English home county/parish and location of settlement. With investigation, some on the list have surnames that are not indigenous to the Weald such as Athearn, Jellison, Libby, Littlefield and Wakefield.<sup>234</sup> They either married daughters of Weald families of the period, as in the case of Simon Athearn marrying John Butler's daughter Mary, or they may have been carriers of a different recessive gene at work in another part of

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<sup>233</sup> Groce 1983; Groce 2009: Lane 2008

<sup>234</sup> William Jellison is not found in the records of the period. Looking at Lane et. al. (2011), when members of the Jellison clan married a Butler and then a Bates deaf people appeared within the next few generations.

England.<sup>235</sup> Both speak to women as carriers of the gene. In addition, some of the individuals on the list do not appear in New England records until the eighteenth century, as was true in the case of Margaret Gowen and the three members of the Lord family on the list.<sup>236</sup> Another couple identified on the list were Samuel Allen (b. 1632) and his wife Sarah (nee Partridge). This Samuel Allen was not a migrant. He was the eldest son of a colonist, another Samuel Allen. The elder Allen was born in Essex and settled Boston in 1628. The second son of the elder's family was James Allen (b. 1636). He married Elizabeth Perkins (origins unknown) and they settled Martha's Vineyard. Their son Samuel (b. 1678) married Mary Tilton, and that's the earliest connection that was possible to make to Kent.<sup>237</sup>

Of the original list of forty-nine individuals from the lists provided, sixteen were traced to Kent: Joyce Baker, Patience Bigge, Nicholas Butler, William Curtis, Thomas Cushman, Hepzibah Daggett, Dolar Davis, John Eddy, Samuel Eddy, Nicholas Fessenden, Richard Foster, Susannah Hinckley, Hannah House, Benjamin Lothrop, Joyce Wallen, and Margery Willard. These particular connections do not demonstrate additional social and economic linkages, through employment and indenture, with other families from the identified colonists list (Figure 3.1 and CD Appendix 2).

Thomas Cushman, Robert's father, married Ellen Hubbard, Robert's mother. They had three children between them. When Thomas died, Ellen married the man who served as the testator to her husband's will, Emanuell Evernden of Rolvenden.

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<sup>235</sup> The Athearns lived at Tisbury, Massachusetts, a town on Martha's Vineyard. No additional information on Athearn's English origins was found in Kent records. See Banks, C.E. 1911: *The History of Martha's Vineyard, Dukes County, Massachusetts in three volumes*, v2, 'Annals of West Tisbury'. Boston: George H. Dean: 28-29

<sup>236</sup> Margaret Gowen married Abraham Lord in Berwick, Maine, on 10 April 1717 (NEHGR 1901 55: 310). Her Gowen(r) family name did not appear in the records of the study parishes until 1752. They then maintained a steady presence in the baptism records only in the parish of Biddenden throughout the rest of the research period. (CKS, C150480138 XK Biddenden). In 1773, there were two Lord baptisms, one at Cranbrook, and the other at Benenden.

<sup>237</sup> Allen, Wm., & Allen, J. 1882: *A genealogy of the Allen family from 1568 to 1882*. Farmington, Me. Chronicle Book and Job Press: 5-7.

When he died, the two-time widow went on in November 1593 to marry a third, this time to Thomas Tilden, Nathaniel's father.<sup>238</sup> This was Tilden's second marriage too. His first was to Nathaniel's mother Alice Biggs.

At least ten of the families associated with this study are related by blood or marriage to them including the following families: Austin, Bates, Besbeech, Foster, House, Sheafe, Martin, Masters, Starr, Stow, and Tilden.<sup>239</sup>

#### **4.4.1 A more extensive network**

In the investigation into their Kent origins, additional families from within the Weald were identified as having close kinship and business ties. Additional colonists, reinforced the social networks that surrounded those initially identified (See CD-ROM Appendix 3 for a graphic of this network). According to Groce, they were following their minister, John Lothrop, but their way was also led by one of their own, Nathaniel Tilden who arrived in the colonists' first stopping place, Scituate, as early as 1628.

Some Weald-based families had strong ties to the individuals previously identified in the research. These relationships and their continued presence in the study parishes made them worth tracking. Also by 1851, there were multiple deaf Bates, Austins, Martins and Bachelors identified in the county's census (see Chapter 6 and the 1851 Kent Census Deaf database, CD-ROM Appendix 1). For the most part, male colonists with these surnames did not settle on Martha's Vineyard or in other later New England locations identified in previous research.<sup>240</sup> Instead, they settled the communities of Ipswich, Marshfield (Doggett, Snow, Tilden, Baker and Rouse) Charlestown and Dorchester, Massachusetts. Interestingly, although their connections were harder to track, the women of these families appear to have married into those families already identified.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> NEHGR 65, 1911: 327

<sup>239</sup> CKS, TR2896/60, 205

<sup>240</sup> Groce 1983, Lane, et al. 2011

<sup>241</sup> See Lane, et al. 2011

#### **4.4.2 The Bigg, Bates and Martin Families**

The Bigg, Bate and Martin families were successful and large families in the Weald and on Romney Marsh. Two Martin sisters, Rachel and Mary, married into the Bigg and Bate families respectively. Mary and her husband, James Bate (m.1580), had a large family of nine children. One of their sons, also called James (b. Lydd, 2 December 1582) migrated to New England. He sailed in 1635 aboard the *Elizabeth* out of London; with his wife (m.1603), Alice (Glover,), age 52, and four of their five surviving children, including their daughter, Mary (bapt. 24 August 1600). The eldest surviving son, Richard Bate (bapt. 12 November 1609), married to his first wife at the time, remained behind in Lydd and would eventually inherit his father's property there. Their daughter, Mary married Hopestill Foster (m.1640, New England). Their grandmothers were sisters.<sup>242</sup>

Rachel Martin married John Bigg of Cranbrook in Tenterden in 1583. They had six children. John was buried in August of 1603. Rachel travelled to the colony with her daughter and grandson, Patience Bigg Foster (ae. 40) and Hopestill Foster (bapt. 30 July 1620, Biddenden ae.14).

It is through Rachel Bigg's daughter, Patience (Bigg) Foster's marriage to Richard Foster that we can connect even more of the chain. Richard Foster was the son of Thomas and Dorothy (Austin) Foster. After Thomas died, Dorothy was married John Besbeech. Together, they had several children, including another colonist Thomas Besbeech.<sup>243</sup>

Throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, the Bigg family were clothiers based in the region. The Biggs demonstrates the extent to which the Wealden colonists' families were interwoven. 'The Bigge family was one of the

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<sup>242</sup> Threlfall, J.B. 2009: *Fifty Great Migration Colonists to New England & Their Origins*, Westminster, Maryland: Heritage Books 37-62

<sup>243</sup> NEHGR 67: 36

wealthier clothier families of Kent. Why they emigrated will probably never be known, although religious freedom must have been a consideration.<sup>244</sup> The family's local connections stretch from Benenden and Cranbrook to Lydd. They made marriages amongst the other well-to-do families of the region. When Richard Bigge, a clothier in Cranbrook, died in 1532, he left properties that included a workshop, to each of his three sons. In turn, one of them, Gervase Bigge, who died in 1568, left his lands and workhouse to a nephew as he did not have any sons.<sup>245</sup> Skipping a generation, Smalhope Bigg was christened August 29, 1585 in Cranbrook, Kent, England. Bigg was called "loving kinsman" by Edmund Sheafe. Their friendship adds another connection among the New England migrants. Sheafe was from another important family of Weald based clothiers, some of whom also migrated to the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies. Sheafe appointed Bigg as executor of his will.<sup>246</sup> Bigg's estate was probated October 8, 1638 in the Consistory Court, at Canterbury.<sup>247</sup> He died without issue, so the distribution of his very large estate encompasses many more family members than might ordinarily be expected from a man with children. He was also one of the richest clothiers in Cranbrook. In his abstracted will legacies were left to family members and friends both at home and in the colonies (Figure 4.6). Smalehope's wife died earlier, so the will was contested and then confirmed in the Consistory Court at Canterbury.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Threlfall 2008: 40

<sup>245</sup> Zell 1996:670

<sup>246</sup> Threlfall 2008: 40

<sup>247</sup> NEHGR 38: 60-61, extracts will, Consistory Court Vol.51 Leaf 115

<sup>248</sup> Smallhope Bigge's will was abstracted by Henry F. Waters (NEHGR, 38: 60-61)

Smalehope Bigg, of Cranbrooke in the County of Kent, clothier, 3 May, 1638, by John Bigg. Brother John **Bigg**, of Maidstone, to be executor. To the poor of Cranbrooke ten pounds. To my Aunt Mary Bridger of West Peckham and her two sons, Robert and Thomas **Betts**; to my kinswomen, the wife of William Hunt of Brenchley, Anne Bottinge of Brenchley, widow, and the wife of John Saxby of Leeds; to Judith, wife of Thomas Tadnall, late of Dover; to Godfrey **Martin** of Old Romney and his sisters; to the children of Robert Pell of New Romney, jurat, deceased. "To my kinsfolk Thomas **Bate**, of Lydd, James **Bate**, Clement **Bate**, the wife of William **Batchelor**, John Compton, Edward **White** and Martha his wife, all of which are now resident in New England, twenty shillings each. I give ten pounds to be distributed to them or to others in New England by my mother and my brother John **Stow**. To Peter **Master** of Cranbrook who married my sister. To my mother Rachel **Bigg** one hundred pounds. Lands &c. at Rye in County Sussex to my wife Ellin. To my sisters Patience **Foster** and Elizabeth **Stow** in New England. To Hopestill **Foster**, son of my sister three hundred pounds. To Thomas and John **Stow**, sons of my sister **Stow** two hundred pounds each. To Elizabeth **Stow** and the other three children (under age) of my sister **Stow**. Lands in Horsmonden to my brother John **Bigg**. Lands at Wittersham, Lidd and Cranbrook to Samuel **Bigg**, my brother's son, at the age of twenty-three years. My friends John Nowell of Rye, gentleman, James Holden and Thomas **Bigg**, the elder, of Cranbrook, clothiers, to be overseers. To my cousin Hunt's children and John **Saxbey's** children; to the two sons of my Aunt **Betts**; to my cousin Bottenn's children; to my cousin Pell's children, viz., Joan **Pell**, Elizabeth **Pell**, Richard **Pell** and Thomas **Bavtope's** wife.

Figure 4.4 Abstracted excerpt from Smalehope Bigg of Cranbrook's will by H.F. Waters. Highlights added. (Source: NEHGR 38: 60-1)

Nicholas Butler, was declared a freeman 14 March 1638-9 in Dorchester, Mass. On the 15 August 1651, he deputed his son John his attorney, went to Martha's Vineyard where he died leaving several children. This wife was named Joyce. Her surname is unknown. The first Simon Athearn married his granddaughter.<sup>249</sup>

Of the passengers of the Hercules, four Tenterden families were given travel certificates by the same three men: John Gee, vicar of the parish, John Austin, mayor, and Freegift Stare, jurat.<sup>250</sup> The following families appear to be travelling together: Samuel and Sarah Hinkley with their four children, John and Sarah Lewis with their child, Nathaniel Tilden and Lydia Tilden and their seven children, and Jonas and Constance Austin and their four children.<sup>251</sup> John was not a local, but his wife was baptised in Tenterden. She was the daughter of James Mead the Younger.

<sup>249</sup> NEGHR 1851, 5: 397

<sup>250</sup> Starr spelling variations include: Starr, Stare, Star

<sup>251</sup> The Tilden and the Austin families received the certificate to make the journey on the same day 4 March 1634. The other families named were all in the month of March. CKS TR2896/60

Other families on the initial colonists list were also recorded. The Comfort Starre family of Ashford also made the journey with three children and three servants, as did his father, Thomas Starr, a yeoman, with his wife Susan and another child, Constant.<sup>252</sup> Hannah House (sometimes called Rouse) was Comfort Starre's niece, the daughter of his sister Suretrust and her husband Faithful R(H)ouse. Hannah H(R)ouse also made the journey. Also on board were Nicholas Butler, a yeoman, and his wife, Joyce, accompanied by their three children and five servants. Three Batchelor families were there too: Henry Batchelor of Dover with his wife, Martha, and four servants; Joseph Batchelor of Canterbury with his wife, Elizabeth, their child and three servants; and John Batchelor, a single tailor of Canterbury.<sup>253</sup>

#### **4.4.3 Returners**

It is very difficult to determine how many of the colonists returned to England. Mortality rates were so high especially in the first decade of the Plymouth Colony, that people may well have died before they could get a ship home.<sup>254</sup> Records indicated that Robert Cushman returned on the same ship that brought him.<sup>255</sup> Among the other study families, Comfort Starr was one of those to return to Britain. Starr studied at Harvard and then returned to England in late 1650. He resettled in Cumberland, and worked as a minister there until he inherited his father's house at Ashford. He returned to live in Kent after 1660. Moore named a few other Kent-based returnees including Christopher Blackwood who only went to New England for two years returning in 1642; John Caffinch from Tenterden who left in 1639 and had returned by 1658 to Tenterden; Robert Child, from Northfleet, who returned in 1647 after nine years in New England; and John Hoadley from

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<sup>252</sup> CKS, TR2896/60: 194

<sup>253</sup> NEGHR 1861, 15: 28-29

<sup>254</sup> Hardman Moore, S. 2007: *Pilgrims: New World settlers & the call of home*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

<sup>255</sup> Stratton, E.A. 1986: *Plymouth Colony Its History & People 1620-1691*. Ancestry Publishing, Salt Lake City: 22

Rolvenden, Kent returned after 4 years in the autumn of 1653 to become the Chaplain at Edinburgh Castle before returning to Rolvenden in 1662.<sup>256</sup>

#### **4.5 Evidence of deaf people and sign language in the period**

On a national scale, evidence of Deaf people was recorded in this period. John Bulwer's 1648 work, *Philocophus or Deafe and Dumbe Man's Friend* and, in the second half of the century, Samuel Pepys' Diary entry on the Great London Fire of 1666 both present contemporary evidence of deaf people.<sup>257</sup> More recently, deaf members of the Gawdy family of Norfolk have been identified through the work of Peter Jackson.<sup>258</sup>

In 1623, a deaf man who could be taught to speak was of interest 'in an era when scholars had an intense concern for any unusual natural phenomenon'.<sup>259</sup> An English traveller of the period, Kenelm Digby, visited his brother, the British ambassador to Spain, in Madrid. During his visit, Digby attended a demonstration of speech and speech-reading by a young deaf man, Luis de Velasco. Digby does not publish his observations about the experience in a London edition of his *Treatise on the Nature of Bodies* until 1658. These observations are important because this is the first time Britain is introduced to the idea that profoundly deaf people can be taught to speak.<sup>260</sup>

In Kent, there was disappointingly very little archival evidence of deaf people available for this time and none in the study parishes. There was only one reference available from the January, 1612/13, Quarter Sessions at Maidstone. A deaf man named Henry Scott was called to give evidence against a man named

<sup>256</sup> Hardman Moore 2007: 153-185

<sup>257</sup> Bulwer, J. 1648: *Philocophus, or, The deafe and dumbe mans friend exhibiting the philosophicall verity of that subtile art, which may inable one with an observant eie, to heare what any man speaks by the moving of his*, London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley. (reprint: British Deaf History Society Publications 2006, Feltham, Middlesex; Pepys, S. 1666

<sup>258</sup> Jackson 2004

<sup>259</sup> Conrad, R. & Weiskrantz, B. 1984: Deafness in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century: Into empiricism *Sign Language Studies* 45 Winter: 1984 296

<sup>260</sup> Conrad & Weiskrantz 1984: 291-296

Maple (see Figure 4.11). Scott petitions the court to be excused from testifying on account of his ignorance and deafness.<sup>261</sup>



Figure 4.5 The Humble Petition of Henry Scott. (Source: CKS, QM/SB/1078 1073-1101 Jan 1612-13)

#### **4.6 Conclusion: A depleted gene pool?**

By 1650, the Weald's economy was struggling. Unable to sustain itself because of increased competition from Eastern Europe and the loss of markets during the

<sup>261</sup> CKS, QM/SB/1078 1073-1101 Jan 1612-13

Thirty Years War, the clothing industry, the central Weald's largest proto-industry, was in a long and slow decline.<sup>262</sup> The second largest, the iron industry, was also declining as new coal-firing techniques helped draw the manufacturers to northern coalfields. This placed pressure on the early industry owners, not coincidentally also the largest property holders, to cut losses and costs where possible.<sup>263</sup>

The people on the study's initial list of colonists, were removed from the Weald and the local gene pool. Relatives as close as siblings remained behind as did some of their progeny. But it does not necessarily follow that they all remained in the Weald parishes, much less the county or the country. The familial and business networks presented in this chapter speak to a close-knit society, held together by marriage, commerce and faith. There is some evidence of cousin marriage amongst these families. With the changes brought by the decline of the broadcloth industry, migration, and after 1640, the Civil War, it is difficult to ascertain if the remaining members of the colonists' families continued to maintain the same social networks and if reoccurring hereditary deafness was present within the region. Ultimately, without evidence, we do not know if sign language was being used in the Weald.

A genealogical search of multiple families with multiple marriages and large numbers of children without knowing if any of these remaining families still possessed and passed along hereditary deafness brought me to the impasse of too large a data set for a single researcher to tackle alone and during the limited time for this thesis project. However, this chapter demonstrated a larger network of relatedness among the families than was previously identified, and American research might reopen itself for additional analysis in light of these new branches to the Deaf families.

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<sup>262</sup> Brandon & Short 1990: 171

<sup>263</sup> Brandon & Short 1990: 191

## Chapter 5 Changes, 1650-1851

### *5.1 Introduction*

In the previous chapter, the study families were shown to have been engaged in international activities for economic, social, and political reasons. In this chapter, the focus changes as deaf people come under the scrutiny of the wider world. For wealden deaf individuals and their families, life after the Civil War was not to be the same. It is difficult to pinpoint a specific moment or root cause for the change in normative perceptions of deaf people in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A different cluster of social, political and economic factors should be taken into account, but what makes these factors different is that the study now focused on the families not as agents of their destiny, *per se*, but as objects of pity within the larger society. This attitudinal change may have started with the earliest tutoring of the Spanish aristocracy's deaf children and the subsequent demonstrations of their abilities for the European courts. It may also have been the spread of Enlightenment humanist ideals and the founding of intellectual organisations like the Royal Society and their fascination with anatomy that promoted hearing loss as a pathology and speculation about the educability of deaf people. Or it may have been the British gentry's response to the French Revolution's Reign of Terror and fears of local social unrest that led to their growing interest in the welfare of the British lower classes. The proliferation of the press and a literate public had some impact, as did the evangelical movement and its calls for a moral humanitarianism abroad as well as at home. Perhaps, like their hearing peers, deaf people were drawn away from the relative isolation of the countryside by the possibility of employment in the rapidly expanding urban areas of the early Industrial Revolution, and by moving to a place of 'strangers' became more 'visible' for the first time.

All of these factors influenced wider perceptions of deaf people. They promoted a homogenization of an external identity of deaf people as 'unfortunates'. In addition to these key factors, the beginnings of deaf education in Britain, the importance of the founding, success, and spread of a separate education system for deaf people,

cannot be overemphasized. It represents a profound change, a cultural turn, in the lives of deaf people.

For the study's families, the Weald of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was quite different from its peak period as a rural industrial powerhouse. The end of the cloth-making industry, the shift of employment towards the dockland regions in the northern part of the county and the changes in land use all had a tremendous impact on the population's stability and welfare.

### ***5.2 Changes in prevailing attitudes towards Deaf people: The formation of pathological discourses***

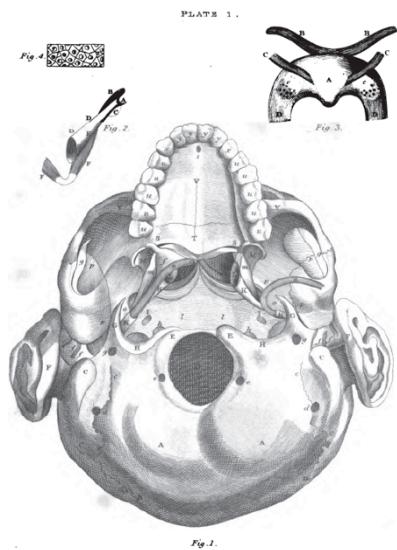
Groce wrote that Deaf people on the Vineyard were not set apart in their communities.<sup>264</sup> Judging from the lack of evidence in the parish records of the Wealden parishes in this study, neither were deaf people in these communities. But outside of the Weald, changes were happening that would have a profound influence on future generations of these deaf families. Some of these include the expanding imperial project with the questions it generated on what it meant to be human, the zealous work of missionaries abroad and at home, and a new interest in educating Deaf people developed among Oxford scholars and was debated before the Royal Society. The proliferation of print materials and increasing literacy of the public in general spread these new ideas and debates into locations that they would not have otherwise reached.

Assuming identities are relational, when and how does a person's internal 'Deaf' identity develop? Since the beginnings of deaf education, Deaf children often begin this process when they met other Deaf children. Today, it often happens in educational settings and several Deaf writers describe this experience

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<sup>264</sup> Groce 1983

poignantly.<sup>265</sup> For children of Deaf families, this process begins at birth, not school age. How this process occurred in signing communities and amongst isolated individuals before the founding of the schools for the deaf is still unknown. Clearly, some of the ‘unfortunates’ rhetoric that developed and persists around deaf people stems from isolated individuals.



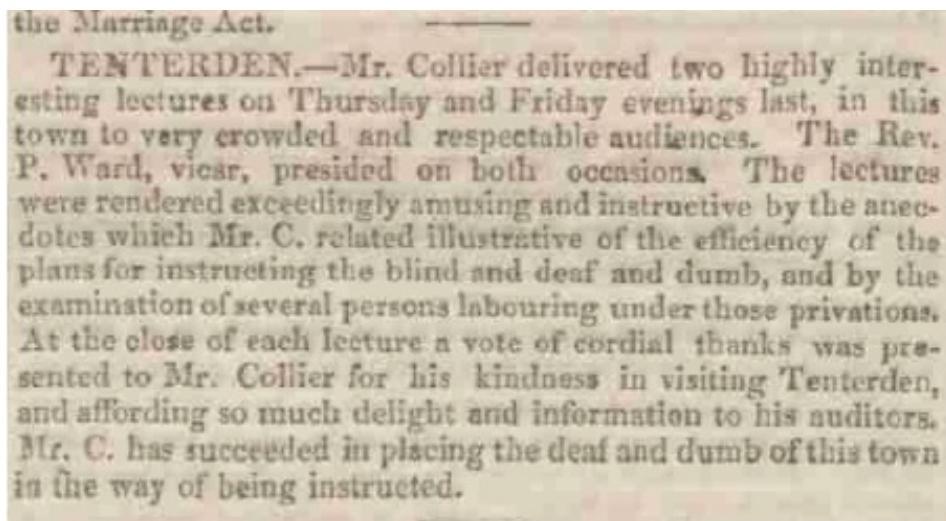
*A View of the base of the Cranium :  
Exhibiting the Eustachian Tubes &c.*

**Figure 5.1 A view of the base of the cranium exhibiting the Eustachian Tubes.** Source: Curtis J.H., 1829: *An essay on the deaf and dumb*. London: Longman, Ress, Orme, Brown and Green: Title page leaf.

Over time, the boundaries of Deaf identities shifted based on the functional needs of both individuals and collectives. Chapter 2 described the development of the essentialist views regarding deaf people. Over time the unintended results of these viewpoints separated deaf people from their signing communities and placed them in exclusionary settings (ie. the Asylum). Within historical signing communities, such as Martha’s Vineyard and perhaps the Weald parishes, a new dichotomous sorting of deaf and hearing people seemed to have occurred through a process of external forces (colonial?) pushing into signing communities. Established social institutions sponsored events that welcomed outside experts which uniformly reinforced the message of ‘deaf is different’ amongst community members. These

<sup>265</sup> Mason, C. 1991: School Experiences in Taylor, G. & Bishop, J. (eds.) *Being Deaf: The experience of deafness*. London: Pinter Publishers & The Open University, 84-87; Monery, C. & Janes, L. 1991: School – The Early Years in Taylor, G. & Bishop, J. (eds.) *Being Deaf: The experience of deafness*. London: Pinter Publishers & The Open University, 81-83

events where sponsored by and conducted at the locations of respected local community social institutions, most especially the parish church. For example, the special sermons designed to solicit funds for the early deaf schools painted a picture of ‘poor unfortunates’ from the powerful position of the pulpit, and the media reported it with the florid prose of the era. This culling of deaf people within their own communities is perpetuated when people like ‘Mr Collier’ presented lectures and demonstrations on the educability of deaf people in parishes like Tenterden (see Figure 5.2).



**Figure 5. 2 Collier an educator of the deaf, gave lectures on his methods in one of the study's parishes, Tenterden. Note unnamed deaf people are a part of the demonstrations. *West Kent Guardian*, Saturday, 8 April 1843.**

Throughout the period, people without a Deaf affiliation generated most of the writing about deaf people, and their work presented Deaf people in the (dys)functional role of ‘poor unfortunates’. These would be punctuated with the occasional exceptions that were spectacular and somewhat magical. In these cases, a deaf person’s abilities were demonstrated to model the training they had received from their teachers and benefactors to an audience, thus enabling those who do hear, by virtue of this capacity, to feel physically, intellectually, and morally superior to their deaf counterparts. Secondly, the resources are not presented for a Deaf audience, but as a platform from which the writers could maintain their hegemonic stance. Thirdly, there are unconscious assumptions about the hearing state versus the deaf state of being. Having hearing is better than not, and having

the ability to hear is normalized, an indication being that the writers of these primary sources do not identify themselves as hearing.<sup>266</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter 4, n 1658, Kenelm Digby published his observations about a spectacle he attended while visiting his brother, the British ambassador to Spain, in Madrid in 1623. Digby recorded the experience thirty-five years later as it was of interest ‘in an era when scholars had an intense concern for any unusual natural phenomenon’. These observations introduced the idea that profoundly deaf people can be taught to speak to a British audience.<sup>267</sup>

By the middle of the seventeenth century, science had some understanding of the physiology of the ear, although the corti would not be identified until the middle of the nineteenth. The distinction between hereditary or ‘natural’ deafness and deafness through illness was recognised even if the mechanisms of what made it run in families was not known.<sup>268</sup>

Almost two hundred years later, in *An Essay on the Deaf and Dumb*, Curtis quotes a case written in 1825 by Juillet and published in the French journal, *Journal de Physiologie par Magendie*, of a poor Parisian boy who underwent a surgical procedure to restore his hearing. While the surgery was only a partial success, Juillet reflects on the child’s language usage:

The natural language of Honoré, i.e. by signs, instead of going gradually into disuse, and being replaced by speech, has gained rapidly a striking perfection, much superior to what he possessed before he had acquired the sense of hearing.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> For a book of examples see Lee 2003. See also Ladd 2003: 119

<sup>267</sup> The London edition of his *Treatise on the Nature of Bodies* describes a deaf man who was taught to speak. The aristocratic DeValesco family had a long history of hereditary deafness. See Conrad & Weiskrantz 1984: 291-296

<sup>268</sup> Conrad & Weiskrantz 1984: 330

<sup>269</sup> Curtis J.H., 1829: *An essay on the deaf and dumb*. London: Longman, Ress, Orme, Brown, and Green: 141

Another doctor publishing in the *London of Medical and Physical Journal* refers to a child misdiagnosed and actually capable of hearing and the child's subsequent placement in a school for the deaf as a place where 'the poor child is then consigned to those silent receptacles where instruction is carried out without any attention to the organs of hearing, the catastrophe is obviously inevitable.'<sup>270</sup>

### **5.3 The beginnings of Deaf Education in England**

The beginning of British Deaf education was unsurprisingly steeped in class. Like the Spanish aristocracy's offspring, the earliest opportunities for education were limited to the privileged wealthy. Private academies and tutors, for those who could afford it, did not need to make a public appeal in the same way charity organisations did. For example, first headmaster of the Bermondsey-based Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children, Joseph Watson, LL.D., was the nephew of Thomas Braidwood, the famous creator of the 'Braidwood combined system'.<sup>271</sup> He had private academies for the progeny of wealthy parents first in Edinburgh and then in Hackney. Across Europe, there were only a dozen establishments for educating deaf children. These were expensive private schools, three of which were in Britain. The only school serving the needs of poor children in all of Europe was in Paris. Until 1792, poor British deaf children had no chance for an education.

#### **5.3.1 The Asylum for Poor Deaf and Dumb Children**

In Britain, the first opportunity for Deaf children from families who could not afford private education began in 1792. The Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children's founding Committee of dedicated members, led by the Rev. John Townsend, acted very quickly. Within six months, they had organised and hired a headmaster,

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<sup>270</sup> Curtis 1829: 142

<sup>271</sup> The 'Braidwood combined system' was the teaching method created by Thomas Braidwood and closely guarded by the family. This system promoted an aural and methodical sign system to teach students how to speak.

Joseph Watson LL.D. of the famous Braidwood family, and had rented space for the asylum's first location at Fort Place, on Grange Road, Bermondsey, on the south side of the Thames, just a short distance from Tower Bridge. They had also accepted the first six students.<sup>272</sup> From its quick start, this innovative asylum grew rapidly. It attracted aristocratic patronage and more applicants than it could handle. In the process of making this charitable organisation a successful concern, all the stakeholders, including the board of governors, the headmaster, the sponsors, and importantly, the objectified deaf children themselves, all paternalistically promoted and solidified the external, ascribed deaf image of the 'unfortunate'.

The Committee's vision of the asylum was laid out during a sub-committee meeting in October, 1792. It reflected their Christian ethos and the expectations of strict compliance to these rules was required of families and the pupils. They also acted as an intermediary for the teaching staff:

- That a form of Prayer and portion of Scripture be read every morning and evening in the School.
- That the children do attend public worship twice on the Lord's Day
- That no Parent shall have his or her child home from the School only for a fortnight at Christmas except by an order granted by the Committee
- That if any Parent Guardian or friend be dissatisfied with the custom and mode of treatment at the school complaint shall be made only to the Committee
- That the Parents or friends of the children shall not be permitted to visit them on the Lords day<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> There are other private establishments operating in London at the time. One was in Hackney and was headed by Thomas Braidwood, the creator of the 'Braidwood Method'. His students were taught to speak and speech read. Today, this would be called the 'oral method'. In 1815, T.H. Gallaudet visited another school in Kilburn run by Mr Woodmen, a teacher who trained at the Asylum. Gallaudet, T.H. 1818: *A Journal of some occurrences in my life which have a relation to the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb*. Unpub. Manuscript. T.H. Gallaudet and Edward Miner Gallaudet papers, 1806-1958: 14 August 1815.

<sup>273</sup> RSDC CMB, 26 October 1792. The holiday rule was amended in 1796 to include an additional two weeks holiday in the summer.

### 5.3.2 The sponsors

Like other humanitarian interests of the period, the earliest schools or ‘asylums’ for the Deaf provided an outlet for the Christian concern for human suffering and simultaneously provided an excellent entrepreneurial opportunity to those who ran the asylums. As a charitable organisation, the asylum relied upon donations and subscribers to support it. Inevitably, the only classes with sufficient wealth were the nobility, and the newly rich capitalists, and the latter indeed became the financial backbone of these institutions and ‘voluntary organisations.’<sup>274</sup> With its non-statutory status, the asylum engaged in vigorous marketing campaigns to achieve financial solvency.<sup>275</sup> It welcomed these sponsors as ‘governors’ and encouraged them and parents, too, to buy the products from its manufactory.<sup>276</sup> As such, the Asylum became the site where, for the first time, deaf people become objects of a regular and ongoing spectacle as well as philanthropic concern via the extension of the humanitarian project. Even after the cessation of visits to mental hospitals and asylums ceased, the spectators could still visit.

An interwoven set of humanitarian networks between the clergy and philanthropists worked together to financially support the school. These networks would come together on specific occasions to raise funds, and it is here that deaf children were used as ‘advertising’ regularly and systematically in the various venues. The parallels with colonial philanthropic efforts are immediately evident, and, like those, they too were reported regularly in the popular press.

Solicitations for donations were sought from the public in four ways, all of which depended on the framing of Deaf children as objects of sympathy. The first method was the ‘special sermon’ held in churches throughout the country. They served to solicit financial subscriptions to ‘the worthy cause’. The Committee Meeting Books

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<sup>274</sup> Oliver 1990: 113 in Ladd 2003: 119

<sup>275</sup> Borsay, A. 2007: Deaf children and charitable education in Britain 1790-1944 in Borsay, A. & Shapely, P. (eds.) *Medicine, charity and mutual aid: the consumption of health and welfare in Britain, c. 1550-1950*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd: 72

<sup>276</sup> Beaver 1992: 45

carefully record when different ministers held special sermons in their parishes.<sup>277</sup> Guest ministers representing the asylum sometimes conducted these carefully orchestrated events. Sometimes they were accompanied by a pupil who was brought along to recite the Lord's Prayer. The student's brave little performances were intended to stir the hearts and wallets of the attendees. The second and third types of solicitation events were Subscribers' Meetings and Anniversary Events. Once institutions were up and running, the display of children became an integral part of the annual cycle, paralleling the charity-school processions inaugurated by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge from the early eighteenth century.<sup>278</sup> The biannual subscriber meetings were routinely held in large tavern venues on the north side of the Thames and were covered by a sympathetic press.<sup>279</sup> For example, the *Gentleman's Magazine* draws attention to the Asylum's cause and the annual anniversary meeting at the London Tavern. 'W.J.' reports that the pupils delivered a suitably ingratiating poem praising the 'bliss by your Asylum given' and expressed gratitude to their patrons.<sup>280</sup>

These 'spectacles' marketed the charity, but they also provided a venue for the great and the good to mix with the wealthy in such a way as to reinforce their social cohesion and/or social climbing, all with the mixed with warm feelings of sympathetic altruism. For the Abbé de l'Epée, the founder of the Paris asylum, the public appearance of deaf children in 'broad daylight' was an act of liberation.

It was though, having provided food and care, that all justice had been done for them (deaf mutes), but they were withdrawn, for ever, from the sight of the world, confining them to the secret of the cloister, or in the dark of some unknown boarding house. These days, things have completely changed, so that we now see deaf-mutes appearing in the plain light of day. The exercises that they carry out, announced in the programme, have stirred up the

<sup>277</sup> Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate. Committee Meeting Books I & II.

<sup>278</sup> See Cunningham 1991: 38-49 in Borsay 2007: 75

<sup>279</sup> The locations of these large meetings were taverns and pubs with large assembly rooms. The most popular locations in this period were the Paul's Head Tavern in Cateaton Street (Now Gresham St) near the Guildhall and the City of London Tavern in Bishopsgate. See Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate, Committee Minute Books (Hereafter: RSDC CMB).

<sup>280</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* v70 pt1 (12 May 1800): 436-7 Letter to the editor signed W.J. See also Borsay 2007: 75.

excitement of the public and people of every class and type have flocked to see them.<sup>281</sup>

*LINES, spoken by some of the Children educated at the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb CHILDREN, at the Anniversary of the Patrons to that Institution, held at the London Tavern, April 25.*

THE Deaf and Dumb, through Britain's isle,  
 The bounty you dispense partake ;  
 Yours is the honour to have rais'd  
 The first Asylum for their sake !

Nor think the objects of your care  
 Inconscious of the good you give —  
 We feel, and know the happy truth,  
 That great's the blessing we receive.

And could we open to your view  
 The feelings of a mind oppres'd  
 With anxious cares—with joys—or woes—  
 By dumbness cruelly suppress'd ;

Then would you highly prize, with us,  
 The bliss by your Asylum given !

Nor scorn the feeble voice that lisps—  
 Our gratitude—to you—and Heaven !

**Figure 5.3 Asylum pupils on display. 'Lines, Spoken by some of the children educated at the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Children at the Anniversary of the Patrons to that Institution, held at the London Tavern April 25.'** (Source: *Gentleman's Magazine* 1800, 70, 1: 436)

By donating a particular sum, the gathered London asylum's subscribers had the opportunity to engage in the pupil selection process. Previously examined and proposed applicants were selected by the subscribers' popular vote at these events. The earliest of the Committee Minute Books recorded the popularity of these events and carefully listed the names of the attendees. More than two hundred people often attended these meetings in order to cast their vote for as few as three openings from the ever-growing candidates' list. London-based candidates were encouraged to attend these meetings to stir up pathos among the subscribers. The February, 1795 *Gentleman's Magazine* published this description:

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<sup>281</sup> Epée (de l'), C.-M. 1776: *Institution des Sourds-Muets par la voie des signes méthodiques*. Paris: Nyon: 3-4 (translation: Gulliver, M., Personal communication 15 March 2013)

With what exquisite sensations must the feeling heart expand to know that near 20 poor objects, seemingly devoted to melancholy silence, with every idea buried as it were in the grave of sense, have been rescued from their miserable fate, and have been received, where, through the blessing of the Almighty, they may be rendered useful to themselves, a comfort to their friends, and may be taught whatever may be valuable to them here and hereafter! It is impossible to describe the emotions which filled the breast of a most respectable number of the subscribers at a recent meeting, where five were added to the number already received; and where they heard a child, who was admitted in January 1793: then, as now, entirely deaf, then unable to express a single idea, or to know the use of words, to hear such an object articulately and distinctly repeat the following lines...<sup>282</sup>

Years later, when the school had expanded and was able to accept more students, this viewing of the applicants remained an important part of the charity's marketing strategy. As described by Thomas H. Gallaudet, the founder of the first American asylum, in his 1815 travel diary:

Seventy three [sic] applied for admission, which could be granted only to sixteen, and for them each subscriber had a right to vote. The stairs which led to the ball-room were lined with the parents & friends of the deaf [sic] & Dumb. They presented their children to each one passing ... a ticket, giving an account of their circumstances & the peculiar claim, which they had on the charity. These little groups of unfortunate beings, pleading with a silent eloquence for relief, was a touching sight.<sup>283</sup>

### 5.3.3 The staff

The Braidwood family maintained a monopolistic interest in Deaf education both in London and Edinburgh during the opening decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>284</sup> The Braidwoods kept their teaching methods a closely guarded secret. The asylum

<sup>282</sup> 'M.D.' 1795 Untitled letter to the editor dated Lewisham, Jan. 16 in *Gentleman's Magazine* v.65 February 1795 in Lee, 2003: 35

<sup>283</sup> Gallaudet, T. H. 1818: 10 May 1815.

<sup>284</sup> While schools for the deaf enjoyed the attention of philanthropists, other forms of aid to deaf people, both 'missions' and 'benevolent societies', had greater difficulty attracting donors. Support to these groups most often originated with people who had a direct connection to deaf people. See Lysons, K. 1979: The development of local voluntary services for adult deaf persons in England (excerpt) in Gregory, S. & Hartley, G., editors, 1991: *Constructing Deafness*. London: Pinter Press: 236.

system became the first location of contestation between clerics and other stakeholders supported by philanthropic interests and the more mercenary interests of the profit-motivated Braidwood family. Evidence of the conflict can be seen in the travel diary of the enthusiastic young American minister, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet. Utilising clerical networks already in place, Gallaudet found support among the ministers involved with the Asylum. For reasons that are not known, but interesting to speculate, the Braidwoods, specifically Watson, resisted sharing their trade secrets with someone who was adverse to serving a full three-year apprenticeship with them, perhaps it was a personality clash or perhaps lingering resentment on the Braidwoods part to train an American. After all, a war with the Americans had recently concluded. Or perhaps it was purely a matter of maintaining their trade secrets. Ultimately, Gallaudet did not sign the apprenticeship papers with the Braidwoods and turned to the French for his training. This had a profound impact on the development of American Sign Language as French Sign Language is considered the one of the formal roots of ASL, not British Sign Language.

John Watson, the Asylum's headmaster, was compensated on a per student basis by the charity. With the allotted money, he was expected to meet the all the students' needs, including his own salary. Because the charity was initially so modest in size, the Committee agreed that Watson could take on private students too. As the asylum grew, Watson continued to accept these 'paylist' pupils. Teaching deaf children was a very profitable business. When Watson died, he left the enormous fortune of £100,000.<sup>285</sup>

Watson kept tight controls on his staff, but tended to neglect the day-to-day activities of the school in order to focus on his private 'paylist' students. The Braidwood 'combined' system that Watson used with his private pupils was labour-intensive and required low student-teacher ratios. The rapidly expanding charity-

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<sup>285</sup> Beaver 1992: 43. In today's terms, Watson died leaving an estate of over £75 million. See: <http://measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/> for historic calculator. Accessed 21 March 2011

sponsored student population meant that large class sizes soon made the Braidwood system impractical, so Watson frequently hired back his own students as assistants, requiring them to sign a three-year contract of apprenticeship that included non-competition clauses. According to Beaver, '[w]ithin but a few years, all instruction – and indeed communication – at the school was in signs.'<sup>286</sup> Thus, by hiring former pupils to run the school, he inadvertently created the first true Deaf space in England, a social landscape populated by, of and for Deaf people where visual language (i.e. sign) was the primary mode of communication.

#### **5.3.4 The students**

From the start, applicants had to compete for places at the Asylum. Only children between the ages of nine and fourteen were permitted to apply. The waiting lists were often so long, that some children passed the upper age limit before a place could be found for them. In these circumstances, the Committee would sometimes waive the maximum age restriction, but this required a supporting vote from the sponsors. Other requirements were that the child must be 'Deaf and Dumb', have already had small pox or been vaccinated for the disease, and to be of sufficient intellect. Children were also required to come with the proper kit (see figure below).<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Beaver 1992: 47-9 n.b. Beaver writes about this like it's a bad thing. He goes on to say, 'This situation was to survive to some degree or other until Richard Elliott became headmaster of the Asylum in 1878 and firmly established the combined system of teaching.'

<sup>287</sup> RSDC CMB 23 June 1806

<b>For Boys:</b>	<b>For Girls</b>
Six Shirts	Six Shifts
Six pair Stockings	Two pair gloves
Two Hats	Six pair Stockings
Two Suits of Cloaths	One Tippet
Two pair Shoes	Two Flannel Petticoats
Six Handkerchiefs	One Cloak
Three Night Caps	One Stuff Petticoat
Two Combs	One Hat
Box with Lock & Key	Two White Petticoats
	Two pair Leather Slippers
	Four Night Caps
	Three Dark Coloured Frocks
	Six Handkerchiefs
	One White Frock
	Two Pockets & Two Combs
	Box with Lock & Key

**Figure 5.4 The Asylum's required student kit. (source: RSDC, CMB 26 October 1792)**

Watson's terms of employment had a profound impact on the day-to-day organisation and operations of the school. Children in attendance were not treated alike. The charity students had a very different experience from the privately tutored, wealthy 'paylist' students. It reflected the social mores and child labour practices of the period. The charity ran both the school and a vocational manufactory. The pupils' time was divided between these.

The Committee debated the best way to train children:

It was first the intention of the Committee that the Children educated in the Asylum should be the whole of the last year in their continuance therein employed in one or the other of the branches of the Manufactory upon alternate days, that is one day in the manufactory and the next in the School whereby it was supposed they would make considerable progress in their business and improve their education at the same time, but experience soon showed that their progress in learning a Trade was impeded and that their education did not advance where upon an alteration was made and the present regulation adopted namely, that they be employed the last six months entirely in the Manufactory.<sup>288</sup>

'Paylist' or 'parlour' pupils from wealthy families were accepted as their families could afford to pay for their education. According to Beaver,

The private pupils were from good homes and did not, of course, mix with the charity children. They lived and were taught in

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<sup>288</sup> RSDC CMB 25 June 1806

Watson's private quarters at a cost to the parents of £3.00 per week per child.<sup>289</sup>

Almost from the outset, the physical plant of the Grange Road location struggled to keep up with the growing number of students. In 1800, the house was enlarged to accommodate more children. The Manufactory, a small factory of four rooms, was built nearby. Here, in anticipation of future apprenticeships, the boys were taught the practical skills of tailoring and shoemaking while the girls learned staymaking.<sup>290</sup> By 1806, the Asylum was caring for some sixty children with many more applicants waiting for vacancies. The Grange Road house had been in a state of almost continual expansion for fourteen years, but it could be developed no further. By June of that year, the Committee began the necessary groundwork of moving the asylum to a larger facility, but that took time.<sup>291</sup> In 1807, overcrowding worsened, so the Committee gave Watson permission to rent additional rooms across the road in which to house some of the boys.<sup>292</sup>

They also debated keeping the school's graduates on to work in the manufactory if they had no other alternatives.

...[T]he enquiry made leads us to hope that if the children were continued in the Manufactory for four or five years they might be made to support themselves without any burden to the Institution but to effect this they must be entirely separated from the School of instruction and the management of the Manufactory be put under the control of the managers.<sup>293</sup>

By 1806, the asylum was caring for some sixty children, and every six months twice that number applied to the Committee for the half-dozen or so available places. Therefore it was decided to buy a suitable site and thereon build and equip a new school for 120 children: the site was to be large enough to further expand the

<sup>289</sup> Beaver 1992: 43.

<sup>290</sup> Beaver 1992: 45

<sup>291</sup> RSDC CMB, 25 June 1806; Beaver 1992: 49

<sup>292</sup> RSDC CMB, 9 Feb 1807

<sup>293</sup> RSDC CMB 25 June 1806

school as required. Though the cornerstone was laid in July, 1807, the Kent Road sit was not opened and occupied until 1809.

NO.	Name.	At First Examination, 2 June 1833
1254	Samuel Viney	Apparent Intellect. Idiotic
When Elected.	Birth. 25 April 1822	Progress at Second Examination. 19 Aug 1835 Very feeble capacity
11 June 1832 In Pay List County.	Names and Residence of Parents. Geo & Eliz. V. Geo & Eliz. Headcorn	Progress at Third Examination. 15 Feb 1837 Very slow - with tolerable
Kent	Father a Farmer 12 Broadmead, Headcorn Mother a Housewife 12 Broadmead, Headcorn	Progress at Fourth Examination. 17 May 1837 Very slow - semi-dotted
	Names and Residence of Securities.	Progress at Fifth Examination. 15 May 1839 Very slow - semi-dotted
	Sand Carter 12 Park Rd. Margate Mr Banford 19 Cannonbury Stree	Remarks. 7 Apr 1834 with some improvement sent home ill 27 Aug " - 1 Dec 1835 improved 6 Apr 1836 still lame with slight lameness not 25 sp after absence of two months 24 Aug
	Witness.	Left the Asylum. Mid 1839
	Entered the Asylum. 9 Aug 1833	
	If on Pay List. Yes	
	If had Small-pox.	Cow-pox. Yes
	If had Measles.	Hooping Cough. Yes
	State of Health on admission.	delicate w/ weak capacity

Figure 5.5 Asylum Student Record for Samuel Viney of Headcorn, 1832-1839. (source: RSDC, Margate)

### 5.3.5 Asylum pupils from Kent

According to Asylum records, between 1824 and 1847 a total of 1073 pupils attended the Asylum, 32 were from Kent.<sup>294</sup> None of the pupils' surnames were connected to the seventeenth-century migrants with Deaf descendants. Figure 5.6 lists all the Kent parishes sending students to the asylum. Across the period only one child from a Weald parish attended. Samuel Viney, age ten, son of Elizabeth and George, a farmer from Headcorn, was elected to the Asylum in June of 1832 as a paylist student, but did not begin his studies for more than a full year, arriving in August, 1833. (See Figure 5.5) On his student records, Samuel is initially described as having 'very feeble capacity', and on subsequent progress updates 'very slow -

<sup>294</sup> RSDC, Headmaster's Book Index, 1824-1847.

writing tolerable', and later again as 'very slow – semi-idiotic'. He left the school after six years in 1839.<sup>295</sup>

Bromley	Maidstone
Chatham	Margate
Deal	Monks Horton
Deptford 4	Sevenoaks (3) *
Dover (2)	Sheerness (3)
Gillingham (2)	Southend (Lewisham)
Greenwich	Strood
Headcorn **	Woolwich (5)
Hythe	

**Figure 5.6 Home parishes of Kent's Asylum pupils, 1824-1847. Numbers of pupils from the parish in parenthesis. \*Weald parish. \*\*Study parish**

Besides Samuel, no other records of wealden deaf children receiving a formal education have been identified over this twenty-three year period. Though the school for the deaf is relatively close, wealden families, Deaf or otherwise, did not appear to be sending their children there for an education. Children from wealthier families may have had private schooling or tutors. Another Asylum opened in

**Table 5.1 Number of Asylum students related or sharing surnames, including their parents' resident parish in Kent, 1824-1847**

Surname	No. Families w/Surname	Number of Pupils	Home Parish(es) (Moves indicated with -> )
Bartholomew	1	2	Sevenoaks
Cole	1	2	Gravesend
Collins	2	2	Dartford + Dover
Cook	2	2 + 1	Monks Horton -> Deptford + Dover
Fuller	1	2	Sheerness -> Woolwich
Marsh	1	2	Rochester
Morris	2	3 + 1	Woolwich (All)
Tipp	1	2	Deptford -> New Charlton
Walker	1	2	Dover
Woods	1	2	Woolwich
Woollett	1	2	Gillingham -> Bromton

<sup>295</sup> RSDC, Headmaster's Book, 1824-1847. This contains individual student records from the period.

Brighton in 1841. It may be that parents decided to send their children there. Further research into the records of other schools may reveal that the children were attending local parish schools. Students identified in the 1851 CEBs for the asylum will be discussed in Chapter 6. Table 1 lists those surnames with more than one student in attendance over the twenty-three year period.

#### **5.4 Changes in the Weald**

Kent's industrial economy changed significantly over this two hundred year period and the people of the Kentish Weald responded to these pressures. A variety of market forces - new markets and industries both near and far, and declining rural employment - were at work. These forces changed the Weald from a densely populated and industrial location to a somewhat impoverished and decaying backwater.

Places like Cranbrook, Benenden, Goudhurst – strongholds of nonconformist tradition and free independent spirit and formerly home to substantial yeoman or ‘gray coats’ – had, by the time of the Hearth Tax returns in the 1670s, become areas of acute poverty, discontent and depression.<sup>296</sup>

The 1614 Cockayne cloth-dying fiasco and consequent export trade crisis, along with stricter competition from other parts of the country and the Low Countries, caused the downturn of the clothmaking industry.<sup>297</sup> By the 1720s, Daniel Defoe described the situation as, ‘trade is now quite decay'd, and scarce ten clothiers left in all the county.’<sup>298</sup> For the poorer tenantry, migration was one solution for the loss of labour opportunity at home. As near the end of the century, Marshall would describe those remaining tenants of this region as,

poor, weak, and spiritless, as their lands: drawn down, as for ages they have been, with exhausting crops; without a sufficiency of

<sup>296</sup> Dobson, M. 1995: Population, 1640-1831 in Armstrong, A., editor, *The economy of Kent, 1640-1914*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press & Kent County Council: 8-9

<sup>297</sup> Flisher 2003: 260. For more information on the Cockayne Project see: Redford, A. 1929: *Alderman Cockayne's Project and the Cloth Trade. The Commercial Policy of England in its main Aspects, 1603-1625*. by Astrid Friis Review, The Economic Journal, 39,156 (December, 1929): 619-623

<sup>298</sup> Defoe 1724-1727: Letter 2, part 1

stock, or of extraneous manures, to make up for this endless exhaustion.<sup>299</sup>

Not all Wealden families suffered in this period. Some of the wealthier clothier families had converted their capital to real estate and commercial farming, and by doing so, many of them remained and maintained political power within the county.<sup>300</sup>

New urban ‘industrial’ centres in the northern parts of the county drew poverty-stricken clothiers away from the Weald parishes. The later part of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth saw the growth of the Royal Dockyards at Chatham and of the maritime industries at Deptford, Woolwich and Sheerness. The Kentish dockyards would be responsible for approximately half of the country’s shipbuilding and ancillary maritime manufacturing for over one hundred years.<sup>301</sup> Other forms of proto-industrial manufacturing required centralised capital-intensive production.<sup>302</sup> Facilities for the new draperies in Canterbury, Sandwich, Dover and London; glassmaking along the Thames; brewing in the Medway valley; and papermaking across the county, all were more suitable for urban rather than rural locations.<sup>303</sup> Wage-dependent labour previously engaged in the Wealden woollens, shifted to these markets as well as migrating to the colonies. The shift in the county’s industrial centre was closely connected with the growth of London and the coasting trade. As the eighteenth century progressed, the

<sup>299</sup> Marshall, W. 1798: *The rural economy of the Southern Counties, II.* London, 153, cited in Dobson 1995: 9

<sup>300</sup> Flisher 2003: 299-300

Ormrod, D. 1995: Industry, 1640-1800 in Armstrong, W.A., editor, *The economy of Kent, 1640-1914*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press & Kent County Council: 103-105; and Dobson, M. 1989: The last hiccup of the old demographic regime: Population stagnation and decline in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century south-east England in *Continuity and Change* 4, 3: 408

<sup>302</sup> Ormrod 1995: 94

<sup>303</sup> By 1750, between seventeen and twenty paper mills were operating in the county. Glassmaking required expensive set-ups in communities along the Thames and relied on fine white sand quarried at Maidstone. Ormrod 1995: 100-103

wellbeing of Kent's working population came to depend increasingly on the pull of these markets.<sup>304</sup>

The migration to more urban-based labour markets meant a subsequent growth of urban populations and a change in the form of agriculture practiced in the county. Population figures from the period reflect these shifts and signal the change in wealden parish populations too.

