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SEASONALITY AND EARLY MODERN TOWNS:
THE TIMING OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES AND BURIALS IN ENGLAND,
1560-1750, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO TOWNS

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The thesis examines the seasonality of baptisms, marriages and burials in early modern towns, and demonstrates that seasonality (which measures how the frequency of vital events varied through the year) is a useful method of examining aspects of social history.

Chapter 1 looks at the background to the use of the demographic tool of seasonality and suggests how seasonality may be able to address some of the concerns of urban historians.

Chapters 2 to 4 discuss the sources and methodology of the study, and the results are summarised in Chapter 5. The baptismal, burial and marriage seasonality patterns are described, and urban patterns are compared and contrasted with rural patterns.

The results are discussed in Chapter 6, which seeks to explain the seasonality patterns, and the similarities and differences between urban and rural patterns, by looking at the context in which they arise, principally living conditions and the prevalence of diseases, and working and leisure patterns. Chapter 7 looks more closely at the transition between urban and rural seasonality patterns.

Plague and intestinal diseases, due to overcrowded and insanitary living conditions, created a divergent burial pattern in towns up to 1700. Otherwise, the urban and rural seasonality patterns of all events were basically similar in shape. The crucial distinction between urban and rural seasonality was in the much 'flatter' patterns in towns, due largely to the more even and varied routines of urban occupations compared to farming, which was inherently seasonal in its labour demands. It is argued that population size was the significant factor in the development of urban seasonality, with small towns being transitional between the high seasonality of rural parishes and the low seasonality of larger towns.

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(g) Wiltshire

NOTES ON GRAPHS

Seasonality Indices:

The weekly graphs (except Figures 6.1 and 6.5) are of three weekly moving average indices.

Several graphs are shown on each page, for ease of comparison. The same scale is used for all graphs on the same page, with the exception of Figure 7.1

Where consecutive graphs share the same key (for example Figures 5.A.6-9, 5.B.7-10, 5.C.13-16) the key is shown only once.

The horizontal axis measures time of year. For weekly indices, week numbers are used (see Appendix 3), for monthly indices, the initial letter of the months.

The vertical axis measures the index value, 100 indicating the average.

Marriage Days (Figures 6.19-21):

The horizontal axis measures the day of the week, Sunday to Saturday.

The vertical axis measures percentages (14.3 per cent being the average).

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bapt	baptisms
B *	burials
Bur	burials
C *	baptisms
cent	century
ed(s)	editor(s)
JP	Justice of the Peace
M *	marriages
M/M	maximum/minimum ratios
MAD	mean absolute deviation
Marr	marriages
misc	miscellaneous
mnth	month(ly)
N	number
No	number
SD	standard deviation
SS	saints
St	saint
tr(s)	transcriber(s)
VCH	Victoria County History
Vol	volume
wk	week(ly)
W&S	E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, <i>The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction</i> (1981)
*	When C, M and B are used in conjunction with numerals 1-4, these refer to the periods on page 61 (e.g. C1 means baptisms in the late sixteenth century, M4 means marriages in the early eighteenth century)

For abbreviations of sample parish/town/county names see Appendix 1

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

'For everything there is a season, and a time for every matter under heaven:

a time to be born and a time to die ...
... a time to love ... '

Ecclesiastes Chap 3 vs 1-2, 8

Seasonality

Historical demography in the pre-census period is concerned to recreate population size and structure; to identify the course and the dynamics of population change; to explain the changes in their economic and social context; to examine 'the interconnexion between demographic, social and economic change'. This was the motivation of Wrigley and Schofield's pioneer work, *The Population History of England 1541-1871 A Reconstruction*.¹ The components of population change are fertility, mortality and nuptiality and the demographer's raw materials are thus the demographic events of birth and death, and of marriage; how many and what proportions of the total population married, reproduced, died.

This study uses the same material, but looks at it from a different perspective, not the calculation of birth rates or death rates, but the timing of demographic events over the year. This approach is usually called seasonality, which emphasises its concern with change from season to season within the year rather than with change from year to year. The unit of analysis is however more usually the month rather than the season. The timing of demographic events varied from the (usually) involuntary in the case of death, to the voluntary, in the case of marriage. Seasonality looks at the cumulative effect over a period of years of the timings, and attempts to explain why more people died in one season than another, why people chose to marry at a particular time of year, why births were more frequent in certain months than in others. These vital events - births, deaths and marriages - did not happen in a vacuum; their seasonal distribution can surely tell us something about the society and environment in which people lived. It is on such an assumption that this study is based.