The three counties of south-east England together contained a population of some 341,000 in the 1640s which overall might have increased very slightly over the next three decades to stand at 378,000 in the 1670s. By the 1720s, however, estimates of county populations point to an actual decrease of some 50,000 inhabitants over the previous fifty-year period. Essex, Kent and Sussex were no more populated in the 1720s than they had been in the early seventeenth century – a striking pattern of stagnation and decline and one very similar to that computed by historians for the nation as a whole.<sup>305</sup>

From 1650 to 1750, population decline and stagnation occurred in England and across Europe.<sup>306</sup> In remarkable contrast, London continued to grow throughout the period with population estimates of approximately 375,000 in 1650 to 675,000 in 1750. Adjacent communities undoubtedly grew alongside the city. Locally, alongside the population growth of the parishes near to London, the dockland region's growth was also one of the few examples of urban development in the seventeenth century and incomparable in south-east England.<sup>307</sup> This growth of the urban centres when the population itself had not increased clearly meant people were moving out of their rural parishes and into the towns and cities.<sup>308</sup> Kent had around 159,000 inhabitants, which while making the county more populated than its neighbours, still was a smaller comparative population than most 20<sup>th</sup> century cities.<sup>309</sup>

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Ormrod 1995: 105-6

<sup>305</sup> Dobson 1989: 400

<sup>306</sup> Dobson 1989: 414

<sup>307</sup> Dobson, M 1989: 408

<sup>308</sup> Ormrod 1995: 93-4

<sup>309</sup> Dobson 1989: 399-400

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, London's population had continued to rise to 900,000, making it the largest city in Europe. So many mouths to feed so close by had an impact on the local wealden economy. It drove up food prices, making the region a more expensive place to live, but at the same time, it helped to bolster the Weald's farmers who had lost income with the waning of the cloth industry.<sup>310</sup> The tough clays and sands of the High Weald meant this transition to more commercialised farming was slower to occur than elsewhere in the county.<sup>311</sup> In this period, the Weald saw a little less than thirty per cent of the land in arable crops, primarily oats and some wheat. More than half the land was kept as pasture and meadow (fifty-six per cent). The rest was woodland. The farmers' main efforts focused on husbandry – the breeding of dairy cattle, pigs, poultry and horses – to sell in the London markets. Sheep and beef cattle were also raised, although their markets were subject to greater volatility.<sup>312</sup>

All these changes in the economy of the region including migration and changing land uses meant that lives of the families in this study changed too. All of them probably experienced varying levels of hardship and deprivation, and while some families were able to persevere, others migrated. Dobson reported that between 1601 and 1650, eight High Weald parishes recorded 17,515 baptisms including both Anglican and nonconformist births, but during the next fifty years this number fell to 9,809, a 44 per cent decrease. The declining trend began in the fifth decade of the seventeenth century, reached its lowest point at the turn of the century and only really began to increase again in the second half of the eighteenth century. Nonconformity was common in the region, but even assuming all dissenters stopped participating in this activity, the second half of the seventeenth century

<sup>310</sup> Ormrod 1995: 93

<sup>311</sup> In the Weald, market gardening and hops cultivation did not become viable until two things happen: the invention of clay-pipe drainage and the 1840 arrival of the mainline railway to Dover. See Everitt, A. 1986: *Continuity and colonization: the evolution of Kentish Settlement*. Leicester: Leicester Univ. Press, 53

<sup>312</sup> Mingay, G. (1995) Agriculture in Armstrong, A. (ed) The economy of Kent 1640-1914. Boydell Press and Kent County Council: 57-60

still had 6,500 fewer baptisms than the first half.<sup>313</sup> It is against this background that the following section traces the study families in their parishes over an approximately three hundred-year period.

The wealth and population of the region does not fit with the travel writers' descriptions nearer the end of the century. Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe are less than complimentary of the area; the backwater and atrocious roads images they describe does not match the Episcopal Returns of 1676 showing the Weald as being amongst the most densely populated in the region. Earlier in the century we know the broadcloth industry had crested and begun its decline. But in the first quarter of the century it was still doing quite well and there was considerable wealth at least among the clothier families. Is it possible a decline in the region could have been that rapid? Had the Civil War and epidemics wrought so much damage? My sense is that when the colonist families with deaf descendants were leaving, the Weald would have been in economic decline but still fairly cosmopolitan, certainly so when compared to the wilds and isolation of the colonies at their outset, especially Martha's Vineyard.

### ***5.5 The study families' parish baptisms chart***

As already noted in Dobson's work on population, the families of the Weald experienced significant upheaval throughout the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, their once prosperous region had slipped into a long lasting period of economic suppression. The parish baptisms chart covers close to three hundred years of parish record keeping in the eighteen parishes.<sup>314</sup> Using the genealogists' assumption of three generations per century of approximately thirty-three years per generation of a male line, the parish baptism charts measure at least nine generations of the study families in the study parishes. Originally intended as a way to verify the continuation of the families in the study parishes

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<sup>313</sup>Dobson 1989: 409-11

<sup>314</sup> Appendix D provides a sample page of the parish baptisms chart. The entire parish baptisms chart is available on the CD-ROM attached to this thesis.

over time, the chart demonstrates both how events impact on the lives of local families as well as the challenges to record keeping across three hundred years.

Some of the originally identified families could not be traced to these parishes at all. This reinforces the earlier findings that some of the individuals from the colonist lists were not from the Weald. The following surnames are not found in the parish records across the entire period: Gowen, House, Lathrop, Libby, Littlefield, Linnell, Savery, Snow and Tracy, though Lathrop can be connected to other families in the study as the Rev. John Lathrop also moved into the region, married, and departed Kent for London and then the colonies within his lifetime. It may be that other names on this list did the same. As both non-conformist and transient individuals or families, it is therefore very unlikely they would have a presence in local parish records. Other families had a single baptism within the parishes. The Athearn, Bolden, and Perkins families had only one baptism each, while the Lord family had two in the same year in different parishes, the Whitmore family had four.

The earliest extant records dating from the mid-sixteenth century showed that some of the families had a widespread presence in the sixteenth century (see CD-ROM Appendix 4) and remained in the parishes through the period. The following surnames were identified throughout the entire period (1550-1850) surveyed: Allen, Austin, Baker, Batchelor, Bates, Butler, Couchman, Curteis, Davis, Foster, Hubbard, Morris, Martin, Smith, Weller and Willard. The largest families, and those most clearly identified with the cloth-making trade had, prior to 1600, a very strong presence across multiple parishes. However widespread these families once were, their numbers were considerably spatially concentrated by the mid-nineteenth century. Dobson reported that the sixteenth century recorded the highest population density in the region and that the subsequent fall off in the number of recorded baptisms was 'quite dramatic'<sup>315</sup> Then, as we have seen, between the

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<sup>315</sup> Dobson 1989: 403

1640s and 1670s, an absolute population decrease occurred in 75 per cent of High Weald parishes and 73 per cent of Low Weald parishes.<sup>316</sup>

**Table 5.2 Study surname frequency across the study parishes baptism records, 1550-1850**

Surname	Parish Frequency
Austin	15
Smith	15
Waller	12
Willard	11
Baker	11
Reeves	11
Allen	8
Couchman	8
Davis	8
Foster	8
Martin	8
Bigge	7
Partridge	6

'Such a decline could not all have been accounted for by changing registration practices and even if we assume that over 20 per cent of the births/baptisms went unrecorded in the period 1681-1720, the figures still suggest an absolute decrease in the number of children born and baptized during the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Decadal totals of baptisms began to increase in the 1720s and 1730s only to fall back again in the 1740s and it was not until the 1770s that they surpassed their decadal maximum of the early seventeenth century.'<sup>317</sup>

All of the study families experienced this diminished frequency across the parishes. For example, the most frequent surnames in the study parishes, Austin and Smith, Tempest (1710) families move into in the study parishes over the period. were only present in four parishes by 1850 and three by 1800 respectively (see Table 5.2). Some surnames, like Partridge, disappear altogether before 1700 (see Table 5.3), and some, for example Reeves, disappear for multiple generations

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<sup>316</sup> Dobson 1989: 407

<sup>317</sup> Dobson 1989: 403

before reappearing (see Table 5.4). And finally, the Lambert (1660), Hinckley (1670), and

**Table 5.3 Study surnames that disappear from the study parish baptism records and the year of their final record**

Surname	Final recorded baptism
Whitmore	1581
Skiffe	1589
Daggett	1600
Eddy	1624
Partridge	1684
Fishenden	1703
Batchelor	1711
Tilden	1734
Waller	1735
Tempest	1775
Lambert	1821

**Table 5.4 Study surnames with multi-generational gaps in the study parish records**

Surname	Baptism record gap
Bigg	1660-1780
Clemens	1656-1775
Reeves	1614-1797
Starr	1600-1730
Stedmen	1692-1778
Tilden	1640-1693

These tables point to some of the problems with using this method. There are clearly decades when either the baptism rates were very low and/or the recordkeeping was poor, and several of the parishes exhibit a noticeable diminution during the civil war. By only tracing the male lines, the charts only provide a portion of the families' histories. Firstly, daughters remained and married in the region. Also, if no sons are born into a family in a particular generation, the daughters may have offspring, but their offspring would now fall outside the bounds of the chart's limitations. This is always true except in the cases of unmarried mothers and when these daughters marry into families with surnames

in the study. For example, within one generation of the Eddy family of Cranbrook all the sons migrated to the colonies, but the daughters remained behind and married. Secondly, while it appears that the families who disappear from the records might have left the county or country, it is also very likely they moved to a parish outside the study boundaries, or that as nonconformists they stopped baptising their children in the local parish church. An example of this is the Starr family. After 1672 Comfort Starr appeared in indulgence application records for both Cranbrook and Sandwich.

**Table 5.5 Frequency distribution of parishes according to percentage change of Kent's population between enumerations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (source: Dobson 1989: 405)**

Population percent change	Dates of population enumerations					
	1640–1670s		1670s–1720s		1670s–1750/60s	
	1640–1676	1676–1758	1720s–1801	1750/60s–1801		
KENT	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	%	No. of parishes	
–100 to –50	21	9.6	11	3.9	2	0.7
–50 to 0	123	56.2	122	43.3	22	7.4
0 to 50	40	18.3	104	36.9	102	34.5
50 to 100	21	9.6	31	11.0	111	37.5
over 100	14	6.4	14	15.0	59	19.9

## 5.6 Changes: Signs of sign

Over the two hundred plus years covered in this chapter, deaf people began to make more frequent appearances in archival materials: local barber surgeons references, parish records, the local press and courts all show more references to deaf people.

### 5.6.1 Medical records

In Chapter 2, Cranbrook's early eighteenth-century barber surgeons, the Hopes, were introduced. Cranbrook may have had other medical practitioners at the time, including at least a mid-wife as neither of the Hopes made records of birth attendance, but theirs are the remaining documentary evidence. The majority of

the practice was typical of barber surgeons of the time. In addition to bartering, the accounts of which are also kept in the volume, they functioned as apothecaries, bleeders and bonesetters. They did not always work alone in their practice. Included among their papers is an account book that is clearly kept by at least three different people and there is a man named Slade mentioned for a little over a year beginning in August, 1707. While not all families in the area would have been able to afford the surgeon, at least some of his client/patients came to use his services through parish-funded support. Of interest to this study, the Hopes provided services, both bartering and healing, to sixteen of the study families in Cranbrook. They included, Allens, Apps, Austen, Baker, Butler, Bates, Couchman, Foster, Hubbard, Martin, Smith, Star, and Willard. Though the account book ranges from 1677 to 1716, it included only two entries that were related to 'ears'. In December 1709, they charged 'Thank Butler' for caring for his son, including a 'blister for his ear', and in May, 1714, they charge six pence for 'Oyls for her ear' to Mrs Bridgland's maid (her name is not given).<sup>318</sup>

Among the Hope family papers is their 'Physicks Book', a handwritten notebook of remedies that referenced their origins (for example, Simon Paulli, Sennertus, and Wedelus) and contained lists of ingredients, preparation, and application. For treating Deafness, two references were made:

Simon Paulli saith, Oil of bitter Almonds is used commended for Deafness & Noise in the Ears; but ought to be~ used sparingly by reason of the winding Passage; for when it gets up to the Tympanum, & cannot easily be thence deterged, 'twill relax that Membrane, & turn a Thickness of hearing into Deafness.

The following general Rules to be observ'd in all Maladies of the Ears, are taken out of Sennertus.

1. Let Medicines to be put into ye Ears be lukewarm, not intensely hot, nor cold.
2. Put no new Medicine into ye Ear, till it be well cleared of the foul Relicts of the former.
3. Three or 4 drops are enough at a time.
4. When a Medicine is put into ye Ear, let ye patient lie down upon the well Ear.

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<sup>318</sup> CKS U442 F5/3

5. Let ye Medicines to be put in be neither too unctuous, nor viscous.
6. In all sorts of Deafness, let the Head be carefully robilated, by both internal & external Medicines.
- The two following are out of Wedelus.
7. Fumes are best for Exsiccation, humid vapours for mollifying & easing, oleose & spirituous things for discussing & roborating. But in all ever bear it in mind, that too much of anything is good for nothing.
8. When Topicks are put into ye Ear, 'tis convenient to masticate, that ye Medicine may penetrate the deeper.<sup>319</sup>

Assuming hereditary deafness was a common experience among Cranbrook's families, the Hopes would probably not be called upon to make a 'fix' often, so it is not surprising that his account book contained no mention of the oil of bitter almonds remedy. The record regarding the oil for the maid does not distinguish which kind was used, so perhaps it was bitter almonds. Butler's child is a curious case, but as the remedy does not include the 'oils of bitter almonds' but did include a poultice; perhaps he was being treated for an infection.

### **5.6.2 Parish Records**

It is remarkable how infrequently descriptions were given of deaf people receiving charity from their parishes. Most descriptions, if provided, tended to be the person's occupation. Sometimes though, descriptors were included as was true in the case of the Goudhurst Overseers Accounts (sometimes referred to as Ledgers). People were described as 'lame', 'a friend of publicans', 'not very honest', and in one case, 'insane'.<sup>320</sup> In the Hawkhurst overseer records, various descriptors were used, including 'ancient', 'blind', and 'lame'.<sup>321</sup> Amongst the documents of Hawkhurst parish is an envelope of papers, labelled, 'Copy of the returns of the Poor Law Commissioners 1834 with lists of paupers'. In addition to a formal copy of the return, there is a questionnaire included detailing how the poor and unemployed were dealt with in the parish and there were notes listing current paupers and their 'able-bodied', 'partially disabled', and 'totally

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<sup>319</sup> CKS U442 F5/9: 35

<sup>320</sup> CKS P157/12/1-8

<sup>321</sup> CKS P178/8/1

'disabled' status. None of the deaf people living in the parish are included in this list, though it listed twenty-six men over the age of sixteen as being 'partially disabled' and eight 'totally disabled', and fifteen women over the age of sixteen were 'partially disabled' and twenty-one were considered 'totally disabled'. The absence of the use of the term 'deaf' in these circumstances warrants some consideration. Perhaps to be considered able-bodied, it did not matter if person could hear or not, especially in the case of the parish poor, when men could expect to provide manual labour if fit.

Instances of signing/deaf people in parish records across the county remain rare. Only three cases are mentioned. In its 1723 accounts, the parish of Newington, in the north central part of the county, listed persons receiving collections, included: 'Mary Shorning, who received 2s. per week from her childhood upon account of her being deaf and dumb and so incapable to maintain herself'.<sup>322</sup> And in a listing in the composite of the Hayes Parish Register, 'Sarah Bradford Deaf & Dumb, but sensible of many good things died at Hayes & carried to Downe & Buried Sept 18<sup>th</sup> 1726.'<sup>323</sup>

A second example also comes from the northern part of the county. Ann Starbuck was a widow and a pauper being supported by Gravesend Milton Workhouse between 1739 and 1750. The fourteen entries about her appearing in the *Paupers of Gravesend and Milton Workhouse, 1735-1764* record book cross the period before she disappeared from the record. Nine entries mention she was deaf; three later entries said she was 'past labor', and the others offer no cause for her residency in the workhouse. In four of the entries she was listed as Widow Starbuck, so this was not her birth surname. The records were not clear if she was actually living in the workhouse or was an 'out door' pauper. She was occasionally listed as receiving two shillings, perhaps for pocket money, as it was sometimes called, or to help keep her elsewhere. The most striking thing about Ann Starbuck's

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<sup>322</sup> CKS P265/12/3 1710-1727

<sup>323</sup> Bromley Public Libraries, Local Studies and Archive P180/1/1 1539-1742

records was her aging throughout the period. In her eleven recorded years, she aged twenty. The first time she was mentioned, in May 1739, she was listed as 55. By April 1750, the last entry, she was 75.<sup>324</sup>

The final entry did not mention a deaf person, but recorded a potential signer. In the Tenterden Removal Records, evidence of a man with a deaf uncle was presented. William Coomber's 'Uncle John' was deaf.<sup>325</sup>

15 January 1838 Examination of William COOMBER touching his last legal settlement.

I was born in wedlock at Woodchurch in May 1806. My father's name is William Gregory Coomber – he occupied his own Farm in Woodchurch, and he likewise hired some land of Mr Marchant of Brenchley and of Mr Joseph Collis of Woodchurch, both in Woodchurch – About eight or nine years ago my father came to live at Tenterden – About ten years ago, before my father left Woodchurch, I left his house and went to reside with my Uncle John Coomber at Harrietsham and stayed with him about six months – there was no agreement between us but I boarded with him and did such work as he required. I am unmarried, I have never done anything in my own right, either by hiring or service to gain a settlement-, I am now chargeable to the Parish of Tenterden.<sup>326</sup>

### 5.6.3 The local press

Communication media developed in the eighteenth century. A filtered search of the British Newspaper Archive from 1700 to 1850 resulted in fifty references to deaf and dumb people, including several items in the *West Kent Guardian* as well as the *Kentish Gazette*.<sup>327</sup> The children of the Asylum were always good fodder for the sentimental press. *Lloyd's Weekly*, *The Morning Post*, *The Morning Chronicle*, and *The London Standard* as well as a handful of provincial newspapers, all contained items referencing deaf people. According to Gorman's *A list of British periodicals on Deafness*, periodicals specifically targeting a deaf readership did not

<sup>324</sup> Medway Archives P252

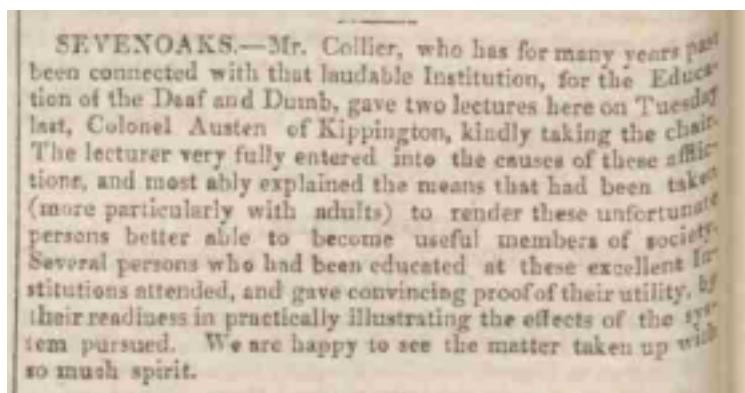
<sup>325</sup> 1851 Kent Census Enumerators' Books (hereafter CEBs), Ref HO1620, 688, 367: 26. See the enclosed CD-ROM, Appendix 1.

<sup>326</sup> CKS U442.025: Tenterden Removal Records (including examination testimony), 1764–1830.

<sup>327</sup> Britain's second newspaper, the *Kentish Post* was founded in 1717 and renamed the *Kentish Gazette* in 1758.

begin until the middle of the nineteenth century. The first, *The Edinburgh Messenger*, which ran from 1843-45, was renamed *A Voice for the Dumb* and had a second run from 1847-52. The first English paper was not published until after the end of this study's timeframe. *The Magazine for the Deaf and Dumb* (London) was produced from 1855-57.<sup>328</sup>

Of the study's families and parishes only a few mentions were made, including references to Mr Collier's lectures in Sevenoaks (see Figure 5.6) and in Tenterden (See Figure 5.2) being noted in the West Kent Guardian.



**Figure 5.7 News from Sevenoaks. Collier's circuit of demonstrations continue. (Source: West Kent Guardian, Saturday, 25 March 1843)**

An additional piece about Collier appeared on 16 September 1843, where his long-term plans were described:

We [the paper] understand that Mr Collier has it ultimately in view to found a private establishment for the education of the deaf mutes of the higher classes; and in this purpose we heartily wish him success. Establishments of this nature have been much wanted; for hitherto all the institutions for supplying, so far as human ingenuity can, the privation of some have been of a public and eleemosynary nature, of which those who could afford to pay, have naturally been reluctant to avail themselves.<sup>329</sup>

<sup>328</sup> Gorman counts a total of 156 papers from that first until 1963, when his list was compiled. See Gormon, P.P. 1963: A list of British periodicals on Deafness in Lyson, C.K. 1965: *Some aspects of the historical development and present organisation of voluntary welfare societies for adult deaf persons in England 1840-1963*. MA Thesis. University of Liverpool, v.3, Appendix 1: 1-10.

<sup>329</sup> West Kent Guardian 16 September 1843: 4

The pupils of the Asylum were often mentioned in the context of solicitation spectacles like Collier's, and the readers' attentions were drawn to the paucity of educational opportunities for 'deaf and dumb' individuals. The West Kent Guardian reported deaf population estimates, but does not say where they got their numbers,

There are said to be upwards of 8,000 deaf and dumb persons in England; while the institutions for the especial care and education of persons labouring under this calamity are not capable of receiving more than 600.<sup>330</sup>

Clearly, the lives of signers were of interest to editors. Marriage notices and obituaries appeared occasionally. Figure 5.12 describes a Deaf wedding in Deptford.

(From a Correspondent.) Married at St. Paul's church, Deptford, by the Rev. B. S. Finch, the rector, on Monday, Samuel Lock and Mary Gibson, both deaf and dumb, in the presence of a great number of spectators. The parties being able to read, the clergyman pointed out to them, with a pen, the different obligations of the ceremony, to which they readily gave their assent by a reverential bow; and conducted themselves during the whole service in a manner that would be highly creditable to many persons to imitate on similar occasions. Both were brought up in the deaf and dumb asylum.

**Figure 5.8 A marriage between Deaf people is newsworthy in 1841. (Source: *West Kent Guardian*, Saturday, 28 August 1841)**

#### 5.6.4 In the courts

In the period between 1725 and 1832 the Old Bailey heard 31 cases involving deaf people, including twenty-six cases where the accused was described as 'deaf and dumb' and four where witnesses are described the same way.<sup>331</sup> Several cases made the West Kent Guardian, some occurring within the county, others from the metropolitan region, and still others from farther afield. An 1833 murder-by-poison case from Plumstead named Elizabeth Smith as a witness<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> West Kent Guardina 14 Ocotober 1837

<sup>331</sup> Stone & Woll 2008: 227

<sup>332</sup> Kentish Gazette Wednesday, 24 December 1833

**SINGULAR CHARGE OF ROBBERY.**—James Sharlock, a deaf and dumb man, on Tuesday charged a young man named *Roberts*, also labouring under a similar imperfection in his speech and hearing, with having stolen the sum of £1. 5s. from him in a public-house. A difficulty arose as to how the examination was to be entered into, owing to the complainant and the prisoner being both deaf and dumb. As soon as the prisoner was placed at the bar, both he and the complainant commenced a conversation by signs with the aid of their hands, the fingers of which they used with great rapidity, and it was evident they perfectly understood each other by their looks and gestures.—The policeman who took the accused into custody, stated that he was called into the tap-room of a public-house where the parties were both sitting drinking together, and they both appeared to be inebriated, but more particularly the complainant. The latter person, by taking out his purse and exhibiting it quite empty, made the people present understand by signs that he had been robbed of £1. 5s., which had been taken from the purse, and he accused his companion, the other deaf and dumb man, with taking the money. The accused, however, by his gesticulations, treated the matter with the utmost *sang froid*, and was quite willing to be searched on the spot, which was accordingly done, but no money found; still the accuser insisted on the charge being taken, and the accused was conveyed to the station-house. As it was quite impossible to make out what was passing between the accused and the accuser, the magistrates sent for one of the teachers belonging to the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in the Kent-road. Upon this person's arrival, he stated that both the complainant and the prisoner had been brought up at the above asylum, and agreeably to the magistrate's request, he acted as the interpreter on the occasion, by the means of the system taught the afflicted inmates of that excellent institution. In the sequel, however, it turned out that both the young men had drunk to such an excess that neither knew what he was about; and that while in that condition the complainant had lost money to the above amount, but how, or in what manner, there was no evidence whatever to ascertain. The accused, consequently, was discharged.

**Figure 5.9 Evidence of sign language in the news. No location mentioned. (Source: West Kent Guardian Saturday, 29 Sept 1838)**

## 5.7 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter described the changes that occurred over the approximately 200 intervening years between the end of the American Great Migration and the 1851 Census. During this period, the development of the medical and disabling discourses disseminated through the growing press presented a new paradigm with which to view deaf people within families and communities. With the founding of the Asylum, deaf people now could be segregated from their families and home communities, further reducing the everyday acceptance of deaf people and consequently the possible visibility of their visible language. The Asylum's

policy of permitting viewing visitors but limiting familial access to the pupils encouraged the isolation of the Deaf people even more. It cannot be surprising that the consequence of this process was the development of a group identity for those segregated. This is not the way the Asylum was seen at the time. For poor parents the Asylum offered a golden opportunity for their child(ren) to receive at least some education and perhaps a trade, and the consistently large numbers of applications for the few openings offered serve to demonstrate this.

Few deaf people in the study's parishes attended the school. This may be a consequence of the few available openings, or it may be that the nature of the agricultural work available to the wealden families meant that it was not necessary to send their children away from home for an education. The local parish records didn't identify deaf people in the parishes at this time either. This may be because the local overseers and churchwardens knew the people they helped and the records didn't need to reflect what was common knowledge. It also calls into question the purpose of record making at the time. It may be too that the overseers were not considering the needs of future historians' interests in their recordings. They were likely more focused on giving a good report on the conduct of their fiscal responsibilities to the churchwardens.

The parishes' baptisms charts were used to track the study's identified families across the entire study period. They showed that the once widely distributed families across the region, became quite concentrated by the nineteenth century. They also showed the extinguishment of some families from the baptismal records. The reasons for this were discussed. Though labour intensive to create, this type of chart could be used to guide further study. By focusing a researcher's efforts to parishes where families were known to have lived, it permits efficiencies in targeting particular parishes that may have more abundant data and reduces the search for the evidence in large and relatively silent archives.

In the next chapter, the final and most complete data set will be explored. The 1851 Census gives the first full view of the Deaf people living in Kent. The local

records may have remained silent about their parishioners, but the national government pushes in and opens the deaf population to comprehensive scrutiny for the first time.

## Chapter 6 The 1851 Kent Census: Enumerating Deaf people for the first time

### **6.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapter, it was noted that the growth of schools for the deaf had caused a re-imagining and subsequent marginalisation of Deaf people that was reinforced by the media and the regular spectacles that fundraising for the schools required. Almost sixty years after the founding of the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children, attention was being given to deaf people on a national scale for the first time. The first governmental effort to identify deaf people in England and Wales, was incorporated into the 1851 Census, and so also functions as the final bracketing date for this study. The lives of people in Kent, deaf or hearing, had undergone significant change since their relatives began leaving over two hundred years earlier. The Census gives us the first real glimpse into the lives of Deaf people in Kent, not just those few children that are accepted into the Asylum at Bermondsey or those who gain some notoriety in the newspapers or courts. This chapter will critically engage with this first accounting of Deaf people.

### **6.2 The Census of England and Wales**

#### **6.2.1 The British census**

Since the Domesday Book there have been efforts to account for people and property in England. Until 1801, these were primarily used to assess the wealth of the country and to levy taxes. From 1801 to 1831, these ‘...returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for enumeration, but the 1841-1921 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder’s schedule was first used in 1841.’<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> Page, W. (ed.), 1932: *The Victoria history of the county of Kent v3*. London: St Catherine Press: 357.

The 1830s was a period of legislative reforms that had a direct bearing on the development of local governments. Administration and recordkeeping moved from the ecclesiastical system to a new municipal and secular administrative unit.

Firstly, the 1832 Reform act broadened the electoral base, and secondly, the 1834 Poor Law made the ‘union’ the general unit for poor law administration. Thirdly, the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 created a ‘new order of local government officials’<sup>334</sup>, and finally, the Births and Deaths Registration Act of 1836, provided for the compulsory civil registration of births, marriages and deaths. ‘This created a new system of central and local administration which was to be the basis of census-taking from 1841 onwards.’<sup>335</sup>

There was no permanent Census Office in the nineteenth century. Responsibility for census-taking was transferred to the General Register Office (GRO) in 1840. The GRO divided the country into the registration districts as set out in the new Poor Law. These districts were often sub-divided even further with the ultimate responsibility given to a registrar, often the local doctor, to record birth, death, and marriages. Thus, the responsibility for these records was moved away from the parish church.<sup>336</sup> The introduction of the 1851 Census Report reads:

The Census Act, and the Instructions issued in conformity with its provisions, required that the 40,000 enumerators employed should copy into as many Books all the particulars collected by them concerning the inhabitants of Great Britain. These Books were to be placed, complete, in the hands of the 2190 Registrars in England, and the 1074 Superintendents of Parishes and Burghs in Scotland, who were to subject them to a strict examination, and make all necessary corrections. This being accomplished, the Books were to be transferred to the custody of the 624 Superintendent Registrars in England, and the 115 Sheriffs, Sheriffs-Substitute, and Provosts in Scotland, who were required to test the accuracy of their contents by a further process of revision.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Higgs, E. 1989: *Making sense of the census: the manuscript returns for England and Wales, 1801-1901*, London: H.M.S.O. 8

<sup>335</sup> Higgs 1989: 8

<sup>336</sup> Higgs 1989: 8

<sup>337</sup> Census of Great Britain 1851: 73

### 6.2.2 The Census as a reflection of a society's values

'Without careful instruction, the Deaf-mute is sometimes highly dangerous to society.'<sup>338</sup>

What caused the English to begin enumerating deaf people?

'It is only since the instruction of the deaf and dumb began to attract general attention, and to receive the aid of governments, a period comparatively recent, that any enumerations of this class of population have been made'.<sup>339</sup>

### 6.2.3 Enumerating Deaf People: The Final Column

According to the Census Report of 1851, '[in] Great Britain 12,553 (6,884 males and 5,669 females) are returned as Deaf-and-dumb. Of this number, 10,314 are in England...'<sup>340</sup> The report said it was not been able to return Deaf-and-Dumb infants 'owing to the difficulty of ascertaining the existence of dumbness in extreme infancy, the returns are unavoidable imperfect',<sup>341</sup> But it was presumed that the returns were on the whole tolerably complete. The report also borrowed data from the American census report for 1850.

### 6.2.4 Comparing Census data collection

In its 1850 report, the United States Census Bureau provided a summary of European census topics and included reports on individual nations. Fourteen European states collected census data during the first half of the nineteenth century: England, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Sardinia, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, Saxony, Belgium, France, and Ireland. Of those, four including Norway, Prussia, Saxony, and England enumerated deaf people.<sup>342</sup> The U.S. began

<sup>338</sup> Census of Great Britain 1851 – Report: cxv

<sup>339</sup> Peet 1852 in Gordon 1892: 68

<sup>340</sup> Census of Great Britain 1851 – Report: cxiii

<sup>341</sup> Census of Great Britain 1851 – Report: cxiii

<sup>342</sup> Wales is not mentioned in this report but used the same programme as England. Scotland, also not mentioned, conducted its' own census. The report also mentions that the British colonies conducted irregular census. Peet attempted to explain regional variation of deaf populations, among other regions, as a result of climate. 'Switzerland, where the proportion of deaf-mutes is excessively great, is a cold, mountainous, and humid region... Warmer countries, as Tuscany, appear to contain, on the whole, a smaller

to enumerate Deaf people in 1830. Other European states began earlier than England and Wales too. The 1850 U.S. Report also provided a critique of the way information regarding the census was collected and its validity is called into question.

### **6.2.5 How the data were collected**

The 1851 Census of England and Wales was the first census enumerating what were labelled ‘infirmities’ including ‘deaf’. This data are located as an additional column to the form, so we have labelled it ‘the final column’. Working with a CD-scanned version of the Kent 1851 Census Enumerators’ Books (CEBs), I identified all the deaf people in the county at the time of the census and created a database of their records.<sup>343</sup> The CEB database included information regarding the exact location of the entry, both the .pdf file name and page of the CD and the original CEB leaf and page numbers, the Town or Parish of residence, the street address, name, relation to head of household, marital status, sex, age, rank, profession or occupation, county of birth and community of birth, and the exact description of ‘deaf’ used in the final column. (See the attached CD-ROM, Appendix 1, for the full 1851 Kent Deaf CEB database.)

I operated with the assumption that when a person is listed in the 1851 CEBs as ‘deaf and dumb’, he or she does not use speech communication. If this same person maintains social relationships (i.e. marriage and parenthood) and employment, this person must have an effective means of communication and probably uses sign language. If one or more other people sharing the same surname are also listed as ‘deaf and dumb’, then this may signal a Deaf family and bears further investigation. By following up ‘deaf & dumb’ entries I am assured of finding signing people because the simpler label of ‘deaf’ does not necessarily mean a particular individual is a signer.

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proportion of deaf-mutes than cold countries, as Denmark and Scotland.’ Peet 1852: 11. See also US Census Bureau 1853: xxvi.

<sup>343</sup> copyright S&N British Data Archive 2005

Causes of deafness before the era of antibiotics and Health and Safety regulations are myriad. This corresponds with the parameters set by Lane, Pillard and Hedberg in their work with the 1850 US Census:

Examining the 1850 census, the first government census to identify all of the household members who were “Deaf and Dumb,” will give us some idea of the number [of extended Deaf families]. We retain only those [surnames] that are identified as a “Deaf and Dumb” and that occur twice [in the census] as an approximate way to identify those hereditarily Deaf.<sup>344</sup>

The final column also yielded four different designations of deaf, including, ‘Deaf’, ‘Deaf and Dumb’, ‘Deaf and Blind’ and ‘Nearly Deaf’. No operative definitions of these terms are included in the instructions to householders. Interestingly, the Census Report only reports the Deaf-and-Dumb cases in its findings.<sup>345</sup> This significantly understates the number of deaf people in the county and points out a problem discussed by Peet in his critique of the American process.

#### **6.2.6 Problems enumerating Deaf people/Labelling deaf people**

‘In examining the Schedules it is almost impossible for any two persons to arrive at the same results.’<sup>346</sup> They conducted a test by having two of their top experts review the same materials. They returned different results. The report also acknowledges the difficulty of the labelling process used. They turn to the expertise of Dr Peet:

“Some of the clerks who compiled the tables of the deaf and dumb, included not only the ‘dumb’ (whether they include ‘mute’ we cannot say,) but all the ‘deaf’ of whatever age; thus making it appear as many of the ‘deaf’ were very old people, that there was an incredible portion of deaf mutes over seventy years of age in certain States. When this error was pointed out, a re-examination of the returns for those States was made, and all (sic) the deaf, of whatever age, excluded – an error in the other extreme. The proper mode would have been to classify the ‘deaf and dumb’ and the ‘deaf’ in separate columns.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> Lane, Pillard & Hedberg 2007: 152

<sup>345</sup> BPP 1852: cxiii-cxv

<sup>346</sup> US Census Bureau 1853: xlviii

<sup>347</sup> US Census Bureau 1853: xliv

Peet again discussing the US enumeration of deaf people and its problems:

'As we have already stated, though some of the 'deaf' were doubtless inadvertently included in the official tables, the plan finally adopted was to exclude all the "deaf," and to include the "deaf and dumb" only. Thus, it is, that while as many deaf and dumb children were overlooked, and so many deaf children withheld from the original returns by misapprehension or false pride, those of the latter who were returned were excluded from the tables prepared in the Census office.'<sup>348</sup>

Using the 1851 Kent CEBs as a data source is problematic for several reasons. The scanning process used to generate the .pdf files did not always capture the entire page. Secondly, the CEBs have deteriorated through the years. Some pages are illegible. Thirdly, nineteenth-century penmanship, writing and spelling conventions are different from ours. Even using atlases for parish names and other assistance, some data just could not be understood. In addition to the practical difficulties, there are issues about the original collection of this information. Higgs critically investigated the reliability of using nineteenth century census materials in the context of accurately reporting women's lives. 'The process of accumulating, arranging and analysing census data was not a value-free exercise, especially with regard to the work of women'.<sup>349</sup> I would extend his argument to the reporting on deaf people too. The householder, if literate, recorded these data on a schedule and then passed this schedule along to the enumerator who created the books used that serve as the basis for this study. If the householder was not literate than the local enumerator was responsible for recording the information on the household.

Returning to US Census Bureau's critique of census taking,

The present Census system of the United States is, in many respects; defective. It is very difficult to obtain upon short notice, and for a brief period able statistical talent in Washington. By the time an office has acquired experience, it is disbanded. The persons selected as enumerators are often proved, by the returns, to be entirely incompetent, for which, perhaps, the low rate of compensation or

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<sup>348</sup> US Census Bureau 1853: xl ix

<sup>349</sup> Higgs 1987: 60

the mode of appointment may be assigned as reasons. The districts embraced by each enumerator are too large; if practicable, for accuracy, they should be as small as the districts of Great Britain.<sup>350</sup>

There are myriad potential problems with using CEBs as a data source that can be generalized to working with many older primary documents. There are several to consider including issues with their original recording, their keeping in the interim, and the researcher's abilities to access and comprehend them. Firstly, these records remain only as good as they were made. The record keeper's intentions, abilities, and even health have an effect on the quality and accuracy of the documents, as did the materials used and the storage methods. Secondly, poor paper and ink quality, moisture, insects, rodents, and moulds might all impact long-term legibility. With digital conversion, sometimes the scanning process used to generate the media does not always capture the entire page. Thirdly, nineteenth-century penmanship, writing, and spelling conventions are different than ours. Even using atlases and indexes for parish names, some data remained illegible.<sup>351</sup>

### **6.3 Reporting the 1851 Kent Census**

#### **6.3.1 General Population Reporting**

'The deaf and dumb are to the same population as 1 in 1670. "Looking at the distribution of the deaf and dumb over the face of Great Britain, we find them to be more common in the agricultural and pastoral districts, especially where the country is hilly, than in those containing a large amount of town population." You will observe here that deafness is united with dumbness. The reason is evident; deafness is generally of degree, and so is subject to remedial or alleviating appliances; nor in extreme cases does it cut off communication of the individual with his fellows, and it is not infrequently only a pretence.'<sup>352</sup>

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<sup>350</sup> US Census Bureau 1853: vi

<sup>351</sup> Lawson, T. & Killingray, D., editors, 2004: *An Historical Atlas of Kent*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd.; Humphrey-Smith, C.R. (ed.), 1984: *The Phillimore Atlas and Index of Parish Registers*. Chichester, Sussex, England: Phillimore & Co Ltd.

<sup>352</sup> Viva Valeque 1854: Civilization. – Census. in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 76:469, Nov 1854: 523. [Note: The pseudonym 'Viva Valeque' was used by Rev. John Eagles, M.A.

**Table 6.1 Summary of the 1851 Deaf Population in Kent, the Weald and the Study Parishes.**<sup>353</sup>

	<i>Kent (Ancient)*</i>	<i>Weald</i>	<i>Study Parishes</i>
Total Population	615,766	73,292	30,544
Number of Parishes (pre-1870)	440	41	18
Number of Deaf people in the 1851 Census Enumerator Books	924	126	62
Number of 'Deaf and Dumb' and 'Deaf-Blind' in Same	207	24	10
Age Range	3-100 yrs		4-86 yrs
Total Deaf Males	470	63	36
Total Deaf Females	474	61	26
Number of Deaf people born in the parish in which they reside	698	105	38

\*Kent (Ancient) includes the traditional boundaries of Kent, before the expansion of the metropolis into the northwestern parishes right up to the Thames.

On the night of March 30, 1851, Kent householders reported 615,766 people. Generally, population distribution across the county was uneven. By 1851, the greatest numbers were concentrated in the industrial areas of the northern and western parts of the county, namely in the parishes contiguous to London and along the Medway corridor.

### 6.3.2 Reporting County Figures.

Table 6.1 shows the general population numbers for the county, the forty-one parishes of the Weald and the eighteen parishes investigated in this study. The Weald encompasses a little over 21 per cent of the county's acreage; by 1851 the formerly densely populated Weald now represents a mere 11.9 per cent of the county's population. Of the county's population of deaf people, approximately 13.64 per cent of them are residing within wealden parishes.

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(1784-1855). See Cushing, W. 1885: *Initials and Pseudonyms: A dictionary of literary disguises*. Boston: Tho. Y Crowell & Co.: 426]

<sup>353</sup> Population data from VCH v3: 358-370. Summaries of the Deaf population were generated as part of this study.

Unsurprisingly, concentrations of deaf people are found distributed in the parishes contiguous to the metropolis and the industrial areas of the Medway region and the ports area of Woolwich. Across the rural parishes of the Downs, the Weald, and the Marshes, deaf people are unevenly distributed. Many of the parishes on the North Downs had no deaf residents. (See Appendix C for a map of the distribution of Deaf people across the county in 1851.)

Kalton and Anderson identify a rare population as ‘...a small subset of the total population. “Small” may be as large as one tenth or as small as one hundredth, one thousandth or even less.’<sup>354</sup> Of those, 2,205 entries had a notation of some type of infirmity in the final column, 924 entries included the word ‘deaf’, making one in every 665 people deaf. Of this population (N=924), 474 are female and 470 are male. They range in age from three to a hundred years old. 207 of these people are listed as Deaf and Dumb. Of the 440 pre-1870 Kent parishes, 214 had deaf residents. Lois Bragg comments,

Without evidence of any genetic streak that would raise the deaf population to over its normal fraction of a percentage point (3% would be “very high” according to Johnson, 1994 p.104), the assumption must be that the general population density never reached the critical threshold for the formation of deaf communities until the eighteenth century.<sup>355</sup>

Kuster quotes Spencer and Marshaick’s report of the normal ratio for western deaf born babies to be between 0.1% and 0.2% (.001-.002). In 1985, the UN International Children’s Emergency Fund believe this number to be higher in developing countries due to poor hygiene and medical conditions.<sup>356</sup> Conditions in the early to mid-nineteenth century would also be higher for the same reasons.

The original 1851 Census Report is the only other reporting of final column data, and it focuses on ‘Deaf-and-Dumb’ only. Of the 924 deaf people counted for this

<sup>354</sup> Kalton, G. & Anderson, D.W. 1986: Sampling rare populations. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series A (General)*, 149 (1): 65

<sup>355</sup> Bragg 1997: 4

<sup>356</sup> Kusters 2010: 5

study, the census reporters recognized only 207 of them.<sup>357</sup> An additional 717 other people were designated as having some type of deafness, including deaf-blind. Why the census reporters chose to ignore so many deaf people remains unknown, but by following precisely their original charge, they discounted other ways of expressing the concept. Without operative social definitions for all of the recorded permutations, it is hard to say. Further research into these definitions may provide clarification and lead in helpful directions.

Focusing even more closely on the Weald, I created a database to show the breakdown of aggregate data based on parish population and deaf population densities and compared this with other measurements of population densities. Between 1831 and 1851, the eighteen study parishes had slow or negative

**Table 6.2 Table of Kent Population 1801-1851 (source: VCH, v3: 358)**

Year	Population	Change in Pop from previous Census	Cumulative Change
1801	308,667	--	
1811	368,350	+59,683	+59,683
1821	426,016	+57,666	+117,349
1831	478,028	+52,012	+169,361
1841	548,177	+70,149	+239,510
1851	615,766	+67,589	+307,099

population growth. Overall, the population of the area across the first half of the nineteenth century increased by one-third, from 19,721 in 1801 to 30,544 in 1851, whereas the numbers for the county as a whole almost doubled over the same period (see Table 6.2).<sup>358</sup> There are problems with using Kusters' numbers for a comparison. Those numbers used are 'deaf born babies', a number not measured by the 1851 Census unless we assume 'deaf and dumb' means just that. 1851 data are also a measure for 'parish of residency' not birth.

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<sup>357</sup> BPP 1852, cxiii

<sup>358</sup> Page, 1932: 358-370

Calculating whether or not a deaf individual is living in their birthplace begins with a few assumptions and controls for potential problems. First, the people being enumerated are in their place of residence on the night of March 30, 1851. A review of the frequency distribution of the ‘relation to head of household’ reveals eighteen missing entries and 27 visitors. Assuming the use of the term ‘visitor’ means the individual is temporarily in this location and does not consider it his/her residence; they were removed from this dataset. Secondly, given that the census is the only data source currently available, it is impossible to know if some of the kin are also visiting or not, so they remain in the dataset. All others relations either economic, as in a lodger or an apprentice or familial are included. Subtracting missing cases and visitors from the original population of 924, these exclusions give a new dataset of 879 individuals (N=879, 450 females, 429 males).

Like their hearing peers, deaf people were mobile. Only 28 per cent of these individuals were residing in their birthplace. The other 72 per cent are living elsewhere. In comparison, more than three quarters (76.7%) of deaf females are not living in their birthplace parish or township, while a little more than two thirds of men (67.1%) are residing elsewhere. They follow the pattern of rural Kent communities. When they do reside in their birthplace, 57.3% of those individuals are male. In the aggregate, 246 people did reside in their birthplace. Looking at those who had birthplace residency, 141 males compared to 105 females, 57.3% and 42.7% respectively, indicating a relationship that is moderate, especially when considering these people are not residing in a single community but are spread out across the county. A problem with using single census data as measure is its snapshot quality. It cannot show how many times these people have moved, or indeed, if the people currently living in their birthplace have not moved and returned one or more times.

Previous research on the population’s mobility focused on particular parishes within Kent. My 1851 dataset encompassed the entire ancient county, rather than

individual parishes, and indicates that of the 440 pre-1870 Kent parishes fewer than half (214) had deaf people in them at the time of the 1851 census.

#### **6.4 Final Column Reporting**

In Chapter 3, the final column instructions for the householder were detailed.<sup>359</sup> The final column also yielded four different designations of deaf, including, ‘Deaf’, ‘Deaf and Dumb’, ‘Deaf and Blind’ and ‘Nearly Deaf.’ (See figures 3.4 and 6.18 for sample pages.) No operative definitions of these terms are included in the instructions to householders.<sup>360</sup> The Census Report only reports the Deaf-and-Dumb cases in its findings.<sup>361</sup> This significantly understates the number of deaf people in the county. By following precisely their original charge, they deemed it necessary to discount other ways of expressing the concept. I was only able to find one source that addressed this issue. In an 1854 presentation published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Buxton discussed, with some indignation, the errors of the census report. He wrote of deaf people as those losing their hearing as a result of age,

...[T]he power of audition having failed like the other faculties, and become, in many cases, either greatly impaired, or totally extinguished, by the gradual decay of nature. It is evident, however, that these are not the persons whom we have in our minds when we speak of the ‘deaf and dumb’.<sup>362</sup>

It is important to note that the census report only includes the 207 individuals in extra-metropolitan Kent.<sup>363</sup> The implications for this are interesting. The labels used in this period discriminated based upon a person’s ability to speak. Someone who lost their hearing after they learned to speak but still had speech or learned to speak regardless of their inability to hear may not have been considered infirm.

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<sup>359</sup> See also Appendix B, the Instructions for Householders.

<sup>360</sup> BPP 1851: No. 2

<sup>361</sup> BPP 1852: Population Tables I. Number of Inhabitants: Report volume 2 1852-53 lxxxvi (1632) 1: cxiii-cxv

<sup>362</sup> Buxton, D. 1855: The Census of the Deaf and Dumb in 1851, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 18, 2 (June, 1855): 174

<sup>363</sup> BPP 1854: Population tables II, Vol. I. England and Wales. Divisions I-VI: 134

There are several ways to approach the 1851 census Deaf dataset. Firstly, it was filtered for all the surnames identified for the first part of the study regardless of their place of birth. From the entire 1851 Kent Census, 53 deaf people possessed a surname identified with the early (17<sup>th</sup> century) Deaf families and were residing in Kent on the night of the census. Only eight of those were living in one of the 18 study parishes. Fifteen people with study surnames were labelled as Deaf and Dumb. These few Deaf and Dumb people point out two conclusions that are not mutually exclusive: the families with genetic deafness had left the district or through daughter marriages, the deaf gene had spread beyond the originally identified group of names. There is an additional possible explanation found within the data collection process used by the enumerators, that the assignment of 'Deaf' or 'Deaf and Dumb' is somehow undifferentiated in some of the parishes. It could be the case that as a community where sign language is used on a daily basis, a person who had the ability to communicate with her neighbours would not necessarily be considered 'dumb'. Groce showed this was the case on Martha's Vineyard. At least one local informant had to pause and consider a person in order to remember if the person being discussed was deaf.<sup>364</sup>

Another method of analysis was to look at all the deaf people across the county, regardless of surname. In a study of American Deaf families, Lane, Pillard, and Hedberg identified deaf families from the 1850 American Census. They did this by limiting their study to those labelled as 'Deaf and Dumb' and surnames appearing at least twice in the census.<sup>365</sup> This method is problematic for many of the same reasons and subject to the same critique as the original enumeration; namely the labelling issues inherent in the nominalization of individuals as either Deaf or some other iteration of the term made this task difficult. The labels may not have been universally and consistently applied by enumerators and across registration districts. For example, one of the Bartholomew daughters, Sarah, who was living

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<sup>364</sup> Groce 1983: 2

<sup>365</sup> Lane, et. al. 2007: 152.

away from home is listed as 'Deaf', but since most of her siblings and her father were deaf, she probably used sign when she was at home. With this and other cases in mind, the parameters were modified to calculate potential Deaf families within the county by identifying those surnames that were repeated a minimum of three times. All 924 people listed in the CEBs were assessed. One hundred and sixteen surnames are repeated in the 1851 Kent Census. Forty-five of these are repeated at least three times. Thirty-four have deaf members, but 15 surnames had three or more 'deaf and dumb'. Table 6.3 lists these.

Some of the identified surnames were unlikely to have been from a deaf family and while still included in the listing are listed as either 'Unlikely' or 'No' in the column 'Deaf family?' The following criteria were applied: the surnames with only individuals identified as 'deaf'; those distributed widely across the county, and where most, if not all, of the individuals were over the age of 60. (See the 1851 Kent Census Deaf database on the enclosed CD-ROM for the detailed accounting.) For example, the Coopers are unlikely to be a Deaf family. Of the five deaf people with that name, none are identified as 'deaf and dumb', three are over the age of 60 and they are widely distributed across the county. Among these common surnames for Deaf people, several may be associated with the colonists' family names. (See the bolded names in Table 6.3) Further research into the backgrounds of all the families listed may demonstrate a connection to the seventeenth century Deaf families previously identified.

Secondly, the data can be analysed by locating deaf people within the study parishes by either their place of birth or residence. Among the study's 18 sample parishes used in the parish records charts, 16 of them had at least one deaf person identified as being born in the parish. Overall, 59 deaf people are recorded as being born in those 16, though not all are living there now. Sixty-two deaf people are identified as residing within these parishes. Only Newenden and Smarden had no deaf people living within their boundaries. Fourteen individuals residing in the other study parishes came from outside the Weald. Of these, one had an unknown

**Table 6.3 Kent Deaf Surnames with minimum 3x repetition. The surnames in bold are on the seventeenth century colonists' lists too. Note: D&D = Deaf and Dumb.**

Surname	Frequency	No. of D&D	Approx. Location in Kent	Deaf family?
<b>Allen</b>	4	1	Western	Possible
<b>Apps</b>	4	0	Western	Unlikely
Arnold	5	0	Eastern	No
<b>Austin</b>	3	2	Eastern	Likely
<b>Baker</b>	3	1	Distributed	Possible
Bartholomew	6	6	Sevenoaks	Yes
Barton	3	2	Brenchly	Yes
Brooks	4	1	Chelsfield & Sevenoaks	Possible
Brown	5	1	Western	Possible
Castle	3	2	Stelling & Littlebourne	Possible
Checksfield	3	1	Tenterden	Likely
Clark	3	0	Distributed	No
Collins	4	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Cooper	5	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Elliott	4	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Field	3	0	Chartland and Weald	Possible
Filmer	3	1	Central/Medway	Possible
Fox	6	3	Eastern	Likely
Hall	4	0	Metro	Unlikely
Harris	5	0	Metro/Medway	Unlikely
Hart	3	1	Distributed	Unlikely
Harvey	3	1	Distributed	Unlikely
Hodges	4	2	Distributed	Unlikely
Jones	5	3	North West	Likely
Kadwell	3	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Lawrence	5	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Love	3	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Manser	3	3	Hadlow	Yes
Marsh	3	1	Distributed	Possible
Martin	7	1	South PLUS	Possible
Nicholls	3	2	Greenwich/Deptford	Yes
Page	3	0	Distributed	Possible
Parker	4	1	Distributed	Possible
Corfmatt	4	4	Deptford	Yes
Reed	4	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Sharp	4	0	Distributed	Unlikely
<b>Smith</b>	14	2	Eastern	Possible
Stevens	3	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Taylor	7	2	Eastern	Possible
Walker	3	2	Dover/Chilham	Likely
<b>Weller</b>	4	0	Western	Possible
White	3	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Whitehead	3	0	Distributed	Unlikely
Wilson	5	1	Distributed	Possible
Wood	3	1	Metro/Eastern	Possible

origin, four were born in other parts of the county and the remainder were born in other counties. From the 59 individuals identified as being born within the parishes, 11 were labelled as Deaf and Dumb and one as 'Deaf-Blind'. Of the study families, four surnames of the 6 individuals appeared within these parishes: Bates, Davis, Martin and Weller. Three of these individuals are named Martin. Only two of these six people are labelled as Deaf and Dumb.

**Table 6.4 The study's Weald parishes 1851 acreage and population, including the numbers of deaf people residing in (No. of Deaf Res), being born in (No. Deaf Born), and those from other parishes within Kent (Deaf Born Kent). (Source Acreage and Population figures: VCH v3: 358-370.**

PARISHES	Acres	Population	No. of Deaf Res	No. Deaf Born	Deaf Born Kent
Benenden	6693	1608	1	0	1
Bethersden	6376	1125	0	0	0
Biddenden	7191	1457	9	4	4
Cranbrook	10372	4020	5	2	1
Frittenden	3509	908	2	1	1
Goudhurst	9797	2594	7	6	0
Halden, High	3751	677	1	1	0
Hawkhurst (part o	6493	2704	6	3	1
Headcorn	5051	1344	4	2	1
Marden	7749	2296	5	5	5
Newenden	1046	172	0	0	0
Rolvenden	5753	1483	1	1	0
Sandhurst	4449	1235	1	1	0
Smarden	5386	1206	1	0	1
Staplehurst	5897	1660	3	1	1
Tenterden	8471	3782	13	9	2
Wittersham	3625	987	2	1	1
Woodchurch	7002	1286	2	1	1
TOTALS	108611	30544	63	38	20

Within the Weald's 41 parishes, 126 deaf people were identified, 24 of whom were listed as 'Deaf and Dumb'. Comparing the overall proportions of the Weald's deaf population within the county, the wealden parishes represent 11.5 per cent of the county's population.<sup>366</sup>

In 1851, the largest concentrations of 'deaf and dumb' people in the county can be found in communities outside of the Weald in the north western and most industrial and urban communities, including Deptford (18 people), Greenwich (11),

<sup>366</sup> Page 1932: 358-370

Woolwich (12). Gravesend, farther out from London but still along the Thames and an industrial area, had 15 deaf and dumb residents. Within Sevenoaks, a parish that lies partially in the low Weald, 10 deaf and dumb individuals were returned, five of them being from a single family, the Bartholomews (see Figure 6.1).

In the 1851 census the, Killicks of Keston, and the Corfmatts, the Tipps and the Wenna's of Deptford were the only identified deaf and dumb married couples in the county. There are other couples, for example the Easly's of Greenwich who were both deaf, but they were in their sixties and were born in Essex which puts them outside the range of the study.

### ***6.5 Urban Deaf families in 1851 Kent***

While Greenwich had the largest number of deaf people enumerated in the 1851 census, St Nicholas and St Pauls, Deptford provide a more interesting look at deaf families living in proximity to one another. Greenwich had a deaf population of 70, but only 11 deaf and dumb people. Deptford, on the other hand, was still a smaller community, but the area was remarkable for its deaf population. In 1801, the overall population was 11,349. Fifty years later, it had grown to 24,899 people. In another 20 years it would more than double its size again.<sup>367</sup> Thirty-three deaf people were counted there during the census. There is a notable difference between the deaf populations of St Nicholas and St Pauls. From the study's database, St Nicholas' deaf population is primarily migrant-based. Only one resident living in its precincts was Deptford born. The rest come from other parts. St Pauls, on the other hand, is clearly a longer established community.

More than two-thirds of the Deaf people living in Deptford lived in the parish of St Pauls. These include three deaf couples, William and Ellen Wenna's, Henry and Maria

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<sup>367</sup> See the Vision of Britain website:  
[http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data\\_cube\\_page.jsp?data\\_theme=T\\_POP&data\\_cube=N\\_TOT\\_POP&u\\_id=10078880&c\\_id=10001043&add=N](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data_cube_page.jsp?data_theme=T_POP&data_cube=N_TOT_POP&u_id=10078880&c_id=10001043&add=N) (date accessed: 29 March 2012)

Tipp, and John and Emma (nee Tipp) Corfmatt. They represent three quarters of the known signing Deaf families in the county in 1851. The Corfmatts lived with



**Figure 6.1 1805 Ordnance Survey Map of Deptford.** See the 1805 Ordnance Survey image. The original scale was 1:63360. (source: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/maps/>, date accessed: 29 March 2012)

their two children (also deaf), Sarah Jane and Henry Julian, and Emma's nineteen year-old sister, Maria Tipp, who could hear and worked as a servant. This was the second marriage for both John and Emma. Their ages reconciled in the census with their marriage certificate (Figure 6.2) and, for Emma, the Asylum's records (below). Naming their deaf son for Emma's deaf brother and their daughter for her mother provide additional evidence; as did her dressmaker occupation. Dressmaking and stay-making were both taught to the Asylum's female students. Emma's husband, John Corfmatt, did not appear in the available asylum records. From Plymouth, he may have learned his occupation as a rivet maker in an apprenticeship in the dockyards there and brought them to the dockyards in Deptford.

1846. Marriage solemnized at The Church in the Parish of St Paul's, Deptford, in the County of Surrey.								
No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the Time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
482	December 20	Julian Andrew Corfmatt Emma Whity,	39 29	Widower Widow	Widower —	Union Street —	Yves Corfmatt John Tipp	Pilot Shipwright
Married in the Parish Church according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church, by Revd. E. L. Kynne, Curate.								
This Marriage was solemnized between us,	Julian Andrew Corfmatt Emma Whity		in the Presence of us,	William Tipp Jane Tipp				

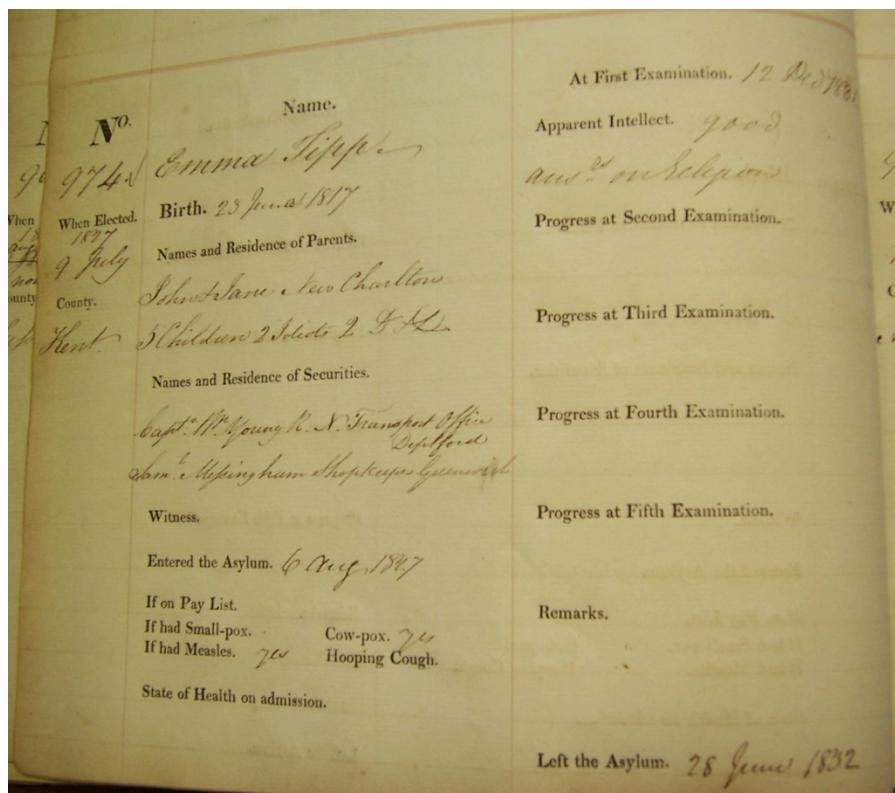
Figure 6.2 The Corfmatt's 1846 marriage certificate. (source: Ancestry.co.uk)

Emma Corfmatt's brother, Henry Tipp, had attended the Asylum too. Their parents were named John and Jane. Henry had another very common trade for an Asylum graduate; he was a shoemaker. In the 1841 census when he was 21 years old, Henry was a journeyman shoemaker and head of the household including his mother, Jane (54), three of his sisters, Harriett (26), Emma (24) and not yet married, and Mary Ann (9) and his younger brother William (14).<sup>368</sup> Henry and his wife, Maria (nee Miers), likely met at the Asylum where she was also a student.

St. Pauls, Deptford, the parish in which they were all living, was also the location of the 1841 wedding reported in the West Kent Guardian of two other asylum students, Samuel Locke and Mary Gibson (Figure 5.7). Southwark and Deptford are very close to Bermondsey, the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children's location in 1851. While geographical research into locating deaf communities since the advent of schools for the deaf is in its infancy, Deaf people today are known to be drawn to locations that are 'Deaf friendly' environments.<sup>369</sup> Locations that host schools for the deaf and Deaf churches have traditionally provided loci for Deaf communities.

<sup>368</sup> Ancestry.com. 1841 England Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2010. Original data: Census Returns of England and Wales, 1841. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), 1841. Class: HO107; Piece: 488; Book: 12; Civil Parish: St Paul; County: Kent; Enumeration District: 13; Folio: 6; Page: 4; Line: 16; GSU roll: 306880. <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?h=3165211&db=uki1841&indiv=try> (date accessed: 30 Mar 2012.)

<sup>369</sup> Benoît, et. al. 2011.



**Figure 6.3 Asylum student record for Emma Tipp. (Source: Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate, Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children's Headmaster's Book, 1824-1847)**

## 6.6 Rural Deaf Families

Identifying rural networks of Deaf families can be traced in a similar manner to the urban example of the Tipp family. The Bartholomew family of Sevenoaks had seven 'children' ages 2 months to 31 years living together in 1851. Five were listed as deaf and dumb in the residence, and a sixth, listed as Deaf, was living with her aunt in Tonbridge Wells. William Bartholomew, the father is listed as a widower and hearing. With a child only two months old, the mother may have died because of a complication related to birth.<sup>370</sup> The Bartholomews would offer an interesting case study.

<sup>370</sup> PRO 1851 HO107-1613, HO107-1614

### 6.6.1 The Fox and Page families of Eastern Kent

Examining a potential Deaf family utilising the 1851 Kent Census demonstrated a useful way to illustrate the methods I used to identify Deaf families and the application of the census materials to develop understandings of Deaf social networks. This case originated in Kent's eastern parishes; while outside the wealden parishes, I selected this particular initial individual based upon my previously described assumptions regarding communication methods – that is, if the census listed someone as 'dumb' they used sign as their primary mode of communication, and that if they were married and had an occupation, there were other people in the household with whom they could communicate. William Fox, 68, was born in the parish of Elham and lived at 26 East Street, Stourmouth. He was listed as a deaf and dumb widower who lived with his sister, Ann Page, 70. Ann is listed as a widow and the housekeeper, and there was also a female servant, Eloise Falwell, 19. On the night of the census, their married niece, Elizabeth Fox, 51, was visiting (Figure 6.18).

William Fox's occupation was listed as 'Farmer 80 Acres, employ 3 [labourers], 2 boys'. Fox's description in the final column as "Deaf and Dumb" led me to assume he did not use speech for communication. Instead, he used sign as a way to communicate with the household and with the five labourers in his employ. Minimally, it was safe to assume he could at least communicate with his hearing sister, Ann Page, through home signs.

To trace Deaf social networks, Ann's married name was helpful. As she was a seventy-year old widow, the 1851 Census at hand was not helpful in tracking information regarding her spouse, but the census showed another deaf man, a William Page, age 40, listed as an agricultural labourer (possibly a deaf son named for her deaf brother?), visiting the Castle family of Stelling, a parish adjacent to the birth parish of William Fox and Ann Page. In 1851, Stelling had a population of less

**Figure 6.4 The William Fox household of Stourmouth as listed in the 1851 Census Enumerator's Book (HO1631, leaf 412, page 42).**

birthplace, I looked for more evidence of the three surnames, Fox, Page, and Castle. I found one household each of Fox and Page with no deaf members and six more households with Castles, including the head of the workhouse's sister-in-law. No Fox or Page surname surfaced in Elham Union Workhouse, but four more Castles were listed as paupers there including the Sophia Castle, 40, unmarried, and her daughter, 6, both of Stelling.

Returning to the original entry, William Fox was not the only deaf person with the Fox surname in Kent at the time. There were five others, all female. The three listed as deaf were all married or widowed, and over 75 years old. The other two women were listed as deaf and dumb, and apparently twins. On the night of the census, they were listed consecutively as pauper inmates at the Sheppey Union Workhouse, in Minster in Sheppey.

The next step of a more in-depth investigation could be to connect Ann Page and William Page by checking the Barham parish register, William Page's listed birthplace for his birth year 1811. I would also look to connect William Fox with the other five Deaf Fox women. More light would, of course, could be shed onto the lives of these inhabitants by tracing them in other census returns or in registers of birth, marriage and death.

#### **6.6.2 Kent's Asylum Students and Alumni in 1851**

By 1851, there were 31 people from Kent at the Asylum, including 27 pupils; three female employees, two seamstress/teachers and a general servant; and the headmaster's wife who was from Deptford (see Appendix D). All but the seamstress/teachers and the headmaster's wife were Deaf. Only one student was from a study parish, Alfred Cowper, age 11, was from Staplehurst. The earlier reported repeated surnames in Table 6.3 continued to appear as well, adding another Collins, this one from Margate, and another Marsh, though he was from Sturry not Rochester. Two more family names could be added to the list as well. There were two Spong girls, both from Stourmouth, and two Cannons, though they originate from different locations.

Of the 77 students from Kent identified in the school records between 1824 and 1847, only 22 appear in the 1851 Kent CEBs. (See Appendix E for their separate listing.) Unfortunately, using the CEBs to identify the former students meant all married women were lost. According to the CEBs the asylum's alumni ranged in age from 20 to 41 and included ten men and 12 women. All, but one, were described as 'Deaf and Dumb'. Most of them remained single; only two men had married and become head of their own households. One of those, Henry Tipp of Deptford, was married to a deaf woman. Of the remaining 20 without their own households, four were in workhouses, and the rest were living in their parent's households, including the student from Headcorn, Samuel Viney. In 1851, Viney was listed as a 'farmer's son' and was living with his family at Moatenden farm. He had been a 'paylist' student at the Asylum for six years. Of the entire 22, 16 had 'occupations' listed. Of those, two were described as 'at home' and one was 'on parish relief', meaning they were relying on their families and the parish to support them. Only three women had occupations - one had 'plain work' and the others were listed as a dressmaker and a milliner. Of the five employed men listed, two were shoemakers and three were carpenters. Amongst the carpenters, one was described as a 'journeyman carpenter'.

### ***6.7 Discussion***

Like the scattering of the Deaf community on Martha's Vineyard, social and economic factors probably caused the decline of any Deaf community in the Weald. It may be anticipated that by 1851 the geographic scope of the community will have expanded beyond the wealden parishes due to the shifting labour opportunities, the changes in the Poor Laws, and changes in transportation and communication infrastructures to name but a few.<sup>371</sup> The mid-nineteenth century general population of Kent were not sedentary. Their migratory behaviours occurred for a variety of reasons usually pertaining to employment, such as searching for work or higher wages, and familial issues like marriage and death of a

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<sup>371</sup> Brandon & Short 1990, Short 1989

spouse. Other research into the mobility of this rural population demonstrates approximately half of parish residents reside in their birth communities.<sup>372</sup>

Researching in another area of Kent, the Blean, Reay states,

Every census between 1851 and 1881 shows that as many as 45 per cent of the inhabitants aged 15 and over were born outside the parish but in a place less than five miles away. In other words, 64 to 77 per cent of the adult population lived less than five miles from their place of birth.<sup>373</sup>

In the wealden parish of Brenchley 51.8 per cent of individuals were Brenchley-born in 1851.<sup>374</sup>

For the Deaf community there is an additional factor at work. Groce writes that one of the main causes of diaspora from Martha's Vineyard was the founding of the first school for the deaf at Hartford. Relatively large numbers of young Deaf islanders were sent off-island for the free educational opportunity, many did not return and some that did brought spouses from the mainland, effectively ending the previous pattern of endogamous marriage.<sup>375</sup> Perhaps the same was true for Deaf people from the Weald.

## **6.8 Conclusion**

The 1851 Kent census provided the first full view of the county's deaf population. The reporting of these numbers at the time was immediately challenged.<sup>376</sup> I assume Buxton was only working with the census report. This study was able to access the broader data set of the enumerators' books. The assessment of the CEBs extended that earlier criticism by questioning the classification system used to describe the individuals.

<sup>372</sup> Kitch 1992: 75, Wojciechowska, B. 1988: Brenchley: A study of migratory movements in a mid-nineteenth century rural parish, *Local Population Studies* 41: 30

<sup>373</sup> Reay, B. 1996: *Microhistories: Demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 258

<sup>374</sup> Wojciechowska 1988: 30

<sup>375</sup> Groce 1983: 48

<sup>376</sup> Buxton 1855: 174-185.

Identifying sign language users even with a full accounting of the deaf population remained problematic. When a family was identified as a minimum of two deaf and dumb members, it did not necessarily follow that all members of that family were signers. When hearing siblings of deaf and dumb people married other deaf people, it may be assumed that the spouse had some form of communication.

The CEBs and the final column offer a rich source for further study in to the lives of nineteenth century deaf people. The project could easily be extended in terms of location to include a national or even international study, and it could also stretch longitudinally to look at the sixty years of data that was collected in the final column. The next chapter will outline this and other future potential projects in more detail. The thesis will be summarised and its implications explored.

## Chapter 7 Chasing Ancestors: some conclusions

### ***7.1 Summary of the project***

Traditional approaches to history have not favoured the stories of the ordinary - the everyday person and working families. It focuses on power and wealth wielders and the extraordinary. Assuming deaf people and sign language were present in the ordinary, work-a-day world of the Weald's parishes, they were not shown to be worthy of extraordinary remark thus far, and therefore represent an on-going challenge to archival researchers. Groce's evidence of the earliest known deaf man on Martha's Vineyard was John Lambert, a ship's captain. Lambert's deafness was expressed as an anecdote in the diary of an island visitor, Judge Samuel Sewell of Boston, on 5 April 1715.<sup>377</sup> But unlike Sewell, travel writers of this period in Kent's history did not mention the people who steered the boats, carried the luggage, cooked the meals, or shod the horses. Overseers of the poor typically recorded only those in the direst circumstances, and then recorded only the monies doled out, not the stories of the hardship that led to the need. Churchwardens were interested in taking care of their own and making sure that their tight budgets did not have to stretch to parish outsiders, so the lives of the local parishioners were not recorded. The most common of the 'everyday' records held within a parish, the place where the average person was recorded, happened to be a record of their most un-everyday events: the parish's birth, marriage and death records.

The relative absence of deaf people in the study's wealden parish archival sources and their concurrent presence in national records is intriguing in three ways. The first relates to the possibility of multiple generations of deaf people living in the Weald. Within the study parishes, Deaf people may not have simply survived in the margins of their communities. They lived and worked, married and raised families amongst their relatives and home communities. Like Groce found on the Vineyard and Nonaka found with today's deaf community in Bank Khor, Thailand, a

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<sup>377</sup> Groce 1983: 5

differentiated 'Deaf identity was not necessary or generated.<sup>378</sup> In the local archive, this might be demonstrated by an absence - the absence of commentary from churchwardens and overseers.

Within historical signing communities, such as Martha's Vineyard, the dichotomous sorting of deaf and hearing occurred through a process of external forces (colonial?) pushing into the community and through various externally generated social structures, like the Asylum and other later charities, reinforcing a sense of difference amongst community members. 'Othered' space for Deaf people began with the intrusion of curious strangers, like the Enlightenment-era Oxford scholars and Judge Sewell on the Vineyard, and was enacted via the founding of asylums and subsequent social organisations for and by deaf people. This culling of deaf people from within their communities was perpetuated when people like Collier went into parishes with signers, such as Tenterden, to lecture on the educability of deaf people, and when special sermons designed to solicit funds for the early deaf schools painted a picture of 'poor unfortunates' from the powerful position of the pulpit, and when the media reported it all with the florid prose of the period.<sup>379</sup>

The difference in local and national records demonstrated the profound change in the way in which deaf people were represented in the broader English society, and the remaking of deafness into a pathological condition and a disability, a change that would profoundly impact on the lives of signing people. It certainly set up the paradoxical and recurring theme that has plagued Deaf people since the beginnings of deaf education: by being selected for special consideration into a system that was intended to improve their lives, they became victims of its exclusionary practices. Their external identities became subsumed (consumed?) in the rhetoric of benevolence based in the charity movement, and their lives became defined by the functioning of their auditory sense.

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<sup>378</sup> Groce, 1983; Nonaka 2004

<sup>379</sup> For examples of these see *West Kent Guardian*, Saturday, 8 April 1843. British Newspaper Archive; 'The dumb speak', *Morning Chronicle* (London) Monday, 4 February 1828. British Newspaper Archive; Jackson 2004.

This project engaged with the records of one of the earliest Deaf spaces in England, the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Poor Children. Deaf space had been previously maintained informally within larger community spaces in the permeable and parallel geographies maintained by signing families. Archival evidence for this was found in the marriages amongst Deaf families and the social networks they created over time which were unrelated to the asylums. The asylum system accelerated the process of bringing together deaf people from a larger catchment area. Deaf families with hereditary deafness then had a larger marriage selection pool. By exposure, Deaf individuals were able to choose their spouses from other, more distant, locations. Whether or not this expansion of potential marriage partners thinned the wealden Deaf population as it did for the Vineyard still remains unknown. Additional study of these potential phenomena is recommended.

This thesis presented a new area of research in historical geography. The theoretical approaches used to shape it were set using the developing frameworks within Deaf studies. Related research in the emerging field of Deaf geography was reviewed in conjunction with a description of the different configurations of Deaf space. A Deaf cultural stance was used to interrogate the older social constructions of the term 'deaf' - as an individual occurrence, a pathology, and a disability - and then used to describe the process by which signing deaf people were marginalised over the course of the study period. A new taxonomic model for framing Deaf space was presented calling attention to the variety of ways signing peoples use space. Relevant evidence of Deaf families presented in previous studies and the existence of a sign language in the Weald were critically assessed. As the project progressed, available sources dictated a 'source-orientated' approach. And in many senses the thesis was a study of developing methods to research absent presences in the past and in the historical record. Previous research strategies of family and community reconstructions were shown not to be effective when applied to these particular configurations of family and community.

This project attempted to locate and describe early Deaf families, their communities, and spaces, but these ‘invisible’ families resisted conformity to previous methods, necessitating the development of a different approach, one that considered how the historical development of ‘deaf’-related discourses in the period might be expressed in archival materials. Two sources of data - a list of names developed by American researchers and the 1851 Census - provided the bookending dates to the enquiry. Each of the data sets required a different method and a re-interpretation of their associated scholarship. The search for archival sources, including local and national records, media coverage, and the archives of the first English school for the deaf in the region, were used in search of the developing constructions of ‘deaf’ to fill the gap between the two sources – the colonists list and the 1851 census. Initially, though I had conceived the research period from 1650 to 1851, the investigation stretched to include materials from over 230 years.

The empirical chapters of the thesis investigated previously unused sources. The first of these chapters introduced and described the origins of the American colonial families. Here, I was able to demonstrate that their kinship was deeper than previously demonstrated in Deaf studies literature. This chapter discussed the potential of the Weald as a region capable of creating and fostering families with hereditary deafness and the reasons signing people in the region had a potentially competitive advantage over people who did not use sign.<sup>380</sup>

The second empirical chapter provided an overview of the changes that happened in the region and to the project’s families during the period between the first wave of American colonial migration and the first reckoning of deaf people in 1851. It showed how the social, political, and economic changes impacted on all the families in the Weald, and also included those pivotal events on larger regional,

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<sup>380</sup> Today, Deaf studies scholars are using the term ‘Deaf gain’ to describe this phenomena. See Bauman, H. & Murray, J. 2009: Reframing: From hearing loss to Deaf gain (trans. from ASL: Brizene, F. & Schenker, E.), *Deaf Studies Digital Journal*, 1, Fall, 2009, <http://dsdj.gallaudet.edu>: 1-10

national, and international scales that would have an impact on Deaf families specifically, such as the beginnings of Deaf education. The study families' baptisms were charted across three hundred years (1550-1850) and demonstrated the steady and on-going presence of some of these families in place, the movements of some, and disappearance of others. The stayers and leavers were noted. Within this period deaf people in the Weald and the county began to appear in the archive. It demonstrated how the development of discourses regarding deaf people began to have an influence upon their lives.

I focused most of my efforts during this part of the study on baptismal and Parish Overseer records, knowing that the overseers' records had limited scope in that they targeted a very specific socio-economic group. I created a visualisation tool, the parishes baptisms chart, to track the locations of the study families across the entire study period. I also cast my data net wider, considering historical conceptions of the term 'deaf', and tried to calculate how and where a person's audiological (in)abilities might be worthy of note. In a lateral attempt at finding deaf people in the written records, I read family letters and local diaries, including barber-surgeons' diaries. And while I have seen treatment for ear ailments, I have yet to see anyone within these local parish documents being labelled as deaf. That the Deaf people are there, I do not doubt. Little glimpses do appear. In the nineteenth century parish overseer records, I find individuals who previously attended the school for the deaf and others who are included on the final column of the census, but the local records do not use the label. There are almost no signs of 'deaf' or sign(s) in the local archive.

It is tempting to romanticise the early Deaf spaces – to see the locations where there are pockets of Deaf families living as Deaf utopian space, as the Vineyard has sometimes been described. It is also enticing to do the same with the asylums and schools for the deaf, as they are also often subjected to a nostalgia-based romanticism too. This thesis provided the first critical glimpse into the oldest records of the longest running school for the deaf in England, the Royal School for Deaf Children, Margate. During the study period, the humanitarian and evangelical

missions made manifest in the asylum system were idealised and romanticised by those who funded them. They were certainly characterised that way in the press at the time. While they represented (and still represent) opportunities for deaf children's learning, they fit into the period's larger trend of providing venues for the education of the masses. Historical spaces of signing peoples such as these require additional critical investigation.

The final empirical chapter focused on the first full picture of deaf people in the county. For this chapter a rich and previously unused data source was explored. The 1851 Census gave space to enumerate deaf people (and blind people) for the very first time. Through the 'final column', the county's deaf individuals and their families could now be 'found' in archival materials en masse. Each of the censuses taken between 1851 and 1911 included the collection of this 'final column' material.

With this data, the marginalisation processes that deaf people had undergone throughout the project's period were demonstrated. However, the same evidence may be interpreted differently. If the people residing in the Weald are signers, as Groce interpreted from Pepys' account of Downing and the deaf boy, their clannish attitudes could be seen as those of a Signing People.<sup>381</sup> It also helps to partially explain the wealden residents' long-standing reputation for clannishness. This, of course, requires the rejection of the false dichotomy between the notions of 'deaf' and 'hearing'.

According to the 1851 Census Enumerator Books, deaf people were engaged in occupations common to the daily life of rural parishes. They were farmers, agricultural labourers, a grocer, a wagoner, and shoemakers. Many were paupers but managing to stay out of the workhouse. They married, raised children. Whether they used sign language, spoken language or both in their daily lives, they communicated with their families and neighbours.

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<sup>381</sup> Groce 1985: 30; Batterbury, et. al. 2007

## ***7.2 Implications***

The project focused on identifying previously unknown signing peoples and their spaces. In this, it is unlike the single other historical geography project to date. This thesis was presented as a three-part project: a continuation of Groce's work, an examination of the development of discourses surrounding deaf people over the period of the work, and the simultaneous search for Deaf spaces. Socio-economic conditions in the Weald at the time of the American 'Great Migration' were explored, including the accelerating demise of the broadcloth industry and the growth of nonconformist churches, but evidence of deaf people in the region during this period remained elusive. The final evidence, the compilation and analysis of the 1851 Census Enumerators' Books 'final column' materials provided the first comprehensive investigation of the country's deaf population.

In order to consider how previously unknown signing people and Deaf spaces might be represented in written form which would, in turn, make their way into the archive required envisioning the multiple expressions and formulations of spaces created by signers. This sea-change of growing interest in deaf people led to the development of the research question for this project over the course of the investigation. Where might signing people's presence be expressed in the archive? Until the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the archive remains strangely silent and deaf people's absence, especially in the earliest centuries researched, led me to conclude that, signing or otherwise, their presence as individuals was not noteworthy.

Deaf educators shifted their methods to focus on speech communication, the ability to express oneself in speech and speechreading. This preoccupation, upon which all manner of actions – both benign and malicious – has repeatedly denied deaf individuals' agency and continues to do so, is tragic. Framing this thesis based on a cultural model provided an opportunity to critically explore the notions of Deaf identity and group formations in primary and secondary sources before the advent of this colonial mentality.

The investigation began with Groce's hypotheses of the existence of Old Kent Sign Language and, by extension, the existence of a group or groups of signing people in the region. Pepys's diary, the central evidence used to substantiate OKSL, was re-examined. Commonly listed amongst extinct sign languages, its actual existence was neither proven nor disproven with this study. However, working with the functional assumption that there was such a language permitted a fresh-eyed re-examination of both state and private records from a Deaf cultural perspective and demonstrated gaps in previous research on signing peoples and in the reporting of available sources – the final column and the records of the Asylum.

Though potentially controversial, the thesis' comparisons drawn with frameworks used in post-colonial research remains apt, especially when considering the period covered by the project and the process by which deaf people became socially marginalised as a function of the imperialistic approach taken towards them 'at home' in Britain and the growth of associated charity and missionary movements. Imperialist-style attention in the form of Enlightenment humanism was drawn to the Deaf landscape for the first time during the period covered by this project and was offered as one of the potential factors for the wealden Deaf diaspora.

One of the most potent conclusions to be drawn from this project is the potential it demonstrates for additional research. In the end I think it asks more questions than it answers, and by this I don't mean questions of a more particular nature. Instead, the power of this work is that it opens new lines of research inquiry both in its subjectivity and its sources.

### **7.3 Future Directions**

There are wonderful possibilities for the expanding this research and the field, but Deaf geography needs a home. The closing of the Centre for Deaf Studies at Bristol has been a blow for early career researchers in the vanguard of this area, but it may also be seen as an opportunity too. Deaf geography risks compartmentalising

itself into a tidy little sub-disciplinary cul-de-sac where researchers working on this particular subject meet each other repeatedly at specialist and large-scale conferences, where we talk to each other alone. Additionally, modern and prevailing pathological constructions of deaf people as disabled have regularly caused networking challenges among the scholarly community outside of this group throughout the project. I would advocate Deaf geography researchers make the effort to be outward looking and find opportunities outside of these specialist venues and CDS environments to create bridges, exploring opportunities to demonstrate how Deaf geography contributes, not only to its own area of subjectivity, but to the larger discipline.

As more archival material becomes digitally available, historical research of this kind will be conducted with greater ease. Digital archives are transforming genealogical research and making this type of research less expensive. Across the years of this study alone, genealogy sites, such as Ancestry.com, grew more numerous. If this project was to start again the nature of the fieldwork might well be different. That being said, I have not found a single source for the final column other than by looking through digital pages of enumerator books. Also, family ephemera that might provide the missing clues to identifying Deaf families is still not readily available in publicly accessible formats.

### **7.3.1 Spaces of the Deaf community**

Thus far, the theoretical work on Deaf space has been from a Western perspective and very little of this has made its way into Geography journals.<sup>382</sup> This thesis presented the opportunity to theorise Deaf space in its multiple configurations from a geographic perspective. The Deaf space taxonomy modelled a new way to consider the scales of these spaces— from the imaginary geographies of visual language users to emerging global Deaf networks. Its function is to assist the researcher in identifying the spaces of sign language peoples. The model's six levels

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<sup>382</sup> Ladd 2003; Eickman 2006; Batterbury, Ladd, & Gulliver 2007; Gulliver 2007, 2008; Rosen 2007

– national/global, regional, local, interpersonal (communication), the individual body and the mind – while useful, are still a sketch and in need of expansion and refinement.

Researching Deaf space holds tremendous potential for multi-disciplinary projects, especially in conjunction with anthropology and socio-linguistics, the fields where the early empirical efforts in identifying Deaf communities and their languages have occurred. Potential future projects focusing on the outer rings, National/Global, could include signing peoples' transnationalism, the impacts of international events such as the Deaf Olympics and the Congress of the World Federation of the Deaf, and the exploration, both past and present, of proposed Deaf homelands. Future historical geographies in this area might also include a multi-national comparative study of census data as this project has done. Potential research interests of the middle rings, Local and Regional, might follow along with the concerns of regional, urban and rural geographies but applied to a Deaf context. As someone who has studied sign language and worked with it for a long time, the smallest rings, Mind, Individual Body and Interpersonal Communication, offer some of the most intriguing aspects of Deaf space. At this time there is no work being conducted in this area, but it holds great potential research avenues for geographers interested in the geographies of the imagination and emotional geographies – both the investigation of the ways in which the mind organizes itself geographically, and the ways in which the receiver of the communication may then reconstruct this landscape.

### **7.3.2 Movers and Stayers**

Migration was an important underlying theme to this thesis. Each of the three empirical sections spoke to the notion that deaf people, like their hearing counterparts, were on the move. Indeed, the American colonial migration served as the basis for the study. A future project along these lines would be to select deaf families identified in the census and investigate both their ancestors and descendants in order to comparatively test Deaf people's migration patterns in relation to non-signers migratory behaviours. If this were done at some scale, it

would be interesting to identify where signing people move. For example, an investigation as to whether or not signing people were influenced in their decision-making by a ‘pull factor’ towards locations where they might find other signers easily and readily. This would also make for an interesting longitudinal project that surveys the habits of signing people today and compares them with their historical counterparts.

But just as migration was a theme of this study, so were the stayers and the very deep roots of these families in their home parishes over the centuries. The parish baptisms chart demonstrated this by scanning across ten generations of the study families. Remarkably, an additional seven generations and two world wars later, taking a stroll along the high streets of the Weald’s market towns today would show that many of these families’ surnames remain in these communities including Martin, Foster, and Lambert. Even a casual perusal through Cranbrook’s business directory turned up other names familiar to the study, such as Butler, Bartholomew, and Allen.<sup>383</sup> Another potential project of a contemporary nature would be to look at the incidences of deafness in the Weald today.

### **7.3.3 ‘Source-orientated’ projects**

The paucity of early evidence of deaf people highlights the constructed nature of archival collections, but across the study’s timeline more frequent references to deaf people occurred. I do not think the number of deaf people grew in proportional to the overall population, though this could not be proven prior to 1851 Census’ final column. However, the number of potential sources that could be archived did grow over the period.

Digital records archives and early newspapers libraries are making historical research simpler and more affordable both in time and travel. One potential project that might take advantage of currently available resources, like the British Newspaper Archive, is a formal discourse analysis study of the representations of

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<sup>383</sup> [www.cranbrook.org - The Official Website of Cranbrook - Capital of The Weald of Kent http://www.cranbrook.org/shopping.php](http://www.cranbrook.org/shopping.php) (date accessed: 25 August 2013)

Deaf people in popular media at different critical junctures in the development of the concepts of 'deaf', 'Deaf', and 'deaf and dumb'. As more archives are scanned and converted to a digital format, evidence of deaf people's lives before the mid-nineteenth century that, until now, has been exceptionally rare, may become more readily available. Additionally, further research into the proportional number of references to deaf people might be conducted with the early broadsheets to investigate the escalating interest in deaf people and their affairs.

Nineteenth century materials are by far the most abundant on this topic and the sources utilised in this study have a great deal of additional potential. Several projects come immediately to mind. The first and perhaps most important include additional work with the Royal School for Deaf Children at Margate's student records. This study was the first scholarly work to address even a subset of the demographic data of the asylum's early student population. The archive at the school is in a fragile and vulnerable state. With the cooperation of the school, multiple projects, both qualitative and quantitative, could be developed to both secure this priceless archive and explore its riches. Potential research questions might begin by addressing the school's 19<sup>th</sup> century student populations, including mapping the students' home addresses to measure the asylum's catchment area and the impact of this early charitable institution on regional and national deaf populations.

Groce claimed that it was the founding of the American School at Hartford, Connecticut, that brought about the demise of the Martha's Vineyard Deaf community. Moving off island to attend the school in Hartford, Connecticut, Deaf islanders widened their marriage partner opportunities. The gene pool shifted with the new off-island spouses away from the concentration necessary to maintain the deaf population on the island.<sup>384</sup> Further investigation of nineteenth English Deaf and signing populations would test this claim in other settings. Groce worked her project backwards through time and had the benefit of living informants to find the

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<sup>384</sup> Groce 1983: 48.

Kent families who contributed to hereditary deafness in Kent. It would be interesting to identify today's Deaf families in Kent and compare their origins using Groce's methods.

Competitive advantage for deaf people, sometimes now called 'Deaf gain', is the idea that there are occasions when being deaf and using sign language has an advantage over those who do hear and do not sign. 'Deaf Gain is defined as a reframing of "deaf" as a form of sensory and cognitive diversity that has the potential to contribute to the greater good of humanity.'<sup>385</sup> The ability to communicate visually over long distances for farmers and mariners and in noisome environments for mills and early factory-settings would be distinctly advantageous. Additional research exploring historical economies of the region could be used to test this theory. One of the uses for a latitudinal study of census materials would be to demonstrate regional employment trends for deaf people and the possibility of demonstrating this particular form of 'Deaf gain'.

Another project that would make use of the same data sources, the Asylum's records and the census materials, would be to track the students' marriage and family patterns, movement, employment and long-term occupational success. These might be measured and compared against those deaf people who do not attend the school or those who attended other schools. Additionally, projects conducted at the Royal School might then be repeated on an international level with other early school/asylum locations that maintain archival records of their early student populations, such as Edinburgh, Paris, and Hartford, Connecticut, to name a few. Further, on a national scale, the proliferation of schools for the deaf in Britain during the nineteenth century could be located and then compared with subsequent census reports to see if deaf people clustered near the schools, as they anecdotally seem to do today.

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<sup>385</sup>Bauman, H. & Murray, J. 2009: 3

Focusing particularly on the census materials and the final column, there are two potential research streams with the census: longitudinal and latitudinal. The first is to chart the subsequent census materials from 1861-1911. Five additional censuses would permit the opportunity to follow-up on the identified deaf people from 1851. With a longitudinal database that extends across at least two generations, it is possible to query marriage and family patterns, movement, employment. This would be especially interesting as a second resounding event occurs in regards to deaf education, the 1880 Conference of Milan. At this conference it was decided by a few people that oral education, that is, teaching deaf children to speak and speechread, was to be the top educational priority. After this conference, most European and North American schools for the deaf ceased to use sign language. Comparing pre- and post- Milan conference data for a population would offer a way to investigate the conference's impact on local populations.

A latitudinal investigation of census materials has the potential to be quite large. Comparisons of demographic data of deaf people between counties and across the country would identify settlement patterns and employment trends, but the project need not be limited to the England or the UK. Several European countries and the United States collected census data on deaf people in the mid-nineteenth century. A comparison study of this nature has the ability to not only identify potential clusters of hereditarily deaf families, but also to investigate how different types and levels of socio-political interventions impacted the lives of Deaf people.

The Census Enumerators Books' final column instructions for the household schedule were broadly interpreted by the householders and, in turn, the enumerators themselves. Several different terms were recorded in this column that were not requested in the instructions. The physical and mental infirmities listed in Chapter 2 were ignored in the census report, so call into question why there was a perceived need on the grassroots level of both the householders and the enumerators to acknowledge these cases in some way on an official form. This research project's focus on Deaf people meant that I had to ignore these cases and ignore the instructed request to note blind individuals. This would make worthy

further study, especially as these instructions were refined and additional categories added in subsequent censuses, up to and including 1911.

One of the most powerful potential projects from this investigation would be to use the 1851 Census data in conjunction with GIS. The parish-based map I provided served its purpose, but I would like to map Deaf people in relation to their landscape. Digital cartography offers a way to show these demographic materials in ways that might also give clues of social networks including marriage and employment distances. It might also be used with the final column data to query the impact on the acceptance of sign in particular locations based on signers' population density. For example, if a particular parish has experienced a regular occurrence of deaf people across multiple generations and there is a sign language in use in that community would contact with that parish by contiguous communities foster a greater or lesser acceptance and usage of sign language when and if deaf children were born there?

This thesis explored a method for approaching the archive in the search for deaf individuals and communities. Discourses surrounding deaf people were used to locate them in the archival sources with mixed results depending upon the century. This project searched for direct and circumstantial evidence of sign language in use in the Weald, but it remains unknown if any of the American colonists who originated in Kent were from Deaf families or deaf themselves. As more ancestral links are traced through DNA evidence, perhaps a clearer tie will be made with people from the Weald. Some days, I wondered if this investigation was like the chase for the Holy Grail, a faith-led pursuit for material proof of the apocryphal. As in all quests, the journey was its own reward.

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#### **The Centre for Kentish Studies (CKS), Maidstone, Kent**

68/U24/T282 Copton alias Copden Manor, 1764

70/1 Ordnance Survey 25" 1<sup>st</sup> Edition

CD21 Parish Register Transcripts

CD22 Kent Family History Society, Parish registers, v3, incorporating the Mary Wigan transcripts.

CD23 Kent Family History Society, CD-ROM 13

CD41 Diary of John Pinyon of Sandhurst and Northiam

CD53 Kent Family History Society, Parish Registers: Tenterden

CD64 Index to *Archaeologia Cantiana*

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CD150 Masters and apprentices

CH84 AP1 Records of Malling Place, Private Mental Nursing Home, West Malling, Register of Admissions.

G/C AZ 2-5 Cranbrook Union Tenders for Medical Services

MH/Md2/Ap25/1-2 Oakwood Hospital Patient Notes, 1833-1847

P20/12/1 Benenden Overseers' accounts, including assessments and disbursements, 1769-1796

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- P330/1/45A Sevenoaks Christenings, 1813-1834
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- Q/M/SB/665 651-700 16 June 1606 Jury presentments for three parishes regarding illicit cloth making
- Q/SB/28/74 8 June 1705 Deposition of John Cornwell of Chatham. (Microfilm)
- QM/SB/1078 1073-1101 Jan 1612-13 Petition of Henry Scott
- U24 M27 Manor of Bethersden Records
- U24 M28 Bethersden Quitrents for 1770
- U24 M29 Bethersden Court Baron records 1658, 1687, 1691, 1701, 1738, 1776.
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- U951/C74/4 9 Sept 1829 Knatchbull Manuscripts (C58-9, 68, 74)
- U2082 F1 Dairies of John Pinyon of Sandhurst, 1837, 1841
- U2082 F2 Dairies of John Pinyon of Sandhurst, 1837, 1841
- U2981 F1 Diary of Sir Edward Dering, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet, 1673-1675
- U3039 F1 Diary of John Ellis Mace (Tenterden), 1825-1842

Te/S2 Tenterden Borough Courts in Session Minute Book

TR1091/1/2-4 Benenden Parish Register Transcript

TR1335/1 Hadlow Parish Records Transcript

TR1809/1-3 Rolvenden Parish Register Transcript

TR1809/1 (parts 3 and 4) Biddenden Parish Register Transcript

TR2632/1 Sevenoaks Baptism Records (Church of Jesus Christ – Baptist), 1714-1785

(Note: All TR2986 files are listed as 'Transcripts and Notes by Jules de Launay')

TR2896/11 De Launay Transcripts and Notes: Goudhurst Parish Records Transcript, 1558-1695

TR2896/13-14 De Launay Transcripts and Notes: Hawkhurst Parish Records Transcripts 1448-1632

TR2896/24 Tenterden Parish Register Transcript, 1538-1641

TR2896/29 De Launay Transcripts and Notes: Weald of East Kent Baptisms before 1601, 1538-1600, A-C

TR2896/30 De Launay Transcripts and Notes: Weald of East Kent Baptisms before 1601, 1538-1600, D-I

TR2896/31 De Launay Transcripts and Notes: Weald of East Kent Baptisms before 1601, 1538-1600, J-R

TR2896/32 De Launay Transcripts and Notes: Weald of East Kent Baptisms before 1601, 1538-1600, S-Z

TR2896/57 - Kent Pioneers I, c.17<sup>th</sup> - Alphabetical list and genealogical information on Kent people who emigrated to America in the seventeenth century (includes names beginning A-C)

TR2896/58 - Kent Pioneers II, c.17<sup>th</sup> - Alphabetical list and genealogical information on Kent people who emigrated to America in the seventeenth century (includes names beginning D-I)

TR2896/59 - Kent Pioneers III, c.17<sup>th</sup> - Alphabetical list and genealogical information on Kent people who emigrated to America in the seventeenth century (includes names beginning J-P)

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: The Final Column Database: the 1851 Kent Census deaf population (Sample only. Complete chart on enclosed CD-ROM)

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
PDF Name	Page in Leaf/Pat Town or Parish			Street Address	Name (Surname, First/Column Co)	Rank, Profession or Occ.	Community of Birth	Final Column D					
1	HO1634	137/1493	72/35	Deptford, St Pauls	93 ..	Head	M	.. Agent					
2	HO1634	236/496	120/31	Ashford	114 Barnow Hill Place	Adrien Eliza	Kent	Tonbridge	Deaf				
3	HO1634	236/496	51/1/14	East Farleigh	43 Coeheath Almshouse	Albury, Ann	Wife	45	Deaf				
4	HO1634	387/490	28/2/16	Sevenoaks	29 Red Land	McCord, John	Head	80	Alm House (Pauper)	Deaf			
5	HO1634	162/763	37/7	Tonbridge	20 Cage Green	Allen, Ellen	Head	56	Farm of 10 Acres	Deaf			
6	HO1634	13/464	7/6	Penshurst	25 Finch Green House	Allen, Richard	Son	U	26	Shoemaker	Deaf		
7	HO1634	450/567	72/77		54 East Studiall	Allen, William	Son	U	23	Farm Labourer	Dumb		
8	HO1634	450/567	72/77		37 Pound House	Amos, Midned	lodger	W	10	Swingfield	Deaf & Dumb		
9	HO1634	510/14	Monogram, Little			Andrews, Catherine	Dau	S	79 (Pauper)	Whistable			
10	HO1634	417/590	373/636	Newington, Hythe	53	Andrews, Rebecca	Wife	M	46	Middlesex	Deaf		
11	HO1634	329/598	11/9/15	Whitstable	60 Sydenham	Ansell, John	Head	M	40	Post Office Keeper	Deaf		
12	HO1634	91/1157	49/1/18	Sydenham, Lewisham	54	Ansell, John	Visitor	W	52	Agricultural Labourer	Deaf		
13	HO1634	485/90	54/15	Shoreditch	54	Apes, Ann	Wife	M	46	Penshurst	Deaf		
14	HO1634	402/477	210/20	Brookland	64	Apes, Mary	Dau	U	16	Willisborough	Deaf		
15	HO1634	513/818	280/25	Goudhurst	110 Church Row	Apes, Mary	Dau	U	16	Goudhurst	Deaf		
16	HO1634	289/464	16/1/12	Willesborough	41 Court Lodge	Apes, William	Head	N	72	St Mary's, Dover	Deaf		
17	HO1634	517/1618	380/25	Goudhurst	110 Church Row	Arnold, Ann	Head	W	70	In receipt of Relief Nurse	Deaf		
18	HO1634	179/565	99/77	Guston	25 Guston	Arnold, David	Visitor	W	80	Lodging Housekeeper	Margate		
19	HO1634	463/464	249/18	St John the Baptist, Margate	77 Paddington Square	Arnold, John	Head	W	80	Padger formerly Miller	Elham		
20	HO1634	270/565	147/30	Charlton Near Dover	136 23 Lower Street	Arnold, David	Visitor	W	70	Master Carpenter	Margate		
21	HO1634	57/508	280/22	St John the Baptist, Margate	86 7 Vinters Lane	Arnold, James D.	Head	M	47	Master Carpenter	Deaf		
22	HO1634	472/473	15/1/40	St. Mary's, Margate	86 7 Vinters Lane	Arnold, John E.	Head	M	49	Seaman	Deaf		
23	HO1634	347/567	67/53	Chiddingstone	10 Battle Oak	Atchdown, Mary	Wife	W	66	Maidstone	Deaf		
24	HO1634	23/1/34	13/2/21	Charing	86 Dog Kennel	Atkins, Sophia	Head	S	40	Blacksmith	Deaf		
25	HO1607	432/597	217/13	Erith, Northumberland Heath	51	Atkinson, William	Wife	M	49	Richard	Deaf & Dumb		
26	HO1634	282/477	148/30	Lydd	117	Austin, Phoebe	Dau	W	5	Lydd	Deaf		
27	HO1634	358/549	220/4	Ospringe	13 Painters Fordal	Austin, Hamett	Head	W	5	Norton	Deaf & Dumb		
28	HO1630	385/547	169/17	Ramsgate, St George	75 8 Belle Gras Hill	Austin, Isabette	Dau	S	9	Scholar	Deaf & Dumb		
29	HO1609	404/537	90/1/48	Chislehurst	164 Chapel Lane	Axtre, Sarah	Niece	S	12	Ramsdale	Deaf		
30	HO1587	643/969	339/4	Greenwich	13 Woolwich Road	Bailey, Robert	Wife	S	23	Cordwainer	Deaf		
31	HO1634	572/636	391/3	St Leonard, Hythe	11 Dryburgh Road	Bailey, Elizabeth	Wife	M	38	Poplar	Marden		
32	HO1610	432/473	223/36	St Margaret	142 Morden Street	Bajant, William	Visitor	S	81	Debtling	Faversham		
33	HO1634	40/534	320/3	Faversham	10 Abbey St.	Baker, Emma	Head	M	44	Scholar	Deaf		
34	HO1634	40/534	220/2	Faversham	10 Abbey St.	Baker, Fanny	Visitor	S	81	Teacher	Deaf		
35	HO1634	537/766	374/15	St Leonard, Hythe	67 High Street	Baker, Richard	Head	M	60	Master Basket-Walker	Hythe		
36	HO1606	209/605	104/1	Bromley	1 Barnet Building, Gravel Pits	Balcomb, Amelia	Head	W	38	Laundress	Bromley		

**Appendix B: Householder's instructions for completing the 1851 Census**

FORMS AND INSTRUCTIONS.

5

[No. 2.]

LIST of the MEMBERS of this FAMILY, of VISITORS, and of SERVANTS who SLEPT or ABODED in this House on the NIGHT of SUNDAY, MARCH 30th.						
NAME and SURNAME.	RELATION to Head of Family,	CONDITION.	SEX.	RANK, PROFESSION, or OCCUPATION.	AGE [Last Birthday.]	WHERE BORN.
No Person absent on the Night of March 30th to be entered.				For Indians		If Deaf and Dumb, or Blind.
Write down the Name of the Head of the Family, and the Names of his Wife, Children, and others of the same Surname; then Visitors, Servants, &c.	State whether Wife, Son, Daughter, or other Relative.	Wife, "Mistress," "Husband," or "Master," against the Name of all Persons except Young Children.	Will, "All Males and Females, including Servants, &c."	(Before filling in this Column, you are requested to read the Instructions on the other side.)	For Indians	Opposite the Name of those born in England, write the County, and those born in Scotland, Ireland, the British Colonies, the East Indies, or in Foreign Parts, write the Country in the last case, if a British Subject, and, "British Subject," Rec.
1						
2						
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14						
15						

The foregoing is a true Return concerning all the Members of this Family. Witness my Hand,

## CENSUS OF THE POPULATION.

No. 1851.

HOUSEHOLDER'S SCHEDULE.  
(Proposed under the direction of one of Her Majesty's Principal  
Secretarys of State.)

Parish or Township	
Town, Village, Hamlet, &c.,	
Street, Square, &c., or Road, &c.,	
Name or No. of House, &c.,	

### To the Householder.

You are requested to insert the particulars specified on the other page, respecting all the persons who slept or abode in your house on the night of March 30th, in compliance with an Act which passed the House of Commons, and the House of Lords, in the last Session of Parliament, and received the assent of Her Majesty, the Queen, on the 5th of August, 1850.

*This Paper will be called for on Monday, March 31st,  
by the appointed Officer,*

and if you have trouble if, as the Act requires, you have the answers written in the proper columns by that time. It is his duty to verify the facts, and if you have omitted to comply with the above instructions, to record them at your residence on that day.