A pioneer of the study of seasonality was Bradley who looked at a dozen parishes in Nottingham and Derbyshire.² The groundwork on seasonality in the early modern period has, however, been done by Wrigley & Schofield in their important work cited above (hereafter referred to as W&S).³ They devoted some 20 pages to this aspect, because 'the pattern of seasonal fluctuations reveals much concerning the social, economic and physical environment'.⁴ Because of the importance of their data it is worth giving some background to their work.

Wrigley & Schofield

The W&S 'reconstruction' was based on the analysis of the parish registers of 404 English parishes (about 4 per cent of all parishes). In a complex series of computer adjustments, the totals of baptisms, marriages and burials in these 404 parishes were converted to national series of births, deaths and marriages for the period 1541 to 1871. It should be emphasised that the 404 parishes were not selected specifically to produce a representative sample. Local historians were requested by the Cambridge Group to check registers that might be suitable for the technique of family reconstitution.⁵ This involved extracting monthly totals of baptisms, marriages and burials to identify periods of defective registration.⁶ When nearly 550 tabulations had been received it was decided to make fuller use of them and 404 of them were found to be suitable for aggregative analysis. As W&S point out 'The tabulations returned were not a *random* sample'.⁷ Some areas of the country were over-represented, others under-represented. In particular, the W&S sample suffered from two serious deficiencies: small parishes were under-represented, and London was completely excluded. This was because small parishes and London parishes, for various reasons, were thought not to be suitable for family reconstitution.

The W&S seasonality calculations were based on the monthly totals from the 404 parishes 'after correcting deficient periods of registration and after weighting by parish population size'.⁸ Figure 1.1 shows the distribution of the W&S parishes from which the uneven geographical coverage is clear.⁹ Some towns were included (Norwich, Ipswich and Shrewsbury being the main large towns) but the weighting referred to reduces the effect of the urban element. Most significantly the experience of Londoners is completely absent.

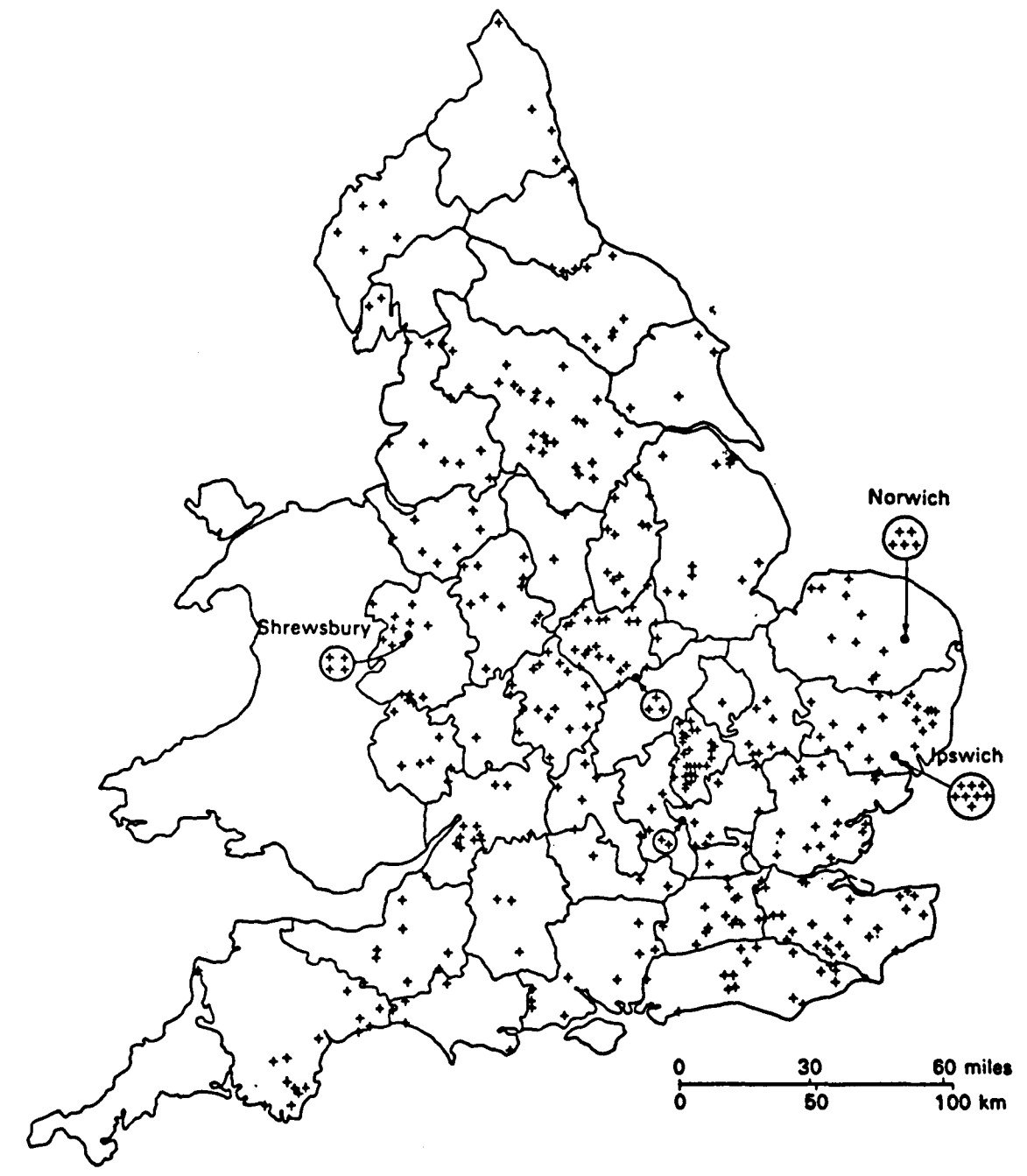
Urban Seasonality

The W&S seasonality analysis therefore represents England outside London and is largely rural. This study focuses on seasonality in towns, including London, both in its own right, and in comparison with seasonality in the countryside. There are already hints of urban/rural differences. Dyer's study of baptismal seasonality between 1580 and 1620 found a 'greater degree of seasonality in the countryside as opposed to the towns'.¹⁰ Edwards, studying seasonality of marriage in Shropshire, suggested that 'size and degree of urbanisation may influence seasonal characteristics, producing contrasts between town and countryside'.¹¹ Of burial seasonality, W&S commented that 'Amongst the small group of anomalous parishes ... the urban parishes of Ipswich, Norwich and Shrewsbury are particularly conspicuous'.¹²

But why should urban seasonality be of interest? Despite the recent growth in interest in the urban history of the early modern period, the fact is that England was still a rural society. As Borsay says:

In 1700 only one in four of the population of five million lived in the 600 to 700 towns that were scattered across the nation like small islands amidst a sea of villages, hamlets, and fields ... By our standards the vast majority of early eighteenth century towns would seem little more than villages.¹³

FIGURE 1.1 DISTRIBUTION OF W&S SAMPLE PARISHES



Apart from the 'monstrous city' of London, only two towns had populations of more than 30,000 people.¹⁴ Many towns were 'deeply influenced by the close physical and economic proximity of the countryside'.¹⁵ On the other hand, 'the distinctive qualities of town life' were recognised - there was a qualitative as well as a quantitative difference. 'Poets and dramatists made much of the contrast between town and countryside and noted the insidious diffusion of city culture into rural England'.¹⁶ The eighteenth century saw a 'gradual but distinctive process of urbanisation', and even experienced an urban renaissance, according to Peter Borsay, founded on increasing prosperity and stability after the Restoration.¹⁷

Before the mid-seventeenth century towns may have been suffering difficulties - the much debated 'urban crisis' put forward by Clark and Slack: 'by the middle of the sixteenth century urban decay was widespread and affected most aspects of town life, and .. recovery was often slow and never certain'.¹⁸ Both the timing of the crisis, and its very existence have been disputed.¹⁹ Certainly towns in this earlier period were smaller and their urban status was more questionable.²⁰ The interrelationship of town and country was often emphasised: 'most towns still responded to the cycles of rural life, waxing and waning with the seasons ... county towns were heavily influenced by rural demands'; 'Agriculture pervaded the life of the market town'.²¹

The study of seasonality may be one way of approaching some of these problems. Were there distinctive urban patterns? Where was the transition between urban and rural? Was it a particular size of town, say 2500 inhabitants (Penelope Corfield's arbitrary cut-off point)?²² Or was it a particular type of town, with (say) market towns being 'rural' and the proto-industrial towns 'urban'? Is there evidence of a growing disparity between towns and countryside after the Restoration, as towns recovered from the 'urban crisis' and enjoyed an 'urban renaissance'?