Persons who refuse to give correct information, incur a *Penalty of Five Pounds*, besides the inconvenience and annoy-  
ance of exposing before two Justices of the Peace, and being  
convicted of having made a wilful mis-statement of age, or  
of any of the other particulars.

The Return is required to enable the Secretary of State to complete the Census; which is to show the number of the population— their arrangement by ages and families in different ranks, professions, employments, and trades—their distribution over the country in villages, towns, and cities—  
their increase and progress in the last ten years.

**GEORGE GHAHAM,**  
*Registrar, General,*  
*Approved,*  
**G. GREY.**

## GENERAL INSTRUCTION.

*This Schedule is to be filled up by the OCCUPIER or Person in charge of the house, if the house is let or subject to different persons or families, in separate stories or apartments, the OCCUPIER or Person in charge of each such story or apartment must make a separate return for his portion of the house upon a separate Householder's Schedule.*

### INSTRUCTIONS for filling up the Column headed "RANK, PROFESSION, or OCCUPATION."

The term FARMER to be applied only to the occupier of land, who is to be returned—"Farmer" [317] acres, employing [12] labourers? the number of acres, and of in and out-door labourers, on March 31st, being in all cases inserted. Sons or daughters employed at home or on the farm, may be returned—"Farmer's Son," "Farmer's Daughter."

In TRADES the Master is to be distinguished from the Journeyman, and Apprentice, thus—"Carpenter—Master-employer [5] men," inserting always the number of persons of the trade in his employ on March 31st.

In the case of WORKERS IN MINES OR MANUFACTURES, and generally in the consecutive Arts, the particular branch of work, and the material, are always to be distinctly expressed, if they are not implied in the names, as in Carpenter, Boat-founder, Wood-carver, Silk-weaver, Where the trade is much subdivided, both trade and branch are to be returned thus—"Watches—Watches," "Printer—Compositor."

A person following more than one distinct trade may insert his occupations in the order of their importance, as MESSENGERS, PORTERS, LABOURERS, and SERVANTS, to be described according to the place and nature of their employment.

Persons following no Profession, Trade, or calling, and holding no public office, but deriving their incomes chiefly from land, houses, mines, or other real property, from dividends, interest of money, annuities, &c., may designate themselves as "Land Proprietor," "Proprietor of Minas," "Proprietor of Houses," "Fund-holder," &c., &c., as the case may be. Persons of advanced age who have retired from business to be entered thus—"Retired Silk Merchant," "Retired Watchmaker," &c.

**ALL PEOPLE,** and persons in the receipt of parish relief should, after being described as such, have their previous occupations inserted.

**WOMEN AND CHILDREN.—**The titles or occupations of ladies who are householders to be entered according to the above instructions. The occupations of women who are regularly employed from home, or at home, in any but domestic duties, to be distinctly recorded. So also of children above five years of age, if daily attending school, or receiving regular tuition under a master or governess at home, while "Scholar," and in the latter case add "at home,"

**PERSONS ENGAGED IN COMMERCE, as Merchants, Agents, Clerks, Commercial Travellers, to state the particular kind of business in which they are engaged, or the staple in which they deal,**

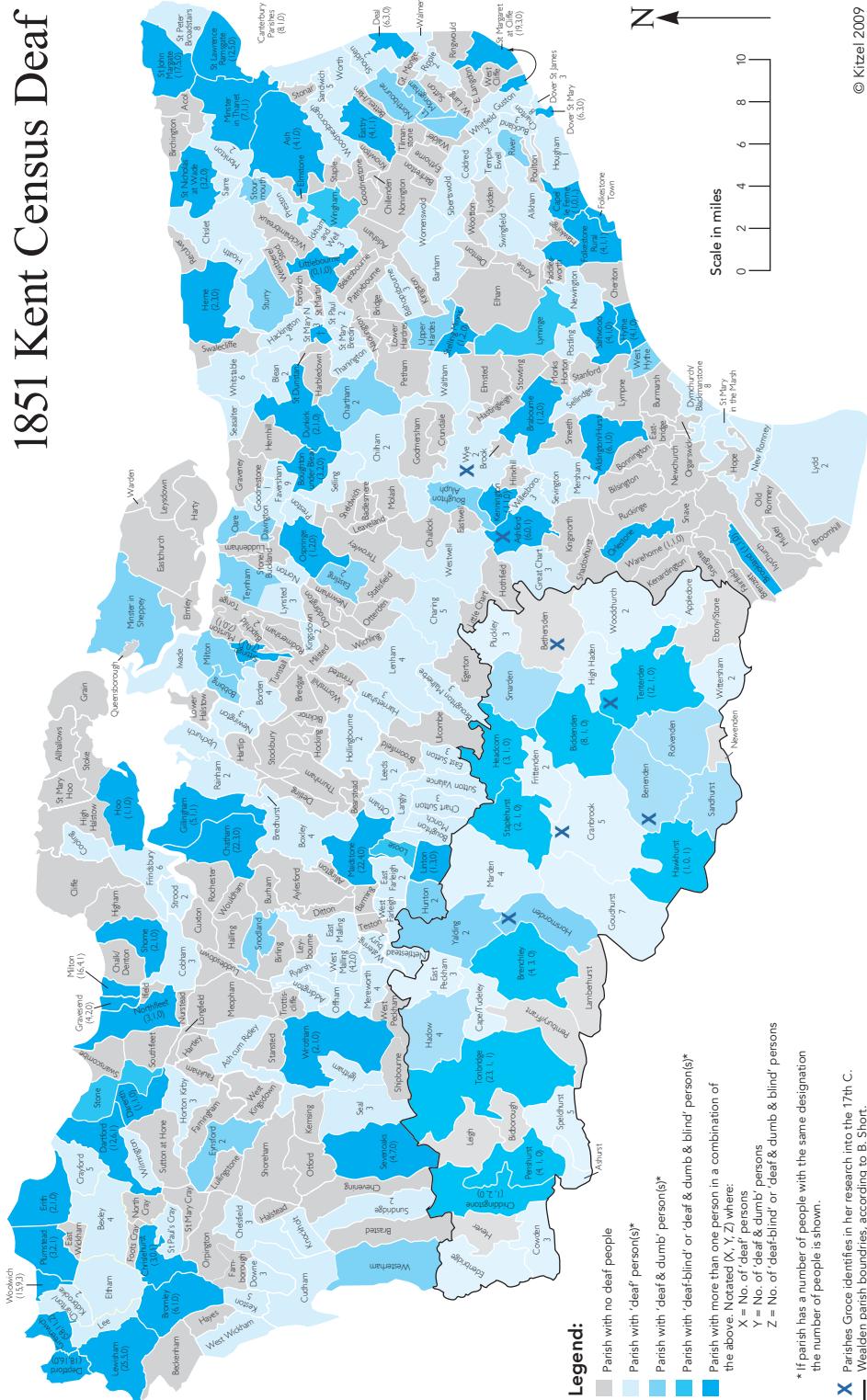
### EXAMPLES OF THE MODE OF FILLING UP THE RETURN.

Name and Surname.	Relation to Head of Family.	Condition.	Sex.	Age last Birth-day.	Rank, Profession, or Occupation.	Where Born.	If Deaf-and-Dumb or Blind.
1 George Wood.	Head of Family	Married	M.	48	Farmer of 111 acres employing 4 labourers)	Kent, Dartford	
2 Maria Wood.	Wife	Married	F.	44	Farmer's Wife	Middlesex, Chiswick	
3 Emily Wood.	Daughter	Unmarried	F.	22	Farmer's Daughter	Kent, Chichester	
4 Alan Wood.	Son	Unmarried	M.	20	Farmer's Son	Kent, Chichester	
5 Florence Wood.	Daughter	Unmarried	F.	14	Scholar	Kent, Beckenham	
6 Jane Holmes.	Visitor	Widow	F.	39	Amantuit	Canada	
7 Eliza Edwards.	Servant	Unmarried	F.	24	House Servant	Kent, Gravesend	
8 Thomas Young.	Servant	Unmarried	M.	15	Farm Labourer	Surrey, Croydon	
1 Janet Cox.	Head of Family	Widow	F.	49	Glover	Scotland, Edinburgh	
2 Sophie Cox.	Daughter	Unmarried	F.	24	Hand Loom Weaver (Silk)	Middlesex, Finchley	
3 Alexander Cox.	Son	Unmarried	M.	22	Errand Boy	Surrey, Lambeth	
4 William Cox.	Mother-in-Law	Widow	F.	72	Formerly Laundress	Middlesex, Bethnal Green	
5 Margaret Cox.	Nephew	Unmarried	M.	24	Printer—Pressman	France (British Subject)	

POPULATION RETURNS—ENGLAND AND WALES—

## **Appendix C: Map of 1851 Kent deaf population**

(A larger copy is available on the attached CD-ROM)



**Appendix D: Kent-born individuals at the Asylum for Deaf and Dumb**

**Poor Children, Bermondsey, in the 1851 Census Enumerators' Book**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
PDF Name	Page in PDF	Leaf/page	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First)	Rel2/Hoh	Cond/Ae (M&Ae f&E Rank)	Profession or Co. of Birth	Comm of Birth	Final Column Ds			
1 HO1071563	1050/1065	544/4	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Beer, Susan M	Pupil	S	10 Pupil	Kent	Coldred			
2 HO1071563	1061/1065	550/15	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Sneller, John	Pupil	S	13 Pupil	Kent	Deal			
3 HO1071563	1061/1065	547/10	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Jones, Thomas Henry	Pupil	S	13 Pupil	Kent	Deptford			
4 HO1071563	1056/1065	549/13	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Roberts, Fredrick C	Pupil	S	12 Pupil	Kent	Deptford			
5 HO1071563	1059/1065	549/14	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Stanton, Rosina	Pupil	S	14 Pupil	Kent	Deptford			
6 HO1071563	1060/1065	549/14	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Watson, Caroline	Wife	M	46 Wife of Principal	Kent	Deptford			
7 HO1071563	1047/1065	543/1	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Welton, Maria M	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Deptford			
8 HO1071563	1063/1065	551/17	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Newington, William	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Dover			
9 HO1071563	1058/1065	548/12	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Salmon, Jane	Seamstress	S	66 Teacher	Kent	Elham			
10 HO1071563	1049/1065	544/3	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Marvis, John	Pupil	S	11 Pupil	Kent	Erith			
11 HO1071563	1056/1065	547/10	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Lackey, Mary Ann	General servant	S	36 Domestic Servant	Kent	Farmborough			
12 HO1071563	1049/1065	544/3	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Stedman, Henry	Pupil	S	13 Pupil	Kent	Faversham			
13 HO1071563	1060/1065	549/14	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Thompson, George	Pupil	S	10 Pupil	Kent	Folkstone			
14 HO1071563	1062/1065	550/16	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Brown, William J.	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Greenwich			
15 HO1071563	1050/1065	544/4	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Buttersworth, Thomas	Pupil	S	10 Pupil	Kent	Greenwich			
16 HO1071563	1050/1065	544/4	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Hewett, Harriett	Pupil	S	13 Pupil	Kent	Greenwich			
17 HO1071563	1055/1065	547/9	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Killlick, Ann	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Hayes			
18 HO1071563	1056/1065	547/10	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Collins, Eunna E	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Margate			
19 HO1071563	1052/1065	545/6	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Cowell, Jane	Pupil	S	10 Pupil	Kent	Margate			
20 HO1071563	1051/1065	545/5	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Cannon, Ann E.	Pupil	S	13 Pupil	Kent	Northfleet			
21 HO1071563	1052/1065	545/6	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Thomas, Jane	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Northfleet			
22 HO1071563	1062/1065	550/16	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Langford, Mary	Seamstress	S	31 Teacher	Kent	Ospring			
23 HO1071563	1049/1065	544/3	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Curtis, Ellen	Pupil	S	7 Pupil	Kent	Sevenoaks			
24 HO1071563	1047/1065	543/1	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Emery, Richard	Pupil	S	10 Pupil	Kent	St Mary Cray			
25 HO1071563	1054/1065	546/8	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Cowper, Alfred	Pupil	S	11 Pupil	Kent	Staplehurst			
26 HO1071563	1052/1065	545/6	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Spong, Sarah M	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Stourmouth			
27 HO1071563	1061/1065	550/15	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Marsh, George	Pupil	S	11 Pupil	Kent	Sturry			
28 HO1071563	1058/1065	548/12	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Roser, Thomas	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Tunbridge			
29 HO1071563	1060/1065	549/14	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Hewson, William	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Wickhamburrough			
30 HO1071563	1055/1065	547/9	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Carlin, Andrew J	Pupil	S	9 Pupil	Kent	Woolwich			
31 HO1071563	1052/1065	545/6	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd	Hollands, John	Pupil	S	14 Pupil	Kent	Wratham			
32 HO1071563	1055/1065	547/9	St George the Martyr	Kent Rd									

## Appendix E: Asylum alumni living in Kent in 1851

PDF Name	Page in PDF	Leaf/ba	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First)	Column 1	Age - At/From	Profession or Occu-	Community of Birth/Final Column 1
						U	: 31	Dress Maker	Kent Tonbridge
HO161.3	346/465	249/26	Sevenoaks	75 Branks Lane	Barnholme, Elizabeth	Dau			Deaf & Dumb
HO161.3	346/465	249/26	Tarent	75 Little Daninch	Barnholme, Mercy	U	29	Laundress	Kent Sevenoaks
HO160.7C	346/19	60/6/19	Deal	128 2 Fisher's Alley	Bowers, Walter	Son	22	Shoe Maker	Deaf & Dumb
HO163.1C	422/508	8/3/29	St Margaret	140 2 Jerusalem Row	Buckles, Richard	Son	19	Shoe Maker	Deaf & Dumb
HO161.0	3122/473	170/41	Gravesend	Gravesend Milton Union Tratalgar Rd.	Candler, John	Son	23	Tailor	Kent Rochester
HO160.8	315/474	17/16	Deptford, St Pauls	128 New King St.	Cole, Thomas	Immate	21	Rya	Deaf & Blind
HO158.4	1160/1493	60/1/51	Deptford, St Pauls	39 Wellington St.	Connor, Mary Ann	Dau	21		Deaf & Dumb
HO161.7B	12/591	335/710	Maidstone	96 3 Hare St.	Coombes, Jane	Dau	17	Dress maker	Kent Maidstone
HO158.9	34/882	16/6/24	Woolwich	412 20 West Street	Connish, William Henry	Son	27	Book Maker/Journeymen	Kent Deptford
HO163.1C	267/508	73/5/9	Deal	8	Dadd, Eliza	Dau	31	Plain Work	Kent Deal
HO162.6B	3119/534	465/2	Bersting	8 Bridges	Filmer, Mary	Dau	5	Receiving Parish Relief	Kent Faversham
HO161.7C	3116/567	70/9/2	Northbourne	26 Tingham Street	Grasson, Harriet	Dau	22		Deaf & Dumb
HO163.1B	3/590	30/1/7	Minster in Sheppey	55 Short Street	Holmes, Mary	Dau	23		Deaf & Dumb
HO162.8	330/739	177/13	Milton in Sheppey	Milton Union Work House	Husson, Elizabeth	Immate	5		Deaf & Dumb
HO162.7B	4/738	257/35	Milton-next-Sittingbourne	14	Jackson, Elizabeth	Immate	20		Deaf & Dumb
HO163.4	386/477	20/2/4	Brookland	44 High Street	Kemp, William	lodger	23	Shoe Maker	Kent Sittingbourne
HO161.5	79/464	41/10	Tonbridge	King Street	Larking, Anne	Dau	5	At home	Deaf & Dumb
HO161.0	33/473	230/1	St Margaret	1 King Street	Marsh, George	Son	25	Journeymen Carpenter	Kent Tonbridge
HO161.0	433/473	230/1	St Margaret	Elham Union Workhouse	Marsh, Sarah	Dau	21	Dress Maker	St. Margarets
HO163.3B	125/636	364/6	Lyminster	83 2 Crop Alley	Morgan, Sarah	Pauper	5	Pauper	Deaf & Dumb
HO158.9	6/882	15/22	Woolwich	East Greenwich Workhouse	Morris, Jane	Dau	5	Milliner	Kent Woolwich
HO158.7	30/959	394/2	Greenwich	107 Village Ship Public House	Nicholls, Thomas	Immate	41		Deaf & Dumb
HO162.6	195/549	106/36	Boughton under Blean	176 9 Hude St.	Pay, Edward	Visitor	5	Labourer	Kent Dunkirk
HO158.4	1084/1493	562/37	Deptford, St Pauls	36 Chapel Street	Tibbs, Henry	Head	31	Shoemaker	Kent Woolwich
HO162.8	154/739	24/2/9	Minster, Blue Sheerness	Mostenden Farm	Tuckes, Charles	Son	5	Journeymen Tailor	Deaf & Dumb
HO161.8B	306/480	477/11	Handcomb	135 Durham Hill	Viney, Samuel	Son	27	Farmers Son	Kent Headcorn
HO163.2B	115/579	359/32	St Mary's, Dover	194 9 St Martin's Street	Walker, Benjamin	Head	35	Carpenter	Kent Dover
HO163.2B	344/519	465/57	S Mary's, Dover	54 2 Bridge Street	Walker, James	Son	34		Deaf & Dumb
HO158.6-1	171/541	9/2/17	Aldington	120	Web, George Frances	Son	28		Kent Greenwich
HO162.2	172/464	9/3/2	Lewisham	Lewisham Union Workhouse	Wilson, William	Brother	44	Carpenter	Kent Aldington
HO159.1	35/1157	391/16	Lewisham	Wood, Martha	Pauper	S	21	Pauper, formerly NK	Kent Woolwich

## **Appendix F: The 1676 Episcopal Returns for eighteen Weald parishes**

(The following survey questions and enumerations are abstracted from: Turner, G.L. (editor) 1911: *Original Records of early nonconformity under persecution and indulgence*, v1. London: Unwin 20-26)

The survey questions:

'In the section regarding the **Episcopal Returns of 1676**, three enquiry questions were asked. (I translate).

1st. What number of persons are by common account and estimation Inhabiting within such parish subject unto this jurisdiction?

2<sup>dly</sup>. What number of Popish Recusants or persons suspected for such Recusancy are there resident amongst the inhabitants aforesaid?

3<sup>dly</sup>. What number of other Dissenters are there in the each Parish (of whatsoever) which either obstinately refuse or wholly absent themselves from the Communion of the Church of England at such times as by Law they are required? (p20)'

'There is an additional note (original) :

"May it please your Grace

With all due reverence Wee here returne a particular Account (Children under the age of Sixteene omitted) in answer to the Enquiries foregoing as We receive it from the Ministers of the severall Parishes within your Graces Dioces of Canterbury as followeth:" (p20)'

The answers to the survey may be read for each parish in the order of  
Parish 1 (Inhabitants) ... 2 (Catholic 'Recusants') ... 3 (Dissenters)

Benenden	560 ... 24 ... 45
Biddenden	700 ... 00 ... 90
Cranbrook	1300 ... 02 ... 400
Frittenden	0215 ... 00 ... 84
Halden	0200 ... 00 ... 36

Headcorne	0252 ... 00 ... 46
Hawkhurst	1000 ... 00 ... 150
Newenden	0030 ... 00 ... 02
Rolvenden	0400 ... 00 ... 40
Smarden	0210 ... 00 ... 100
Sandhurst	0193 ... 00 ... 75
Tenterden	1200 ... 01 ... 300
Goudhurst	1000 ... 00 ... 100
Marden	0700 ... 01 ... 30
Staplehurst	0455 ... 00 ... 160
Wittersham	144 ... 01 ... 19
Woodchurch	200 ... 00 ... 16

Totals for the Diocese of Canterbury: 59596 ... 142 ... 6287

Totals from the project Parishes: 8759 ... 28 ... 1693

As percentages of the Diocesan Totals: 14.697 ... 19.718 ... 26.928

Additional information:

Total number of parishes included in the Diocese return: 275

NOTE: The following pages were originally submitted as .pdf files on a CD-ROM for ease of access and navigation. The original file names are as follows:

CD-ROM Appendix 1: 1851 Kent Census Deaf  
CD-ROM Appendix 2: Parish Baptism Charts (4 parts)  
CD-ROM Appendix 3: Wealden Family Network  
CD-ROM Appendix 4: American Colonists with Deaf Descendents

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First Column)	Co Age = A	Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth	Final Column D				
2	HO1584	137/1493	72/35	Deptford, St Pauls	93 ..	Head M	.. Agent	Middlesex		Deaf				
3	HO1621b	236/496	420/31	Ashford	114 Barrow Hill Place	Adler, Eliza	Wife M	45		Tonbridge	Deaf			
4	HO1616b	397/480	511/14	East Farleigh	43 Coxheath Almhouse	Albury, Ann	Head W	88	Alm House (Pauper)	East Farleigh	Deaf			
5	HO1614	162/383	87/7	Speldhurst	28 Red Land	Alcock, John	Head M	56	Farm of 18 Acres	Tonbridge	Deaf			
6	HO1615	13/464	7/6	Tonbridge	20 Cage Green	Allen, Ellen	Wife M	39		Hayes	Deaf			
7	HO1613c	450/567	727/7	Penshurst	25 Finch Green House	Allen, John	Son U	26	Shoemaker	Penshurst	Deaf			
8	HO1613c	450/567	727/7	Penshurst	25 Finch Green House	Allen, Richard	Son U	23	Farm Labourer	Penshurst	Dumb			
9	HO1631b	417/590	510/14	Monegham, Little	54 East Studdall	Allen, William	Son	10		Sutton	Deaf & Dumb			
10	HO1633b	373/636	492/16	Newington, Hythe	37 Pound House	Amos, Mildred	Lodger W	79	(Pauper)	Swingfield	Deaf			
11	HO1625b	328/508	419/15	Whitstable	63	Andrews, Catherine	Dau S	15		Whitstable	Deaf			
12	HO1591	917/1157	491/18	Sydenham, Lewisham	60 Sydenham	Andrews, Rebecca	Wife M	46	Post Office Keeper	Shoreditch	Deaf			
13	HO1631b	485/590	546/15	Sholden	54	Ansell, John	Head M	40	Agricultural Labourer	Goodnestone	Deaf			
14	HO1634	402/477	210/20	Brookland	84	Apps, Ann	Wife M	52		New Romney	Deaf			
15	HO1619	513/818	280/25	Goudhurst	110 1 Church Row	Apps, Mary	Dau U	46		Goudhurst	Deaf			
16	HO1622	299/464	161/12	Willesborough	41 Court Lodge	Apps, Mary	Dau U	16		Willesborough	Deaf			
17	HO1619	513/818	280/25	Goudhurst	110 1 Church Row	Apps, William	Head M	72	Grocer & Malster	Goudhurst	Deaf			
18	HO1632	179/565	99/7	Guston	25 Guston	Arnold, Ann	Head W	70	In receipt of Relief Nurse	St Mary's, Dover	Deaf			
19	HO1629	463/464	249/18	St John the Baptist, Margate	77 Addington Square	Arnold, Ann	Head W	80	Lodging Housekeeper	Margate	Deaf			
20	HO1632	270/565	147/30	Charlton Near Dover	136 23 Lower Street	Arnold, David	Visitor	70	Pauper formerly Miller	Elham	Deaf			
21	HO1629b	57/508	280/22	St John the Baptist, Margate	86 7 Vinters Lane	Arnold, James D.	Head M	47	Master Carpenter	Margate	Deaf			
22	HO1610	472/473	249/40	St Margaret	102 Delce Lane	Arnold, John E	Head M	49	Fisherman	Maidstone	Deaf			
23	HO1613c	347/567	675/3	Chiddingstone	10 Battle Oak	Ashdown, Mary	Wife M	66		Cowden	Deaf			
24	HO1621	253/384	132/21	Charing	86 Dog Kennel	Atkins, Sophia	Wife M	45	Farm Bailiffs Wife	Charing	Deaf			
25	HO1607	432/597	217/13	Erith, Northumberland Heath	51	Atkinson, William	Head S	40	Blacksmith	Pichardy	Deaf & Dumb			
26	HO1634	282/477	148/30	Lydd	117	Austen, Phoebe	Wife M	49		Lydd	Deaf			
27	HO1626	398/549	220/4	Ospringe	13 Painters Forstal	Austin, Harriett	Dau	5		Norton	Deaf & Dumb			
28	HO1630b	383/547	499/17	Ramsgate, St George	75 8 Belle Gras Hill	Austin, Janette	Dau	9	Scholar	Ramsgate	Deaf & Dumb			
29	HO1606b	404/537	501/48	Chislehurst	184 Chapel Lane	Axtete, Sarah	Niece S	17		Surrey	Rotherhilde	Deaf		
30	HO1587	643/989	339/4	Greenwich	13 Woolwich Road	Ba., Robert	S	23	Cordwainer	Middlesex	Poplar	Deaf		
31	HO1633b	572/636	591/3	St Leonard, Hythe	11 Dymchurch Road	Bailey, Elizabeth	Wife M	38	Charwoman	Kent	Marden	Deaf		
32	HO1610	432/473	223/36	St Margaret	142 Morden Street	Bajant, William	Visitor S	81	Labourer	Kent	Debtling	Deaf & Dumb		
33	HO1626b	40/534	320/3	Faversham	10 Abbey St.	Baker, Emma	Dau	8	Scholar	Faversham	Deaf			
34	HO1626b	40/534	320/3	Faversham	10 Abbey St.	Baker, Isaac	Head M	44	Tailor	Sussex	Winchelsea	Deaf		
35	HO1633b	537/636	574/15	St Leonard, Hythe	67 High Street	Baker, Richard	Head M	80	Master Basket-Maker	Kent	Hythe	Deaf & Dumb		
36	HO1606	209/605	104/1	Bromley	1 Barrett Building, Gravel Pits	Balcomb, Amelia	Head W	38	Laundress	Kent	Bromley	Deaf		
37	HO1615	217/454	312/29	Tonbridge	113 Calverley Road, East Park	Baldwin, Mary Ann	Dau U	13	Scholar	Sussex	Ticehurst	Deaf		
38	HO1607b	258/601	429/17	Dartford	65 St James Place, No. 7	Baldwin, William	Head M	23	Blacksmith	Kent	Dartford	Deaf		
39	HO1613b	45/460	274/16	Sevenoaks	49 Fellmongers	Banbridge, Richard	Head M	60	Ag Lab	Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf		
40	HO1611c	306/388	557/18	Gillingham, Brompton	81 44 High Street	Banes, Henry	Head M	40	Hatter (Master)	Kent	Brompton	Deaf		
41	HO1618b	462/480	508/7	Headcorn	23 Church Yard	Barber, Jane	Lodger S	48		unknown	unknown	Deaf		
42	HO1612b	72/381	236/22	West Malling	88 Swan Street	Barden, John	Son	12	Scholar	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf		
43	HO1612b	72/381	236/22	West Malling	88 Swan Street	Barden, Mercy	Wife M	40		Kent	Marden	Deaf		
44	HO1632c	154/617	681/28	Hougham, Christ Church, Dover	95 Mount Pleasant	Barfield, Louisa	Dau	13		Kent	Dover	Deaf		
45	HO1626	161/549	89/2	Boughton under Blean	9 Village	Barker, Lydia	Wife M	42	Farmer Wife	Kent	Hernhill	Deaf		
46	HO1621	11/384	7/6	Smarden	18 Marlow	Barman, Mary	Visitor U	50	Pauper	Kent	Woodchurch	Deaf & Dumb		
47	HO1585	46/405	24/40	Deptford, St Nicholas	162 68 Stowage	Barnes, Jane	Head W	60		Essex	Windsor	Deaf		
48	HO1608b	99/468	299/38	Milton-next-Gravesend	132 4 Berkley Crescent	Barnett, Martha	Dau	13	Scholar	Middlesex	Shoreditch	Deaf & Dumb		
49	HO1616b	201/480	404/16	Otham	53 Stone Acre Cottage	Barrow, Mercy	Wife M	56		Kent	Boughton Monchelsea	Deaf		
50	HO1607b	262/601	431/21	Dartford	86 Spital St.	Barrum, Mary A.	Head W	56	Marine Stores	Kent	Chatham	Deaf		
51	HO1613	464/465	249/26	Sevenoaks	75 Brans Lane	Bartholomew, Cordelia	Dau	6	Scholar	Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf & Dumb		
52	HO1613	464/465	249/26	Sevenoaks	75 Brans Lane	Bartholomew, Edward	Son U	19	Shoe Maker	Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf & Dumb		
53	HO1613	464/465	249/26	Sevenoaks	75 Brans Lane	Bartholomew, Elizabeth	Dau U	31	Dress Maker	Kent	Tonbridge	Deaf & Dumb		
54	HO1613	464/465	249/26	Sevenoaks	75 Brans Lane	Bartholomew, Mercy	U	29	Laundress	Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf & Dumb		
55	HO1613	464/465	249/26	Sevenoaks	75 Brans Lane	Bartholomew, Richard	Son	9	Scholar	Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf & Dumb		
56	HO1614	53/383	29/8	Speldhurst, Tonbridge Wells	25 Mt Ephraim	Bartholomew, Sarah	Niece U	13	None	Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf		
57	HO1615b	388/530	455/37	Brenchley	120 Park Farm	Barton, Elizabeth	Dau	13	Scholar	Kent	Brenchley	Deaf		
58	HO1615b	344/530	432/23	Brenchley	87	Barton, Horace	Son	7		Kent	Cowden	Deaf & Dumb		
59	HO1615b	344/539	432/23	Brenchley	87	Barton, Kate	Dau	6		Kent	Benchley	Deaf & Dumb		
60	HO1587	847/989	446/12	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Barward, William	Private P/S	66	Carpenter In pensioner	Middlesex	St Lukes	Deaf		

1	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
				Name (Surname, First Column)	Co Age = At	Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth					Final Column D
61	HO1607c	251/619	725/13	Horton Kirby, South Danford	52 Lumberth St.	Bassett, John	Lodger	S	55	Ag Lab	Surrey	Sissy	Deaf
62	HO1628	249/739	133/14	Minster, Sheerness	55 Bell Alley	Bassett, William	Son	7	7	Scholar	Kent	Isle of Sheppy	Deaf & Dumb
63	HO1609b	178/664	391/27	Frindsbury	86 Upper Upnor	Batchelor, Elizabeth	Head	W	96	Pauper	Kent	St Margarets	Deaf
64	HO1611b	230/383	319/17	Chatham	69 Maggie Hall, Listmas Cottage	Batchelor, Maria	Cousin	U	23		Kent	Chatham	Deaf
65	HO1626b	321/534	466/4	Eastling	16 Eastling Street	Bates, Harriett	Dau	S	46	Housekeeper	Kent	Eastling	Deaf & Dumb
66	HO1619	42/818	23/6	Frittendon	Little Bubhurst	Bates, Stephen	Head	M	61	Farmer 38 acre employs	Kent	Frittendon	Deaf
67	HO1619	261/818	149/14	Cranbrook, Trinity, Milkhouse	52 Milkhouse Farm	Batson, Mary	Mother	M	91	Pauper	Cambridge	Mitchford	Deaf
68	HO1611	296/379	157/31	Chatham	140 Rhode Street No 6	Batty, Charles	Head	M	64	Sup'r Shipwright	Kent	Houghton	Deaf
69	HO1591	391/1157	210/2	Lewisham	4 Lewisham Hill Gramar School	Beagley, Charlotte	Servant	S	21	Cook	Middlesex	Sheppards Bush	Deaf
70	HO1628	378/739	202/24	Minster, Sheerness	112 High Street	Beal, John	Visitor	S	22	Carriers Clerk	Kent	Sheerness	Deaf
71	HO1630b	424/547	520/18	Ramsgate, Christchurch	76 2 Royal Terrace	Beamish, Edward H.	Son	S	5		Kent	Ramsgate	Deaf & Dumb
72	HO1621b	408/496	406/3	Ashford	9 New Rents	Beaney, Kitty	Niece		10		Kent	Ashford	Deaf
73	HO1611d	48/371	624/17	Gillingham, New Brompton	70 Fox Street	Beck, Christiana	Dau		10		Kent	New Brompton	Deaf & Dumb
74	HO1589	459/882	245/23	Woolwich	107 14 Lower Market St.	Beck, Fanny	Wife	M	76		Sussex	Hastings	Deaf
75	HO1587	877/989	462/7	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Beckford, William	Private P.W.	P	51	Private Pensioner	Devonshire	Devonport	Deaf
76	HO1615b	401/530	452/6	Brenchley	22 Near Matfield Green, Maycot Fa	Beecher, Elizabeth	Head	W	79	Farmer 112 acres/own land	Kent	Pembury	Deaf
77	HO1632c	451/617	837/8	Ewell	26 Ewell	Beer, Eleanor	Wife	M	55		Kent	Arpise	Deaf
78	HO1590	145/966	79/8	Charlton	26 Old Charlton	Beldom, Thomas	Head	M	37	Blacksmith Journeyman	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf
79	HO1586-1	20/541	11/14	Greenwich	7 Church Street	Bell, Mary A.	Wife	M	48		Essex	Ilford, Great	Deaf
80	HO1619	628/818	343/4	Hawkhurst	57 Baretitt	Bellingham, Philadelphia	Mother	W	56	Late Husband Farm Lab	Sussex	Ewhurst	Deaf
81	HO1634a	431/559	234/1	Marden	3 Winchet Hill	Benge, Henry	Head	M	47	Ag Lab	Kent	Marden	Deaf
82	HO1625	24/478	12/16	Christchurch, Canterbury	15 Brick Walk	Bennett, William	Head	W	84	Minor Canon of Canterbury	Cambridgesh	Fly	Deaf
83	HO1623b	80/286	291/19	Barham	66 Berrington	Bensfield, Elizabeth	Head	W	50	Pauper, Ag Lab Widow	Kent	Ashford	Deaf
84	HO1618	346/465	184/14	Harriettsham	49 Brickhouse	Bentley, Sarah	Head	W	58	Widow of Ag Lab Char Wor	Kent	Ulcomb	Deaf
85	HO1634	75/477	38/30	Dymchurch	125	Bickell, Robert	Head	M	39	Boatman Coast Guard Serv	Devon	Devonport	Deaf
86	HO1618	18/465	10/11	Boxley	33 Westfield Side	Bigg, John	Son	U	19	Farmer's Son	Kent	Boxley	Deaf
87	HO1618	18/465	10/11	Boxley	33 Westfield Side	Bigg, Richard	Head	M	55	Farmer of 22 acres not em	Kent	Leeds	Deaf
88	HO1613	9/465	5/2	Seal	10 Stake Cottages	Bignell, George	Lodger	W	73	Ag Lab	Surrey	N.K.	Deaf
89	HO1591	467/1157	250/25	Lewisham	127 King Street	Billens, William	Head	W	74	Plasterer	Middlesex	Marylebone	Deaf
90	HO1618b	105/480	307/9	Boughton Malherbe	63 Grafty Green	Bills, William	Head	W	77	Laborer	Kent	Headcorn	Deaf
91	HO1621	233/384	122/1	Charing	1 Stockershead	Bills, William	Head	M	25	Ag Labourer	Kent	Charing	Deaf
92	HO1632	202/565	112/3	Charlton Near Dover	12 5 High Street	Birch, Ann	Head	W	81	Proprietess of Houses	Kent	Wersham	Deaf
93	HO1629b	21/508	261/14	St John the Baptist, Margate	62 6 Charlotte Place	Birch, Edward	Son	16		At home	Kent	St James Parish, Dover	Deaf & Dumb
94	HO1588	203/978	106/38	Woolwich	161 31 George St.	Bishop, Ann	Wife	M	26		Kent	Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb
95	HO1607b	271/601	435/30	Dartford	119 Martin Court No.14	Bisk, Francis	Head	M	57	Lab Ag	Kent	Bexley	Deaf
96	HO1630	347/575	188/23	St Lawrence	96 Hereson	Blackburn, Edward	Head	M	46	Grocer & Bricklayer	Kent	St Lawrence	Deaf
97	HO1587	38/989	20/31	Greenwich	161 Church St. No.7	Blackeret, Sarah Ann	DIL	S	48		Kent	Greenwich	Deaf & Dumb
98	HO1626	482/549	264/26	Preston (by Faversham)	120 Brent Town	Blackman, Elizabeth	SIL	S	37	Shoebinder	Kent	Gillingham	Deaf
99	HO1609b	624/664	631/13	Hoo	46 Tonbridge Hill	Bluck, Harriett	Servant	S	23	House Servant	Kent	Deptford	Deaf
100	HO1633b	170/636	387/10	Lydney	42 Roads Minnis	Bok, Marshall	Head	M	32	Ag Lab	Kent	Monks Horton	Deaf
101	HO1625b	363/508	437/6	Whitstable	20 Church Street	Bolton, Maria	Wife	M	59		North America		Deaf
102	HO1607c	396/619	796/6	Eynsford	23	Bootren, Mahala	Dau	S	40	Dressmaker	Kent	Eynesford	Deaf & Dumb
103	HO1606	583/605	289/14	Cudham	61 Leaves Green	Borer, Susan	Wife	M	70		99	Hedenworth	Deaf
104	HO1614	217/383	115/2	Tonbridge	3 Kentish Hotel	Boss, Mary Ann	Niece	N	30	General Servant	Oxfordshire	Banbury	Deaf
105	HO1607	174/597	88/1	Bexley Heath	The Villa	Bothier, Louisa	Servant	S	38	House Servant	Dorsetshire	Weymouth	Deaf
106	HO1621b	409/496	406/4	Ashford	12 New Rents	Boughton, Thomas	Head	M	63	Shoemaker	Kent	Elmsted	Deaf
107	HO1613b	189/460	351/	Sevenoaks	28 Hidolkiss Farm, Goletchess Gre	Bovis, Mary	Wife	M	55		Kent	Tunbridge	Rather Deaf
108	HO1630	200/575	108/22	St Peter, Broadstairs	96 Eden Villas No.2	Bowers, George	Servant	S	46	Gardener	Kent	Ramsgate	Deaf
109	HO1607c	13/619	606/19	Darenth	29 Little Darenth	Bowers, Walter	Son	S	22	Shoe Maker	Kent	Darenth	Deaf & Dumb
110	HO1632	270/565	147/30	Charlton Near Dover	133 22 Lower Street	Bowles, Frances	Head	M	52	Pauper Seamstress	Kent	Ashford	Deaf
111	HO1620	398/788	213/34	Tenderden	134	Bowmer, Henry	Son	9		Scholar	Kent	Tenderden	Deaf
112	HO1619	647/818	353/33	Hawkhurst	127 Pipsden	Boxall, Harriet	Dau	S	18	at home	Kent	Hawkhurst	Deaf & Blind
113	HO1609	211/567	110/1	Northfeet	1 5 Ashes	Brady, April	Wife's Si	S	50	CI	Kent	Gravesend	Deaf & Dumb
114	HO1612c	165/485	491/3	Addington	6	Brand Mary Ann	Wife	M	26		Kent	Offham	Deaf
115	HO1610	403/473	213/16	St Margaret	9 Queen Street	Breakspeare, John	Lodger	M	48	Greenwich Pensioner	Essex	Eastham	Deaf
116	HO1608	296/474	156/8	Gravesend	30 145 Windmill Street	Brett, Sarah	Head	S	79		Kent	Gravesend	Deaf
117	HO1607b	284/601	442/43	Dartford	164 Prospect Place No. 12	Brewer, Henry	Head	M	62	Wheelwright	Kent	Dartford	Deaf
118	HO1607b	284/601	442/43	Dartford	164 Prospect Place No. 12	Brewer, William	Son	S	19	Imp at Penitary Grounds	Kent	Dartford	Deaf
119	HO1615	24/464	13/17	Tonbridge	60 Soho Cottages	Bridgen, Sarah	Head	W	62	Laundress	Kent	Breuchley	Deaf

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First Column)	Age = At Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth	Final Column D					
120	HO1608	202/474	106/32	Gravesend	110 Slaves Alley	Bright, Elizabeth	Visitor W	40	Needlewoman	Kent	Gravesend		Deaf & Blind	
121	HO1622	288/464	156/1	Willesborough	2 Summer Hill	Brisley, Thomas	Head M	86	Ag Labourer	Kent	Stowling		Deaf	
122	HO1622	14/464	9/9	Warehorne	29	Brissenden, Ann	Servant S	36	House servant	Kent	Ruckinge		Deaf & Dumb	
123	HO1629	41/464	24/13	St Nicholas	58 Bellisle	Brockman, James	Head M	79	Parochial Relief, Ag Lab	Kent	St. Nicholas		Deaf	
124	HO1612b	153/381	278/6	West Malling	Malling Union	Brood, James	Pauper U	60	Ag Labourer	Kent	Offenham		Deaf & Dumb	
125	HO1612c	58/485	431/6	Mereworth	21 Kent St.	Brooker, Thomas	Head M	66	Ag Lab	Sussex	Windfield		Deaf	
126	HO1606b	106/537	352/24	Chelsfield	87 Maple Farm	Brooks, Edward	Head M	64	Farmer (of 60 acres & emp	Kent	Chelsfield		Deaf	
127	HO1606b	103/537	351/21	Chelsfield	77 Maple	Brooks, Robert	Head M	66	Labourer	Kent	Chelsfield		Deaf	
128	HO1606b	101/537	350/19	Chelsfield	71 Redden Shaw	Brooks, Thomas	Head M	80	Farm Labourer	Kent	Chelsfield		Deaf	
129	HO1613b	52/460	277/2	Sevenoaks	Sevenoaks Union	Brooks, William	Pauper U	62	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Sevenoaks		Deaf & Dumb	
130	HO1609b	228/664	416/197	Frindsbury	78 Frindsbury Road	Brouker, John	Head M	42	Ag Lab	Kent	Wrortham		Deaf	
131	HO1615	298/454	355/39	Tonbridge	154	Brown, Elizabeth	Lodger W	65	Retired ....	Kent	Tunbridge		Deaf	
132	HO1606b	388/537	493/32	Chislehurst	124	Brown, Henry	Brother	56	Pauper	Kent	Chislehurst		Deaf & Blind	
133	HO1620	140/788	76/7	Biddenden	23	Brown, Lydia	Wife M	28		Kent	Goudhurst		Deaf	
134	HO1614	38/383	20/10	Ashurst	Parsinge House	Brown, Mary	Wife M	65		Kent	Hulton		Deaf	
135	HO1607b	257/601	428/16	Dartford	60 St James Place No.3	Brown, William	Head M	44	Tailor, Journ	Surrey	Hitcham		Deaf & Dumb	
136	HO1620	753/788	402/12	High Halden	36 Tessenden Road	Buckman, Charlotte	Mother W	65	Pauper (Housekeeper)	Kent	High Haldon		Deaf	
137	HO1618	432/465	232/15	Lenham	54 Wish Street	Bucksley, Edward	Head M	58	Ag Lab	Kent	Minster		Deaf	
138	HO1629	188/464	103/8	Minster, Thanet	40	Buddington, Francis	Head M	77	Ag Lab	KENT	Monkton		Deaf	
139	HO1632	337/565	182/47	Charlton Near Dover	173 St Catherines Place	Buddse, Catherine	Head W	59	Laundress	Kent	Sandwich		Deaf	
140	HO1606	163/605	81/13	Bromley	51 Bromley Corn Turnpike Rd.	Bullin	Head M	41	Labourer	Kent	Bromley		Deaf	
141	HO1617b	411/591	567/22	Maidstone, Trinity	105 36 Camden St.	Bunyard, Ann	Wife M	52		Kent	Maidstone		Deaf	
142	HO1628	395/739	211/41	Minster, Blue Sheerness	166 West Street County Court Off	Burley, Mary	Dau	8	Scholar	Kent	St Margaret's, Rochester		Deaf	
143	HO1620	524/788	280/6	Tenderden, Bird's Isle	23	Burlon, John	Head M	76	Pauper Shoemaker	Kent	Tenderden		Deaf & Dumb	
144	HO1627b	145/388	329/8	Bobbing	31 Key Street	Burr, Richard	Son S	18	Farm Labourer	Kent	Bobbing		Deaf & Dumb	
145	HO1628	420/739	225/19	Minster, Sheerness	88 Bethel Passage	Burrus, Mary	Head M	66	Lodging House Keeper	Kent	Rochester		Deaf	
146	HO1584	86/1493	45/27	Deptford, St Pauls	110 3 Oak Cottages	Buse, Charles	Son	5		Surrey	Hatcham		Deaf & Dumb	
147	HO1608b	148/468	325/28	Milton-next-Gravesend	114 3 Alms House	Bushel, Shoannah	Head W	80	Alms woman	London			Deaf	
148	HO1627	314/446	178/17	Tittingbourne	43 Brokers Row	Bushell, Elizabeth	Wife M	35	Wife	Kent	Sittingbourne, Isle of Ship		Deaf	
149	HO1629	140/464	77/17	Monkton	64	Bushell, Henry	Son	11	Ag Lab	Kent	Monkton		Deaf	
150	HO1621	166/384	87/17	Pluckley	57	Buss, Elizabeth	Wife M	86		Kent	Marden		Deaf	
151	HO1609	433/567	228/16	Cobham	62 Sole Street	Bussell, John	Head M	84	Carrier	Kent	Chart		Deaf	
152	HO1610	303/473	161/22	St Margaret	72 12 Union Street	Butcher, Joseph	Head M	54		Kent	Strood		Deaf	
153	HO1611c	294/388	551/6	Gillingham, Brompton	29 12 Wood Street	Butler, Sarah	Sister U	46	Dressmaker	Kent	Brompton		Deaf	
154	HO1631c	422/508	813/29	Deal	128 2 Foster's Alley	Buttress, Richard	Son S	19	Shoe Maker	Kent	Deal		Deaf & Dumb	
155	HO1606	163/605	81/13	Bromley	50 Bromley Corn Turnpike Rd.	Buulin	Head M	70	Labourer	London	Whitechapel		Deaf	
156	HO1628	598/739	319/10	Minster, Sheppy	40 Cheques House	Buzan, Henry	Son S	31	Ag Lab	Kent	Eastchurch		Deaf & Dumb	
157	HO1621	169/384	88/20	Pluckley	69	Cackett, Elizabeth	Wife M	43		Kent	Bethersden		Deaf	
158	HO1627	301/446	171/4	Tittingbourne	11 Webbs Alley	Cand, Elizabeth	Wife M	63	Wife	Kent	Seaham		Deaf & Blind	
159	HO1610	322/473	170/41	St Margaret	140 Jerusalem Row	Candler, John	Son S	23	Tailor	Kent	Rochester		Deaf & Dumb	
160	HO1608b	18/468	259/19	Milton-next-Gravesend	59 27 New Street	Candy, Irene	Wife M	80		Middlesex	Poplar		Deaf	
161	HO1608b	18/468	259/19	Milton-next-Gravesend	59 27 New Street	Candy, John	Wife M	85	Pensioned pilot	Surrey	Bermondsey		Deaf	
162	HO1615	195/464	102/4	Tonbridge	121 Prospect Place	Carden, Ann	Dau	14		Kent	Tonbridge		Deaf	
163	HO1589	212/882	115/2	Woolwich	10 5 Carlsons Alley	Carey, Thomas	Visitor S	26	Shoemaker	Surrey	Wandsworth		Deaf & Dumb	
164	HO1587	251/989	135/7	Greenwich	35 Trafalger Rd.	Carnage, Rachel	Servant S	51	Charwoman	Kent	Deptford		Deaf	
165	HO1634	57/477	29/12	Dymchurch	45	Carpenter, Henry	Son	14	Ag Lab	Kent	Dymchurch		Deaf	
166	HO1587	190/989	102/1	Greenwich	277 1 Queen Court, Queen St.	Carter, Ann	Wife M	68		Sussex	Ashdownben		Deaf	
167	HO1591	705/1157	377/37	Lewisham	159 Blck Bull Inn, High Road	Carter, Elizabeth	Wife M	45	Liscenced Victualler Wife	Buckingsham	Upton		Deaf	
168	HO1620	531/788	284/13	Tenderden, Bird's Isle	57	Cashford, Harriett	Wife M	58	Ag Lab Wife	Kent	Tenderden		Deaf	
169	HO1629	51/464	30/5	Sarre	17	Caste, Richard	Servant W	50	Baker	Kent	Northbourn		Deaf	
170	HO1633b	189/636	397/10	Stelling	40 Stone Street	Castle, Eleanor	Dau S	23		Kent	Stelling		Deaf & Dumb	
171	HO1623	459/469	15/244	Bishopsbourne	54 Village	Castle, Elizabeth	Wife M	61		Kent	Littlebourne		Deaf	
172	HO1633b	189/636	397/10	Stelling	40 Stone Street	Castle, James	Son	12		Kent	Stelling		Deaf & Dumb	
173	HO1620	316/788	169/6	Stone (Faversham)	22 Lower Road	Cavey, Thomas	Head M	46	Ag Lab	Sussex	Beckley		Deaf	
174	HO1606b	405/537	502/50	Chislehurst	195 Chapel Lane	Chamberlin, Hannah	Head W	55	Malster & Cooper 11man	Surrey	Croyden		Deaf	
175	HO1627	22/446	18/13	Bapchild	76 Bapchild	Champion, Benjamin	Visitor W	52	late a Victualler out of busi	Kent	Milsted		Deaf	
176	HO1631	125/584	65/11	Ash	35 Hoaden	Chandler, P.	Dau U	12	to Daught	Kent	Ash		Deaf	
177	HO1607c	483/619	840/3	Ash	8 North Ash	Chapman, Margaret	Lodger S	60	Pauper	Kent	Stansted		Deaf & Dumb	
178	HO1585	196/405	37/105	Deptford, St Nicholas	169 16 New Street	Chappelle, Henry	Son	18	Baker in the Billing Yard	West Davenport			Deaf	