Is there evidence of urban patterns diffusing into rural England, or of rural patterns pervading urban life?

Although seasonality is an indirect approach to these questions, it does have the advantage of reflecting all sections of society in both towns and countryside, not just the elite or the literate who are usually the most conspicuous. The mass of the population are normally hidden from view, or are viewed from above, and leave little trace in the written record. But birth and death come to all, and the next chapter discusses how the traces of these events can be recovered.

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3. Wrigley & Schofield, *Population History* pp. 285-305
4. Ibid p. 285
5. This involves linking baptismal, marriage and burial entries to individuals, and reconstructing families and their demographic history so that vital rates and measures such as age at marriage can be calculated. See E.A. Wrigley 'Family Reconstitution' in E.A. Wrigley (ed), *An Introduction to English Historical Demography* (1966), pp. 96-159.
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7. Ibid p. 6
8. Ibid p. 286
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12. W&S p. 295
13. P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (1989), p. 3
14. Ibid
15. Ibid p. 5
16. P.J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800* (1982), p. 2. See also P.J. Corfield 'Small Towns, Large Implications: Social and Cultural Roles of Small Towns in Eighteenth-Century England and Wales', *British Journal of Eighteenth Century Studies* 10 (1987), p. 126-8
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CHAPTER TWO SOURCES

Parish Registers

Civil registration of births, deaths and marriages commenced in 1837. Before this the nearest equivalent was the system of parochial registration of baptisms, marriages and burials, introduced by Thomas Cromwell in 1538. The injunctions ordered that 'every parson, vicare or curate' should

kepe one boke or registere wherein ye shall write the day and yere of every weddyng, christenyng and buryeng made within yor parishe ... and shall there insert every persons name that shalbe so weddid christened or buried¹

It will be noted that the only information specified was the date of each event and the name(s) of those involved. This is all that is needed for a study of seasonality. No format was specified; indeed it was not until much later that standard forms were introduced (1754 for marriages, 1813 for baptisms and burials). The clergy were free to keep the registers as they wished. Some recorded additional information, such as ages, occupations, residence, parents' names, causes of death, whether marrying by banns or licence, even godparents. Some used separate books for each type of event, some used separate sections in the same book, others divided each page into columns. Yet others recorded chronologically, all the events mixed together, while others recorded baptisms, marriages and burials consecutively for each year.

Until 1752, most registers used the church year, which began on Lady Day i.e. 25th March. Thus the period between 1st January and 24th March 1600 in the register would be 1601 by our reckoning. Some registers occasionally used the secular year (beginning 1st January), and in rare cases, usually only in the early registers, regnal years were used. The Gregorian or New Style calendar was adopted in 1752, (entailing the 'loss' of eleven days between 3rd and 14th September) and subsequently registers began each year on 1st January.

No language was specified for registers, and some early registers were kept in Latin. By the eighteenth century the vast majority were written in English, though it was not until 1733 that English became compulsory.

History of Parish Registers

It will be helpful to give a brief history of parochial registration in so far as it affects the quality of registration and has a bearing on seasonality.²

Cromwell's injunctions regarding registers were repeated at the beginning of Edward VI's reign (1547) and Elizabeth's (1558). In 1597 attempts were made to tighten up the system. In future registers were to be kept on parchment, and the old paper registers were to be copied on to parchment. Each page in the register was to be signed by the minister and churchwardens, and a copy of the register was to be sent annually to the bishop. These copies are usually known as Bishop's Transcripts, and in some diocese they begin in 1561.

In 1603 James I repeated these injunctions. The old registers were to be copied on to parchment 'especially [those] since the beginning of the reign of the late Queen'. This may be the reason why so many of the surviving registers begin in 1558 rather than 1538. Few of the earlier paper registers survive.

The Civil War and Commonwealth period saw a number of innovations. In 1644 Parliament ordered

that the names of all children baptised, and of their parents, and of the time of their *birth* and baptising, shall be written and set down by the minister therein and also the names of all persons married there, and the time of their marriage; and also the names of all persons buried in that parish, and their time of their *death* and burial ... (my italics)

In 1653, civil registration was briefly introduced in 'An Act touching Marriages and the registering thereof; and also touching Births and Burials'.

Registration was put in the hands of an elected lay 'Parish register', and marriage became a civil ceremony performed by JPs. There was, however, a widespread breakdown of registration in this period until the Restoration, when ecclesiastical registration resumed.

In 1666 and 1678 there were Acts, designed to encourage the English wool industry, ordering burial in wool. An affidavit to this effect had to be sworn before a local JP or neighbouring clergyman within eight days and brought to the registering clergyman; failure to do so meant a fine. These affidavits are often recorded in the burial registers, and it is thought that the Act may have had the effect of improving the effectiveness of registration.³

Another Act of Parliament, often known as the Marriage Duty Act, came into effect on 1st May 1695. It was intended to finance the war against France by taxing marriages, births, and deaths, as well as imposing an annual tax on bachelors above the age of twenty five and on childless widowers.⁴ To implement the first part, the taxation of vital events, there was a dual approach. Firstly parish registration was tightened to include all births (including stillbirths), marriages and burials in the parish; later amendments stated that deaths outside the parish of residence were to be notified to that parish. The clergy risked a fine of £100 if they failed to keep accurate records. Secondly, the Collectors were to keep their own records. Parents were to report births within five days, and nonconformists were to notify their marriages. The Collectors were empowered to search parish registers, and in any case the registers were to be produced to them twice a year.

This should have improved the coverage of parish registers by including the vital events of non-conformists. In some registers there is evidence of the recording of births in particular, in a separate section in the register or among the baptisms. But in some parishes separate lists must have been kept, which are now lost.

This aspect of the Act seems to have been regarded as a failure, the clergy in 1706 being given immunity from the penalties imposed for failing to maintain full registers. The Act may have encouraged better recording by officials, but gave a motive for evasion by the potential taxpayers. However W&S believe that the Marriage Duty Acts 'appear to have been conspicuously successful in driving down defective registration to unprecedentedly low levels'.⁵ It seems that very few of the parallel records of births, deaths and marriages kept by the Collectors have survived, but those for London have enabled comparisons to be made between the two sets of records, and some estimate to be made of the completeness of the parish registers. (See Table 2.4)

The Marriage Duty Acts lapsed in 1706, and there were no further significant changes until the Hardwicke Marriage Act of 1753, which was intended to prevent clandestine marriages.

Deficient Registration

W&S employed a computer programme to analyse the monthly totals from their 404 parishes to identify those which were defective.

This judgement was based on statistical grounds alone and reflects a wide variety of circumstances: missing registers, torn out pages, illegible entries, absent or apathetic incumbents, or parishioners who were indifferent or hostile to the religious celebration of vital events.⁶

The proportion of defective months varied over time.

Table 2.1 Months with defective registration (%)⁷

Period	Dates	Bapt	Bur	Marr
Henry VIII	Jan 1539-Jan 1547	5.3	7.0	6.1
Edward VI	Feb 1547-Jul 1553	15.2	11.3	15.1
Mary	Aug 1553-Nov 1558	33.5	25.3	28.0
Elizabeth to Charles I	Dec 1558-Mar 1640	5.6	6.3	5.8
Civil War	Apr 1640-Sep 1653	20.5	26.6	42.8
Civil Registr.	Oct 1653-May 1660	16.5	17.5	31.0
Restoration	Jun 1660-Apr 1695	4.8	7.0	15.5
Marr Duty Act	May 1695-Mar 1754	1.4	1.9	4.6
Hardwicke Act	Apr 1754-Dec 1812	0.6	0.8	0.6

This analysis of deficient registration does not take into account the varying starting dates of the registers. Relatively few actually commence in 1538. According to Roger Finlay, fewer than 500 registers [about 5 per cent] go back to the 1530s; more commenced in 1558, Elizabeth I's accession; and a majority had started by 1600.⁸

Table 2.1 shows that in surviving registers there were periods when registration was particularly poor, namely the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor (Feb 1547 to Nov 1558) and the Civil War and Commonwealth periods (April 1640 to May 1660). It is also clear that from the Civil War until Hardwicke's Act marriage registration was markedly less reliable than baptismal and burial registration. This was due to the prevalence of clandestine marriage.