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First Column)	CoAge = A	Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth	Final Column D				
179	HO1620	485/788	259/31	Tenderden	130 Coombs Farm	Checksfield, George	Son U 32	Farm Assistant	Kent	Tenderden	Deaf			
180	HO1620	485/788	259/31	Tenderden	130 Coombs Farm	Checksfield, Thomas	Head M 70	Farmer of 68 Acres (3 men)	Kent	Tenderden	Deaf			
181	HO1620	431/788	231/27	Tenderden	112 High St.	Checksfield, William	Lodger U 36	Gardener	Kent	Tenderden	Deaf & Dumb			
182	HO1618b	90/480	299/4	Boughton Malherbe	8 Hazelwood	Cheeseman, Samuel	Head M 55	Farming 8 acres	Kent	Chatham	Deaf			
183	HO1620	461/788	247/7	Tenderden	27 Brew House Lane Spring Cottages	Chesefield, Richard	Head M 64	Farm Labourer	Kent	Tenderden	Deaf			
184	HO1615b	459/530	493/6	Horsmonden	26 Lamberhurst Road	Chessman, Henry	Uncle W 86	Pauper ....	Kent	Horsmonden	Deaf & Blind			
185	HO1613c	435/567	719/21	Penshurst	70 Tubs Hole	Child, George	Son 10		Kent	Chiddington	Deaf			
186	HO1587	191/989	102/2	Greenwich	289 3 Queen St.	Child, Thomas	Son S 30	Butcher	Hampshire	Portsmouth	Deaf			
187	HO1631c	494/508	850/15	Deal	69 157 Beach Street	Chittenden, John	Head M 61	Boat Builder	Kent	Deal	Deaf			
188	HO1587	486/989	255/5	Greenwich	24 Gothic Rd No 1	Christian, Sarah	Head W 70		Kent	Deptford	Deaf			
189	HO1623	455/469	11/242	Bishopsgrove	35 Village	Claringbold, Abraham	Head M 47	Ag Lab	Kent	Littlebourne	Deaf			
190	HO1630	338/575	183/14	St Lawrence	58 Hereson Road	Claris, Sarah	Sister W 65	House Servant	Kent	Dover	Deaf			
191	HO1590	727/966	389/8	Plumstead	27 Pottery Yard	Clark, Henry	Head M 37	Potters Labourer	Essex	Prittlewell	Deaf			
192	HO1585	257/405	137/38	Deptford, St Nicholas	160 20 Old King St.	Clark, Joseph	Head M 70		Surrey	Southwark	Deaf			
193	HO1633b	328/636	469/16	Saltwood, Peddingle, Hythe	48 Peeling	Clark, Mary	Head W 80	Supported by her family	Kent	NK	Deaf			
194	HO1617b	118/591	413/38	Maidstone	146 King St.	Classon, Sarah	Servant W 53	Servant Pauper	Buckingham	Parm	Deaf			
195	HO1631c	239/508	720/36	Deal	162 84 Beach Street	Clayson, Mary L	Wife M 39		Kent	Deal	Deaf			
196	HO1632b	419/579	517/16	St Marys, Dover	3 Cliff Court Snargate Street	Claz, Edward C.	Son 14		Kent	Dover	Deaf			
197	HO1607b	287/601	443/46	Dartford	173 Lower Waterside	Clements, William	Head M 68	Cordwainer Master	Kent	Sutton on Home	Deaf			
198	HO1586-2	48/550	318/13	Greenwich	76 Prior St. 3	Clinton, Mary	Head W 80	Retired Woolen Draper	Suffolk	Ipswich	Deaf			
199	HO1616b	172/480	388/22	Boughton Monchelsea	80 Weirton Street	Cole, Mary	Wife M 50		Kent	Boughton Monchelsea	Deaf			
200	HO1608	335/474	177/6	Gravesend	1 Gravesend Milton Union Trafalga	Cole, Thomas	Inmate S 21	n/a	Kent	Gravesend	Deaf & Blind			
201	HO1625	398/478	208/13	Houth	70 Maypole St.	Collard, Anne	Head S 80	Annuitant	Kent	St Pauls, Canterbury	Deaf			
202	HO1632c	577/617	902/1	Alkham	1 Woolverton Court	Collard, Elizabeth	Sister S 51	Land Proprietor	Kent	Alkham	Deaf			
203	HO1613	458/465	246/20	Sevenoaks	59 High St.	Collins, Edward	Brother U 46	Butcher	Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf			
204	HO1621b	126/496	264/14	Great Chart	55 Great Chart	Collins, Mary	Wife M 71		Kent	Eastwell	Deaf			
205	HO1629b	358/508	441/5	St John the Baptist, Margate	26 4 Bath Place	Collins, Richard	Head M 63	Pauper, Mariner	Kent	Margate	Deaf			
206	HO1617b	128/591	418/42	Maidstone	184 Ashford Road	Collins, William H	Head M 26	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf			
207	HO1609b	211/664	407/2	Frindsbury	6 Frindsbury St.	Colson, Thomas	Head M 76	Blacksmith Lab	Kent	Frindsbury	Deaf			
208	HO1620	688/788	367/26	Woodchurch	86 Upper Green	Comber, John	Head M 74	Farmer of 4 Acres	Kent	Woodchurch	Deaf			
209	HO1584	1160/1493	601/51	Deptford, St Pauls	128 New King St.	Conner, Mary Ann	Dau S 21		Kent	Deptford	Deaf & Dumb			
210	HO1626b	198/534	401/14	Faversham	63 Ospringe Mount	Cook, Ann	Servant S 39	Cook	Devon	Thorncombe	Deaf			
211	HO1631	275/584	141/58	St Peters, Sandwich	250 High Street	Cooks, Mary	Lodger W 77	Annuitant	Kent	Sandwich	Deaf			
212	HO1617b	12/591	357/10	Maidstone	39 Wellington St.	Coombs, Jane	Dau S 17	Dress maker	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf & Dumb			
213	HO1622	152/464	83/12	Aldington	48	Coombs, Sarah	Wife M 59		Kent	Folkstone	Deaf			
214	HO1609b	481/664	550/2	Cooling	4 New Barn Farm	Cooper, Amelia	Servant W 26	Servant	Kent	Cliffe	Deaf			
215	HO1611b	358/383	387/76	Chatham, Brompton	168 29 River Road	Cooper, Charles	Head M 62	Mariner	Kent	Sittingbourne	Deaf			
216	HO1631b	483/590	545/13	Sholden	47	Cooper, James	Son S 15		Kent	Sholden	Deaf			
217	HO1629	232/464	126/3	Minster, Thanet	Union Workhouse, Isle of Thanet	Cooper, John	Pauper S 64	Labourer	Kent	Dartford	Deaf			
218	HO1589	775/882	414/52	Woolwich	238 Waterways Fields	Cooper, T.	Visitor W 67		Kent	Wingham	Deaf			
219	HO1613c	227/567	625/19	Cowden	65 Street	Copper, Elizabeth	Dau U 7		Kent	Penshurst	Deaf			
220	HO1587	71/989	37/17	Greenwich	51 6 Leaches Alley	Corbett, Catherine	SIL S 68		Kent	Greenwich	Deaf			
221	HO1591	682/1157	365/14	Lewisham	62 High Road	Corbett, George	Head M 57	Carpenter employs 15 mer	Kent	Lewisham	Deaf			
222	HO1584	1179/1493	610/6	Deptford, St Pauls	27 New King St 20	Corfmatt, Emma	Wife M 33	Dress Maker	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb			
223	HO1584	1179/1493	610/6	Deptford, St Pauls	27 New King St 20	Corfmatt, Henry Julian	Son 8		Kent	Deptford	Deaf & Dumb			
224	HO1584	1179/1493	610/6	Deptford, St Pauls	27 New King St 20	Corfmatt, John H	Head M 43	Rivet Maker	Devon	Plymouth	Deaf & Dumb			
225	HO1584	1179/1493	610/6	Deptford, St Pauls	27 New King St 20	Corfmatt, Sarah Jane	Dau 4		Kent	Deptford	Deaf & Dumb			
226	HO1589	234/882	126/24	Woolwich	96 3 Hare St.	Cornish, William Henry	Son S 27	Book Maker Journeyman	Kent	Deptford	Deaf & Dumb			
227	HO1625	15/478	7/8	Archbishop's Palace, Canterbury	18 Palace Street	Cornwell, Elizabeth	Visitor S 47		Kent	Canterbury	Deaf			
228	HO1632	181/565	100/9	Guston	36 Crowhill	Cortens, George	Head M 50	Farm Lab	Kent	Sutton	Deaf			
229	HO1627b	307/388	419/6	Rainham	20 Lower Rainham	Costen, John	Head M 46	Ag Lab	Kent	Hartlip	Deaf			
230	HO1619	280/818	151/8	Cranbrook	22 Glassenbury	Cotton, Mary	Lodger S 70	Spinster	Essex	Navistock	Deaf			
231	HO1606	465/605	231/13	Keston	55 Deptford	Couchman, Jane	Head M 49	Pauper/Laundress	Kent	Keston	Deaf			
232	HO1626	388/549	214/31	Ospringe	122 Whittings Square	Coulin, Mary	Head W 78	Parish Relief	Kent	Ospringe	Deaf			
233	HO1629	55/464	32/9	Sarre	35	Court, Stephen	Head M 56	Agriculture Laborer	Kent	Herne	Deaf			
234	HO1631	36/584	17/26	Ash	111 Moat Farm	Couzens, Mary	Wife M 56		Kent	Nonington	Deaf			
235	HO1621b	418/496	411/13	Ashford	44 New Street	Cramp, Clark	Head M 25	Tailor	Kent	Ashford	Deaf			
236	HO1618b	383/480	464/17	Sutton East	45	Crawley, Ann	Head W 70	Formerly the wife of a labo	Kent	Boughton Monchelsea	Deaf			
237	HO1612c	147/485	480/10	Offham	37 Village	Cripps, Ann	Head W 50	Beer Shop	Kent	Sheborn	Deaf			

1	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First Column)	Co	Age	=At Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth	Final Column D
238	HO1607b	26/601	313/9	Crayford	33 North End	Crisp, Ruffus	Head	M 52	Ag Lab	Middlesex	St Martin Le Grande, Lond
239	HO1619	642/818	350/28	Hawkhurst	108 Gun Green	Crittenden, Mary	Wife	M 36	Laundress	Kent	Cranbrook
240	HO1632c	429/617	826/24	River	College	Cross, Eliza	Pupil	M 8	Scholar	Kent	Whitfield
241	HO1608b	140/468	321/20	Milton-next-Gravesend	80 23 Parrock St.	Croswate, George	Head	M 32	Journeyman Carpenter	Kent	Gravesend
242	HO1615b	303/530	440/24	Brenchley	100 Palmer Green	Crupps, Elizabeth	Wife	M 61	Ag Lab Wife	Kent	Benchley
243	HO1634	72/477	37/27	Dymchurch	109	Crust, John	Head	W 58	Ag Lab	Kent	Ruckinge
244	HO1609b	196/664	400/45	Frimdsbury	140 Upper Upnor	Cullen, Mary	Wife	M 71		Essex	
245	HO1589	457/882	244/21	Woolwich	92 3 Lower Market St.	Cumming, Mary A	Lodger	M 32	Tappers Wife	Canada	Nova Scotia
246	HO1609	496/567	263/15	Shorne	58	Curits, Mary	Wife	M 68	Farm Wife	Devon	Plymouth
247	HO1609b	654/664	646/43	Hoo	165 Old Cookham	Dackull, Mary	Dau	S 24		Kent	Hoo
248	HO1631c	267/508	735/9	Deal	42 20 West Street	Dadd, Elize	Dau	S 31	Plain Work	Kent	Deal
249	HO1625b	48/508	276/6	Herne	24 Herne Street	Dakins, Mary Elizabeth	Sister	S 54	Clergymans Sister	Middlesex	Westminster
250	HO1608b	11/468	255/12	Milton-next-Gravesend	38 11 New Street	Daniel, Raelina	Wife	M 30		Surrey	
251	HO1586-1	145/541	77/56	Greenwich	260 Esther Place 2	Davidson, William	Servant	S 16	Bootmaker's Apprentice	Kent	Greenwich
252	HO1619	622/818	340/8	Hawkhurst	27 Conservative Row	Davis, William J.	Son	M 4	Scholar at home	Kent	Hawkhurst
253	HO1591	594/1157	318/20	Lewisham	87 Cross Street	Davy, Jane	Wife	M 44		Surrey	Chessham
254	HO1610	190/473	99/25	St Nicholas	87 Garden Row	Dean, Mary	Head	w 49	Dress Maker	Kent	Rochester
255	HO1584	1008/1493	522/14	Deptford, St Pauls	56 Fredrick Place 4	Dedden, Sophia	Wife	M 26	Dress Maker	Kent	Deptford
256	HO1626b	449/534	535/25	Linsted	86 Upper Tickham	Dence, Robert	Head	M 53	Pauper Sawyer	Kent	Hanslow
257	HO1631	233/584	120/16	St Peters, Sandwich	56 Harnett Street	Denne, Henry	Head	M 62	Cordwainer	Kent	Northbourne
258	HO1630b	340/547	476/16	Ramsgate, St George	60 8 Portalnd Court	Denne, Sarah	Head	W 75	Laundress	Kent	Ramsgate
259	HO1587	80/989	42/26	Greenwich	88 Hockwell Street	Deny, Fanny	Mother	W 72		Kent	Maidstone
260	HO1613c	226/567	614/18	Cowden	42 Almshouses	Dial, Benjamin	Head	M 53	Felmonger Journeyman	Surrey	Charood
261	HO1613c	226/567	614/18	Cowden	42 Almshouses	Dial, Caleb	Son	U 23	AI	Kent	Cowden
262	HO1626b	255/534	431/2	Goodnestone (Faversham)	4 Goodnestone St.	Divers, Thomas	Head	M 56	Blacksmith	Kent	Goodnestone (Faversham)
263	HO1584	1417/1493	733/40	Deptford, St Pauls	171 13 Harris Build	Dixson, William	Son	M 10		Kent	Deptford
264	HO1624	74/494	36/4	St Paul's, Canterbury	11 9 St Lawrence	Dobbs, Sarah	Mother	W 82		Kent	Canterbury
265	HO1632c	534/617	878/22	Sibertswold	61 Upton Wood	Dodge, Charlotte	Grandm	W 67		Kent	Hawkesell
266	HO1607c	246/619	722/8	Horton Kirby, South Danford	33 High St.	Dolding, John	Head	M 55	Shoemaker	Kent	Kettleshaw
267	HO1624b	230/512	368/23	St Andrew, Canterbury	77 45 Burgate St.	Dove, Harriet	Wife	M 48	Wife	Kent	St Mildred
268	HO1624b	230/512	368/23	St Andrew, Canterbury	77 45 Burgate St.	Dove, Harriet	Dau	S 19		Kent	St Peter
269	HO1617b	88/591	398/8	Maidstone	29 Water Lane	Dray, John N.	Son	S 16		Kent	Folkstone
270	HO1607	11/597	2/6	Bexley	4 Bendborne House	Drew, Richard	Lodger	S 52	Pensioner E I Company	Kent	Seven Oaks
271	HO1616	295/555	160/5	Hunton	15 Hunton Clappers	Duddy, Rebecca	SIL	U 69	Annuitant	Kent	Hunton
272	HO1591	507/1157	271/18	Lewisham	78 7 Sidney Street	Duffield, Dinah	Servant	S 24	House Servant	Kent	Greenwich
273	HO1587	852/989	449/17	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Duggen, Joseph	Private P/S	65	Inpensioner	Middlesex	Smithfield
274	HO1611b	132/383	268/36	Chatham	158 Jenkins Dale No. 9	Dumsley, Stephen	Head	W 67	Labourer	Sussex	Fletching
275	HO1620	32/788	18/10	Rolvenden	38 Rollinton	Dunk, William	Son	S 23		Kent	Rolvenden
276	HO1619	514/818	280/26	Goudhurst	107 Church House	Dunnich, John	Uncle	W 74	Retired Cordwainer	Southwark	St. Island
277	HO1610b	300/484	405/30	Chatham	99 Rome Lane	Dunstall, Stephen	Head	M 49	Shipright HM Dock Superai	Kent	East Farleigh
278	HO1587	183/989	97/47	Greenwich	261 4 Queen St.	Duntley, Mary		W 70	Lucifer Matcher Seller	Middlesex	St Giles
279	HO1632	395/565	213/7	East Cliff, Dover (Extra Parochia)	30 East Cliff	Durbridge, Mary	Dau	S 40	Dressmaker	Kent	Wingham
280	HO1618b	369/480	457/3	Sutton East	6	Dutt, Ruth	Wife	M 73		Kent	Mereworth
281	HO1608	37/474	19/30	Gravesend	89 4 New Court	Eagen, Michael	Head	M 60		Ireland	
282	HO1628	491/739	263/6	Minster, Sheerness	31 Kent Street	Earl, Mary	Visitor	W 80	Pauper formerly Laundress	Northamptonshire	
283	HO1607c	213/619	706/5	Horton Kirby, South Danford	15	Earnet, Sarah	Dau			Kent	Horton
284	HO1587	656/989	346/17	Greenwich	73 Woolwich Road	Easy, Samuel	Head	M 66	Carpenter	Essex	Wicks
285	HO1587	656/989	346/17	Greenwich	73 Woolwich Road	Easy, Sarah	Wife	M 65		Essex	Ockley
286	HO1632	181/565	100/9	Guston	36 3 Crowhill	Estes, Mary	Head	S 65	Proprietor of Houses	Kent	St Margarets
287	HO1633	322/590	165/11	Folkestone	278 North Street	Eaton, George	Grandson	S 25	Shoemaker	Kent	Folkestone
288	HO1627	248/446	141/40	Sittingbourne	175 East End	Edbury, Elizabeth	Head	W 38	Formerly Laundress	Kent	M..
289	HO1608b	80/468	290/19	Milton-next-Gravesend	59 Milton Place	Edmeades, James	Lodger	S 83	Gentleman	Kent	Nursted
290	HO1587	495/989	259/14	Greenwich	73 Jeans Buiding No 8	Edwards, Mary	Mother	W 79		Kent	Deptford
291	HO1615	231/454	320/8	Tonbridge	35	Edwards, Samuel	Stepson	12		Kent	Eynesford
292	HO1631	431/584	222/11	Worth	44 Sand Hils	Elliot, Mary		W 47	Housekeeper	Kent	Eastry
293	HO1584	1185/1493	613/12	Deptford, St Pauls	55 Says Court	Elliott, George	Head	M 62	Lath Render	Surrey	Lambeth
294	HO1628	254/739	136/19	Minster, Sheerness	76 Bell Alley	Elliott, Jane	Dau	S 25		Kent	Sheerness
295	HO1606	514/605	255/20	Downe	76	Elliott, Richard	Head	W 88	Annuitant	Kent	Downe
296	HO1612b	326/381	371/39	East Peckham	159 Bullen Farm	Ellis, William	Son	U 23	Ag Lab	Kent	E. Peckham

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First Column)	CoAge = At	Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth	Final Column D				
297	HO1630	371/575	201/9	St Lawrence, Holy Trinity	35 10 Elgar Place	Elvey, James	Head M 58	Baker/Retired	Kent	Eytham	Deaf			
298	HO1618b	382/480	463/16	Sutton East	39	Ely, Ann	Dau S 26		Kent	East Sutton	Deaf			
299	HO1629b	332/508	427/9	St John the Baptist, Margate	27 4 Upper Clifton Place	Erny, Sarah	Wife M 55		Middlesex	London	Deaf			
300	HO1586-1	18/541	10/12	Greenwich	50 Church Street	Evans, Jane	Wife M 79		Middlesex	Shadwick	Deaf			
301	HO1607b	94/601	347/33	Dartford	140 East Hill	Evans, Sarah	Lodger W 89	Pauper	Surrey	Godstone	Deaf			
302	HO1609	518/567	275/12	Shorne	41 Lower Shorne	Eves, Elizabeth	Wife M 66		Kent	Frindsbury	Deaf & Dumb			
303	HO1624	208/494	104/21	St Mary Northgate, Canterbury	82 5 Military Road	Eves, John	Head M 75	Labourer	Kent	Deptford	Deaf			
304	HO1617	495/671	260/60	Maidstone, St Peters	225 St Peter's	Exell, Sarah	Lodger S 70	Errand woman	Buckinghamshire		Deaf			
305	HO1630	74/575	41/8	St Peter, Broadstairs	36 Reading Street	Fagg, Caroline	Dau 6	Scholar	Kent	St Peter	Deaf			
306	HO1630	74/575	41/8	St Peter, Broadstairs	36 Reading Street	Fagg, Edward	Son 13	Farmers Son	Kent	St Peter	Deaf			
307	HO1608b	149/463	326/29	Milton-next-Gravesend	125 5 Alms House	Faint, Sophia	W 65	Alms woman	Kent	Gravesend	Deaf			
308	HO1586-1	489/541	264/1	Greenwich	Queen Elizabeth College House No	Farthing, Maker	Head M 83	Almsman, Fisherman	Essex	Harwich	Deaf			
309	HO1610	323/473	170/72	St Margaret	145 Jerusalem Row	Fellows, Sarah	Mother W 78		Worstershire		Deaf			
310	HO1610	323/473	170/72	St Margaret	145 Jerusalem Row	Fellows, Sarah	Dau S 11		Kent		Deaf			
311	HO1611	166/379	?/16	Chatham	64 Woods Building	Felwick, James	SIL U 30	Hoo Peg Maker	Gibraltar	British Subject	Deaf & Dumb			
312	HO1623b	144/286	325/3	Ickham and Well	12 Seaton	Ferry, Charles	Son S 26	Miller	Kent	Ickham	Deaf			
313	HO1632b	181/579	393/50	St Marys, Dover	153 50 New Street	Fidge, William	Lodger S 60	Shoe Maker	Kent	Lydd	Deaf			
314	HO1612	272/366	148/24	East Malling, Larkfield	96	Field, Charles	Lodger U 33	Ag Lab	Kent	Goudhurst	Deaf			
315	HO1612b	299/381	357/12	East Peckham	55 Pound	Field, Mardea	Dau U 19		Kent	E. Peckham	Deaf			
316	HO1618b	466/480	510/11	Headcorn	38 Church Yard	Field, Peter	Head M 48	Ag Lab	Kent	Headcorn	Deaf			
317	HO1610b	376/484	446/20	St Mary's, Chatham	101 50 Tent Pitt St.	Filinn, Maria	Wife M 53		Kent	Sheerness	Deaf & Dumb			
318	HO1618	366/465	194/34	Harrietsham	139 West Street	Filmer, Anthony	Head M 53	Ag Lab	Kent	Boughton Malherbe	Deaf			
319	HO1626b	319/534	465/2	Eastling	8	Filmer, Mary	Dau S 33	Receiving Parish Relief	Kent	Faversham	Deaf & Dumb			
320	HO1609	228/567	118/18	Northfleet	64 Perry Street	Filmer, Mary	Lodger S 30	(Pauper)	Kent	Cliffe	Deaf			
321	HO1622	200/464	108/15	Mersham	65	Finn, George	Head M 36	Carpenter	Kent	Mersham	Deaf			
322	HO1634	273/477	144/21	Lydd	82	Finn, Thomas	Head M 49	Ag Lab	Kent	Lydd	Deaf			
323	HO1587	183/989	97/47	Greenwich	260 4 Queen St.	Fisher, Elizabeth	W 40	Corset Maker	Kent	Deptford	Deaf			
324	HO1633b	285/636	447/6	Postling	16 Postling Street	Fisher, Sarah	Wife M 49		Kent	Lyminge	Deaf			
325	HO1621	162/384	85/14	Pluckly	50 Thorn	Fitch, Tesseker	Head W 73	Farmer 120 acres w/ 3Lab	Kent	Pluckly	Deaf			
326	HO1630	245/575	133/2	St Lawrence	3 West Cliff Terrace	Flatcher, Ruth	Servant S 28	Cook	Kent	Birchington	Deaf			
327	HO1607	470/597	236/3	Erith, Picardy	11 Abby Farm	Fletcher, Richard	Head M 55	Farmer 413 Acres	Kent	Erith	Deaf			
328	HO1615	162/464	85/13	Tonbridge	41 Michakers Cottages	Flood, Richard	Head M 40	Ag Lab	Sussex	Walleyham	Deaf			
329	HO1607c	366/619	781/10	Eynsford	36 Lashes Cottage	Ford, Richard	Uncle 57	Ag Lab	Kent	Eynesford	Deaf & Dumb			
330	HO1623b	256/286	381/28	Littlebourne	110 Village	Foreman, Edward	Son 4		Kent	Littlebourne	Deaf & Dumb			
331	HO1591	443/1157	238/1	Lewisham	3 13 King Street	Forge, Sarah	Wife M 47	Domestic Duties	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf			
332	HO1632b	519/579	569/16	St Marys, Dover	58 44 Limekiln Street	Forkner, Jane	Wife M 38	Dressmaker	Kent	Faversham	Deaf & Dumb			
333	HO1587	568/989	299/18	Greenwich	3 Miles Terrace	Fountain, Fanny	Wife M 34		Middlesex		Deaf			
334	HO1587	568/989	299/18	Greenwich	3 Miles Terrace	Fountain, Henry	Head M 39	Bookbinder	Middlesex	Marylebone	Deaf			
335	HO1632	280/565	152/40	Charlton Near Dover	176 Lower Hill	Fox, Ann	Wife M 29		Kent	Fordwich	Deaf			
336	HO1629b	362/508	443/9	St John the Baptist, Margate	45 ...	Fox, Ann	MIL W 76		Kent	Margate	Deaf			
337	HO1628	607/739	324/19	Minster, Sheppy	Sheppy Union Workhouse	Fox, Caroline	Inmate S 36	Pauper	Kent	Minster, Sheppy	Deaf & Dumb			
338	HO1624	197/494	98/10	St Mary Northgate, Canterbury	40	Fox, Elizabeth	Lodger W 89		Kent	Canterbury	Deaf			
339	HO1628	607/739	324/19	Minster, Sheppy	Sheppy Union Workhouse	Fox, Levinia	Inmate S 36	Pauper	Kent	Minster, Sheppy	Deaf & Dumb			
340	HO1631b	224/590	412/42	Stourmouth	26 East Street	Fox, William	Head W 68	Farmer 80 Acres Emp 3 La	Kent	Elham	Deaf & Dumb			
341	HO1632b	181/579	393/50	St Marys, Dover	153 50 New Street	Frew, Mary	Dau S 45	Laundress	Kent	Dover	Deaf			
342	HO1629	172/464	94/24	Minster, Thanet	86	Fright, John	Head M 57	Bailiff	Kent	Minster, Thanet	Deaf			
343	HO1590	253/966	136/29	Charlton	121 Longers Court	Fuller, Charlotte	Wife M 53		Kent	Thurnham	Deaf			
344	HO1628	407/739	218/6	Minster, Sheerness	29 Kings Head Alley	Fuller, Sarah	Head W 55		Kent	Chatham	Deaf			
345	HO1609	81/567	43/2	Northfleet	3 British Queen Boro Street	Fundell, William	Lodger S 35	Baker	London		Deaf			
346	HO1617	442/671	234/7	Maidstone, St Peters	29 Tonbridge Road Cottage	Furley, Elizabeth	Wife M 72		Kent	Maidstone	Deaf			
347	HO1608b	347/468	429/34	Milton-next-Gravesend	142 10 Brunswick Rd	Gahan, Helen EJP	Dau S 27		Devon	Stoke Danmeral	Deaf & Dumb			
348	HO1589	249/882	134/39	Woolwich	155 7 Myrtle Place	Gale, Ellen	Wife M 35		Middlesex		Deaf			
349	HO1629b	314/508	417/25	St John the Baptist, Margate	Metropolitan Establishment	Galloway, George	Boarder S 14	Pauper	NK		Deaf & Dumb			
350	HO1590	334/966	179/36	Plumstead	179 6 Cast St.	Gamen, Thomas	BIL S 22	Tailor Journeyman	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb			
351	HO1625b	99/508	303/3	Beltinge, Herne	12 Village of Beltinge	Gammon, Sarah	Head W 52	Pauper charwoman	Kent	Chislett	Deaf			
352	HO1625	301/478	156/5	Sturry	13 Sturry	Gardiner, Phoebe	Visitor S 57	Pauper	Kent	Sturry	Deaf & Dumb			
353	HO1622	162/464	88/22	Aldington	82	Gardner, William	Son S 23	Blacksmith	Kent	Aldington	Deaf			
354	HO1626b	307/534	458/20	Norton	68 Newnham Bottom	Gates, Thomas	Widower W 76		Kent	Selling	Deaf			
355	HO1611	327/379	?/6	Chatham	27 Best Kent	Gaunted, Charles	Visitor M 24	Labourer	Kent	Chatham	Deaf			

1	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First)	Column Co	Age	=At Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth	Final Column D	
356	H01625b	98/508	302/2	Bettinge, Herne	5 Vilage of Bettinge	Gilbert, Dinah B.	Boarder	S	44	Annuitant	Kent Chatham	Deaf & Dumb
357	H01629b	137/508	324/2	St John the Baptist, Margate	5 Spellers Court No. 2	Gilbert, Hannah	Wife	M	49	Wife	Kent St Peters, Thanet	Deaf
358	H01618b	60/480	284/4	Lenham	10 Platt's Heath	Giles, Eli	Son	S	22		Kent Lenham	Deaf
359	H01631	357/584	183/16	Woodnesborough	64 Denne Court	Giles, Susan	Mother	W	77	Annuitant	Kent Teston	Deaf
360	H01622b	11/362	255/30	Kennington	90 Leese	Giliam, George	Lodger	S	57	'Ag Lab	Kent Chilham	Deaf & Dumb
361	H01587	828/989	436/43	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Gill, Daniel	Private P.M.	63	Inpensioner	Middlesex St Pancras	Deaf	
362	H01615	240/454	325/17	Tonbridge	81 8 Martin Place	Goddard, Ellen	Head	S	66	Retired Servant	Seford Chisselbury	Deaf
363	H01626	145/549	80/25	Boughton under Blean	94 Bushy Close	Godden, George	Son	S	34	(Idiot)	Kent Tows	Deaf & Dumb
364	H01612c	378/485	606/28	Wrotham	91	Godfrey, Sarah	Dau	U	27	Shoe maker (Idiotic)	Kent Birchell	Deaf & Dumb
365	H01607c	69/619	634/21	Wilmington	5 Orange Tree Row	Goldsmith, Robert	Visitor	M	48	Gardener	Norfield Euston	Deaf
366	H01618	72/465	38/44	Boxley	158 Street	Goodwin, William	Head	M	67	'Ag Farm Lab	Kent Mereworth	Deaf
367	H01613b	187/460	350/5	Sevenoaks	22 Shinnest	Gother, Charlotte	Wife	M	56		Kent Pembury	Deaf
368	H01632	93/565	51/8	Whitfield	26 2 Pineham	Grant, Sarah Ann	Dau	S	44		Kent Whitfield	Deaf
369	H01613c	416/567	709/2	Penshurst	Bridges	Grasson, Harriet	Dau	U	22		Kent Penshurst	Deaf & Dumb
370	H01588	261/978	137/39	Woolwich	184 40 Henry Street	Gray, Mary Ann	Dau	S	12	Scholar	Kent Woolwich	Deaf
371	H01589	562/882	300/32	Woolwich	164 17 Red Lion St.	Gray, Peter	Lodger	M	77	Pensioner	Scotland Scotland	Deaf & Blind
372	H01626b	169/534	386/29	Faversham	133 Water Lane	Gregery, George	Son	S	25		Kent Faversham	Deaf
373	H01586-1	357/541	16/192	Greenwich	74 Ream Street	Griffiths, Elisabeth	Dau	S	29		Surrey Frimley	Deaf & Dumb
374	H01630b	379/547	497/13	Ramsgate, St George	57 1 Garden Row Cottages	Grigg, John	Head	M	41	Carpenter	Kent Ramsgate	Deaf
375	H01632c	6/617	603/27	St Marys, Dover	99 Hawksberry Street	Griggs, Charlotte	Lodger	S	66	Independent Lady	Kent Monks Horton	Deaf
376	H01586-1	490/541	264/2	Greenwich	Queen Elizabeth College House No:	Groom, Ann	Wife	M	81	Almsperson	Kent Westerham	Deaf
377	H01586-1	490/541	264/2	Greenwich	Groom, George	Head	M	91	Almsperson-Coachman	Kent Langley	Deaf	
378	H01606	472/605	234/20	Keston	85 Prospect Place	Groves, Charles	Head	S	55	'Ag Labourer	Kent Bromley	Deaf
379	H01620	135/788	73/2	Biddenden	4 Goldenfleece	Grownys (Grounds), Jacol	Son	S	19	Farmer's Son	Kent Biddenden	Deaf
380	H01591	705/1157	377/37	Lewisham	158 High Road	Grubb, Henry	Head	S	61	'Green Grocer	Kent Lewisham	Deaf
381	H01590	634/966	340/17	Plumstead	75 13 Lion Place	Grubb, Robert	Head	M	22	Journeyman Bricklayer	Kent Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb
382	H01607b	253/601	426/12	Dartford	43 Spital St. Clark's Alley No.5	Hadd, Samuel	Head	M	44	'Lab Ag	Kent Sutton at Home	Deaf
383	H01618	97/465	52/18	Boxley	69 Gids Pond	Hadlow, Harriett	Sister	S	42	Needle Woman	Kent Thurnham	Deaf
384	H01631b	199/590	400/37	Preston	31 Swan	Hagbin, Hep	Lodger	S	49	'Ag Lab	Kent Preston	Deaf
385	H01631	541/584	277/22	Eastry	Eastry Union Workhouse	Hale, Mildred	Pauper	S	54	None	Kent Bredon	Deaf & Dumb
386	H01591	279/1157	151/14	Lewisham	35 17 Paragon Mews	Hall, Edward J.	Son	S	17		Kent Lee	Deaf
387	H01633b	497/636	554/22	St Leonard, Hythe	80 Church St.	Hall, George D.	Head	M	56	Lt. Col. Half Pay unattache	Canada British Subject	Deaf
388	H01588	41/978	21/34	Woolwich	164 10 Coleman St.	Hall, John	Head	S	27	Journeyman Shoe Maker	Kent Woolwich	Deaf
389	H01633b	497/636	544/22	St Leonard, Hythe	80 Church St	Hall, Mary L.	Niece	S	40		Kent Woolwich	Deaf
390	H01591	730/1157	390/13	Lewisham	Lewisham Union Workhouse	Halliday, Caroline	Pauper	S	37	Pauper, formerly seamstre	Kent Lewisham	Deaf & Dumb
391	H01630	72/575	40/6	St Peter, Broadstairs	22 Reading Street	Halton, Susannah	Wife	M	49		Kent St Peter	Deaf
392	H01629	129/464	71/6	Monkton	21 Docker Hill	Hammond, Mark	Head	M	71	Pauper, Ag Lab	Kent Petham	Deaf
393	H01626b	193/534	399/9	Faversham	41 Ospringe Road	Handrock, William	Head	W	73	Tailor	Kent Wye	Deaf
394	H01606b	325/537	462/9	Paul's Cray	26 Pe Cray Cottage	Hardin, Henry	Son	S	16	Work at the Paper Factory	Kent St Mary Cray	Deaf
395	H01589	523/882	279/43	Woolwich	174 7 Brewer Place	Harding, Emma Ann	Head	S	24	Chair Woman	London Shoreditch	Deaf
396	H01625	253/478	131/6	Blean	22	Hare, John	Head	M	53	Labourer	Kent St Mildreds	Deaf
397	H01606	437/605	217/31	West Wickham	115 Wickham Green	Harman, Ann	Wife	M	72		Kent Uckfield	Deaf
398	H01629b	244/508	380/14	St John's, Trinity, Margate	62 19 Crescent Place	Harman, Mary	SIL	S	36	Dressmaker	Kent Sussex	Deaf & Dumb
399	H01625	229/478	120/17	St Stephens, Hackington, Cante	66	Harnett, Mary	Head	W	79	Independent	London Bow	Deaf
400	H01584	961/1493	497/14	Deptford, St Pauls	58 No.6 Creek Street	Harrild, Charles	Son	4			Deptford Catsfield	Deaf & Dumb
401	H01587	172/989	91/36	Greenwich	191 1/2 21 Queen Street	Harris, Elizabeth	W		67	Washerwoman	On the Sea On the Sea	Deaf
402	H01586-2	2256/550	421/2	Greenwich	8 6 Royal Hill Row	Harris, Jane	Wife	M	20		Kent Greenwich	Deaf
403	H01587	123/989	65/26	Greenwich	130 12 East Lane	Harris, Joseph	Head	M	75	Greenwich Pensioner	Middlesex St Botolph	Deaf
404	H01611b	231/383	319/18	Chatham	70 Magpie Hall Lane Listmas Cotta	Harris, Rebecca	Wife	M	62	Ropemaker's Wife	Kent Chatham	Deaf
405	H01607b	288/601	444/147	Dartford	177 Lower Waterside	Harris, William	Lodger	S	49	'Lab. at Oil Mill	Sussex Catsfield	Deaf
406	H01615	273/454	342/14	Tonbridge	51	Hart, Edward	Head	S	70	Annuitant	Sussex Wilmington	Deaf & Dumb & E
407	H01624	449/494	227/9	St Mildred, Canterbury	42 Church St.	Hart, Holland	Head	M	81	Pensioner, East Kent Militia	Kent Canterbury	Deaf
408	H01633	353/590	181/9	Folkestone	80 Dover Street	Hart, John	Son	S	17	Labourer	Kent Folkestone	Deaf
409	H01633	192/590	98/4	Folkestone	14 Shellon's Terrace	Harvey Rouse, Ann	Head	W	59	Pensioner Royal Navy	Kent Folkestone	Deaf
410	H01589	215/882	117/5	Woolwich	24 Edward St.	Harvey, Ann	Head	S	59	Needlewoman	Kent Brompton	Deaf
411	H01623	38/469	19/29	Chartham	109 Charrham Burnt House	Harvey, John	Son	S	44	Farmer's Son	Kent Godmesham	Deaf & Dumb
412	H01615	232/454	321/9	Tonbridge	35	Hassets, Elisabeth	Cousin	M	33		Kent Tonbridge	Deaf
413	H01620	188/788	101/4	Biddenden	16 Isle of Dogs	Hatcher, John	Head	W	79	Pauper, Ag Lab	Kent Biddenden	Deaf
414	H01615	232/454	321/9	Tonbridge	38	Hatfield, Catharine	Dau	S	21		Kent Cowden	Deaf

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415	HO1617	93/671	50/8	Maidstone, Trinity	27 Saint Faith's Street	Hauslow, Margaret	Head W	44	Almspeople	Middlesex	Wapping	Deaf		
416	HO1586-2	223/550	303/20	Greenwich	104 6 Blissell Street	Hawkins, Fredrick	Son S	45		Middlesex	Hackney	Deaf		
417	HO1626	38/549	20/4	Dunkirk	18 No. Toll Bar	Hawkins, James	Head M	40	Grazier	Kent	Dunkirk	Deaf		
418	HO1622	401/464	215/16	East Brabourne	53	Haycock, Alfred	Head M	65	Grocer	Kent	Marsham	Deaf		
419	HO1586-2	192/550	395/30	Greenwich	85 4 Royal Place Court	Heath, Rebecca	Head S	50	Manglewoman	Hampshire	Portsmouth	Deaf		
420	HO1587	370/989	196/20	Greenwich	95 Duke of Wellington, Morden Pla	Herring, John	Servant S	21	Potman	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf		
421	HO1629b	88/508	298/1	St John the Baptist, Margate	5 2 Lansells Place	Hewitt, Ann	Dau S	21	Shoe Binder	Ireland		Deaf		
422	HO1585	136/405	72/30	Deptford, St Nicholas	133 31 Rope Walk	Heyes, Charlotte	Lodger W	39		Kent	Deptford	Deaf		
423	HO1617b	145/591	438/10	Maidstone	34 41 Kings St.	Hickmott, Charles	Son S	10		Kent	Maidstone	Deaf		
424	HO1584	248/1493	130/36	Deptford, St Pauls	152 2 Henry St.	Hillier, Mary	Wife M	54		Herefordshire	Weston	Deaf		
425	HO1614	78/383	42/33	Speldhurst, Tonbridge Wells	110 London Road	Hillman, Elizabeth	Visitor U	30	Visitor	Kent	Speldhurst	Deaf		
426	HO1622	402/464	216/17	East Brabourne	59	Hills, George	Brother S	26		Kent	Brabourne	Deaf & Dumb		
427	HO1624	209/494	104/22	St Mary Northgate, Canterbury	85 Military Road	Hills, Mary	Wife M	51		Essex	Hadlow	Deaf		
428	HO1628	272/739	145/37	Minster, Sheerness	166 Chapel St.	Hiscock, Mary	Head W	65	Laundress	Essex	Harwich	Deaf		
429	HO1630b	14/547	306/36	Ramsgate, St George	168 Bethesda St. Ferrets Cottage	Hodge, Richard	Lodger S	19	Sail Maker	Yorkshire	Scarborough	Deaf		
430	HO1589	495/882	265/15	Woolwich	57 35 Charles St.	Hodges, George	Head M	42	Shoe Maker	East Indies	East Indies	Deaf & Dumb		
431	HO1589	495/882	265/5	Woolwich	57 35 Charles St.	Hodges, Mary	Wife M	43		London	London	Deaf & Dumb		
432	HO1610b	449/484	486/11	St Mary's, Chatham	51 Crop Street	Hodges, Sarah	Wife M	43	Baker	Kent	East Church	Deaf		
433	HO1621	237/384	124/5	Charing	16 Marketplace	Hogg, Charles	Head M	49	Ag Lab	Surrey	Battersea	Deaf		
434	HO1631	202/584	104/40	Ash	171 Bowling Street	Holden, John	BIL S	46	Ag Laborer	Kent	Worth	Deaf & Dumb		
435	HO1619	42/818	23/6	Frittendon	28 Old Workhouse	Holhurst, Mary	Wife M	78		Kent	Cranbrook	Deaf		
436	HO1606	348/605	172/24	Bromley	88 Elmores End	Holford, Thomas	Son S	22	Son at Home	Kent	Beckenham	Deaf & Dumb		
437	HO1630b	461/547	540/19	Ramsgate, Christchurch	77 27 Addington Place	Holladay, John	Son S	31	Tailor	Kent	Ramsgate	Deaf & Dumb		
438	HO1631c	13/508	605/32	Walmer	153 Back Road	Holmes, Margaret	Wife M	75		Kent	Deal	Deaf		
439	HO1631b	3/590	301/7	Northbourne	26 Tingleham Street	Holmes, Mary	Dau S	23		Kent	Walmer	Deaf & Dumb		
440	HO1621b	171/496	287/12	Ashford	45 North side of High St.	Holt, John	Head S	71	Cabinetmaker-Parish Relief	Kent	Ashford	Deaf & Blind		
441	HO1612b	374/381	396/2	East Peckham	4 Bells Farm	Homewood, William	Head M	71	Pauper	Sussex	Rotherfield	Deaf		
442	HO1617b	111/591	409/31	Maidstone	116 King St.	Honey, William	Head M	30	Waterman	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf		
443	HO1618	464/465	249/24	Lenham	103 Old Brewhouse	Honeysett, Jane	Wife M	44		Kent	Chart Next Sutton Valence	Deaf		
444	HO1623	170/469	12/88	Upper Hards, Canterbury	46	Hopkins, Thomas	Son	9		Kent	Elmsted	Deaf & Dumb		
445	HO1627b	200/388	360/3	Newington, Milton	13 Widows Home	Horn, Mary	Head W	70	Pauper-Ag Lab Widow	Kent	Newington	Deaf		
446	HO1629b	486/508	510/7	St John the Baptist, Margate	34 3 Chapel Hill	Horn, Richard	Head M	73	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Ash	Deaf		
447	HO1613c	398/567	700/26	Penshurst	70 Chafford Iot	Horsecraft, Thomas	Head M	66	Ag Lab & Pauper	Sussex	Gramfield	Deaf		
448	HO1631c	437/508	821/1	Deal	2 2 North Street	Hoskins, James	Brother S	43	Mariner	Kent	Deal	Deaf		
449	HO1624b	318/512	269/7	St Mary Bredin, Canterbury	20 Watling St.	Hosie, Jane	Aunt S	73	Gentlewoman	Kent	Northbourn	Deaf		
450	HO1626	404/549	223/10	Ospringe	36 Loam House	Houghton, Henry	Brother S	33	Ag Lab	Kent	Selling	Deaf & Dumb		
451	HO1591	462/1157	247/20	Lewisham	104 Queens Street	Hubble, Elizabeth	Head W	79	Laundress	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf		
452	HO1631	452/584	233/13	Eastry	65 Sandwich Road	Hudson, Charlotte	Dau	12	Scholar	Kent	Eastry	Deaf		
453	HO1631	452/584	233/13	Eastry	65 Sandwich Road	Hudson, Mary A.	Dau	9	Scholar	Kent	Eastry	Deaf		
454	HO1608	409/474	216/27	Milton-next-Gravesend	95 2 Brewhouse Rd.	Hughes, Anne	Visitor W	80	Parishioner	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf		
455	HO1610	411/473	217/24	St Margaret	98 Queens Row	Hull, Hannah	Head W	70		Kent	Northfleet	Deaf		
456	HO1631c	495/508	850/16	Deal	71 159 Beach Street	Humble, Thomas	Brother S	32	Cordwainer	Kent	Deal	Deaf & Dumb		
457	HO1609b	275/664	441/29	Strood	109 York Road	Hunt, Charles	Son S	26	Bootmaker	Kent	Strood	Deaf		
458	HO1628	330/739	177/13	Minster in Sheppey, Mile Town	555 Short Street	Husson, Elizabeth	Dau S	31	At home	Kent	Minster	Deaf & Dumb		
459	HO1628	236/739	127/1	Minster, Sheerness	7 Blaslands Court	Ifride, William	Lodger S	33	Labourer HMS D Yard	Kent	Sheerness	Deaf		
460	HO1607b	254/601	427/13	Dartford	48 Spital St. Clark's Alley No.10	Ingram, Mary	Dau S	29		Kent	Dartford	Deaf & Blind		
461	HO1586-1	516/541	31/2	Greenwich, St Alphages	7 4 Sherry's Place	Ingram, Sarah	Head W	56	Takes in Mangling	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf		
462	HO1634	137/477	73/13	New Romney	39	Iuttele, Edward	Head W	69	Proprietor of a House Etc	Kent	New Romney	Deaf		
463	HO1585	335/405	189/33	Deptford, St Nicholas	162 66 Prince Street	Jackson, Ann	Dau S	17	Dress Maker	London	Clerkswell	Deaf & Dumb		
464	HO1629b	146/508	329/11	St John the Baptist, Margate	41 Bread Street No.9	Jacob, David	Head S	62	Shoemaker	Kent	B..	Deaf & Dumb		
465	HO1608	457/474	241/26	Milton-next-Gravesend	84 Whitehall Place	James, Ellen	Dau S	5		Kent	Milton	Deaf & Dumb		
466	HO1627b	14/388	257/35	Milton-next-Sittingbourne	Milton Union Work House	Jameson, Elizabeth	Inmate S	20		Kent	Gillingham	Deaf & Dumb		
467	HO1620	195/788	105/11	Biddenden	47 Low Poles	Jenner, Eliza	Wife M	42		Kent	Staplehurst	Deaf		
468	HO1610b	7/484	253/47	St Margaret	214 Delce Lane	Jennings, Charles	Head M	26	Joiner H-M-Dock yard	Kent	Rochester	Deaf		
469	HO1611	64/379	?/4	Chatham	16 Cross St.	Jennings, John	Son	11	Scholar	Kent	Chatham	Deaf		
470	HO1612c	271/485	550/13	Wrortham	57	Jessup, Bertha	Dau	3	Scholar	Kent	Wrortham	Deaf		
471	HO1619	618/818	328/4	Hawkhurst	17 Highgate	Jewhurst, Edward	Head W	81	Thatcher	Kent	Hawkhurst	Deaf		
472	HO1623b	145/286	325/4	Ickham and Well	15 Quaves	Joad, Thomas	Son S	27	Pauper, Ag Lab	Kent	Ickham	Deaf		
473	HO1626b	278/534	443/25	Oare	76 Oare Street	Johncock, William	Son S	29	Ag Lab	Kent	Oare	Deaf		

1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
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474	HO1606b	401/537	500/45	Chislehurst	171 Brickend	Johnson, Jonathan	Brother M 64	Annuitant	Lincolnshire	Garsley			Deaf	
475	HO1631c	498/508	852/19	Deal	83 178 Beach Street	Johnson, Mary Frances	Head W	47 Tea Dealer	Kent	Deal			Deaf & Dumb	
476	HO1591	691/1157	370/23	Lewisham	105 North Row	Jones, Allis	Wife M	26 Baker Wife	Sussex	Brighton			Deaf	
477	HO1613b	144/460	327/3	Sevenoaks	10 Barrack Corner	Jones, James	Head M	60 Labr	Kent	Sevenoaks			Deaf & Dumb	
478	HO1588	43/978	22/36	Woolwich	174 15 1/2 Coleman St.	Jones, Jane	Head S	45 Dressmaker	Kent	Woolwich			Deaf & Dumb	
479	HO1589	627/682	337/7	Woolwich	32 13 Barrack St.	Jones, John	Head M	74 Dependent on Casual Relie	Wales	Wales			Deaf & Blind	
480	HO1613	409/465	221/13	Sevenoaks	52 Chambles	Jones, William	Head M	51 Ag Labourer	Kent	Sevenoaks			Deaf & Dumb	
481	HO1586-2	526/550	578/11	Greenwich	60 Rivenhouse Hill	Judge, Sarah	SIL S	29 Milliner	France	British Subject			Deaf	
482	HO1627	163/446	96/3	Borden	10 Borden Street	Judges, John	Head M	48 Ag Lab	Kent	Borden			Deaf	
483	HO1627	200/446	116/23	Borden	85 S Oad Street	Judges, Joseph	Head W	54 Ag Lab	Kent	Faversham			Deaf	
484	HO1616b	400/484	513/17	East Farleigh	57 Dean Street	Jury, John	Head M	83 Formerly AG LAB	Kent	Horsmonden			Deaf	
485	HO1606	474/605	234/22	Keston	95 Woodside Cottage	Kadwell, Harry	Son	10 Scholar	Kent	Keston			Deaf	
486	HO1620	192/788	103/8	Biddenden	35 Fosten Green	Kadwell, Henry	Son	5 Scholar	Kent	Biddenden			Deaf	
487	HO1630	329/575	179/5	St Lawrence	11 3 Fredrick Place	Kadwell, William C.	Son	8 Scholar	Kent	St Lawrence			Deaf	
488	HO1612c	99/485	453/14	Mereworth	53 Newpound	Kemp, Fanny	Dau	41	Kent	Mereworth			Deaf	
489	HO1634	386/477	202/4	Brookland	14	Kemp, William	Lodger S	23 Shoe Maker	Kent	Woodnesborough			Deaf & Dumb	
490	HO1584	707/1493	368/27	Deptford, St Pauls	54 Charles Street	Kendrick, George	Head W	83 Caulker	Kent	Deptford			Deaf	
491	HO1618b	285/480	409/15	Chart Next Sutton Valence	Hearden Farm	Kennard, Harriet	Servant S	14 House Servant	Kent	Doddington			Deaf	
492	HO1606	475/605	236/23	Keston	97 Mill House	Killick, John	Head M	48 Ag Labourer	Kent	West Wickham			Deaf	
493	HO1606	475/605	236/23	Keston	97 Mill House	Killick, Mary	Wife M	40 Laundress	Kent	Cudham			Deaf	
494	HO1591	244/1157	132/11	Kidbrooke	31 St Germanus Terrace	Kindress, Ann	Head S	50 Land & Houses Devedent	I Surrey	Walworth			Deaf	
495	HO1632b	419/579	517/16	St Marys, Dover	4 Cliff Court Snargate Street	King, John Thomas	Head M	30 Foundry Labourer	Sussex	Hastings			Deaf	
496	HO1610b	111/484	307/38	St Margaret	166 Bartholomew Court No.9	King, Lydia	Wife M	61	Kent	Chatham			Deaf	
497	HO1627b	200/388	360/3	Newington, Milton	10 Widows Home	Kitchingham, Sarah	Head W	66 Pauper-Ag Lab Widow	Kent	Newington			Deaf	
498	HO1627	14/446	10/9	Bapchild	35 Little Duly	Kite, Hannah	Wife M	58	Kent	Maidstone			Deaf	
499	HO1613b	305/460	413/20	Sundridge	69 Winkhurst Farm	Knight, Nicholas	Son U	24 Farmers Son	Kent	Sundridge			Deaf	
500	HO1590	815/966	438/13	Eltham, Mettingham	49 Hamlet of Mettingham	Knight, William	Son S	12 at home	Kent	Landridge			Deaf	
501	HO1617b	110/591	409/30	Maidstone	114 King St.	Knote, George H.	Head M	45 Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Aylesford			Deaf	
502	HO1618b	40/480	273/11	Lenham	41 Lenham Heath	Knott, J.	Head S	61 Ag Lab	Kent	Lenham			Deaf	
503	HO1632c	613/617	921/6	Capel-Le-Ferne	20 no name	Knott, Thomas	Father W	80 Ag Lab	Kent	Ewell			Deaf & Blind	
504	HO1632b	572/579	596/14	St Marys, Dover	54 20 Oxenden Street	Knowles, John	Visitor S	50 Gas Fitter	Surrey				Deaf	
505	HO1627b	384/388	464/6	Iwade	20	Lackyer, Raynard	Head M	36 Ag Lab	Kent	Iwade			Deaf	
506	HO1616	294/555	159/4	Hunton	14 Hunton Clappers	Ladham, Richard	Son S	19 Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Hunton			Deaf & Dumb	
507	HO1611b	1/383	?/30	Chatham	134 Rhode Street	Lake, William	Head M	73 Gardener	Kent	Tong			Deaf	
508	HO1617b	149/591	440/14	Maidstone	50 5 Oak Yard	Lamb, William	Head M	42 Lab at Mill (Paper)	Kent	Sevenoaks			Deaf & Dumb	
509	HO1616	439/555	238/9	Marden	32 Little Cheveney	Lamkin, John	Head M	35 Ag lab	Kent	Marden			Deaf	
510	HO1629	281/464	152/2	Margate	1 Church Street	Lammings, Mary	Head W	69 Pauper, Servant	Kent	Margate			Deaf	
511	HO1618	350/465	190/27	Harriettsham	114 West Street	Landen, Amy	Dau	14 at Home	Kent	Harriettsham			Deaf	
512	HO1613c	105/567	554/3	Edenbridge	8 Edenbridge St.	Langridge, Jane	Wife M	75	Surrey	Reigate			Deaf	
513	HO1587	270/989	145/27	Greenwich	127 52 Trafalger Rd.	Lansford, Margaret	Wife M	50 Wife	Durham	Durham			Deaf	
514	HO1615	79/464	41/10	Tonbridge	44 High Street	Larking, Anne	Dau S	23 At home	Kent	Tonbridge			Deaf & Dumb	
515	HO1612b	216/381	313/1	Wateringbury	3 Fullers Corner	Latter, William	Head M	50 Farm Laborer	Kent	Wateringbury			Deaf	
516	HO1626b	199/534	402/15	Faversham	68 Kingsfield	Lawrence, Francis	Wife M	30	Kent	Faversham			Deaf	
517	HO1625	452/478	236/15	Chislet	42 Hatch	Lawrence, Louisa	Dau S	22 Employed at Home	Kent	Chislet			Deaf	
518	HO1630	195/575	106/17	St Peter, Broadstairs	70 Nelson Cottage	Lawrence, Mary	Head W	87 Viddler/Barkeeper	Kent	Folkstone			Deaf	
519	HO1587	150/989	80/14	Greenwich	86 9 East Lane	Lawrence, Sarah	Wife M	67 Helpless, Receives Parish	R Kent	Deptford			Deaf	
520	HO1587	150/989	80/14	Greenwich	86 9 East Lane	Lawrence, William	Head M	Helpless, Receives Parish	R Kent	Deptford			Deaf	
521	HO1632	298/565	162/8	Charlton Near Dover	27 Bridge Street	Laws, James	Head S	47 Labourer	Kent	Folkstone			Deaf	
522	HO1618b	188/480	354/8	Leeds	33	Leader, Elizabeth	Lodger W	61 Pauper	Kent	Leeds			Deaf	
523	HO1620	677/788	362/15	Woodchurch	50 Susan's Hill Road	Leech, Mary Ann	Head W	83 Parish Relief for Ag Lab Wil	Kent	Great Chart			Deaf	
524	HO1612	305/366	166/24	Snodland	91 Snodland St.	Lenham, James	Head M	16 Shophelper	Kent	Malling			Deaf & Dumb	
525	HO1617	417/671	220/17	Maidstone, St Stephens	66 Tovil Hill	Levington, Nathan	Lodger W	83 Gen Lab	Kent	Maidstone			Deaf	
526	HO1610b	113/484	308/40	St Margaret	171 Tailors Court No.2	Levy, Tamer	Visitor W	# # Annuitant	Kent	Sheerness			Deaf	
527	HO1634	52/477	27/7	Dymchurch	25	Linden, John	Head M	47 Journeyman Carpenter & P	Kent	Dymchurch			Deaf	
528	HO1622	22/464	14/1	Warehorne	2 Warehorne	Lindridge, William	Son S	20 Servant	Kent	Woodchurch			Deaf	
529	HO1591	610/1157	326/36	Lewisham	153 Stors Building	Linsley, Mary	Head W	64 Laundress	Essex	Little Waltham			Deaf	
530	HO1587	184/989	97/48	Greenwich	273 4 Victoria Place, Queen St.	Lodwick, Ann	Wife M	66 Fruit Seller	Kent	Chatham			Deaf	
531	HO1591	1152/1157	616/26	Sydenham, Lewisham	91 Perry Rise	Lone, Gayle	Son S	22 Tailor	Surrey	Bermondsey			Deaf & Dumb	
532	HO1618b	325/480	432/7	Sutton Valence	31	Long, William	Head S	75 Cordwainer Retired	Kent	Sutton East			Deaf	