Clandestine Marriages

In the early modern period a church wedding was not necessary to make a valid marriage. Under church law all that was needed was a 'contract in which the couple accepted each other as man and wife in words of the present tense'.⁹ The church however 'tried to ensure that marriages were made publicly, with due formality, and with ecclesiastical blessing'.¹⁰ This entailed the calling of banns, or the issue of a licence (with safeguards regarding impediments and parental consent) by a bishop or his surrogate, and a public ceremony within permitted times, in the parish church of one of the parties, performed by a minister of the Church of England, according to the service prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. Any marriage not conforming strictly to canon law was 'irregular' or 'clandestine', but not necessarily invalid. Under civil law, particularly in cases regarding inheritance, a simple contract became insufficient, and by the later seventeenth century a ceremony conducted by a priest was required.¹¹

Clandestine marriage became common after the Restoration.¹² Normally there was a religious ceremony, to satisfy civil law requirements, but not one meeting all canon law conditions.

In particular people seem to have resented the publicity of banns, and those who were unwilling or unable to pay for a licence resorted to marriage centres where the priest would be willing to perform a marriage ceremony without banns or licence, or with a licence issued by himself as a surrogate without regard to the safeguards. Most clandestine marriage centres were eliminated by the Marriage Duty Act (1694), which had a vested interest in regularising marriage, as it imposed a tax on marriage and a stamp duty on marriage licences and certificates. Heavy penalties were imposed on priests conducting clandestine marriages. However this seems to have had the effect of creating a monopoly for the marriage centre located in the Fleet prison and its 'Rules' in London. The so-called scandal of the Fleet led to Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753, 'for the better preventing of clandestine marriages', which put an end to these 'halfway' marriages. It is estimated that between 1694 and 1754 some 2-300,000 marriages were performed in the Fleet.¹³

These clandestine marriages mean that parish registers understate the numbers of marriages taking place after the Restoration.¹⁴ How far this affects marriage seasonality is hard to say. Some of the registers of these marriage centres survive, and the Fleet Registers are held at the Public Record Office.

Age at Baptism

The major problem in the use of parish registers for birth seasonality is that they record baptisms rather than births.

The mid-Tudor prayer books recommended that parents
defer not the Baptisme of Infants any longer than the
Sunday, or other Holy day next after the child be borne,
unless upon a great and reasonable cause ...

The 1662 Prayer Book extended this to 'the 1st or 2nd Sunday next after their birth, or other holiday falling between'.¹⁵ Baptism, therefore, should have taken place within a week, or (later) a fortnight, of birth.

Evidence on the actual delay between birth and baptism comes from parish registers where occasionally both dates were recorded. This occurred most often in the periods 1644-1660 and 1695-1706, when legislation encouraged the recording of births. It is thought that intervals were short, a matter of days, in the pre-Civil War period, though evidence is slight. But it seems that the delay became more extended after the Restoration and particularly in the eighteenth century, though infant baptism remained the norm. It is also clear that the birth-baptism interval varied not only over time, but also from place to place.¹⁶ There are therefore problems in the calculation of birth seasonality from baptismal data.

A further difficulty arises from the ambiguity of the term 'baptism'. Although the 1549 and 1552 Prayer Books warned parents that 'without great cause or necessity, they baptise not children at home in their houses', such baptisms, even when performed by laity, were valid.¹⁷ If the child survived it was to be subsequently publicly received in church. It is not clear whether it was private baptisms, or public receptions, that were to be recorded in the registers. Practice may have varied from place to place. Some registers specifically identify private baptisms, e.g. Durham St Oswald, Leeds St Peter and London St Vedast Foster Lane. Durham St Oswald also records the subsequent church reception. Most registers, however, just record baptisms, without elaboration, so it is unclear whether private baptisms are included. Berry & Schofield thought it 'probable' that private baptisms were included in the register.¹⁸

If private baptisms were not included, at worst it could mean a serious loss. In London St Vedast Foster Lane some 82 per cent of baptisms were private. Baptism at home was allowed if the child was thought too weak to survive a church baptism, but in London, and perhaps elsewhere, it seems to have become a matter of status; it may reflect the wish of mothers to be present at the baptism of their children.¹⁹ Pepys' diary gives the impression that private baptism was routine.²⁰

Even John Evelyn, who disapproved of private baptisms, had all his children baptised at home.²¹ W&S (contradicting Berry & Schofield) thought that home baptisms were often registered only if the child was subsequently received in the church.²² If this was so, this would entail the loss of children dying shortly after the private baptism.

This is one aspect of the problem of the loss of children dying before baptism, whether at home or in church. The longer the delay between birth and baptism, the greater the number of births unrecorded. Wrigley estimated that by 1700-1749 baptisms needed to be inflated by 5 per cent to recover the total number of births.²³

These losses also affected burial registration, because of the ambiguity over whether only interments which included a burial service should be included. This would exclude the burials of unbaptised children. No doubt practice varied from place to place. Wrigley thought that few infant deaths went unrecorded before about 1700, but after that a growing number were omitted, reaching about 4.5 per cent in 1800.²⁴

Death/Burial Intervals

As with baptisms, the registers did not record the demographic event of death, but the ecclesiastical event of burial. However, this does not create such a serious problem as the birth/baptism interval, partly because the delay does not in itself cause any leakage in events, partly because the technology of the time dictated that burial should follow death fairly quickly. Such evidence as there is, from the few registers that record both dates, confirms that most burials took place within a few days of death. Greater deferment seems confined to the upper classes.²⁵

In terms of seasonality, therefore, burials are virtually synonymous with death. There are, however, possible omissions from the registers due to the interpretation of 'burial'.

There were certain groups who did not receive a burial service and therefore may not be recorded: the unbaptised, stillbirths, suicides, excommunicates and dissenters.

Extra-Parochial Events

It has already been suggested that parish registers were deficient because of marriages taking place in marriage centres such as the Fleet. The possible extent of such marriages may be illustrated by the Minister of Tetbury, who, it seems, attempted to record all marriages involving his parishioners between 1695-99 (after the Marriage Duty Act). Of 68 marriages recorded, only 35 were performed in the local parish church, and 14 were described as 'clandestine'.²⁶ Lack of comparable data from elsewhere makes it difficult to say whether this experience was typical.

The reverse can also happen whereby a parish, often urban, for a few years has an unusually high number of marriages, many of which may be 'foreign' i.e. involving persons not resident in the parish. In other words, a parish church can become a temporary clandestine centre.

There can be similar effects on baptism and burial registers, for example, children born and baptised in the parish of the mother's family; children born while the mother was away from home but baptised at the home church; London nurse children baptised in London but buried in the rural parish of their nurse; travellers dying away from home and being returned to their home parish for burial or persons dying in their parish of residence but being buried with their ancestors elsewhere. A few eighteenth century registers record corpses carried away for burial elsewhere.

Table 2.2 Bodies carried away for burial 1720-26

Parish	Total Burials	Burials Elsewhere	%
Bath SS Peter & Paul	423	103	24
Reading St Mary	562	46	8
London St James Clerkenwell	3844	80	2

There was no compulsion to record this information (except between 1695 and 1706) and it may not have been consistently done. However one can suggest that Bath was not typical, both in its role as a leisure centre, and in the high status of the visitors it attracted. The preservation and transportation of a corpse would have been an expensive business; and was probably only usual among the elite.²⁷ This may explain the small proportion in Clerkenwell, a poor London suburb. It could be suggested that Reading was more typical of urban experience.²⁸

There would also have been people who died and were buried away from home, including the sad, nameless individuals who 'died in the street', who are occasionally found in the registers.

All this means that a parish's register may not reflect all the births and deaths taking place within its bounds, nor will it reflect all the baptisms, marriages and burials involving its parishioners. This would be less serious if all parishes were being aggregated, but it complicates comparisons between different types of parishes.

Non-conformists

The parish registers were of course Anglican, and not everyone conformed to the Church of England. The non-conformists included Catholics, Jews, the foreign churches of the French and Dutch Protestant refugees, and the English dissenters who enjoyed a measure of religious toleration during the Civil War and Commonwealth period. After the Restoration, despite legislation to enforce uniformity, dissent persisted, though it was not until the 1690s that they were allowed officially to have their own meeting houses. Many kept their own registers (a few beginning as early as the 1640s) but they were under no compulsion to do so, and their registers had no legal status, unlike Anglican registers. Many of the non-conformist registers were surrendered in 1840 and are now at the Public Record Office.