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533	HO1607	577/597	290/2	Crayford	25 London Rd.	Longhurst, John	Servant	13	Servant	Kent	Bexley	Deaf		
534	HO1613c	306/567	654/22	Chiddingstone	74 Causeway	Longram, Sophia	Dau	U	24	Kent	Chiddingstone	Deaf & Dumb		
535	HO1607b	271/601	435/30	Dartford	120 Martin Court No.15	Love, Francis	Wife	M	67	Leistershire	Leister	Deaf		
536	HO1586-1	211/541	113/4	Greenwich	15 Roan St.	Love, Hannah	Head	W	75	Pauper	Devon	Plymouth	Deaf	
537	HO1629	369/464	199/8	'St John the Baptist, Margate	32 4 Wanstall's Cottages	Love, Sarah	Head	W	62	Charwoman, Parish Relief	Kent	Minster	Deaf	
538	HO1587	860/989	453/26	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Lowry, Samuel	Private P.S.	48	Impensioner	Kent	NK	Deaf		
539	HO1615	289/464	157/5	Tonbridge	20 Vauxhall Hill	Lucas, William	Son	S	18	Road Laborer	Kent	Tunbridge	Deaf	
540	HO1612b	94/381	247/44	West Malling	166 Cannon Heath	Luck, Susannah, B.	Dau	U	24	Kent	Waterringbury	Deaf		
541	HO1612b	78/381	239/28	West Malling	114 Went House	Luck, Thomas	Head	W	85	Fundholder	Kent	Ditton	Deaf	
542	HO1634	74/477	38/29	Dymchurch	117	Luckling, William	Head	M	79	Gardener	Essex	Broomfield	Deaf	
543	HO1612c	59/485	432/7	Mereworth	25 Kent St.	Ludds, Ann	Lodger	W	80	Pauper	Kent	Offenham	Deaf	
544	HO1591	521/1157	279/33	Lewisham	138 10 Bridge Pl.	Lum, Mary	Head	W	81	Annuitant	Kent	Lewisham	Deaf	
545	HO1610	413/473	218/26	St Margaret	103 3 Morden Street	Makepeace, Henry	Brother	S	22		Surrey	Kensington	Deaf	
546	HO1584	105/1493	55/3	Deptford, St Pauls	7 No. 7 Mason St.	Mallock, William	Head	M	61	Annuitant	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf	
547	HO1616	439/555	238/9	Marden	31 Little Cheveney	Manering, William	Head	M	45	Waggoner	Kent	Marden	Deaf	
548	HO1622b	38/362	270/13	Wye	33 Succombe Farm	Manley, Thomas	Head	M	77	Farm Laborer	Kent	Ashford	Deaf	
549	HO1618b	263/480	396/16	Chart next Sutton Valence	67	Mannering, Jesse	Head	M	21	'Ag Lab	Kent	Chart Next Sutton Valence	Deaf	
550	HO1615b	25/530	263/23	Hadlow	82 Higham	Manser, Elizabeth	Wife's S:	U	53		Kent	Hadlow	Deaf & Dumb	
551	HO1615b	4/530	252/2	Hadlow	10 Hadlow Common	Manser, James	Son		10		Kent	Hadlow	Deaf & Dumb	
552	HO1615b	25/530	263/23	Hadlow	82 Higham	Manser, Thomas	Wife's Br	U	48	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Hadlow	Deaf & Dumb	
553	HO1619	252/818	136/5	Cranbrook, Hamlet of Court Stile	18 Court Stile	Manwaring, Henry	Head	M	82	Proprietor of House	Kent	Benenden	Deaf	
554	HO1615	262/464	141/50	Tonbridge	181 2 Priory Row	Marchant, Thomas	Head	M	55	Lath Render	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf	
555	HO1632c	371/617	796/39	Buckland	153 Buckland Street	Marks, Charles	Head	M	66	Proprietor of Houses & Lan	Kent	Ashford	Deaf	
556	HO1617	218/671	116/39	Maidstone, Trinity	130 High Street	Marriott, Thomas	Son		8	Scholar	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf & Dumb	
557	HO1610	433/473	230/1	'St Margaret	1 King Street	Marsh, George	Son	S	25	Journeymen Carpenter	Kent	St Margaret	Deaf & Dumb	
558	HO1610	433/473	230/1	'St Margaret	1 King Street	Marsh, Sarah	Dau	S	21	Dress Maker	Kent	St Margaret	Deaf	
559	HO1632	92/565	51/7	Whitfield	23 3	Marsh, Thomas W.	Head	M	61	Carpenter & .. employing	Kent	Whitfield	Deaf	
560	HO1607b	250/601	425/9	Dartford	37 Spital St.	Marshall, Ann	Head	W	59	Mason Employing 2 Men	Essex	Grays	Deaf	
561	HO1619	517/818	282/29	Goudhurst	127 2 Hunts Place	Martin, Elizabeth	Head	W	63	Proprietess of ..	Kent	Goudhurst	Deaf	
562	HO1622	178/464	96/38	Aldington	140 Aldington Rush	Martin, John	Head	M	65	Pauper, Ag Lab	Kent	Warehorne	Deaf	
563	HO1620	265/788	142/1	Wittersham	3	Martin, Katherine	Wife	M	74		Kent	Stockbury	Deaf	
564	HO1614b	102/454	16/252	Tunbridge	70 High Street	Martin, Peter	Son	S	43	Gardener Son	Kent	Tunbridge	Deaf	
565	HO1619	508/818	277/20	Goudhurst	86 2 Queen's Place	Martin, Thomas	Son	S	23	Ag Labourer	Kent	Goudhurst	Deaf	
566	HO1607c	34/619	626/30	Darenth	109 Lane End	Martin, Thomas	Head	M	61	'Ag Lab	Kent	Darenth	Deaf	
567	HO1619	355/818	193/6	Benenden	18 Mud Hall	Martin, William	Servant	S	60	'Ag Lab	Kent	Cranbrook	Deaf & Dumb	
568	HO1631b	167/598	384/17	Wingham	78	Masted, Elenor	Mother	W	92	Widow of Ag Lab	Kent	Treston	Deaf & Dumb & E	
569	HO1620	253/788	135/19	Wittersham	57 Back Road	Masters, David	SIL	S	20	'Ag Lab	Kent	Wittersham	Deaf	
570	HO1630	140/575	76/22	St Peter, Broadstairs	107 Pierre Mont Lodge	May, Mary A	Mother	W	65	Pauper	Kent	Broadstairs	Deaf	
571	HO1628	422/739	226/21	'Minster, Sheerness	98 Kings Street	Maytown, Fanny	Servant	U	18	Domestic Servant	Kent	Faversham	Deaf	
572	HO1587	181/989	96/45	Greenwich	247 8 Queen St.	McCarnell, Patrick		W	76	Helpless	Ireland		Deaf	
573	HO1622	301/464	162/14	Willesborough	47 84	McMinnan	Head	M	32	Engin fitter' Wife	Northumberland	North Sh...	Deaf	
574	HO1616	32/555	17/1	Yalding	1 Meaning Lane	Meass Lane, Harriett	Head	W	33	Char Woman, P. Relief	Kent	Hunton	Deaf & Dumb	
575	HO1611	205/379	7/4	Chatham	15 Freeman Aley	Medhurst, William	Head	M	68	Labour Superannuated	Kent	Cooling	Deaf & Dumb	
576	HO1585	129/405	69/23	Deptford, St Nicholas	95 2 Flagon Court, Wellington St	Mellis, Mary	Head	M	51	Woodcutter (	Hampshire	Gosport	Deaf	
577	HO1591	443/1157	238/1	Lewisham	2 13 King Street	Membrey, Benjamin	Son	S	7	Scholar	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf	
578	HO1617	155/671	83/17	Maidstone, Trinity	54 Pudding Lane	Mercer, John	Head	M	70	Cooper	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf	
579	HO1608	392/474	207/10	Milton-next-Gravesend	54 Queen St.	Meritt, Sarah	Wife	M	45		Essex		Deaf	
580	HO1587	884/989	465/14	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Merry, Thomas	Private Pens	75	Impensioner	NK	NK	Deaf		
581	HO1616b	90/480	347/6	Linton	Union Workhouse	Mershams, ...ah	Pauper	S	44	Farm Labourer	Kent	Maidstone	Deaf & Dumb	
582	HO1617	284/671	150/52	Maidstone, All Saints	141 Oliver Yard Bank Shut	Messham, John	Lodger	W	63	Cordwainer	Sussex	Heathfield	Deaf	
583	HO1627	219/446	127/11	Sittingbourne	57 West Lane	Milden, Charlotte	Wife	M	48		Kent	Sittingbourne	Deaf	
584	HO1607b	26/601	313/9	Crayford	35 North End	Miles, Thomas	Son	C	9		Kent	Crayford	Deaf	
585	HO1614	141/383	75/16	Speldhurst, Tonbridge Wells	54 Sproonbridge Hill Cottage	Miles, William	Head	M	44	Bricklayer	Sussex	Rotherfield	Deaf	
586	HO1591	213/1157	115/31	Lee,	146 9 Dacre Place	Millard, William	Head	M	40	Annuitant	Wiltshire	Westbury	Deaf	
587	HO1613	103/465	51/25	Seal	95 Seal Court	Miller, James	Head	M	29	Labourer	London		Deaf	
588	HO1619	771/818	421/5	Sandhurst	421/5	Mills, Ann	Granddau		6	Scholar	Kent	Sandhurst	Deaf & Dumb	
589	HO1586-1	490/541	264/2	Greenwich	Queen Elizabeth College House No	Minter, Thomas	Head	M	66	'Almsperson-Shipwright	Kent	St Lawrence	Deaf	
590	HO1611b	16/383	7/3	Chatham	9 29 Brougham Place	Mitchell, Edmund	Brother		12		Kent	Chatham	Deaf	
591	HO1631	461/584	237/22	Eastry	103 Farthing Gate	Moat, Mary	Head	W	62	Pauper	Kent	Eastry	Deaf	

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592	HO1607	579/597	291/2	Crayford	1 Pinacle Hill	Moffat, James Thomas	Head	M	55	Pensioner HEI Company Sc	Middlesex	Born	Deaf
593	HO1631c	308/508	755/15	Deal	62 21 Union Row	Mofflin, Laura M	W	M	50	Annuitant	Northumberland	Berwick upon Tweed	Deaf
594	HO1587	802/989	423/17	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Moggs, Thomas S.	Private PS	64	Inpensioner	Middlesex	London	Deaf	
595	HO1586-2	296/550	453/6	Greenwich	19 Blackheath Hill	Molley, Margaret	Dau	U	47	Domestic Duties	Middlesex	Hackney	Deaf & Dumb
596	HO1608b	150/468	326/30	Milton-next-Gravesend	137 7a Alms House	Monk, Elizabeth	Dau	S	45	Alms woman Dressmaker	Kent	Lydd	Deaf
597	HO1625b	358/508	435/1	Whitstable	3 Frogs Island	Moon, Ann	MIL	W	81	Housekeeper	Kent	Haversham	Deaf
598	HO1633	218/590	111/30	Folkestone	112 Barl Street	Moon, Mary	Head	W	66	Parish Relief	Kent	Folkestone	Deaf
599	HO1587	885/989	466/15	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Moore, John	Private PW	78	Inpensioner	Wiltshire	Adiston Devizez	Deaf	
600	HO1626b	263/534	435/10	Davington	27 Davington Hill	Moore, Mary A.	Dau	S	38	Invalid	Kent	Faversham	Deaf
601	HO1629	455/464	245/10	St John the Baptist, Margate	37 St James Place, St James Squa	Moors, Elizabeth	Wife	M	48		Kent	Peckham	Deaf
602	HO1633b	125/638	364/6	Lyminge	Elham Union Workhouse	Morgan, Sarah	Pauper	S	29	Pauper	Kent	Saltwood	Deaf & Dumb
603	HO1623b	174/286	340/33	Ichham and Well	109 Ichham	Morgan, Mary	Wife	M	67		Kent	Adisham	Deaf
604	HO1585	208/405	111/49	Deptford, St Nicholas	220 30 Deptford St.	Morley, Edwin	Son		8	Scholar	Middlesex	St Lukes	Deaf & Dumb
605	HO1615b	372/530	447/21	Brenchley	Furnace Pond Lane	Morphett, Mary	Wife	M	44		Kent	Frittendon	Deaf
606	HO1589	26/882	15/22	Woolwich	83 2 Crop Alley	Morris, Jane	Dau	S	19	Milliner	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb
607	HO1591	375/1157	201/55	Lewisham	203 Eliot Place No. 13	Morris, Maria	Boarder	S	27		India	Calcutta	Deaf
608	HO1586-1	297/541	259/23	Greenwich	124 18 Pearson St.	Mosell, Mary	Head	W	76	Pauper	Middlesex	???	Deaf
609	HO1620	145/788	78/12	Biddenden	42	Munday, Emma	Dau	S	22		Middlesex	London	Deaf
610	HO1620	367/788	198/3	Tenderden	9 High Street Home Well	Munn, John	Cousin	U	59	Grazier	Kent	Rolvenden	Deaf
611	HO1587	783/989	412/30	Greenwich	East Greenwich Workhouse	N.K.	Inmate		10		NK	NK	Deaf & Dumb
612	HO1632	178/565	98/6	Guston	22 Guston	Nash, Edward	Son	S	26	Farm Lab	Kent	Guston	Deaf
613	HO1612b	216/381	313/1	Wattingbury	2 Fullers Corner	Newman, Charles	Son	U	17	Farm Laborer	Kent	Wattingbury	Deaf
614	HO1615b	114/530	308/16	Capel	56 Toby's Row 5 Oak Green	Newman, Mary Ann Rich	Wife	M	59		Kent	East Peckham	Deaf
615	HO1611	163/379	?/13	Chatham	51 163 High St.	Nicholls, Ann	Visitor	W	64		Kent	Mompend (?)	Deaf
616	HO1587	747/989	393/19	Greenwich	East Greenwich Workhouse	Nicholls, Sarah	Inmate	S	66		Kent	Deptford	Deaf & Dumb
617	HO1587	730/989	384/2	Greenwich	East Greenwich Workhouse	Nicholls, Thomas	Inmate	S	41		Kent	Deptford	Deaf & Dumb
618	HO1589	751/882	402/28	Woolwich	128 New Road	Nichols, Ann	Lodge	W	41	Needlewoman	Malta	Malta	Deaf
619	HO1587	125/989	66/28	Greenwich	139 14 East Lane	Nosworthy, Charles	Son	S	21	Journeyman Tailor	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf
620	HO1587	125/989	66/28	Greenwich	139 14 East Lane	Nosworthy, Phoebe	Head	W	52	Nurse, G. Hospital	Devonshire		Deaf
621	HO1622b	37/362	269/12	Wye	31 Pound Green	Nusithe, Emma	Wife	M	70	Pauper	Kent	Lenham	Deaf
622	HO1610	435/473	231/3	St Margaret	10 King Street	Nye, Robert	Son	S	29	Lab	Kent	St Margaret	Deaf
623	HO1633b	337/636	474/25	Saltwood, Hythe	75 Saltwood Green	Oldfield, Mary	Mother	W	78	House keeper	Kent	Sevington	Deaf
624	HO1617	486/671	256/51	Maidstone, St Peters	193 St Peter's St	Oliver, Jane	Dau	S	25		Kent	Maidstone	Deaf
625	HO1588	656/978	350/40	Woolwich	187 2 Godfrey Street	Osborne, Edward	Head	M	33	Gardener	Oxfordshire	Goring	Deaf
626	HO1616b	106/480	355/22	Linton	Union Workhouse	Ottaways, Charles	Pauper		4		Kent	Staplehurst	Deaf & Dumb
627	HO1616b	106/480	355/22	Linton	Union Workhouse	Ottaways, William	Pauper		6		Kent	Staplehurst	Deaf & Dumb
628	HO1633b	344/636	477/32	Saltwood, Hythe	95 Saltwood Green	Ovenden, William	Head	S	60	Ag Lab	Kent	Saltwood	Deaf
629	HO1587	193/989	103/4	Greenwich	301 8 Queen St.	Owens, Maria	Wife	M	37	Needlewoman	Middlesex	Westminster	Deaf
630	HO1629	342/464	185/9	St John the Baptist, Margate	45 1071/2 High Street	Page, Henry	Father	W	76	Stone Mason	Kent	Ramsgate	Deaf
631	HO1589	460/882	245/24	Woolwich	140 17 Lower Market St.	Page, Mary	Head	W	56	Pauper Laundress	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf
632	HO1633b	188/636	397/9	Stelling	35 Minnis	Page, William	Visitor	S	46	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Barham	Deaf
633	HO1611d	146/371	678/9	Gillingham	30 Navy Row	Pager, Thomas	Lodger	U	66	Seaman Pensioner, R.N.	Kent	Strood	Deaf
634	HO1629	241/464	130/12	Minster, Thanet	Union Workhouse, Isle of Thanet	Pain, John		W	63	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	Margate	Deaf
635	HO1620	610/788	325/10	Appledore	36	Paine, Susanah	Head	W	72		Kent	Stone	Deaf
636	HO1632c	616/617	923/9	Capel-Le-Ferne	34 Satmore, 5	Palmer, Jane	Head	W	78	Farmer of 30 Acres Employ	London City		Deaf
637	HO1612c	472/485	656/16	Ightham	58 Ivyhatch	Palmer, Thomas	Son	U	17	'Ag L'	Kent	Ightham	Deaf
638	HO1616	284/555	153/21	West Farleigh	73 Love's Corner	Paramore, William	Head	W	48	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	West Farleigh	Deaf
639	HO1623	212/469	12/88	Thanington, Canterbury	11 Windcheap St.	Parker, Elizabeth	Visitor	M	43	Dressmaker	Kent	Folkstone	Deaf
640	HO1627	178/446	105/1	Borden	1 Lime Pits Cross	Parker, Maria	Servant	S	17	House Servant	Surrey	Roigate	Deaf
641	HO1630b	230/547	419/31	Ramsgate, St George	125 5 Wellington Cottages	Parker, Robert	Son	7	Attending School	Kent	St Lawrence	Deaf & Dumb	
642	HO1586-1	490/541	264/2	Greenwich	Queen Elizabeth College House No	Parker, Samuel	Head	W	95	Almsperson-Laborer	Northampton	Arnfrister	Deaf
643	HO1613b	23/460	261/50	Sevenoaks	141 Houses on the Hill	Parsons, Jane	Wife	M	34		Kent	Sevenoaks	Deaf & Dumb
644	HO1631	301/584	155/15	St Clement, Sandwich	61 High Street	Patterson, Amos	Head	S	62	Receiving out Relief	Kent	St Nicholas	Deaf
645	HO1624	71/494	35/1	St Paul's, Canterbury	3 Nackington Lane Corner	Patterson, Jane	Dau	S	20		Kent	East Sutton	Deaf
646	HO1626	195/549	106/36	Boughton under Blean	107 Village Ship Public House	Pay, Edward	Visitor	S	25	Labourer	Kent	Dunkirk	Deaf & Dumb
647	HO1631b	199/590	400/37	Preston	31 Swan	Payer, John Jr.	Lodger	S	23	Ag Lab	Kent	Preston	Deaf
648	HO1626b	501/534	563/12	Teynham, Greenstreet	57 Greenstreet	Payn, Sussana	Wife	M	71		Kent	Doddington	Deaf
649	HO1631	40/584	19/30	Ash	132 Ash Street	Peale, Mary	Wife	M	81	Pauper	Kent	Ash	Deaf
650	HO1629	236/464	128/7	Minster, Thanet	Union Workhouse, Isle of Thanet	Peene, Ann	Pauper	W	89	Widow of a Mariner	Kent	Deal	Deaf & Blind

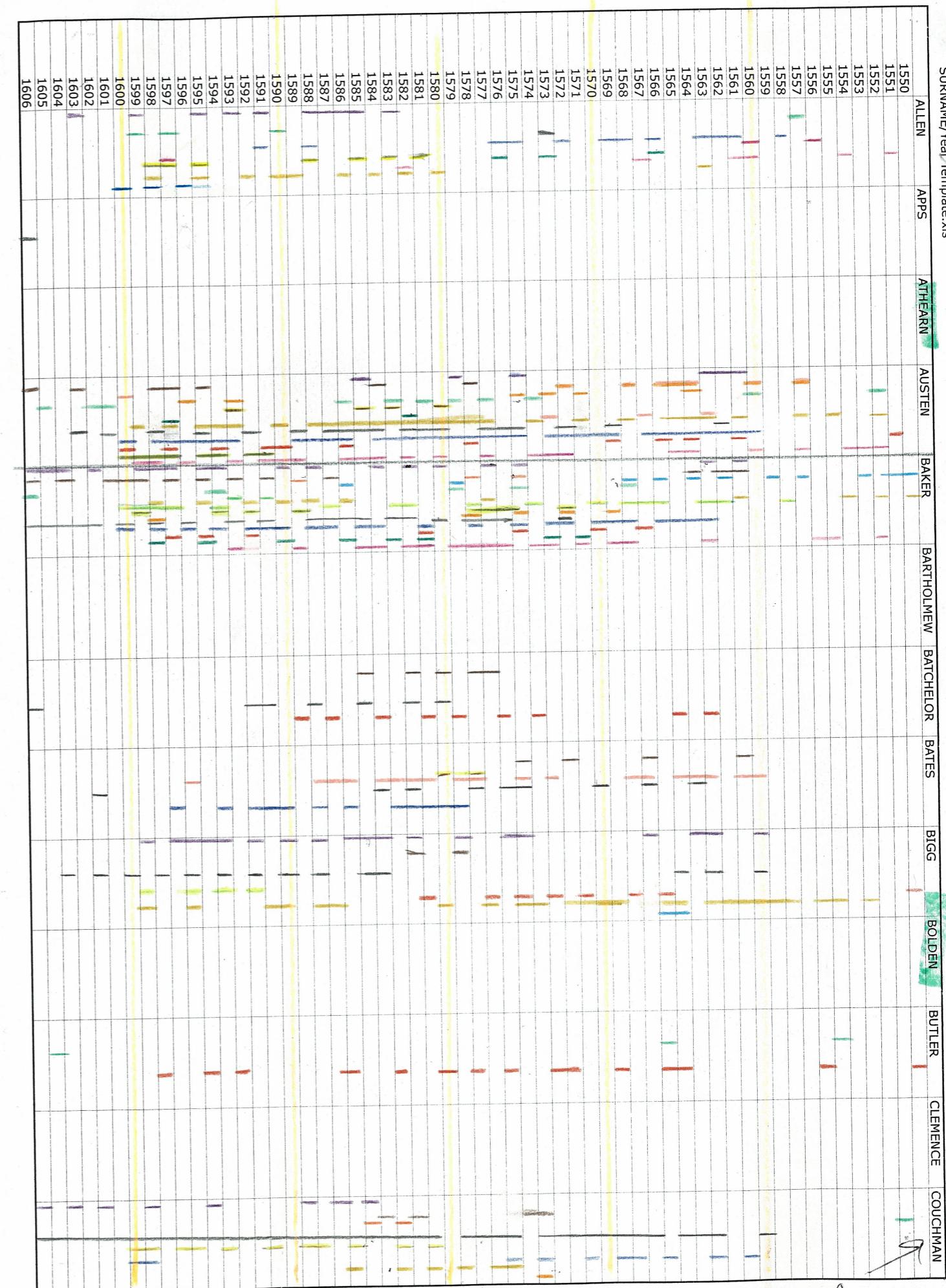
1	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	Name (Surname, First Column)	Age = At Rank, Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth	Final Column D					
651	HO1589	642/882	344/22	Woolwich	123 4 Mill Cottages	Pelfer, Elizabeth	Wife M 41	Scotland	Scotland	Deaf				
652	HO1620	372/788	200/8	Tenderden	26 East Crop Lift	Pelham, Lydia	Head W 67	Sussex	Iden	Deaf				
653	HO1623	83/469	3/44	Waltham	8 Old works at Handivel Green	Pemble, Harriet	Wife M 42	Kent	Stelling	Deaf				
654	HO1586-2	62/550	325/27	Greenwich	144 Royal Hill 15	Penfold, Alsie	Grandniece 7	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf & Dumb				
655	HO1610	352/473	186/16	St Margaret	73 Henry Street	Penfold, Elizabeth	Wife M 80	Kent	Boxley	Deaf				
656	HO1584	327/1493	172/9	Deptford, St Pauls	32 George St.	Perce, Elizabeth	Servant S 41	Surrey	Mitcham	Deaf				
657	HO1613c	328/567	665/8	Chiddingtonstone	26 Weller Farm	Perch, Edward	Nephew U 26	Kent	Chiddingtonstone	Deaf & Dumb				
658	HO1618b	181/480	351/1	Leeds	2 Fullen Mile	Perefect, Jane	Wife M 49	Kent	Thornham	Deaf				
659	HO1621b	442/496	423/37	Ashford	130 No.8 Barrow Hill Cottages	Perkins, George	Son 7	Kent	Canterbury	Deaf				
660	HO1631	257/584	132/40	St Peters, Sandwich	145 Lucksboat Street	Pettoc, Mary	Wife M 48	Kent	Tonge	Deaf				
661	HO1589	686/682	368/9	Woolwich	26 New Road	Peugh, Elizabeth	Wife M 80	Derby	Fulton	Deaf & Dumb				
662	HO1613c	37/567	520/1	Westerham	4 Horns Hill	Philips, Rebecca	Lodger U 66	Kent	Westerham	Deaf & Dumb				
663	HO1632	555/565	295/5	St James, Dover	22 17 Castle St.	Phillips, Marion	Lodger M 26	Scotand		Deaf				
664	HO1629	418/464	226/5	St John the Baptist, Margate	18 5 Princes Street	Phillott, Jane	Head W 67	Kent	Margate	Deaf				
665	HO1627	193/446	112/15	Borden	62 Wood Cottages	Phipps, Edwin	Son U 12	Kent	Borden	Deaf				
666	HO1611b	18/383	2/5	Chatham	20 18 Brougham Place	Pierce, Catherine	Servant S 35	Hunts	Kimbolton	Deaf				
667	HO1589	19/882	15/12	Woolwich	56 11 Glap Yard	Pine, Jane	Dau S 48	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb				
668	HO1617b	294/591	506/9	Maidstone, Trinity	39 Wheeler St.	Pitt, Elizabeth	Dau S 45	Kent	Chatham	Deaf & Dumb				
669	HO1615	104/464	54/35	Tonbridge	119 Swan Lane	Player, Frances	Head W 49	Charwoman	Shatford	Deaf				
670	HO1611d	81/371	642/7	Gillingham	30 Church Street	Pleasance, Mary	Wife M 64	Kent	Gillingham	Deaf				
671	HO1586-2	509/550	567/52	Greenwich	191 Jakeman St.	Plum, Louisa	Dau 10	Surrey	Lambeth	Deaf				
672	HO1610b	471/484	497/33	St Mary's, Chatham	136 Caroline Row	Polly, Sarah	Visitor S 56	Kent	Whitstable	Deaf				
673	HO1630	289/575	155/22	St Lawrence	100 Sayer's Rents	Pool, Mary	Head S 73	Kent	Minster	Deaf & Dumb				
674	HO1625b	125/508	316/29	Herne	98 Herne Street	Pooley, Ann	Wife M 26	Kent	Swalecliffe	Deaf				
675	HO1615b	379/530	450/28	Brenchley	95 Knowle	Pope, Peter	Head M 58	Kent	Brenchley	Deaf				
676	HO1628	212/379	113/24	Minster, Sheerness	101 Hope Street	Pope, William	BIL S 49	Devon	Devonport	Deaf				
677	HO1622	242/464	131/5	Sevington	23 Stevens Cottages	Post, Charlotte	Head W 50	Kent	Marsham	Deaf				
678	HO1606	158/605	78/8	Bromley	34 Bromley Corn Turnpike Rd.	Powell, Susan	Wife M 44	99 Kent	Bromley	Deaf				
679	HO1610	60/473	52/30	St Nicholas	195 Eastgate	Prall, William	Son W 57	Kent	Rochester	Deaf & Dumb				
680	HO1628	415/739	222/14	Minster, Sheerness	64 Bethel Passage	Pratt, Mary	Head W 56	Leistershire	Suton	Deaf				
681	HO1622	214/464	116/11	Mersham	2	Prebble, George	Head M 77	Kent	Lyminge	Deaf				
682	HO1622	457/464	246/12	Kennington	41 Street	Price, Susannah	Dau S 50	Kent	Kennington	Deaf				
683	HO1617b	477/591	603/10	Maidstone, Trinity	40 Sandling Road	Pugh, William	Head M 43	Wales	Whitchurch	Deaf				
684	HO1589	10/882	7/4	Woolwich	13 High Street	Purkis, George	Cousin S 27	Boot Maker	Hauts Minsted	Deaf				
685	HO1624	478/494	242/5	St Mildred Canterbury	22 Underdown Passage	Quidley, Sarah	Head W 75	Kent	Canterbury	Deaf				
686	HO1613b	288/460	405/3	Sundridge	9 Brookplace Cottages	Quitenien, Richard	Head M 79	Kent	Brasted	Rather Deaf				
687	HO1587	148/989	79/12	Greenwich	75 East Lane	Ragan, John	Head M 70	Ireland		Deaf				
688	HO1629b	53/508	278/18	St John the Baptist, Margate	71 22 Princes Crest	Ralph, Sarah	Dau S 61	Kent	Margate	Deaf & Dumb				
689	HO1591	459/1157	246/17	Lewisham	86 Essex Place	Ranse, Rodney	Son S 26	Kent	Lewisham	Deaf				
690	HO1623b	96/286	300/3	Womenwold, Woolwich Green	12 Woolwich Green	Ratclif, Mary	Head W 91	Kent		Deaf				
691	HO1623	457/469	13/243	Bishbourn	46 Village	Rayner, Elizabeth	Head W 71	Kent	Monington	Deaf				
692	HO1584	271/1493	142/14	Deptford, St Pauls	41 Broadway Southside	Rayner, Mary	Servant S 32	Kent	Lee	Deaf				
693	HO1620	534/788	285/16	Tenderden, Bird's Isle	67	Readen, Caroline	Dau U 33	Kent	Tenderden	Deaf				
694	HO1610	86/473	44/15	St Nicholas	53 Pars Head Lane	Reed, Ann	Wife M 64	Kent	Marden	Deaf				
695	HO1619	643/818	351/29	Hawkhurst	113 Stephens	Reed, Mary	Wife M 25	Sussex	Northiam	Deaf				
696	HO1587	860/989	453/26	Greenwich Hospital		Reed, S	Private PS 73	British Subje	British Subject	Deaf & Blind				
697	HO1608	321/474	169/33	Gravesend	121 2 Shippy Place	Reed, Susanna	Wife M 68	Kent	Folkstone	Deaf				
698	HO1620	366/788	197/2	Tenderden	2 High Street	Rees, Ellen	Visitor W 62	Norfolk		Deaf				
699	HO1617b	93/591	401/13	Maidstone	49 Water Lane	Reeves, Henry	Head W 63	Sussex	Bodiam	Deaf				
700	HO1629	224/464	122/14	Minster, Thanet	9 Stoner Cottage	Reynolds, Margaret	Wife M 62	Kent	Sandwich	Deaf				
701	HO1618b	232/480	379/8	Langley	31	Reynolds, Poobe	Head W 50	Kent	Hunton	Deaf				
702	HO1607c	438/619	817/6	Kingsdown (Milton)	23	Ribbins, Ann	Lodger W 73	Kent	Ashford	Deaf				
703	HO1632c	316/617	767/25	Buckland	99 Buckland Street	Rigden, Henry	Son 17	Kent	River	Deaf				
704	HO1609	420/567	222/3	Cobham	12 Henhurst	Robbins, Francis	Head M 53	Kent	Rochester	Deaf				
705	HO1585	380/405	12/204	Deptford, St Nicholas	54 Trinity Almshouses	Robun, Dorothy	Dau S 43	Durham	Shields	Deaf & Dumb				
706	HO1634	72/477	37/27	Dymchurch	108	Robus, Sophia	Wife M 62	Kent	Deptford	Deaf				
707	HO1622	358/464	193/5	Brabourne	12 Foord Water	Rogers, William	BIL U 54	Kent	Brabourne	Deaf & Dumb				
708	HO1609b	95/664	342/2	Fridsbury	6 Blacklands	Room, William T	Head M 30	Kent	Yalden	Deaf				
709	HO1608b	87/468	293/26	Milton-next-Gravesend	84 3 Library Place	Rosenblom, Sophia	Dau S 26	Kent	Gravesend	Deaf & Blind				

1	PDF Name	Page in Leaf/pac	Town or Parish	Street Address	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
					Name (Surname, First Column)	Co Age = At Rank	Profession or Occ	County of Birth	Community of Birth				Final Column D
710	HO1615	141/464	73/6	Tonbridge	247 Dry Hill	Roser, Thomas	Head M 52	Dairy Man	Sussex	Hartnett			Deaf
711	HO1607	235/597	118/25	Bexley Heath	2 Sheldon's Row	Rupell, John	Lodger S 18	Tailor	Kent	Chatham			Deaf
712	HO1612c	70/485	437/18	Mereworth	64 Mereworth St.	Russell, Amelia	Head W 58	Pauper/Seamstress	Kent	Mereworth			Deaf
713	HO1589	437/882	234/1	Woolwich	7 3 William St.	Russell, Elizabeth	Head W 64	Proprietor of Houses	Devonshire	Devonport			Deaf & Blind
714	HO1627	309/446	175/12	Sittingbourne	43 Baths	Ruther, Emily	Dau	16 At Home	Kent	Sittingbourne			Deaf
715	HO1625	287/478	148/13	Blean	54	Saffery	Son S 45	Farmers Son	Kent	Wesgate Canterbury			Deaf
716	HO1616b	70/480	337/18	Linton	45	Samthin, James	Head M 43	Farm Labourer	Kent	Marden			Deaf
717	HO1625	231/478	121/19	St Stephens, Hackington, Cante	77	Sandy, Elizabeth	Lodger W 77	Poor Relief	Kent	Blean			Deaf
718	HO1615	233/464	127/21	Tonbridge	79 20 Vale Place	Saunders, Elizabeth	Wife M 40		Sussex	Petworth			Deaf
719	HO1610b	29/484	265/12	St Margaret	41 6 Star Hill	Savage, Francis J.L.	Visitor M 51	Fundholder	Hampshire	Portsmouth			Deaf
720	HO1629	247/464	133/18	Minster, Thanet	Union Workouse, Isle of Thanet	Sayer, Sarah Ann	S M 12	None/Idiot	Kent	Birchington/Thanet			Deaf & Dumb
721	HO1627	284/446	161/29	Sittingbourne	102 Bell Lane	Saywell, William	Head M 52	Carter	Kent	Murston			Deaf
722	HO1607	442/597	222/23	Erith, Lessness Heath	07	Schroder, John	Head M 49	Groom	Kent	Woolwich			Deaf
723	HO1616	68/555	38/9	Yalding	35 Lattingford	Scott, William	Son S 53	Ag Lab	Kent	Yalding			Deaf & Dumb
724	HO1624b	407/512	460/17	St Margaret's, Canterbury	46 26 Castle Street	Seadomore, John	Head S 60	General Medical Practitioner	Kent	Canterbury			Deaf
725	HO1617	91/671	49/6	Maidstone, Trinity	22 Saint Faith's Street	Seager, George	Head M 43	Carpenter ..allen	Kent	Chatham			Deaf
726	HO1607b	248/601	424/17	Dartford	31 Spital St. Commercial Academ	Seasson, Sarah	Servant S 21	House Servant	London				Deaf & Dumb
727	HO1616	529/555	286/11	Staplehurst	41 Clapper Farm	Selken, Caroline	Wife M 62		Sussex	Strom			Deaf
728	HO1610b	228/484	366/1	Chatham	\$ Watt's Place back	Sellin, Richard	Head M 75	Superannuated from Dk Yd	Kent	Milstead			Deaf
729	HO1626	178/549	98/19	Boughton under Blean	58 Village	Sharby,	Head M 48	Baker	Kent	Canterbury			Deaf
730	HO1617	495/671	260/60	Maidstone, St Peters	225 St Peter's	Sharp, Eliza	Wife M 41	Paper Mill	Kent	Maidstone			Deaf
731	HO1633	207/590	106/19	Folkstone	75 Rendezvous Street	Sharp, Elizabeth	Lodger S 45	Assistant	Kent	Lyme			Deaf & Blind
732	HO1622	177/464	96/37	Aldington	137	Sharp, George	Lodger S 26	Tea Dealer	Kent	Faversham			Deaf
733	HO1632c	480/617	851/7	Coldred	20 Newoole Farm	Sharp, Jane	Visitor W 87		Kent	Martin			Deaf
734	HO1587	802/989	423/17	Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Sheppard, Thomas	Private PS 62	In pensioner	Wiltshire	Holt			Deaf
735	HO1608b	298/468	403/50	Milton-next-Gravesend	183 8 John St.	Shersby, Eleanor	Sister S 64	Annuitant	Kent	Deptford			Deaf
736	HO1620	188/788	101/4	Biddenden	12 Ragby Hill	Shoesmith, Samuel	Head M 70	Ag Lab	Kent	Cranbrook			Deaf
737	HO1631	316/584	162/30	St Clement, Sandwich	135 Fisher Street	Shortby, George	Head W 40	Cordwainer	Kent	Sandwich			Deaf
738	HO1625	64/478	33/8	St Gregory, Canterbury	45 2 Union St.	Sims, Caroline	S M 36	Dressmaker	Kent	Canterbury			Deaf
739	HO1623	12/469	3/6	Chartham	9 Chartham Hatch	Sims, Kate	Dau	7	Kent	Chartham			Deaf & Dumb
740	HO1615b	4/530	252/2	Hadlow	9 Hadlow Common	Skinner, Sarah	Head U 48		Kent	Hadlow			Deaf & Dumb
741	HO1621b	118/496	260/6	Great Chart	24 Great Chart	Skinner, William	Son S 41	Laborer Son	Kent	Westwell			Deaf
742	HO1630b	429/547	523/23	Ramsgate, Christchurch	97 Royal Cottage	Slothes, Robert	Head M 77	House Proprietor	Kent	St Lawrence			Deaf
743	HO1608	290/474	153/2	Gravesend	3 111 Windmill Street	Smith, Ann	Servant W 45	Servant	Middlesex	London			Deaf
744	HO1590	784/966	421/7	Plumstead	Anglesey House	Smith, Charles	Boarder M 40	Annuitant	England				Deaf & Dumb & E
745	HO1588	464/978	248/35	Woolwich	154 11 Joseph Street	Smith, Charles	FIL W 76	Superannuated Ordnance	Essex	Navestock			Deaf
746	HO1617	541/671	285/39	Maidstone, St Peters	122 Fanti Field	Smith, Daniel	Head M 75	Annuitant	Suffolk	Rayden			Deaf
747	HO1631c	484/508	845/5	Deal	22 4 Brewer Street	Smith, Elizabeth	Head W 72	Annuitant	Surrey	Streatham			Deaf
748	HO1633	378/590	193/44	Folkstone	187 Fancy Street	Smith, Elizabeth	S M 41		Kent	Folkestone			Deaf & Dumb
749	HO1625b	408/508	461/23	Whitstable	76 Linsey Banks	Smith, Elizabeth	Dau S 40		Kent	Whitstable			Deaf
750	HO1622b	261/362	389/10	Chilham	33 Old wives lane	Smith, Frances	Head W 69	Sawyer's Widow	Kent	Chartham			Deaf
751	HO1626	35/549	19/1	Dunkirk	4 Dane Sroud Beer Shop	Smith, Frederick	Son S 17	Ag Lab	Kent	Hornhill			Deaf
752	HO1607	572/597	287/2	Crayford	8 London Road	Smith, George	Head M 74	Lab	Essex	South Banf..h			Deaf
753	HO1625b	407/508	460/22	Whitstable	76 Linsey Banks	Smith, James	Husband M 64	Labourer	Kent	Whitstable			Deaf
754	HO1624b	376/512	443/14	St Mary Magdalene, Canterbury	51 6 Burgate St.	Smith, Richard	Son S 22	Shoemaker	Kent	Canterbury			Deaf & Dumb
755	HO1612c	413/485	624/63	Wrortham	209	Smith, Sarah	MIL W 70	Farm Labourer widow	Kent	Farleigh			Deaf
756	HO1629	369/464	199/8	St John the Baptist, Margate	32 4 Wanstall's Cottages	Smith, William	U 51	Labourer, Parish Relief	Kent	Margate			Deaf
757	HO1618	135/465	73/3	Bredhurst	8 Bredhurst Street	Snelling, Harriett	Wife M 71	Farmer Wife	Kent	Lower Hardes			Deaf
758	HO1611	19/379	?/10	Chatham	29 Brook	Soft, Elizabeth	Head W 66		Kent	Chatham			Deaf
759	HO1608	390/474	206/8	Milton-next-Gravesend	44 Queen St.	Solomon, Fanny	Mother M 62	Clothier	Middlesex	London			Deaf
760	HO1607c	446/619	821/14	Kingsdown (Milton)	51 Maplescomb Farm	Solomon, Henry	Son S 35	Farmer	Kent	Kingsdown (Milton)			Deaf
761	HO1629b	42/508	273/7	St John the Baptist, Margate	22 Cranburn Alley	Somes, Mary	Sister S 46	Dress maker	Kent	Sole Street			Deaf
762	HO1626	161/549	89/2	Boughton under Blean	6 Village	Southee, Charles Sanky	Head M 26	Grocer	Kent	Canterbury			Deaf
763	HO1587	537/989	282/28	Greenwich	137 7 Lovegrove Place	Speights, George	Boarder S 13	Scholar	Middlesex	London			Deaf
764	HO1633b	344/636	477/32	Saltwood, Hythe	95 Saltwood Green	Spooner, Sarah	Niece S 28	Assistant Laundress	Kent	Saltwood			Deaf
765	HO1626	55/549	30/11	Dunkirk		Spratt, Henry	Son S 55	Ag Lab	Kent	Hernhill			Deaf & Dumb
766	HO1631	40/584	19/30	Ash	135 Ash Street	Spratt, Mary	Wife M 65		Kent	Shepherds Wells			Deaf
767	HO1628	418/739	224/17	Minster, Sheerness	79 Bethel Passage	Spurgin, John	Lodger M 32	Cordwainer	Essex	Chelmsford			Deaf
768	HO1631	500/584	257/23	Eastry	88 Corner Crab	Sroham, Sarah	Wife M 38		Kent	Herne			Deaf

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769	HO1615	234/464	127/22 Tonbridge	83 24 Vale Place	Srusser, Elizabeth	Wife	M	40	Laundress	Kent	Tunbridge Wells		Deaf
770	HO1610b	54/484	278/37 St Margaret	119 Covenant Place 5	Stacey, William	Head	M	47	Labourer	Kent	Frindsbury		Deaf
771	HO1608b	74/468	287/13 Milton-next-Gravesend	41 18 East Terrace	Starbuck, James Benjamin	Son	S	25	Shipwright	Kent	Gravesend		Deaf & Dumb
772	HO1630b	367/547	491/1 Ramsgate, St George	3 12 Belle View Hil	Stead, William	Son	S	16		Kent	Ramsgate		Deaf
773	HO1618b	94/480	301/8 Boughton Malherbe	23 Three Chinneys	Steer, Thomas	Head	W	53	Farm Laborer	Kent	Headcorn		Deaf
774	HO1617b	514/591	622/47 Maidstone, Trinity	107 Thomhills	Stephens, Mary	Head	M	44		Surrey	Chilster		Deaf
775	HO1591	456/1157	244/14 Lewisham	66 Essex Place	Stevens, Elisabeth	Dau	S	17	Silk Winder	Kent	Deptford		Deaf
776	HO1610	271/473	144/19 St Margaret	36 Borstal	Stevens, Sarah		W	60		Kent	Boxley		Deaf
777	HO1629	188/464	103/8 Minster, Thanet	37	Stevens, Susanna	Wife	M	58	Chair Woman	Kent	Birchington		Deaf
778	HO1618	281/465	152/9 Hollingbourne	26 Eyehorn Green	Stickens, Sarah	Head	W	58	Laundress	Kent	Hollingbourne		Deaf
779	HO1611d	103/371	653/29 Gillingham	131 Grashill	Stockbridge, Thomas	Head	M	49	Fisherman and Dreerman	Kent	Canterbury		Deaf
780	HO1585	26/405	14/20 Deptford, St Nicholas	79 3 Orchard Place	Stockton, Hannah	Mother	W	75		Seasfordshire	Wednesbury		Deaf
781	HO1625b	370/508	441/13 Whitstable	47 Chestfield	Stone, Sarah Ann	Dau		8	Scholar	Kent	Whitstable		Deaf
782	HO1607b	426/601	513/5 Dartford	Dartford Union Workhouse	Stoneham, Thomas	Pauper	S	48	Butcher	Kent	Southfleet		Deaf & Dumb
783	HO1631b	431/590	518/6 Ripple	No 13	Storkey, Amos	Son	S	26	Agri Lab	Suffolk	Nottingham		Deaf
784	HO1631b	431/590	518/6 Ripple	No 13	Storkey, John	Son	S	20	Clock & watch maker	Suffolk	Nottingham		Deaf
785	HO1621	236/384	123/4 Charing	14 Charing Town	Streeter, Frances	Head	W	76	Proprietor of Houses	Kent	Hothfield		Deaf
786	HO1617	93/671	50/8 Maidstone, Trinity	28 Saint Faith's Street	Streeton, Susannah	Head	W	86	Almspeople	Kent	Malling		Deaf
787	HO1587	827/989	435/32 Greenwich	Greenwich Hospital	Stutely, John	Private P.M.	M	64	Inpsitioner	Middlesex	St Pancras		Deaf
788	HO1586-2	386/550	500/42 Greenwich	207 PlumridgeSt.	Sumpter, William	Lodger	m	57	Employed at a Gas Tar Refi	Northampton	Kettering		Deaf
789	HO1611	330/379	7/9 Chatham	46 Best Kent	Sundry, Susan	Head	S	50	Servant	Kent	Chatham		Deaf
790	HO1586-1	42/541	22/36 Greenwich	4 Thomas Street	Susselton, Sophia	Head	W	60	Charwoman	Surrey	Wallworth		Deaf
791	HO1587	359/989	191/9 Greenwich	43 20 Trafalgar Rd.	Sutherland, Susannah	Dau	S	28	Dress Maker	Kent	Woolwich		Deaf & Dumb
792	HO1631	457/584	235/18 Eastry	84 Felderland Road	Sutton, Stephen	Son	S	34	Pauper	Kent	Eastry		Deaf & Dumb & E
793	HO1611b	225/383	316/12 Chatham, Luton	47 Luton St. Pleasant Cottage	Swadland, John	Lodger	W	90	Independent	Kent	Bostol		Deaf
794	HO1622b	168/362	340/7 Boughton Aluph	21 Goat Leese	Tabrett, Richard	Son	S	33	Labourer	Kent	Boughton Aluph		Deaf & Dumb
795	HO1627b	190/388	353/24 Newington, Milton	67	Tappenden, Charlotte	Wife	M	41		Kent	West Well		Deaf
796	HO1616	543/555	293/25 Staplehurst	88 Livehurst Farm	Tauchett, Mary	Servant	S	34	House Servant	Kent	Staplehurst		Deaf & Dumb
797	HO1627b	329/388	432/5 Upchurch	21 Ham Green	Taylor, Cordelia	Wife	M	46		Kent	Borden		Deaf
798	HO1633b	335/636	473/23 Saltwood, Pedlinge, Hythe	68 Playbrook	Taylor, George	Son	S	29	Ag Lab	Kent	Aldington		Deaf & Dumb
799	HO1586-2	467/550	546/10 Greenwich	36 15 Bath Place	Taylor, Joseph	Son	M	34	Shoemaker	Kent	Greenwich		Deaf & Dumb
800	HO1615	196/454	302/9 Tonbridge	37 Gas Lane Pennsylvania Cottage	Taylor, Laurence	Head	W	65	Parish Relief, Cordwainer	Sussex	West Hoathly		Deaf
801	HO1633	578/590	294/1 Springfield	3 Minnus	Taylor, Mary A.	Dau		11		Kent	Cheriton		Deaf
802	HO1624	485/494	245/12 St Mildred Canterbury	66 26 Fortune's Passage	Taylor, Stephen	Head	M	38	Labourer	Kent	Canterbury		Deaf
803	HO1624b	150/512	327/21 St Alphage, Canterbury	98 18 Sun Street	Taylor, Thomas	Head	W	71	Boot & Shoemaker	Kent	Canterbury		Deaf
804	HO1584	1025/1493	531/31 Deptford, St Pauls	131 Fish Street	Thane, Catherine	Dau		11		Kent	Deptford		Deaf & Dumb
805	HO1626	219/549	120/9 Selling	28 Perry Wood	Thing, John	Visitor	S	69	Ag Lab	Kent	Hearn		Deaf
806	HO1628	404/739	217/3 Minster, Sheerness	10 Kings Head Alley	Thomas, Elizabeth	Dau	S	23		Kent	Sheerness		Deaf & Dumb
807	HO1591	537/1157	288/8 Lewisham	30 2 Jupps Cottages	Thomas, James	Brother	M	39	Ag Lab	Kent	Lewisham		Deaf
808	HO1622	153/464	84/13 Aldington	55	Tickner, Sarah	Wife	M	68		Kent	Saltwood		Deaf
809	HO1610	434/473	230/2 St Margaret	4 King Street	Tillman, Eliza Ann	Dau	S	15		Kent	St Margaret		Deaf
810	HO1611b	127/383	266/30 Chatham	137 No 3 Jenkins Dale	Timsby, F...	U	24		Labourer	Kent	Chatham		Deaf
811	HO1584	1084/1493	562/37 Deptford, St Pauls	176 9 Hyde St.	Tipp, Henry	Head	M	31	Shoemaker	Kent	Woolwich		Deaf & Dumb
812	HO1584	1084/1493	562/37 Deptford, St Pauls	176 9 Hyde St.	Tipp, Maria	Wife	M	25		London	Clerkswell		Deaf & Dumb
813	HO1634	11/477	5/2 West Hythe	7 Canal Bridge House	Tobbiels, Elizabeth	Dau		10		Kent	Aldington		Deaf & Dumb
814	HO1621	249/384	130/17 Charing	65 Town	Tong, Stephen	Head	M	72	Lawyer	Kent	Egerton		Deaf
815	HO1587	183/989	97/47 Greenwich	258 3 Queen St.	Toole, Jane	W		30	Orange Vender	Ireland			Deaf
816	HO1632	201/565	111/2 Charlton Near Dover	5 5 High Street	Townsend, Rachael	Sister	S	34	Gen Servant	Kent	Elham		Deaf
817	HO1628	265/739	141/30 Minster, Sheerness	133 Union St.	Townsend, Charles	Head	W	80	Retired Leather Cutter	Essex			Deaf
818	HO1609b	238/664	421/297 Frindsbury	122 Canal Road	Tracey, William	Head	M	60	Mariner	Kent	Strood		Deaf
819	HO1630	154/575	84/4 St Peter, Broadstairs	20 9 Chandos Place	Trecothick, Charlotte	Sister	S	68	House & Land Proprietess	Surrey	Addington		Deaf
820	HO1618b	351/480	390/4 Chart next Sutton Valence	12	Tree, Jesse	Head	M	66	Ag Labourer	Kent	Chart next Sutton Valence		Deaf
821	HO1616	431/555	234/1 Marden	2 Winchet Hill	Tree, Mary	MIL	W	58	Pauper, Ag Lab Widow	Kent	Marden		Deaf
822	HO1628	451/739	242/9 Minster, Blue Sheerness	36 Chapel Street	Tucker, Charles	Son	S	25	Journeyman Tailor	Kent	Sheerness		Deaf & Dumb
823	HO1626b	451/534	536/27 Linsted	94 Mill House	Tumber, Frances	Wife	M	54		Kent	Doddington		Deaf
824	HO1608	407/474	215/25 Milton-next-Gravesend	89 2 Vine Cottage	Turner, Sawl	Head	M	64	Porter	Essex	Chadwick		Deaf
825	HO1614	381/383	199/45 Tonbridge	149 Little Grove Terrace	Turner, William	Son	U	16	Labourer	Kent	Tonbridge Wells		Deaf
826	HO1626b	196/534	400/12 Faversham	53 Ospringe Road	Turnur, Amilia	Wife	M	45	Shoebinder	Suffolk			Deaf
827	HO1632c	354/617	787/22 Buckland	80 Chaple Hill	Tusker, Lydia	MIL	W	63	Laundress	Kent	Preston		Deaf

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828	HO1633b	443/636	552/18	St Leonard, Hythe	Tutt, William	Son	10				Kent	Newington	Deaf	
829	HO1585	57/405	30/51	Deptford, St Nicholas	Twiness, Elizabeth	Lodger	M	61			Kent	Chatham	Deaf	
830	HO1610	89/473	45/18	St Nicholas	63 Pars Head Lane	Head	M	42	Shoemaker		Kent	Chatham	Deaf & Dumb	
831	HO1606	225/605	112/17	Bromley	75 Brick Kiln Lane	Tye, John	Son	17	Ag Labourer		Kent	Bromley	Deaf	
832	HO1615	8/464	5/2	Tonbridge	4 Cage Green	Uridge, Sarah	Wife	M	44		Kent	Brasted	Deaf	
833	HO1584	446/1493	233/12	Deptford, St Pauls	24 2 Marys Buildings	Veronon, Jane	Head	W	60	Needleworker	Surrey	Looing	Deaf & Dumb	
834	HO1611	75/379	?/15	Chatham	67 Cross St.	Viglow, William	Son	S	32	Cordwainer	Kent	Gillingham	Deaf	
835	HO1619	510/818	278/22	Goudhurst	96 Queen's House	Vinall, John	Head	M	32	Ag Labourer	Kent	Goudhurst	Deaf	
836	HO1618b	406/480	477/11	Headcorn	Moatenden Farm	Viney, Samuel	Son	S	27	Farmers Son	Kent	Headcorn	Deaf & Dumb	
837	HO1591	873/1157	466/34	Lewisham	107 South End Mill	Waghorn, George	Son	M	28	Gardener	Kent	Lewisham	Deaf & Dumb	
838	HO1591	878/1157	469/39	Lewisham	121 South End	Waghorn, Mary Margaret	Wife	M	27	Gardener Wife & Dress Ma	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb	
839	HO1619	226/818	121/6	Cranbrook, Trinity	54 Camden Hill Saunter cottage	Wake, Jane	Sister	W	40	House Keeper Formerly Scl	Kent	Cranbrook	Deaf	
840	HO1630	192/575	124/14	St Peter, Broadstairs	56 Allens Place No.1	Waler, Sarah	Wife	M	37		Kent	Broadstairs	Deaf	
841	HO1622b	307/362	414/10	Chilham	33 Shottendane	Walker, Anne	Head	S	36	Relief from Parish	Kent	Chilham	Deaf	
842	HO1632b	115/579	359/32	St Marys, Dover	135 Durham Hill	Walker, Benjamin	Head	M	35	Carpenter	Kent	Dover	Deaf & Dumb	
843	HO1632b	244/579	426/57	St Marys, Dover	194 9 St Martin's Street	Walker, James	Son	S	34		Kent	Dover	Deaf & Dumb	
844	HO1591	956/1157	512/12	Sydenham, Lewisham	46 Wells Road	Walking, William	Head	M	27	Labourer	Kent	Sydenham	Deaf	
845	HO1591	580/1157	311/6	Lewisham	21 Hanover Street	Wallase, Ladoc	Head	M	58	Collector of Dust	Middlesex	St Giles	Deaf	
846	HO1611b	55/383	230/1	Chatham	3 2 Gibraltar Place	Waller, Ann	Head	W	79	Proprietor of ...	Kent	?	Deaf	
847	HO1613	18/465	10/11	Seal	43 Little Underriver	Waller, Stephen	Head	M	65	Ag Lab	Kent	Ofham	Deaf	
848	HO1586-1	193/541	103/39	Greenwich	171 5 Lamb Lane	Ward, Eleanor	Dau		6			Cambridgeshire	Deaf & Dumb	
849	HO1590	337/965	181/39	Plumstead	190 13 East St.	Ward, John	Son	S	14	Errand Boy	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf	
850	HO1607b	451/601	525/11	Stone (Dartford)	37 Green St Green	Ware, Hanna	Dau		3		Kent	Darenth	Deaf & Dumb	
851	HO1627b	266/388	396/17	Rainham	69 Rainham Street	Ware, Martha	Head	W	65	Pauper	Kent	Faversham	Deaf	
852	HO1630	494/575	261/30	Ramsgate, St George	152 Princes St.	Wareham, Ann	Head	W	82	Lodging Housekeeper	Isle of Wight		Deaf	
853	HO1584	394/1493	206/12	Deptford, St Pauls	58 King St. New Town	Warren, Mary	Wife	M	46		Kent	Hadlow	Deaf	
854	HO1609	422/567	223/5	Cobham	23 Iron Gate House	Warrington, Henry	Head	M	56	Ag Lab	Middlesex	St Georges	Deaf	
855	HO1618b	473/480	513/18	Headcorn	59 Waterman Quarter	Wartons, John	Father	M	73	retired farmer	Sussex	Beckley	Deaf	
856	HO1619	503/818	275/15	Goudhurst	59 North Gate	Waterhouse, William	SIL	S	27	Ag Labourer	Kent	Goudhurst	Deaf	
857	HO1612b	157/381	280/10	West Malling	Malling Union	Waterman, Thomas	Pauper	U	70	Ag Labourer	Kent	E. Peckham	Deaf & Dumb	
858	HO1591	459/1157	246/17	Lewisham	87 Essex Place	Waterman, William	Son		15		Surrey	St Olives	Deaf	
859	HO1626b	445/534	533/21	Linsted	Bumpit Bottom	Waters, Ann	Head	W	79	Pauper Lab Widow	Kent	Stockbury	Deaf	
860	HO1629	240/464	130/11	Minster, Thanet	Union Workouse, Isle of Thanet	Weare, Lydia	Pauper	W	73	Widow of a Baker	Kent	Canterbury	Deaf	
861	HO1591	535/1157	287/6	Lewisham	23 4 Prices Cottages	Weaver, Francis	Head	M	75	Ag Lab	Surrey	Kingstone	Deaf	
862	HO1591	535/1157	287/6	Lewisham	23 4 Prices Cottages	Weaver, Sarah	Wife	M	77	Laundress	Sussex		Deaf	
863	HO1586-1	171/541	92/17	Greenwich	54 2 Bridge Street	Web, George Frances	Son	S	28		Kent	Greenwich	Deaf & Dumb	
864	HO1590	489/966	262/43	Plumstead	170 Deadmans Lane	Weeks, Jemima	Wife	M	40	Domestic Duties	Kent	Plumstead	Deaf	
865	HO1607b	414/601	507/39	Dartford	151 Dartford Heath	Wellar, Eliza	Dau	S	26		Kent	Wilmington	Deaf & Dumb	
866	HO1609	275/567	143/10	Northfleet	32 Down Castle	Wellard, Mary	Wife	M	58		Kent	Darenth	Deaf	
867	HO1619	151/818	81/33	Cranbrook	129 Tan Yard	Weller, Charles	Son		6		Kent	Cranbrook	Deaf	
868	HO1607b	284/601	442/43	Dartford	165 Prospect Place No.13	Weller, Charles	Son	S	20	Lab Bricklayers	Kent	Dartford	Deaf	
869	HO1627	358/446	199/59	Sittingbourne	232 Baths	Weller, William	Son		14	Labourer	Kent	Sittingbourne	Deaf	
870	HO1606	548/605	272/24	Knockholt	86 Park Corner	Wells, Elizabeth	Head	W	57	Pauper	Kent	Chalsfield	Deaf	
871	HO1584	1280/1493	662/57	Deptford, St Pauls	238 Wellington Place	Wenna, Ellen	Wife	M	32	Laundress	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf & Dumb	
872	HO1584	1280/1493	662/57	Deptford, St Pauls	238 Wellington Place	Wenna, William	Head	M	46	Gardener	Suffolk	Oftton	Deaf & Dumb	
873	HO1616	250/555	134/6	Teston	20 Teston St.	West, Elizabeth	Wife	M	57		Kent	Waterringbury	Deaf	
874	HO1632c	457/617	840/13	Ewell	52 Ewell	West, William	Son		17	Ag Lab	Kent	Ewell	Deaf	
875	HO1625b	137/508	322/41	Herne	145 Herne Street	Whiddett, Ann	Dau	S	29		Kent	Herne	Deaf & Dumb	
876	HO1615	148/454	276/22	Tonbridge	69 Home Farm No 1 Great Lodge	White, James	Head	M	48	Bailiff	Surrey	Bletchingly	Deaf	
877	HO1621b	113/496	258/1	Great Chart	4 Great Chart St.	White, William	Apprentice	S	18	Blacksmith	Kent	Hingham	Deaf	
878	HO1609	524/567	278/18	Shorne	61 Shorne Street	White, William	Head	M	53	Pauper Ag Lab	Dorsetshire		Deaf	
879	HO1610	395/473	209/6	St Margaret	34 John Street	Whitehead, Amelia	Dau	U	33	Dress Maker	Kent	Chatham	Deaf	
880	HO1606	515/605	256/21	Downe	87	Whitehead, Elizabeth	Wife	M	60	Servant	Surrey	Peckham	Deaf	
881	HO1606	515/605	256/21	Downe	87	Whitehead, Stephen	Head	M	67	Ag Labourer	Kent	Knockholt	Deaf	
882	HO1608b	139/468	321/19	Milton-next-Gravesend	77 26 Parrock St.	Whiteman, Dinah	W		72			Cambridgeshire	Aylesworth	Deaf
883	HO1625b	457/508	486/6	Seasalter, Whitstable	25 High Street	Whitnall, Losen	Wife	M	33		Kent	Whitstable	Deaf	
884	HO1591	1104/1157	590/14	Sydenham, Lewisham	48 Forest Hill	Whittell, William W	Head	M	65	Woolstapler	Surrey	Bermondsey	Deaf	
885	HO1609b	395/664	503/31	Strood	145 Cage Lane	Wibley, Elizabeth	Lodger	W	56		Kent	Cobham	Deaf	
886	HO1620	210/788	112/2	Biddenden	11 North Street	Wichens, Albert	Son		9		Kent	Biddenden	Deaf & Dumb	

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887	HO1627	227/446	131/19	Sittingbourne	94 East End	Wichens, Sarah Ann	Servant	S	18	Gen Serv	Kent	Bobbing	Deaf
888	HO1621b	407/496	405/2	Ashford	5 Forge Lane	Wilding, William	Head	M	28	Shoemaker	Kent	Ashford	Deaf
889	HO1616b	331/480	475/20	Loose	62 Will Street	Wilkins, Harriett	Dau	S	48	Pauper	Kent	Loose	Deaf & Blind
890	HO1628	378/739	202/24	Minster, Sheerness	112 High Street	Wilkinson, Thomas F.	Ap	S	19	Draper	Kent	Brompton	Deaf
891	HO1620	196/788	105/12	Biddenden	53 Cranbrook Road	Willard, James	Head	W	85	(Pauper) Farmer	Kent	Dymchurch	Deaf
892	HO1630b	84/547	342/12	Ramsgate, St George	39 Harbour St.	Willenrush	Wife's S	W	65	Annuitant	Middlesex	Hampton	Deaf
893	HO1588	674/978	361/4	Woolwich	16 2 Albion Road	William Sartton	Servant	S	17	Errand Boy	Middlesex	Harrow	Deaf
894	HO1610b	251/484	379/24	Chatham	112 Holburn Lane	William, Daniel	Head	M	27	Fisherman	Kent	St Margaret	Deaf
895	HO1587	183/989	97/47	Greenwich	263 5 Queen St.	Williams, Margaret	W		67	Washerwoman	Norfolk	Bury-St Edmunds	Deaf
896	HO1632	316/565	171/26	Charlton Near Dover	93 Peter St	Wills, John	Head	M	40	Cordwainer	Kent	Leeds	Deaf
897	HO1586-1	303/541	162/29	Greenwich	163 Albert Place	Wilson, Ann	Wife	M	57	Pensioner's Wife	Hampshire	Portsmouth	Deaf
898	HO1608b	411/468	464/26	Milton-next-Gravesend	120 Upper Peacock St. Westside	Wilson, Charles	Lodger	S	45	Ordnance Contractor	Essex	Harwick	Deaf
899	HO1586-1	160/541	86/6	Greenwich	18 9 Church Street	Wilson, Susannah	Wife	M	67		Lincolnshire		Deaf
900	HO1622	172/464	93/32	Aldington	120	Wilson, William	Brother	S	44	Carpenter	Kent	Aldington	Deaf & Dumb
901	HO1616	501/555	272/15	Staplehurst	57 Kings Head	Wilson, William	Lodger	U	66	Shoemaker	Kent	Lenham	Deaf
902	HO1620	418/788	224/14	Tenderden	54 Bell's Inn	Winder, Mary	Head	W	87	Outdoor Pauper	Kent	Benenden	Deaf
903	HO1633b	441/636	526/1	Sellinge	1 Vicarage House	Winmill, Sarah	Cousin	S	73		London	Spitalfields	Deaf
904	HO1614	159/383	85/4	Speldhurst	14 Holmewood Farm	Winterman, Ann	Dau	U	15	At home	Kent	Speldhurst	Deaf
905	HO1628	244/739	131/9	Minster, Sheerness	36 Hope Street	Wise, Ann	MIL	W	76	Pauper	Kent	Sandwich	Deaf
906	HO1626b	162/534	382/22	Faversham	97 North Lane	Wise, Mary	Head	W	49	Laundress	Kent	Faversham	Deaf
907	HO1628	158/739	86/13	Minster, Sheerness	55 Rose Street	Wiseman, Charlotte	Dau	S	41		Kent	Sheerness	Deaf & Dumb
908	HO1618	296/465	159/24	Hollingbourne	78 Eyehorn Street	Wisenden	MIL	W	87		Kent	Hollingbourne	Deaf
909	HO1620	435/788	233/31	Tenderden	129 High St.	Wiskin, King	Head	M	70	Shoemaker formerly/ Paup	Kent	Tenderden	Deaf
910	HO1632	476/565	254/43	St James the Apostle, Dover	172 Trevann Lane	Wisto, Mary	Sister	S	54		Kent	Woolwich	Deaf
911	HO1617b	413/591	568/24	Maidstone, Trinity	114 28 Camden St.	Withers, William	Head	M	23	Tailor	Middlesex	Highgate	Deaf
912	HO1607b	429/601	514/8	Dartford	Dartford Union Workhouse	Woman, Name & Age Unknown					Not Known		Deaf & Dumb
913	HO1606	116/605	58/10	Bromley	50 Farwig	Wood, James	Head	M	56	Ag. Labourer	Kent	Farmbrough	Deaf
914	HO1591	733/1157	391/16	Lewisham	Lewisham Union Workhouse	Wood, Martha	Pauper	S	21	Pauper, formerly NK	Kent	Woolwich	Deaf & Dumb
915	HO1610b	27/484	264/10	St Margaret	35 Star Hill	Wood, William W.	Head	M	48	Labourer	Kent	Chatham	Deaf
916	HO1621	321/384	168/2	Westwell	7	Woodland, Lucy	Wife	M	49		Kent	Westwell	Deaf
917	HO1634	56/477	29/11	Dymchurch	39	Woodland, Thomas	Head	M	28	Labourer	Kent	Dymchurch	Deaf
918	HO1629	405/464	218/14	St John the Baptist, Margate	83 9 Buenos Aryres	Woodward, Anne	Head	S	48	Lodging House Keeper	Kent	Margate	Deaf
919	HO1629b	485/508	509/6	St John the Baptist, Margate	29 7 Chapel Hill	Woodward, John	Head	M	61	Agricultural Labourer	Kent	St Peters	Deaf
920	HO1615	273/464	148/5	Tonbridge	19 Lower Haysden	Woollete, Eleanor	Head	W	75		Sussex	Walden	Deaf
921	HO1607	250/597	126/29	Bexley Heath	107 London Rd.	Woolridge, Suey	Head	M	90	Laundress	Surrey	Cousion	Deaf
922	HO1634	51/477	26/6	Dymchurch	17	Wright, Edward	Head	W	76	Master Carpenter Employr	Kent	Hythe	Deaf
923	HO1608b	278/468	393/30	Milton-next-Gravesend	110 5 South Hill Villas	Wyatt, Frances	Sister	S	40	Annuitant	Suffolk	Broome	Deaf
924	HO1584	1455/1493	753/20	Deptford, St Pauls	63 Grove Street	Yeoman, Elizabeth	Dau		10	School	Kent	Greenwich	Deaf & Dumb
925	HO1607b	251/601	425/10	Dartford	39 Spital St.	Young, John	Head	M	40	Ag Lab	Surrey	Pembury	Deaf
926	HO1626b	204/534	404/20	Faversham	83 Graveney Road		Wife						Deaf



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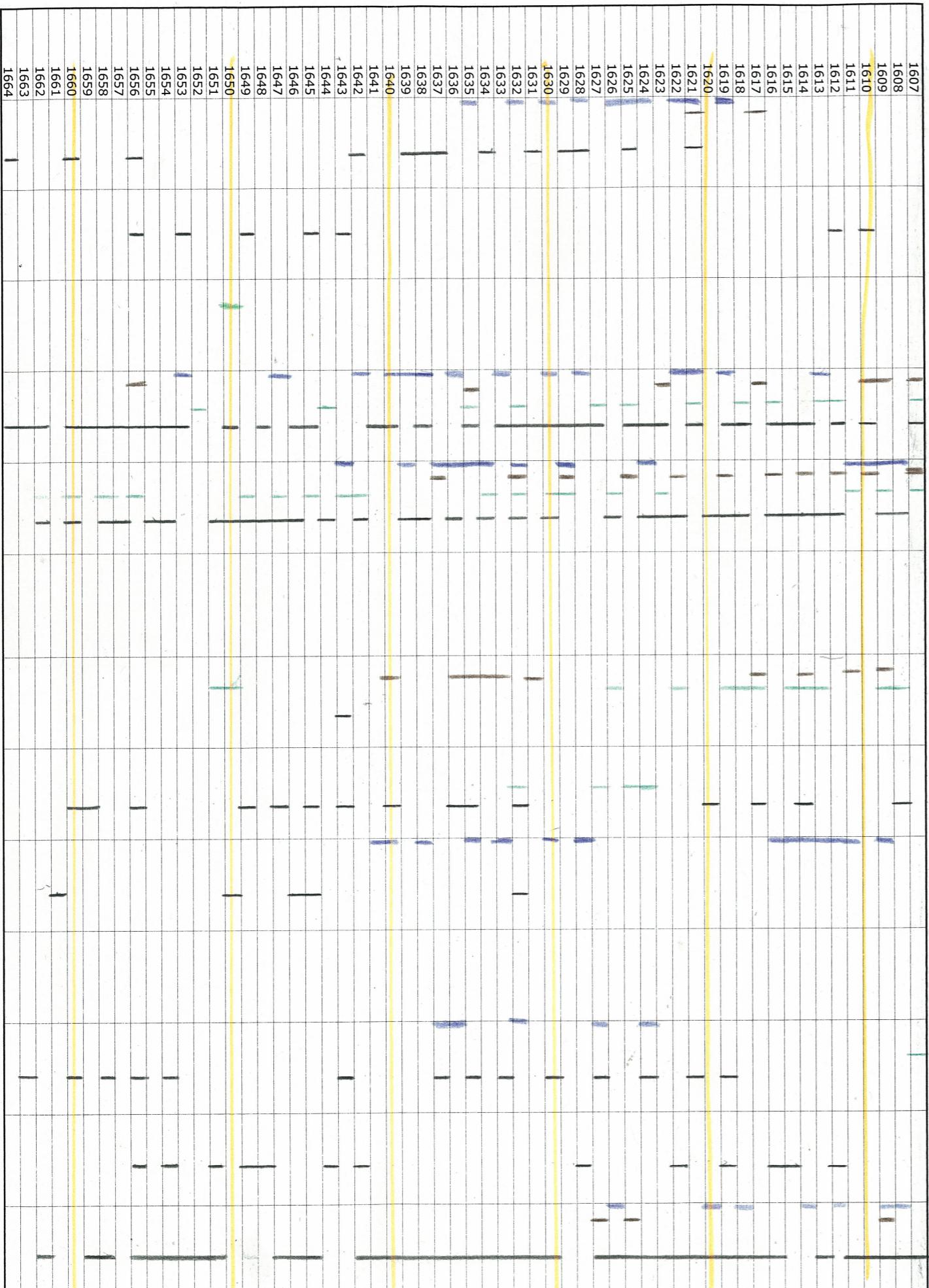
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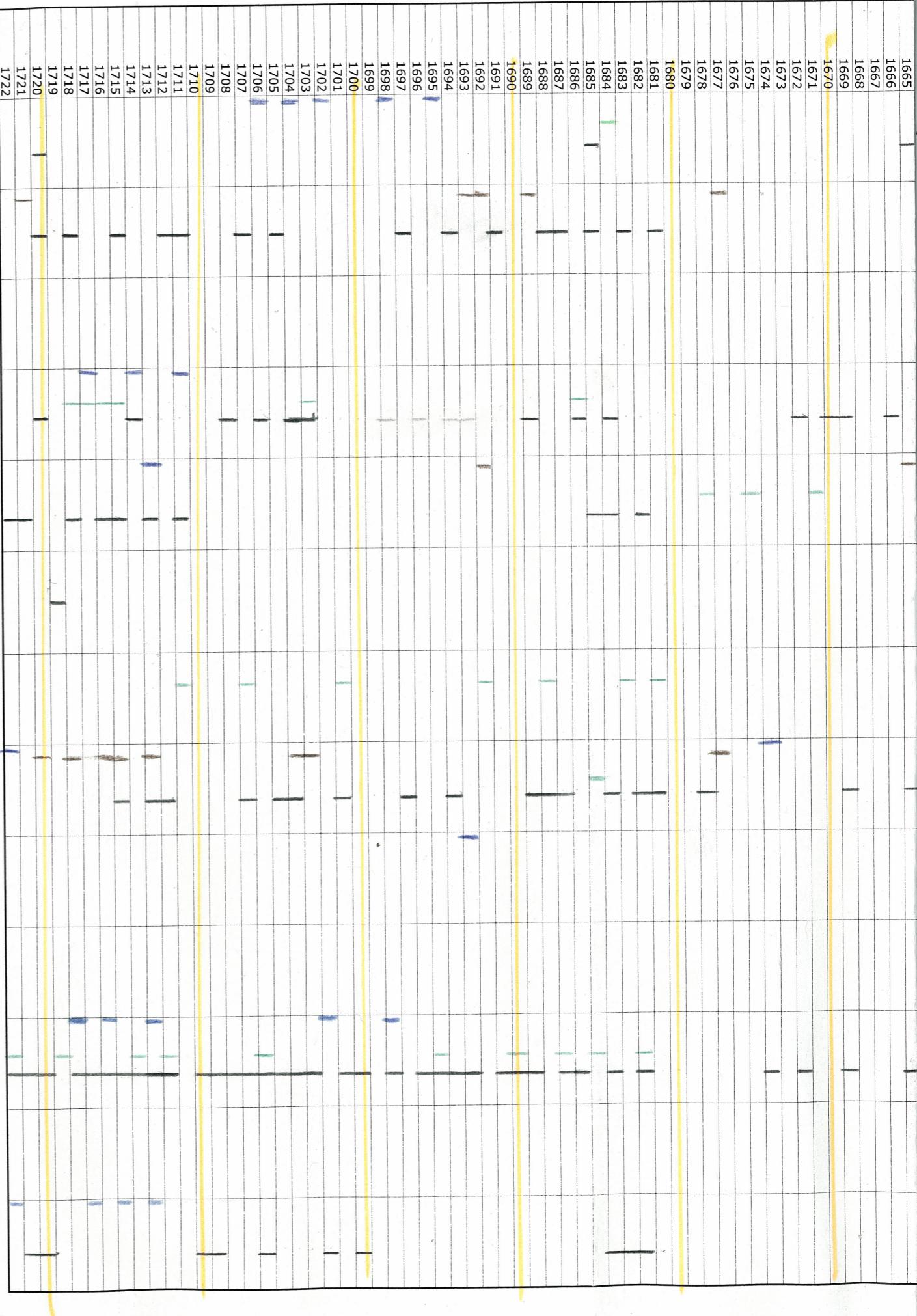
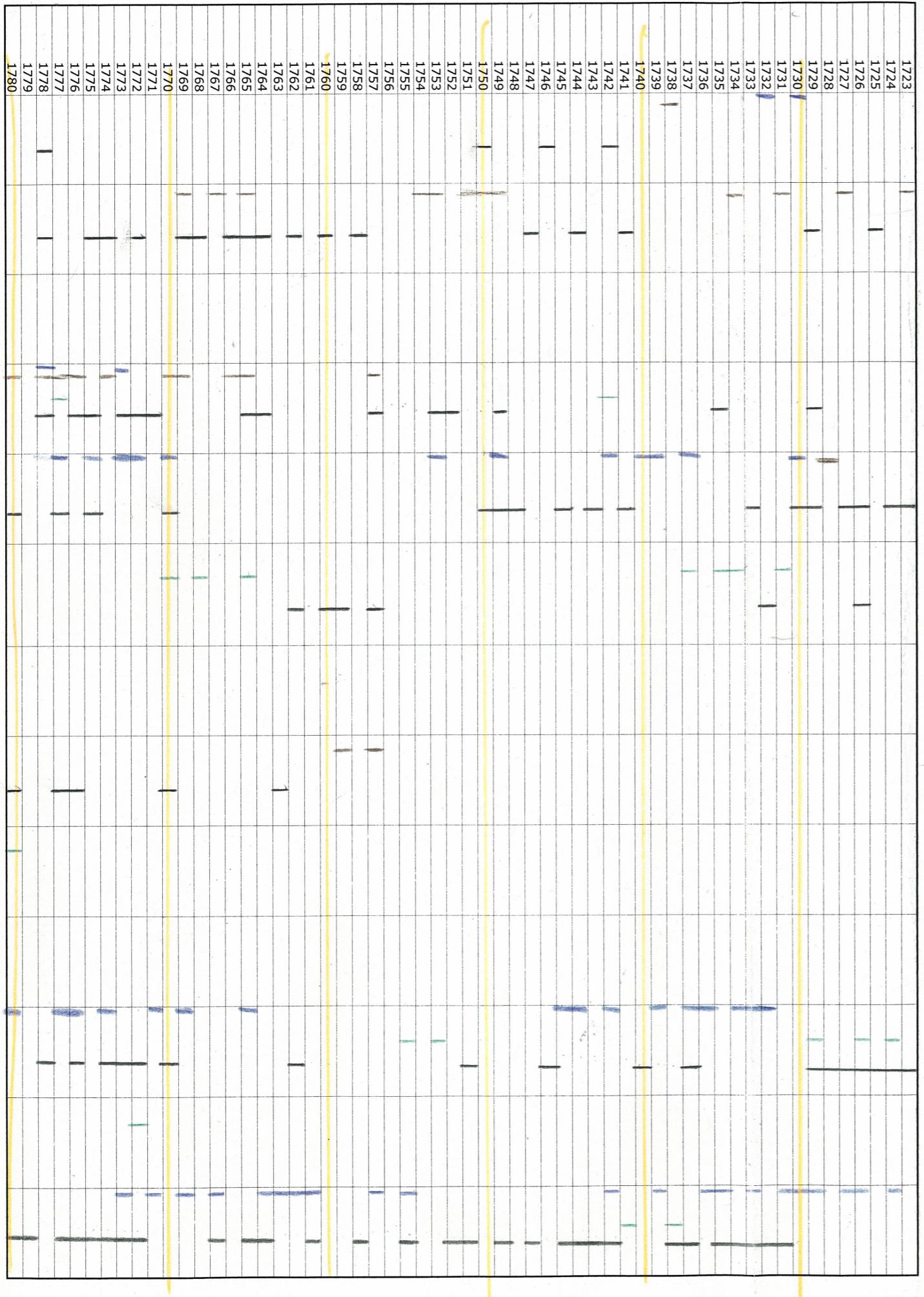
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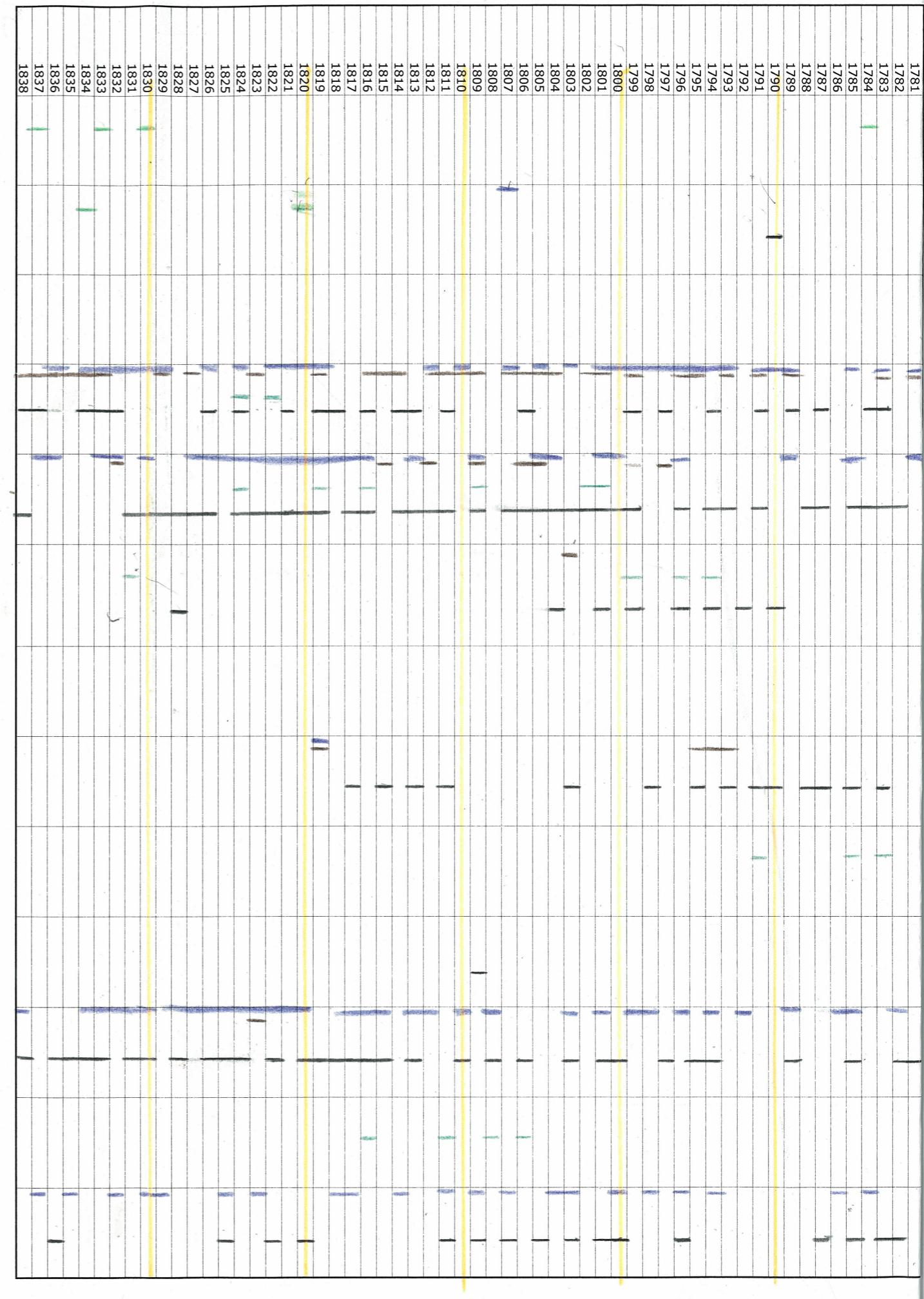
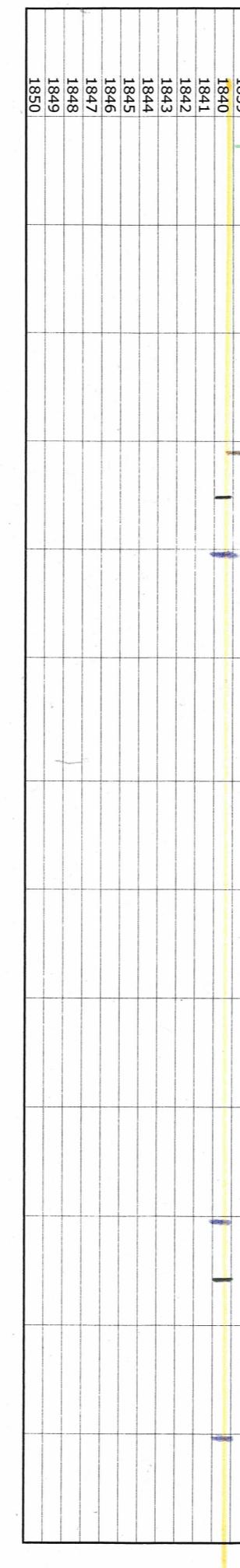
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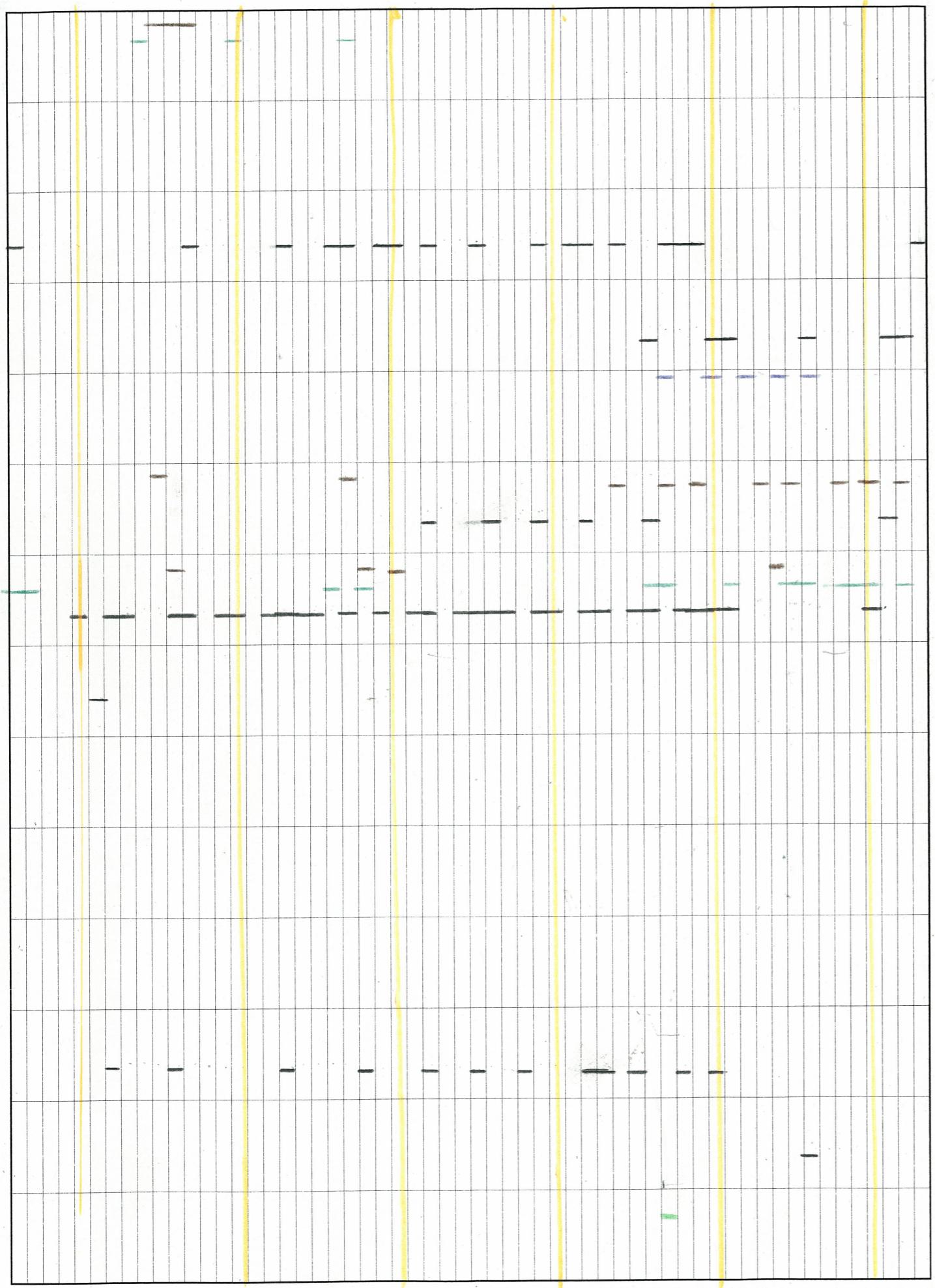
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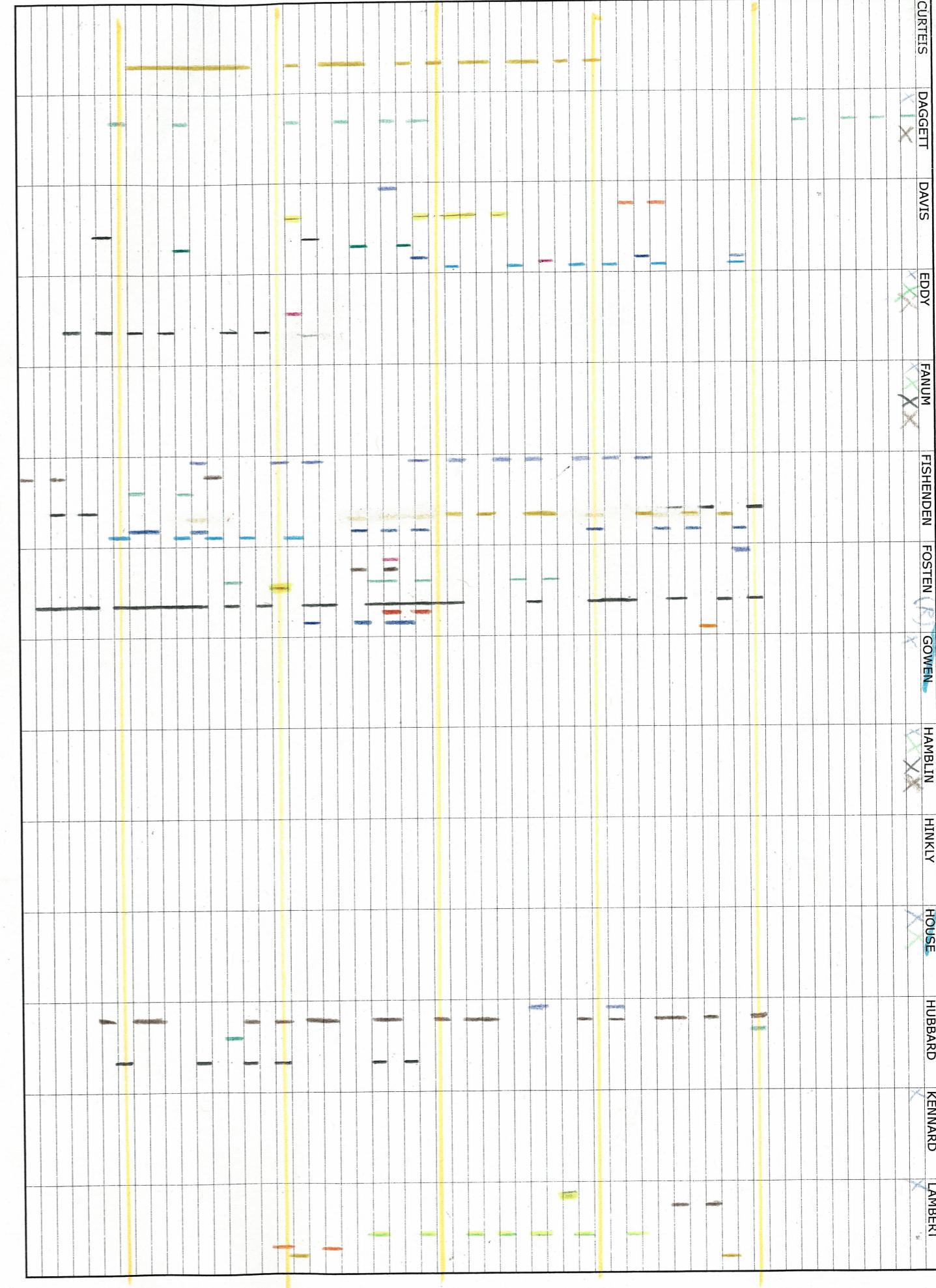
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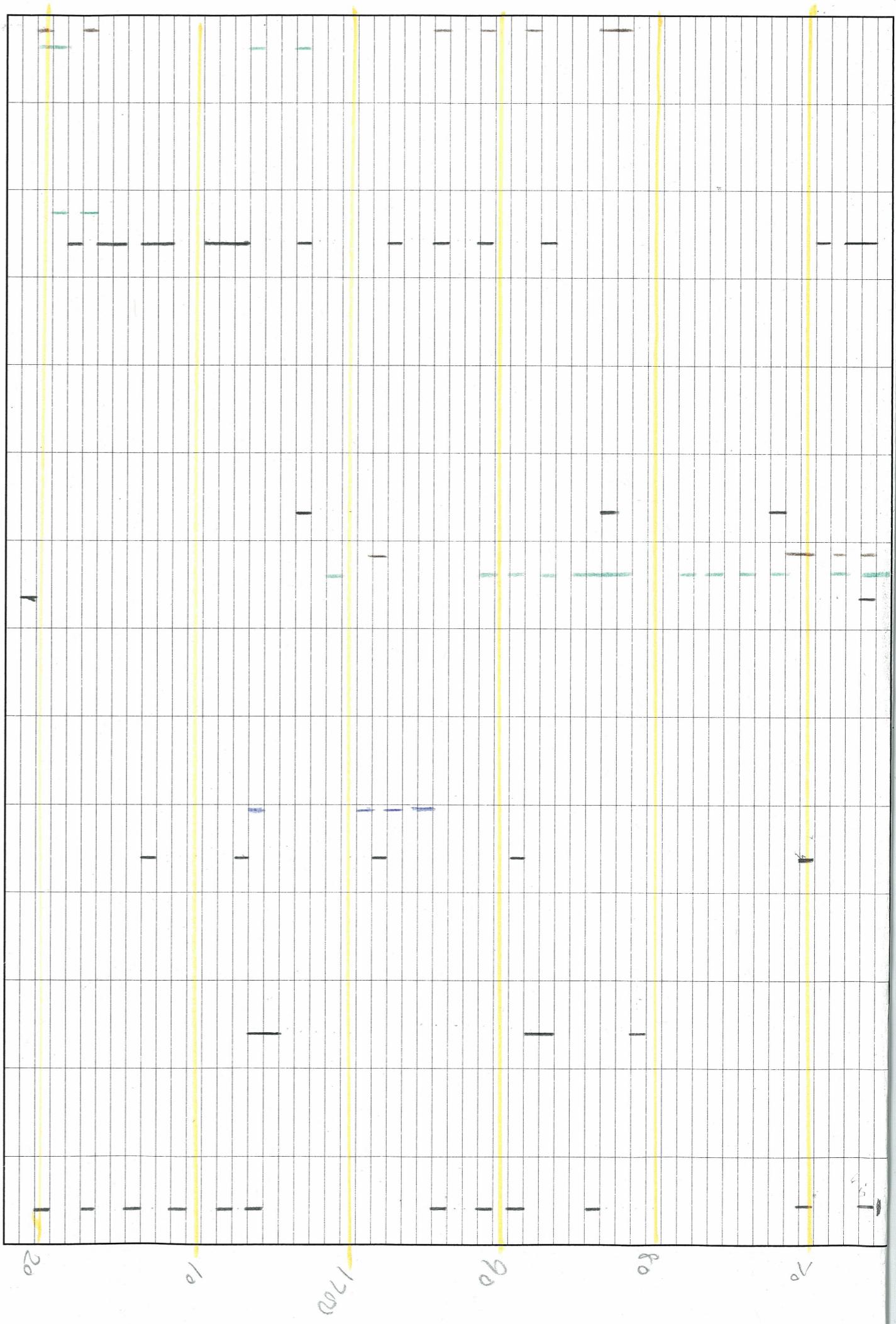
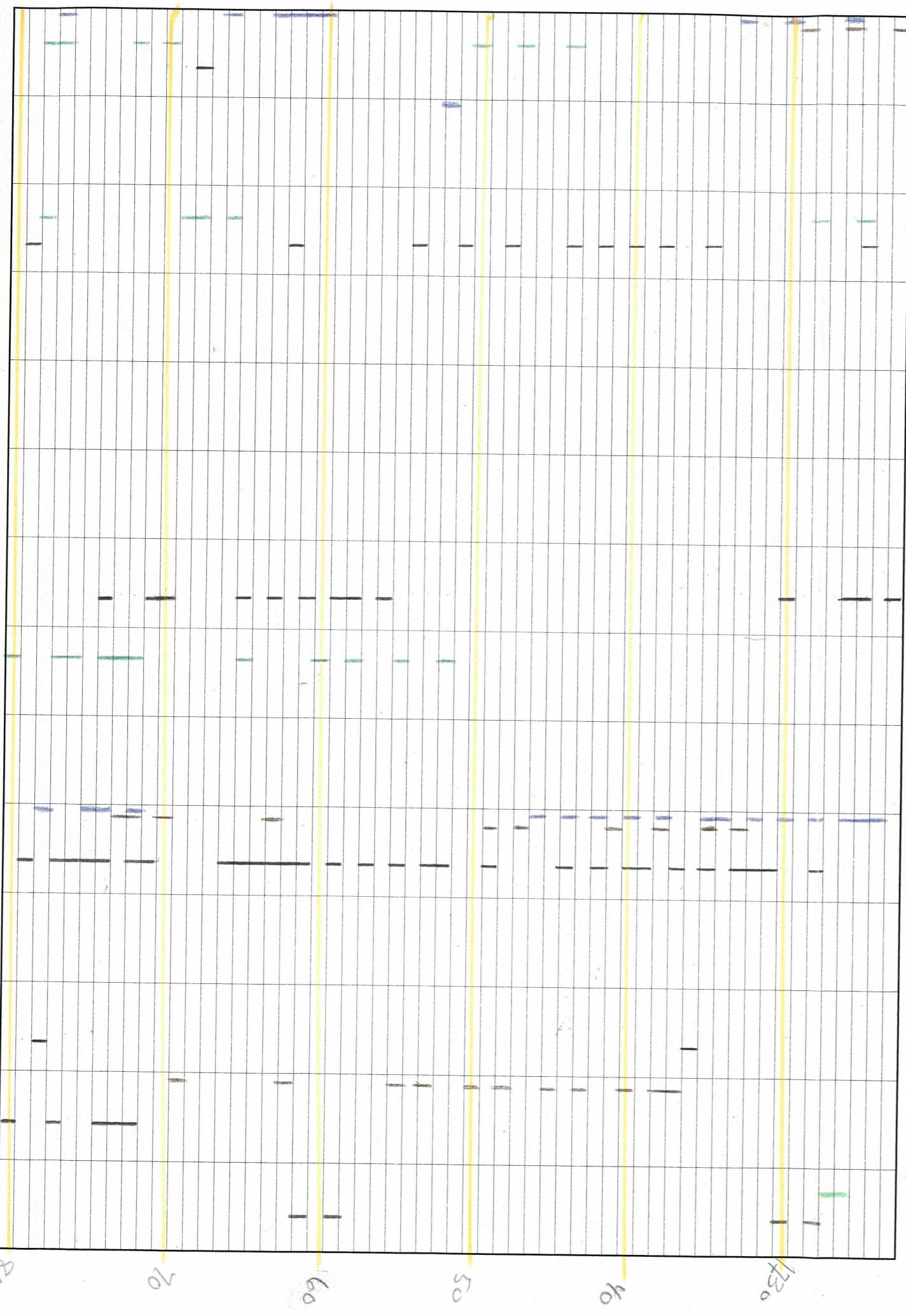
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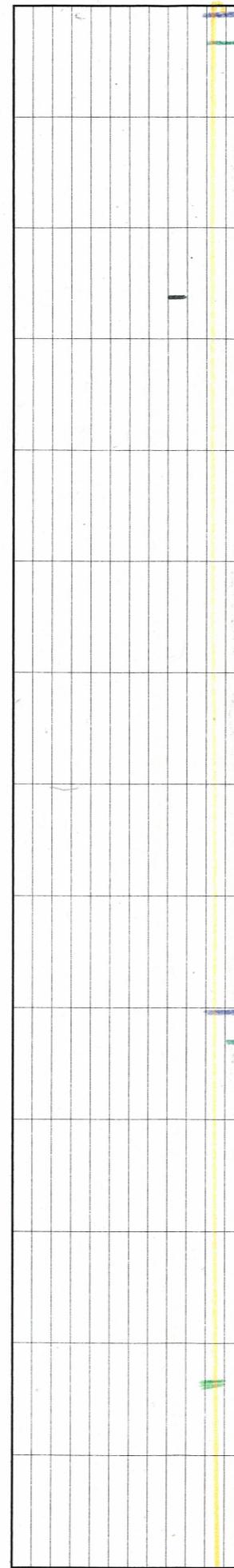
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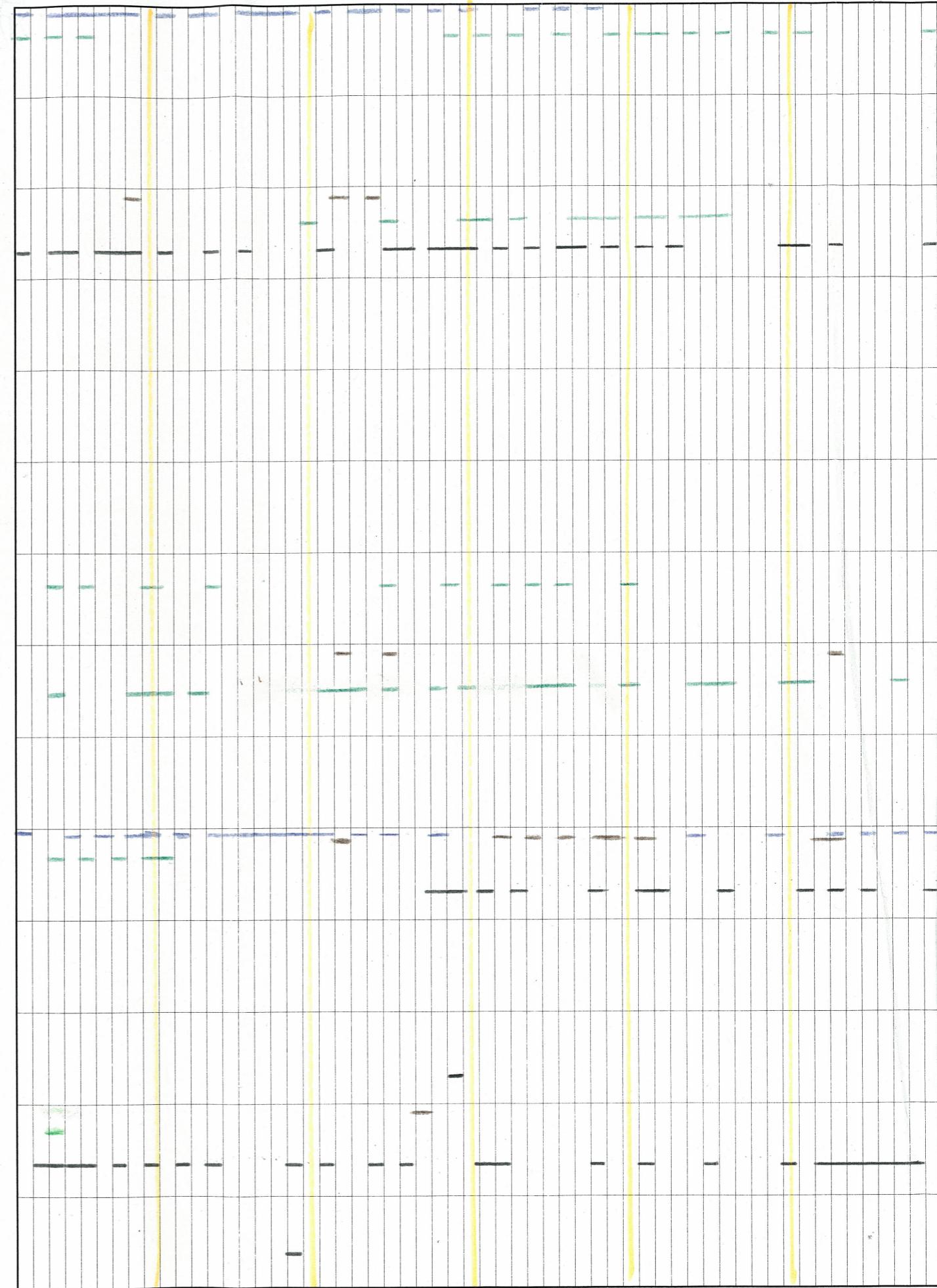
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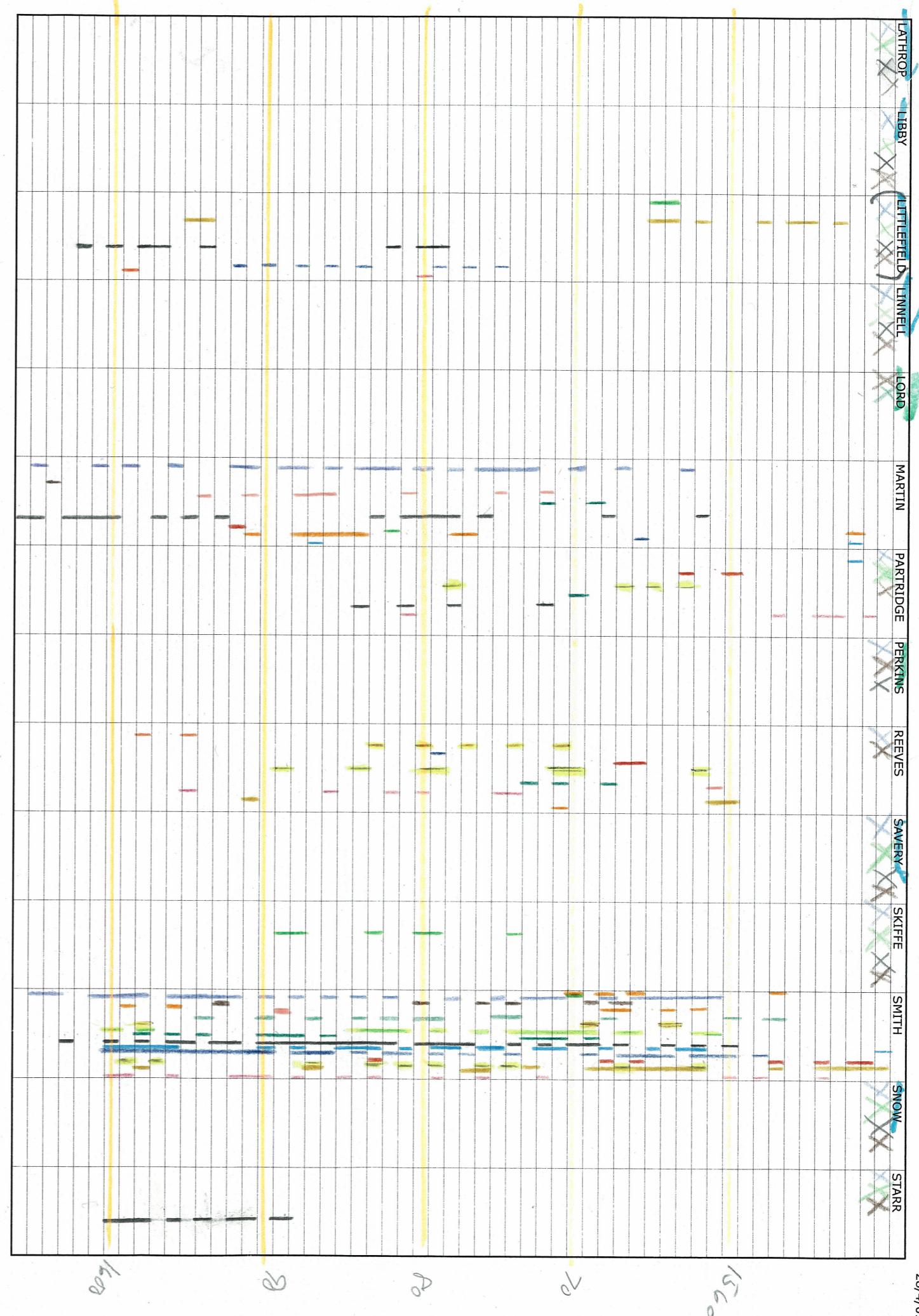
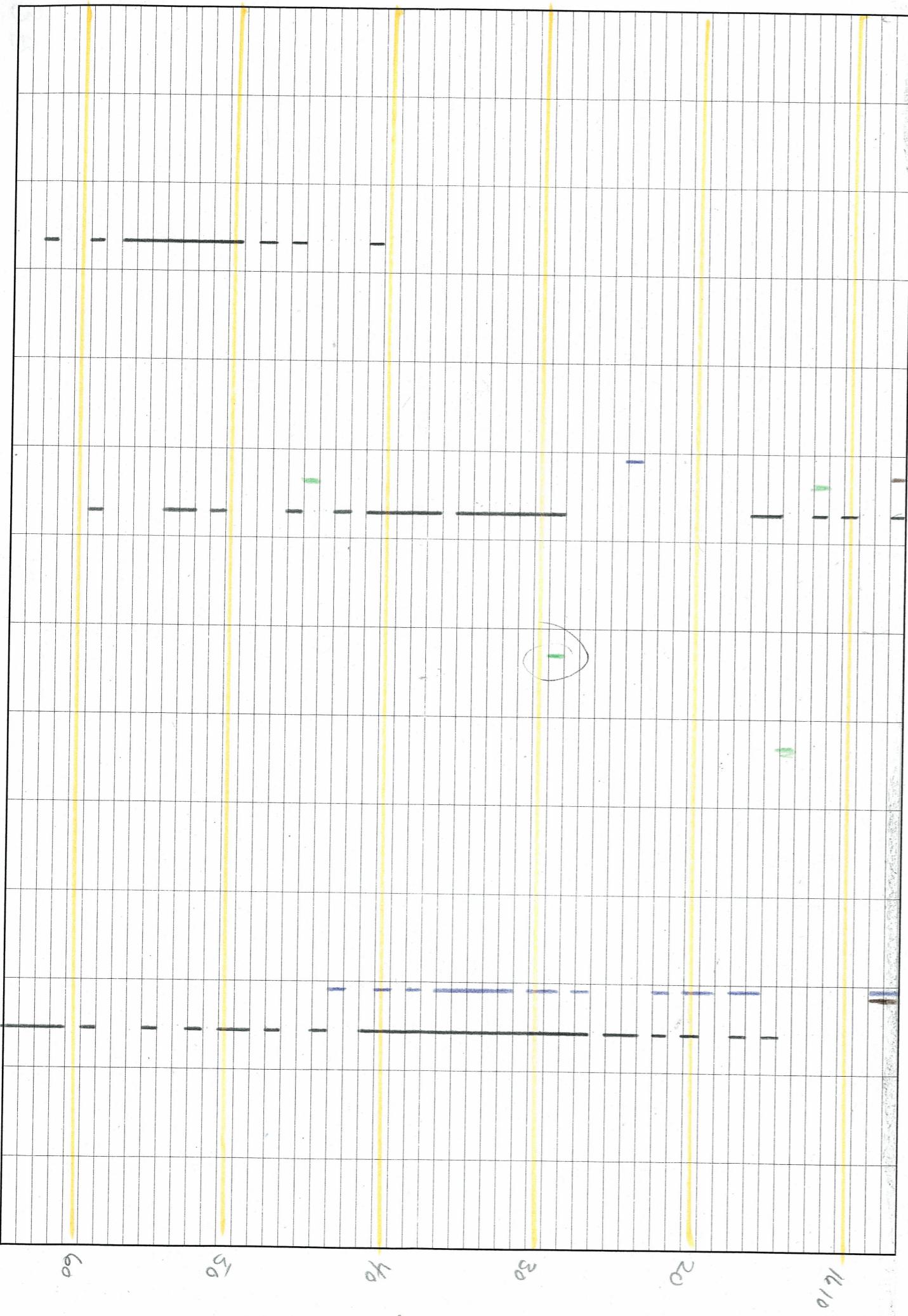
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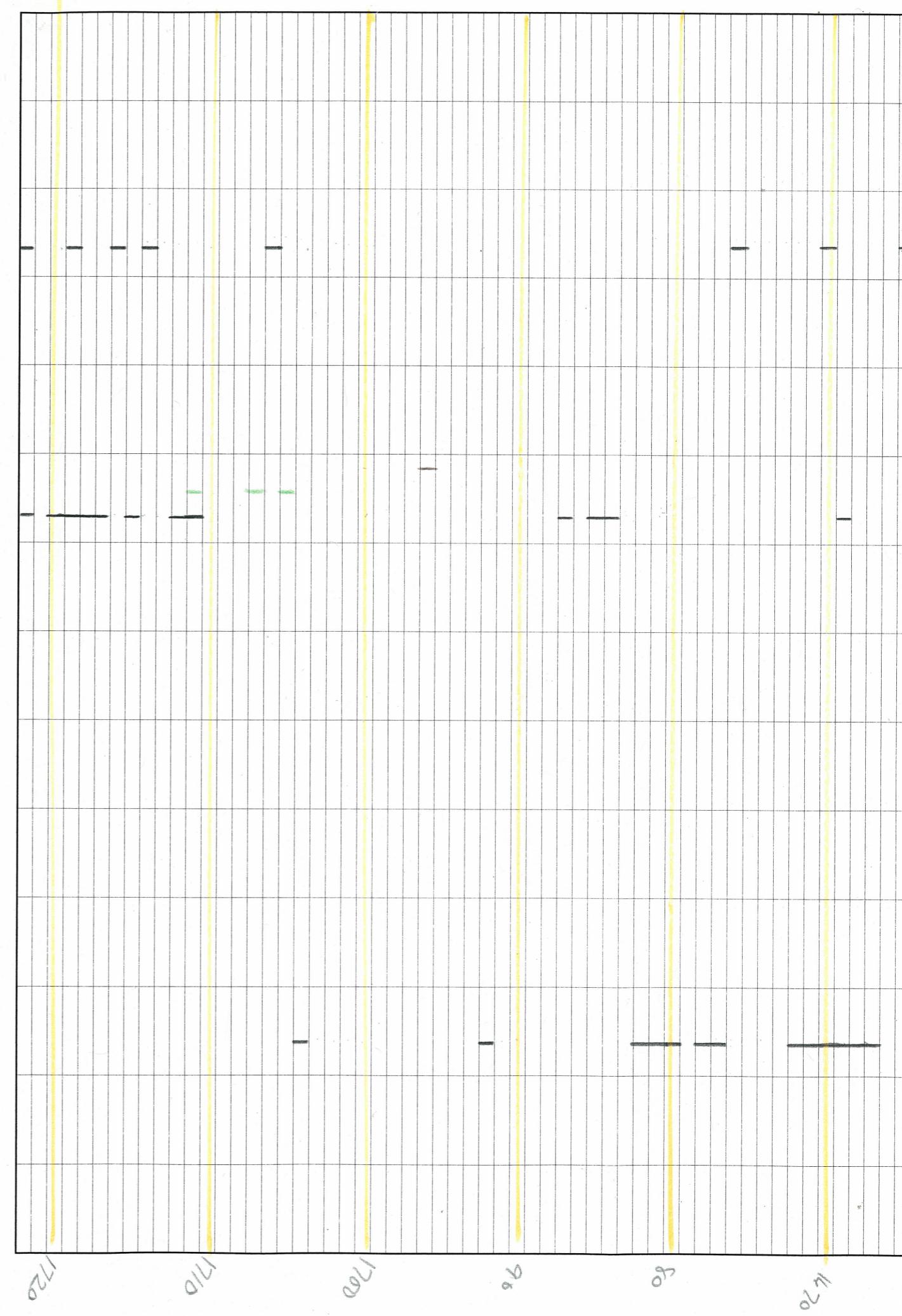
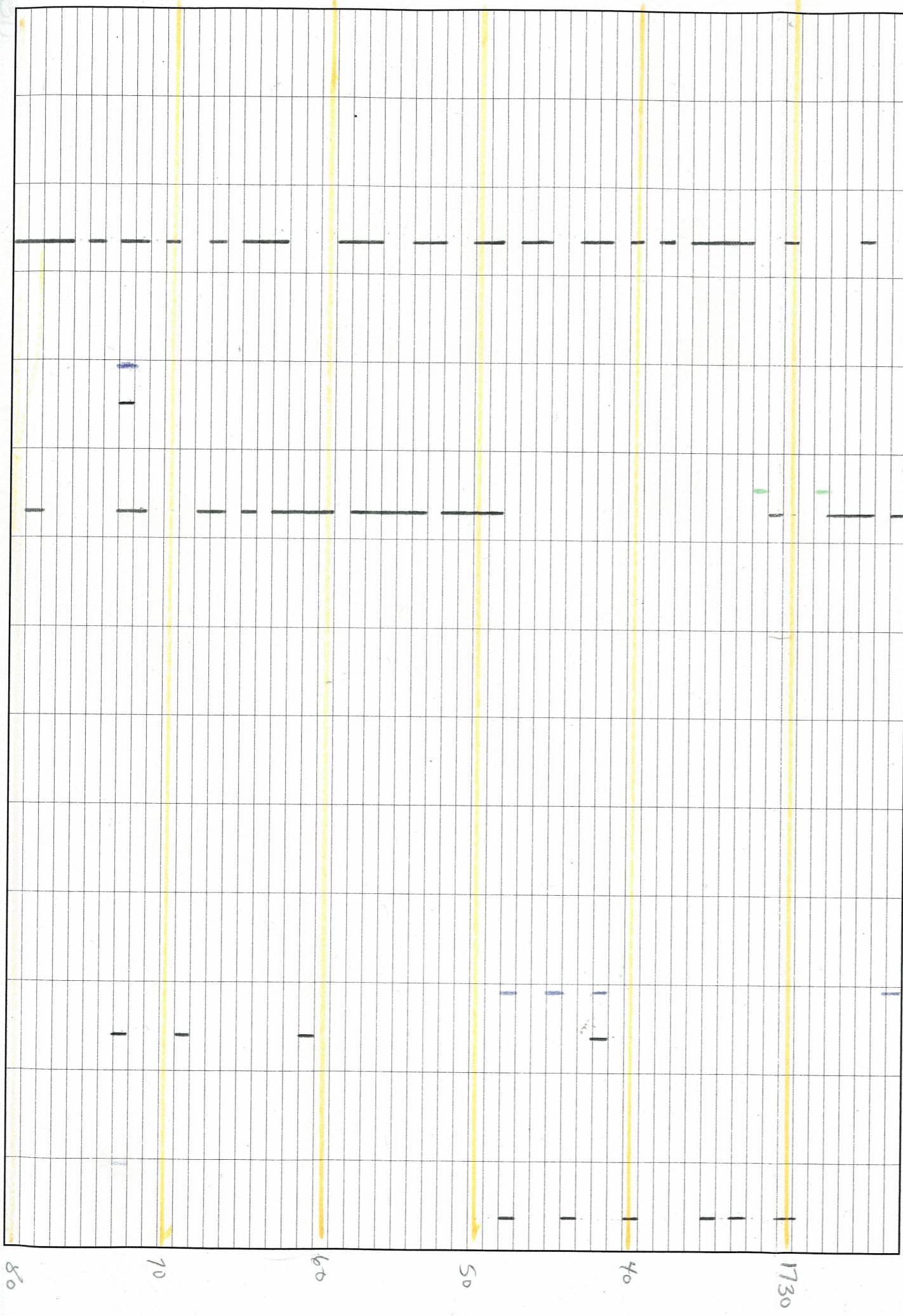
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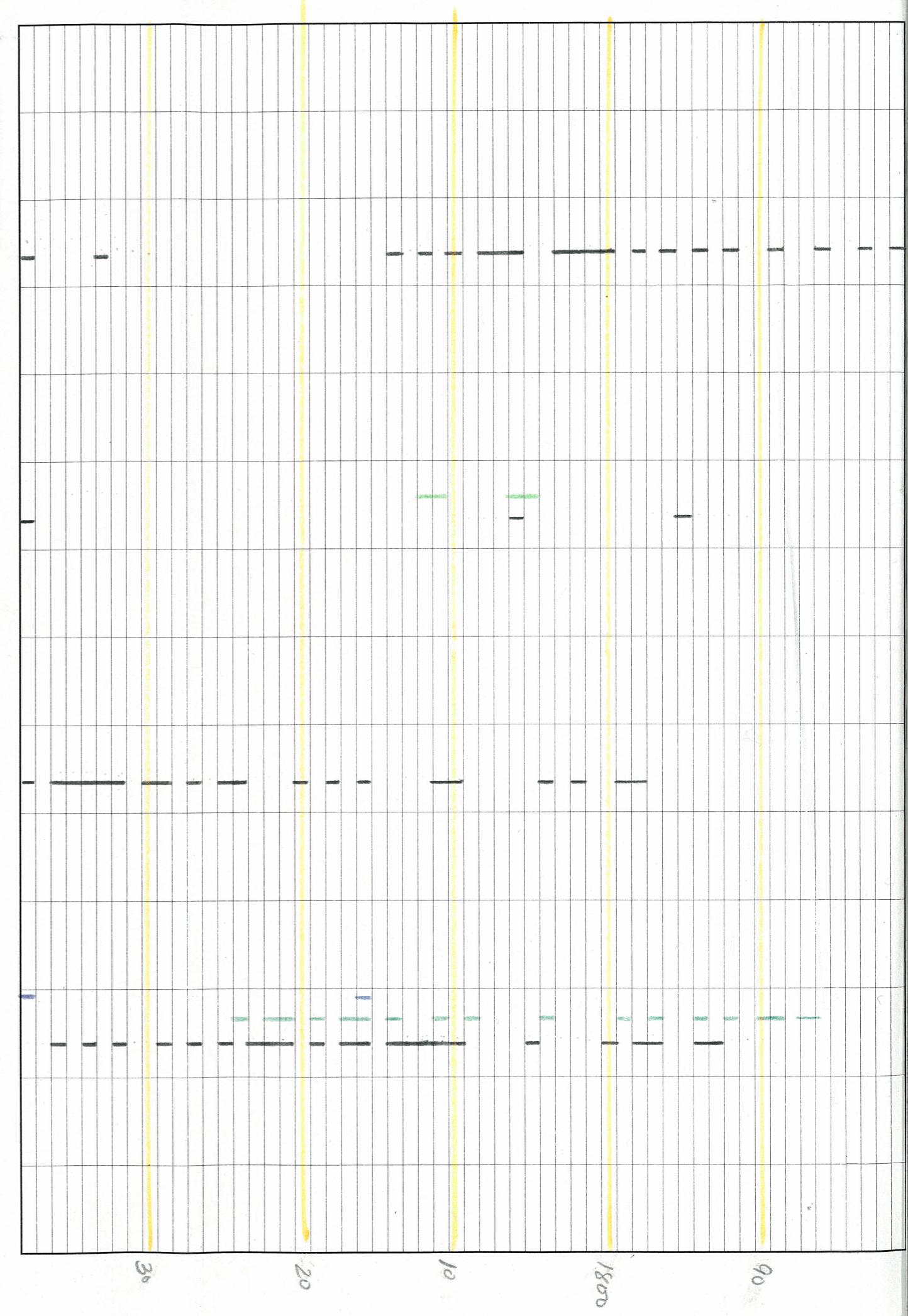
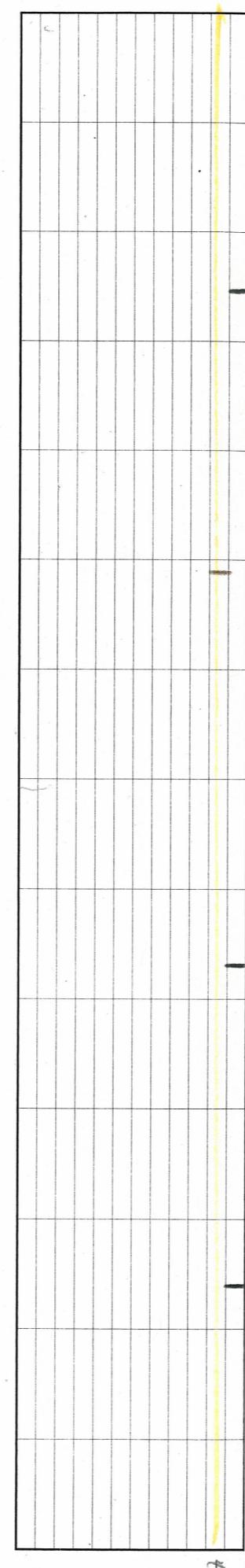
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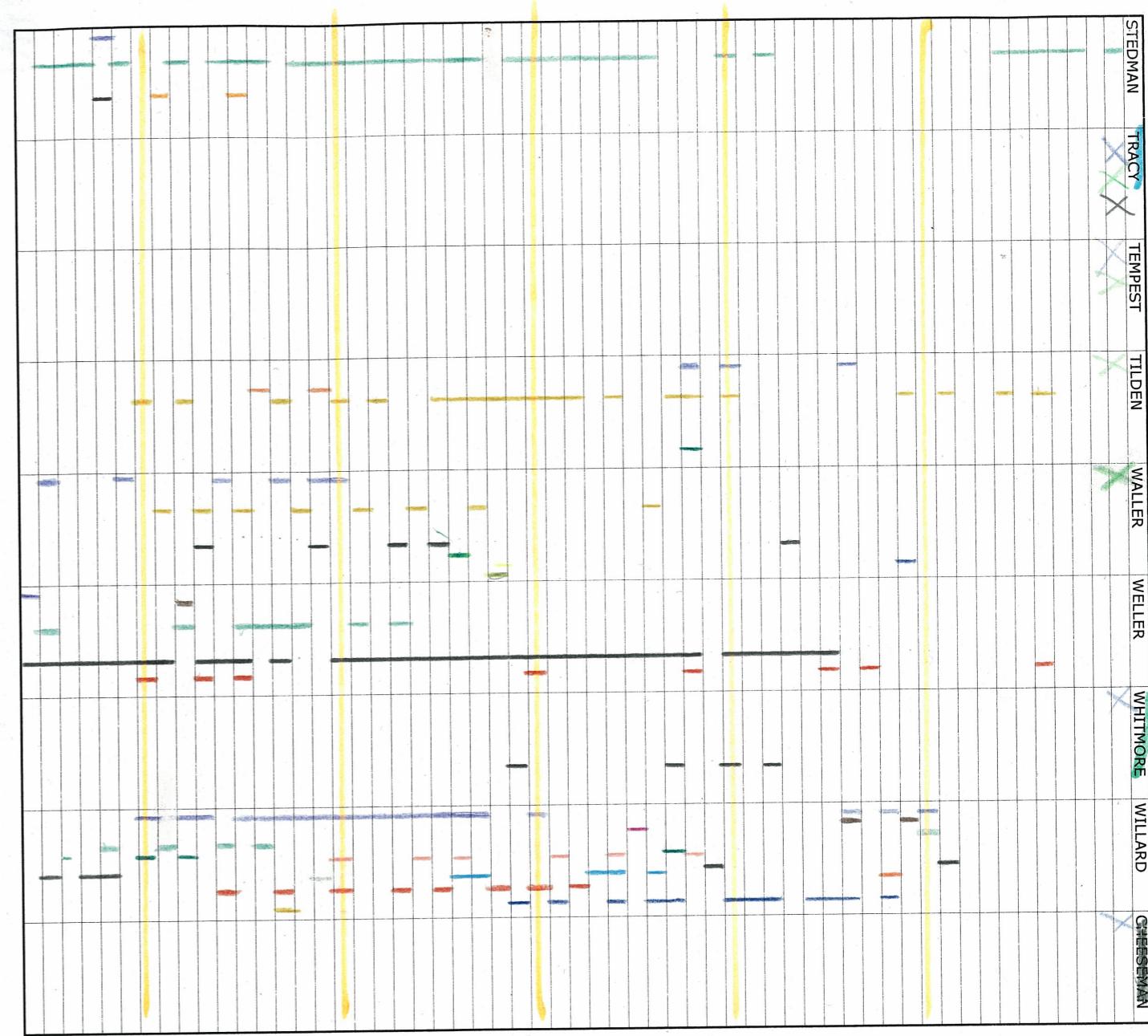
Morris

LATHROP	LIBBY	LITTLEFIELD	LINNELL	LORD	MARTIN	PARTRIDGE	PERKINS	REEVES	SAVERY	SKIFFE	SMITH	SNOW	STARR
X X X	X X X	(X X X)	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X	X X X









X = not present in parish  
baptism records for that parish

Legend:  
■ Benenden  
■ Biddulph  
■ Cranbrook  
■ Rolvenden  
■ Marden  
■ Staplehurst  
■ Woodchurch

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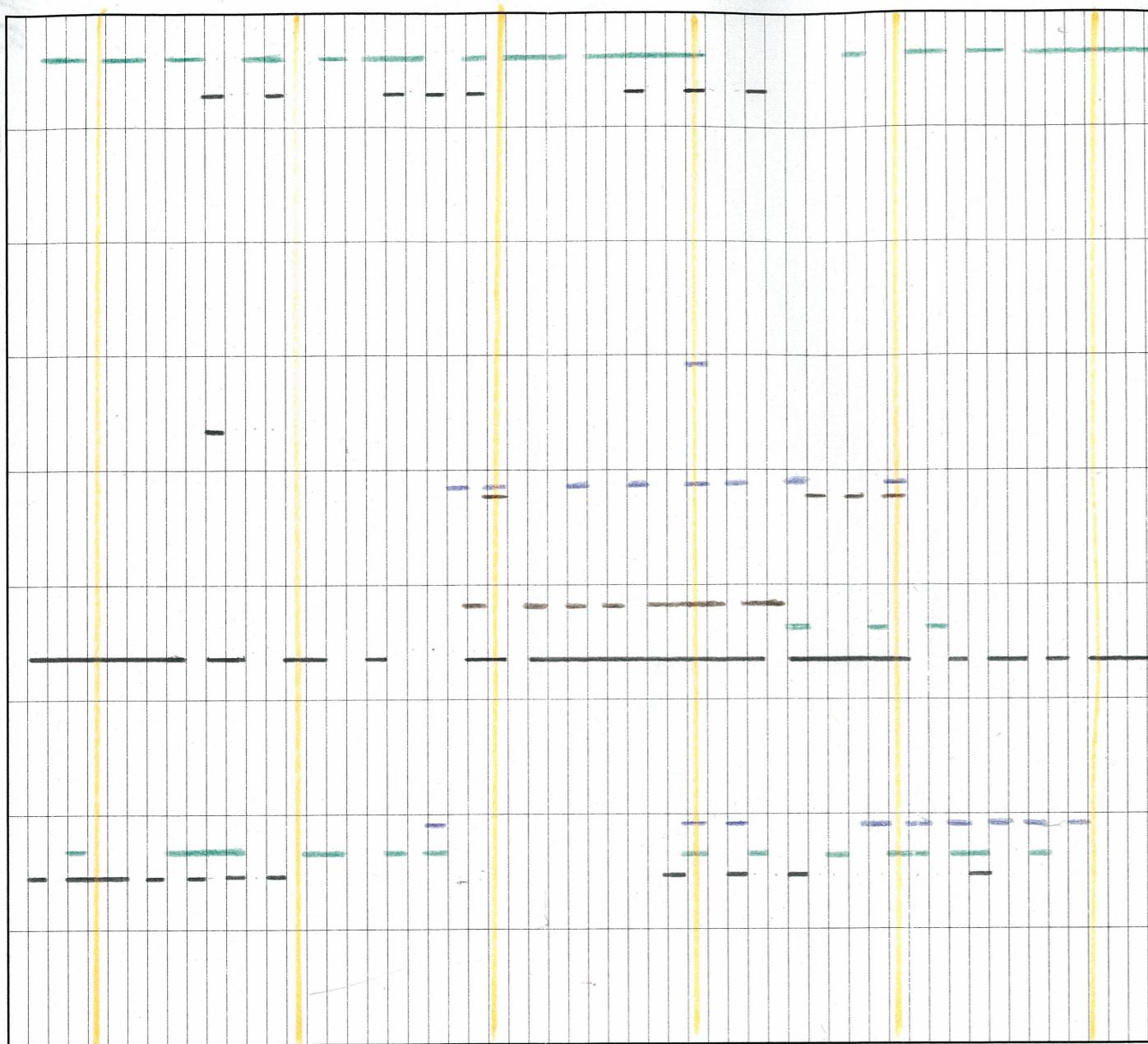
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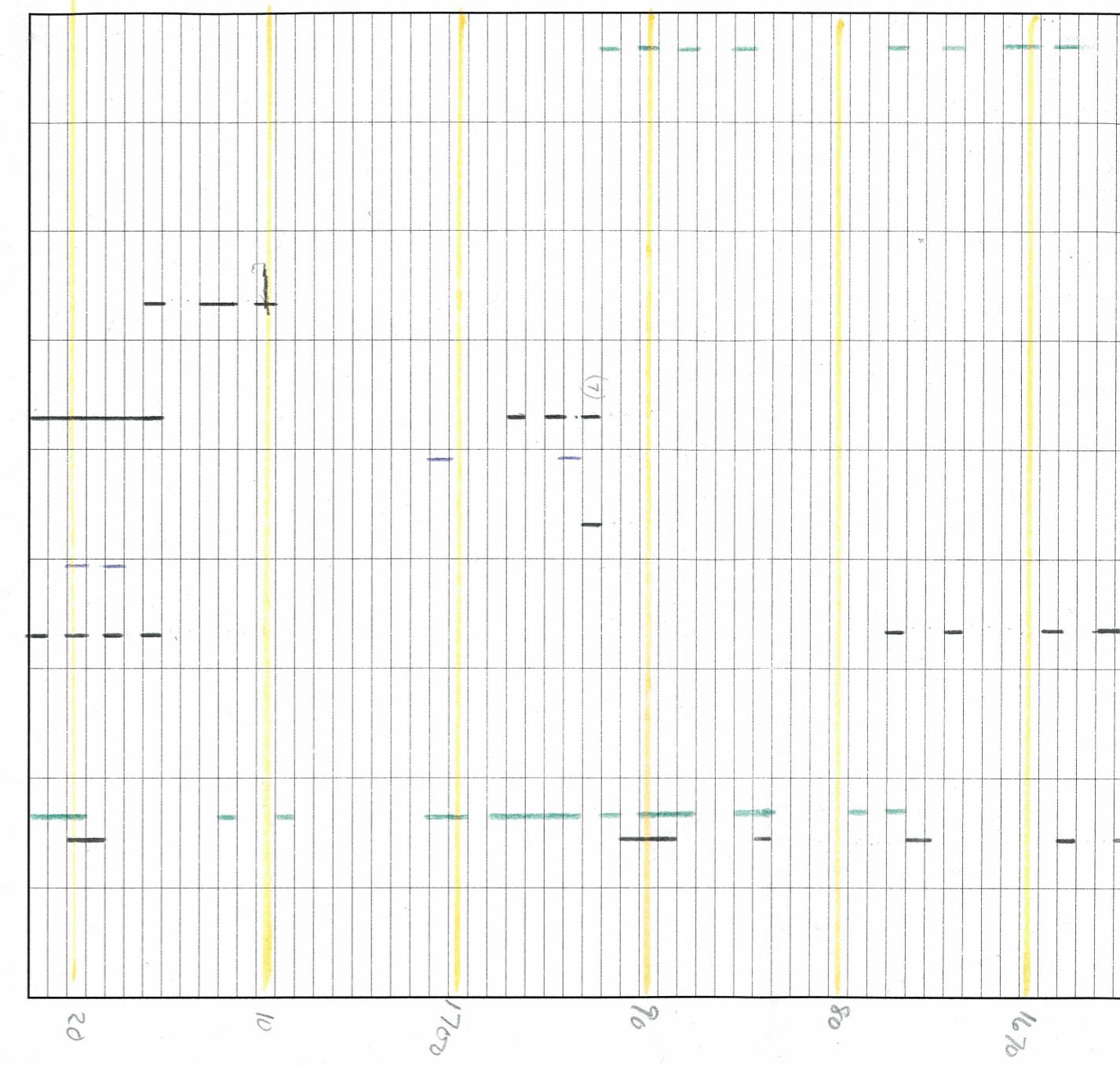
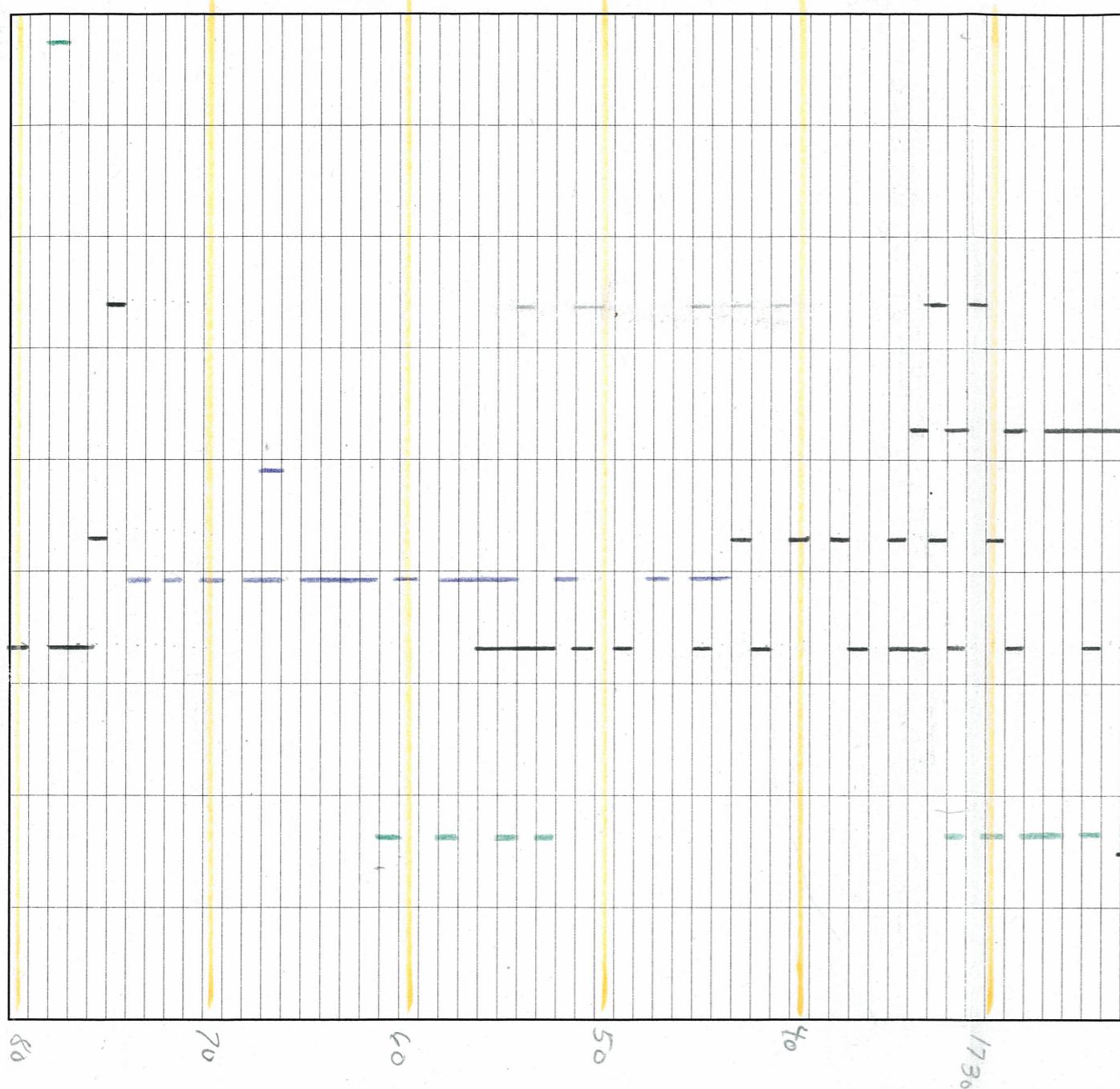
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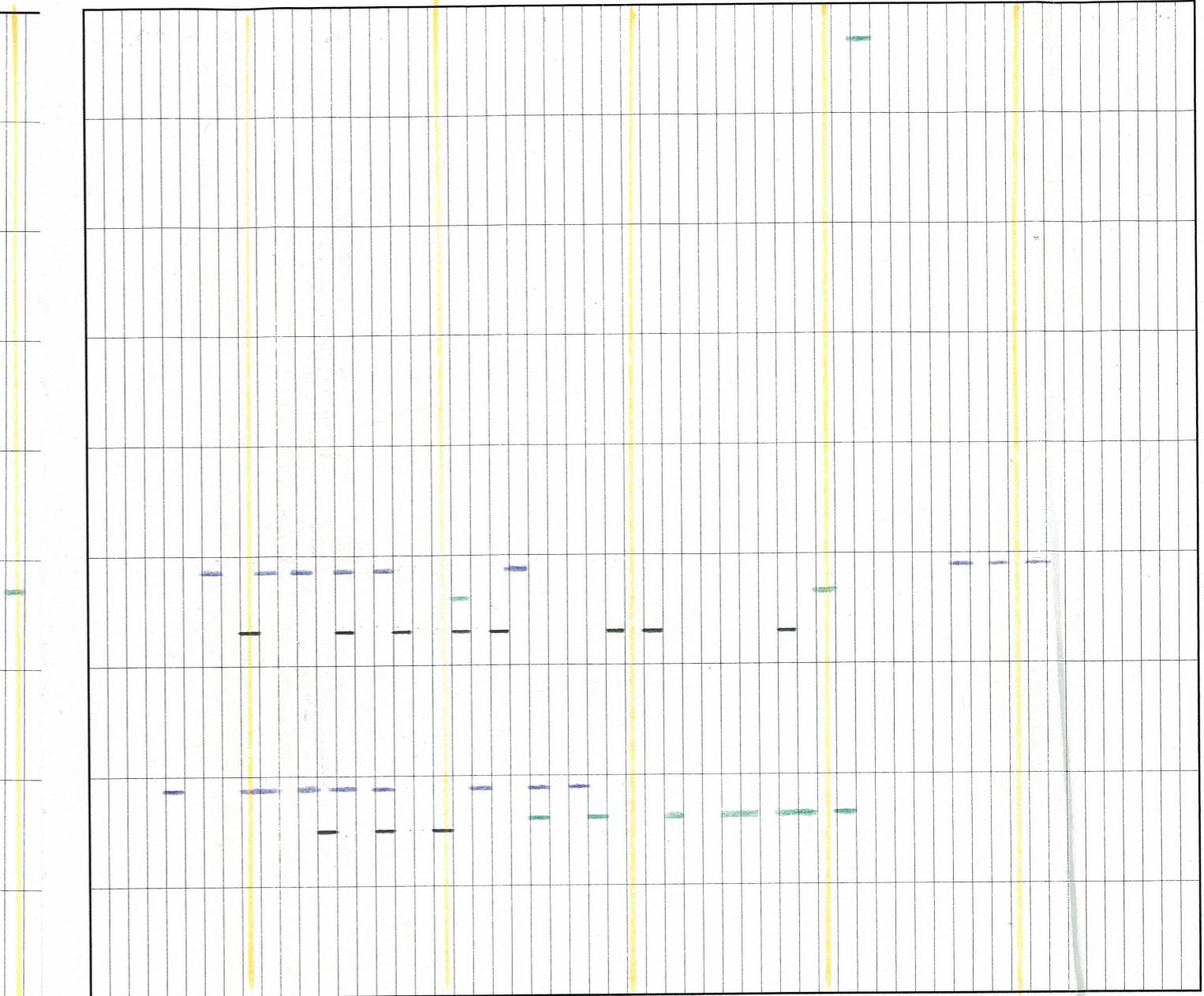
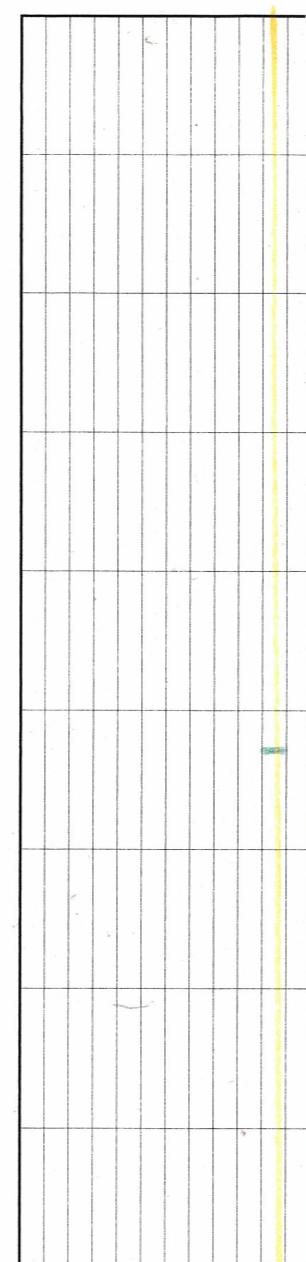
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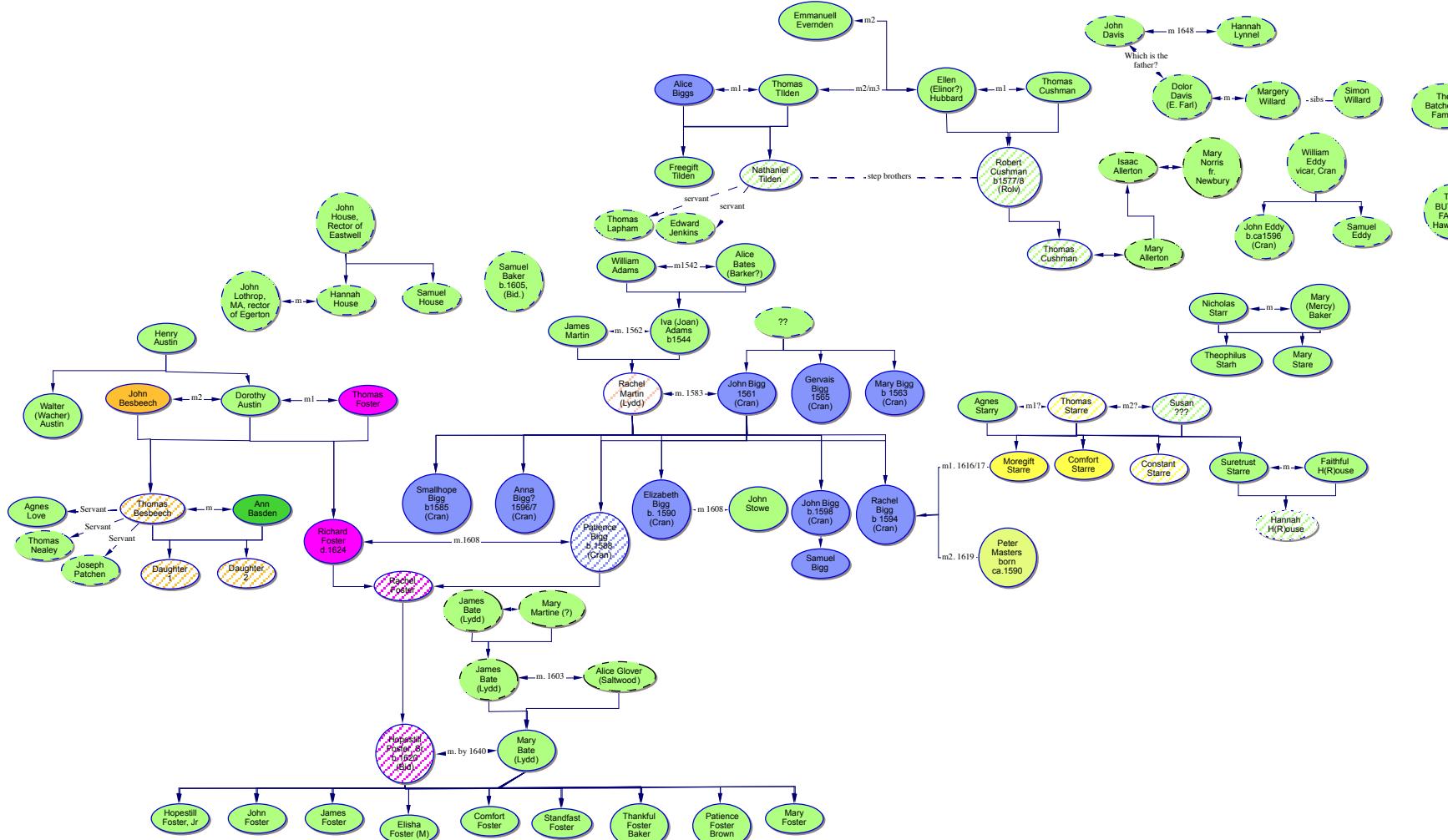
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#### Social Networks of the American Colonists from the Weald

**Disclaimer:** This is not a work of genealogy, though there are some elements of genealogical pedigree charts included. Its primary function is to show the wealden families in my thesis study.

**Guide to reading the chart:**  
**Parent-Child relationships:** Shown as in a pedigree chart, but unlike a pedigree chart, spouses are listed on the left, the youngest, right to left. Instead, they are positioned to make connections with other families via their marriages easier to chart. When available, individuals' baptismal dates and location are included.

**Multiple marriages:** Shown as m1, m2, etc. In the case when both spouses have multiple marriages the count is shown with a slash. The closest to the individual's name shows which marriage (1st, 2nd, etc.) it is for that person.

**Economic relationships are also included when known and relevant.**

Name	Kent Origin	Fath.	Connection to Clothmaking	Source	Year Mid Ship	Settled?	Notes	Reference			
ALLEN, Samuel	b. Barnstable, Mass.	Father	Connection to Clothmaking	GPC	Unknown		m. Sarah PARTRIDGE lived Braintree Mass, 10 children.				
ATHEARN, Simon	Unknown	F-1-L Clothier		Lane 1 & 2			Married Nicholas BUTLER's dau.				
BAKER, Joyce	Ashford	Father a Husband a Clothier/Yeoman		Lane 2			m2 for Nicholas BUTLER				
BIFARSE, Sarah	Not found	Austin Bifarse Congregationalist		GPC			Her married name? If so, a COBB	REF			
BIGGE, Patience	Cranbrook	Bigo Family Clothiers in Weald		Lane 2	1635	Elizabeth	Married Richard FOSTER	CKS TR 2897/57 (23)			
BUTLER, Nicholas	Eastwell/Ashford	Clothier/Yeoman		Lane 1 & 2, GPC			Dorchester/M m2. Joyce BAKER	CKS TR 2896/57 (35)			
CLEMENTS, Joanna				Lane 2							
CURTIS, William	Appleford			Lane 1 & 2	1632		Situuate	m. Sarah ELLIOTT	CKS TR 2897/57 (55)		
CUSHMAN, Andrew	Unknown			Lane 1 & 2							
CUSHMAN, Thomas	Father b. Royle Leiden Separatist	Father apprenticed to Geo Masters in Cante		Lane 2	1621	Fortune	Plimouth Father, Robert CUSHMAN born	Stratton p276			
DAGGETT, Hephzibah	Unknown	Separatist		GPC			Watertown b. 1706 Married John EDDY				
DAVIS, Dolar	East Farleigh Lothrop Cond Carpenter			Lane 1 & 2	1635	Elizabeth	Married Hezekiah DAGGETT; Samuel EDDY, bro. Father Vicar at Cranbrook. Mother a FOSTEN	CKS TR 2897/57 (57), W. Barnstable Congregational Church (1892)			
EDDY, John	b. Cranbrook Separatist			Lane 1 & 2, G	1630	Handmaid	Watertown m. Marquay WILLARD	Stratton p286-7			
EDDY, Samuel	b. Cranbrook Separatist	Taylor		Lane 2			Plimouth/Sw John EDDY, bro. Father Vicar at Cranbrook. Mother a FOSTEN, a poor man with many children most outto apprenticeshins of fostering	Stratton 286-7			
FANUM, Ralph	Unknown	Father a Merchant/Taylor, Apprenticed Lond		Lane 1 & 2	1635	James	Ioswich His widow's 2nd marriage to Solomon MARTIN	Threlfall p149-150			
FARNSWORTH, Ralph (2nd)	Mother?			Lane 1 & 2	1635	James	Andover Son of Ralph	Threlfall p149-150			
FARNUM, Dennis	Mother?			Lane 1 & 2	1635	James	Andover Son of Ralph	Threlfall p149-150			
FESSSENDEN, Nicholas	Canterbury	Glover		Lane 1 & 2	1632-3		Cambridge m. Mary Cheney, 14 children. Records conflict	NFHGR 25:105-6, CKS TR 2896/58			
FOSTER, Richard	Bridgenden	Married into Bigg Family		Lane 2		Did not migrate	wife settles Dorchester D FOSTER never made it to NE	NFHGR 52:194-203			
GOWEN, Margaret	Not found			Lane 2	?		m. Abraham LORD in Berwick, Maine, on 10 April 1717. Records begin in 18th C.	NFHGR 55: 310			
HAMBLIN, James	Not found			GPC				GPC			
HINCKLEY, Susanna	Father fr. Ten Lothrop Congregationalist			Barnstable	1606-1659 b. London						
HOUSE, Hannah	Eastwell	Lothrop Congregationalist		Lane 1 & 2	Parents d Hercules	Situuate/Barr Father: Samuel HINCKLEY Mother: Sarah m. Rev. John SMITH	Stratton p304				
HUTCHISON, William	Not found			Lane 2	Did not migrate	(m. Rev. John LOTHROP 10 children, Father Rev. John HOWSE of Eastwell,	Rootsweb: <a href="http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~sam/house.html#P5829">http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~sam/house.html#P5829</a> accessed 4/6/11				
KENYON, Edmund	Not found			Lane 1 & 2			Spelling variation?				
LAMBERT, Thomas	None, Dorset	Lothrop Cond None		Lane 2	>1639	Mary and Job	m. Eliz MARTIN b. 1662 d. of Richard MARTYN fr. Middlesex, England	NFHGR 51:118			
LATHROP, Benjamin	Mother fr. East Lothrop Congregationalist			Lane 2			Name spelling varies: AMBERT Son marries a LINNELL	Stratton p319-20			
LIBBY, John	Unknown			Lane 2		Hercules	Scarborough, Other LIBBYS noted in Kittery, Me & Portsmouth, NH				
LITTLEFIELD, Edmund	Not found			Lane 1 & 2			Maine?				
LORD, Abraham	Not found			Lane 2			Records begin in 18th C.				
LORD, James	Not found			Lane 1 & 2			Records begin in 18th C.				
LORE, Nathan	Not found			Lane 2			Records begin in 18th C.				
LYNNEL, Hannah	Not found			Lane 2			Barnstable 2 contemporary women by that name in Barnstable: 1) Hannah (Shirley LINNELL the other, Hannah LYNNELL DAVIS m. John DAVIS (Has	NFHGR 2:194-5			
PARTRIDGE, George	Unknown			GPC	1636	Bridgewater	Married to Sarah TRACY, dau. Sarah m. Samuel ALLEN	Stratton p288, NFHGR 3:335			
PERKINS, Elizabeth	Not found			GPC							
REEVES, Mary	Not found			GPC			m. James SKIFF 1617-1673; a Ruth West, dau of Margery Reeves and Francis West m. Nathaniel Skiff (NEHGR 60:142)	NFHGR 41:375-6			
SAFERY, Elizabeth	Spouse			Lane 2			m. Samuel EDDY From Devon?				
SCOTT, Ann	Suffolk?	Family clothiers in Glemsford, Suffolk		GPC			Married James HAMBLIN, b. 1608/10 Berkshire,	GPC			
SKIFFE, James, Sr.	Not found			Lane 2	1637?		Lynn/Sandwich fr. London d. 1688	NFHGR 50:157,241,244-188:86, Threlfall p101			
SIMITH, John (rev.)	Not found	Congregationalist		Lane 1 & 2			Barnstable/Sam. Susannah HINCKLEY	Banks p108			
SNOOK, John	Not found			GPC			2 Lydia SNOWS in this period, Cousins, m. Stephen SKIFFE (1640-1713), son of James SKIFFE Sr.	Stratton p354-355			
TEMPEST, Isabel	Not found			Lane 2							
TRACY, Sarah	Not found			GPC			Married to Geo. PARTRIDGE	NFHGR 53:285			
TRIPP, John	Not found			Lane 1			Several found, most later. The earliest dates 1611-1678, a co-founder of Portsmouth RI	NFHGR 77:245			
WAKEFIELD, John	Not found			Lane 1 & 2			An early settler of Wells, Me. No connection to Kent found.	NFHGR 3:193 & 41:97			
WALLEN, Joyce	Dau's spouse Lathron?			Lane 2	1623	Ann	Barnstable Her married name dau. Mary (Wallen) Ewer (widow) m. John Jenkins of Barnstable Neighbours of the Snows.	NFHGR 49:339, Stratton p367			
WHITMORE, Ann	Suffolk			GPC				Threlfall p102			
WHITELEY, Hannah	John Whitney			Lane 2	1635	Elizabeth and Watertown	Hannah appears to be an umn dau of John and Elinor Whiteley. Their info here. A grandau same name m.Tho. Woods of Groton	NFHGR 11:111-116			
WILLARD, Margery	Horsmonden	Congregationalist		Lane 2	1635	Elizabeth	Barnstable m. Dolor DAVIS	TR			