Baptisms, or births (some groups such as Quakers and Baptists not practising infant baptism), were the most usual events to be recorded. Non-conformist burials were less common because of the lack of non-conformist burial grounds. The chief London burial ground for dissenters was Bunhill Fields, where burials commenced in 1665. Amanda Copley found that between 1713 and 1719 nearly 87 per cent of Clerkenwell's Bunhill Fields' burials were also recorded in the parish register, though by 1750-54 this had fallen to only 2 per cent. However, the actual number of Bunhill Fields' burials was small, about 2.5 per cent of all Clerkenwell's burials in 1720-49.²⁹

Elsewhere the proportion of non-conformist burials seems to have been similarly small. In Leeds in the 1730s, and in Manchester in the 1770s, over 95 per cent of burials were in Anglican churchyards. In Halifax in the 1740s over 99 per cent of known burials were recorded in the parish registers (as well as over 96 per cent of known baptisms).³⁰

Because dissenters kept separate registers, it does not necessarily follow that all events involving dissenters were omitted from the parish registers. The Anglican registers had the advantage of legal status, which encouraged their use. Caffyn found in his study of Sussex Baptists that 'at least 70% of Baptist marriages were performed in parish churches', though some may have followed an earlier 'covenant' marriage. Some Baptists even served as elected parochial officials.³¹ The births, marriages and burials of dissenters can be found in parish registers, and many may have been recorded there unremarked.

W&S thought that non-conformity had a negligible effect on parish registration before 1690. Their estimates of baptisms and burials for later periods are shown in Table 2.3. Marriages they felt were hardly affected.³² The effect of Quaker registration was calculated separately.

Table 2.3 Non-conformist events as % of Anglican Totals.³³

Period	Baptisms	Burials
1690-9	0.26	0.06
1700-9	0.44	0.10
1710-9	0.65	0.13
1720-9	0.78	0.12
1730-9	0.88	0.15
1740-9	1.19	0.19
1750-9	1.47	0.27
1760-9	1.77	0.30

The Quakers had an efficient system of registration, recording births, deaths and marriages. The marriages took place in their own meeting houses, without ministers, constituting a form of clandestine marriage. W&S assume in their calculations that Quakers formed about 1.5 per cent of the population in 1680, falling to 0.85 per cent in the 1720s and 0.21 per cent in 1800.³⁴

The loss of this relatively small number of non-conformist events would have a limited impact overall, but a problem arises because non-conformism was not evenly distributed. Watts has demonstrated the uneven geographical spread of the various sects.³⁵ More significantly for this study, he found that dissenters formed a more significant proportion of the population of towns than in the countryside. He argued that town dwellers were less susceptible to pressures to conform and could gain strength in numbers. Rural dissenters were more isolated and vulnerable to pressure. Watts suggests that 20 per cent of Bristol's population were non-conformist, and it has been suggested that dissenters formed over 25 per cent of Exeter's population in the early eighteenth century.³⁶

Human Error

The registers are only as accurate as the people who kept them, and they were not infallible. They were subject to error, incompetence, memory lapses, laziness and apathy.

There was the risk of copying errors. Many of the earliest registers were copied on to parchment around 1600, and where occasional original paper register survive, it can be seen that the seventeenth century transcripts, though often beautifully written, omit much detail, and contain errors. Further, it seems that in many parishes the clerks kept rough notebooks, which were written up in the register later, often annually. Where the notebooks survive, again copying errors can be found. Additionally, comparisons between parish registers and Bishops Transcripts (the copies sent annually to the bishop) can show minor differences and major omissions in either. The difficulty is to know which is more accurate.

One means of checking the accuracy of the parish registers in London at least is by comparison with the totals in the Bills of Mortality. A comparison of burial totals in a sample of five London parishes between 1657 to 1666 found that although there were many small differences, overall they balanced out.³⁷ Copley compared baptisms and burials in Clerkenwell with the totals recorded in the Bills from 1680, and showed that while the burial totals were generally similar, the parish registers understated baptisms up to the late eighteenth century.³⁸ However, these comparisons concern totals only, and the two sets of figures are derived from a common source, since the Bills were compiled from returns made by the parish sextons.

Glass compared the parish registers of 38 intra-mural London parishes and two extra-mural parishes with the Collector's returns compiled under the Marriage Duty Acts, for the period 1696-8. The results are shown in Table 2.4.³⁹ These demonstrate that the parish registers were generally better than the Collectors Returns, and that parochial registration was better (surprisingly) in the extra-mural parishes. Nevertheless it is not very encouraging to find that the parish registers were losing between 5 and 20 per cent of recorded events (possibly more of the actual events), especially as this is a period when registration is thought to have been at its most effective.

Table 2.4 Comparison of Parish Registers and Collectors Returns in London 1696-98.

		Baptisms		Burials	
		Intra Mural	Extra Mural	Intra Mural	Extra Mural
In Both	N	2324	228	2253	265
	%	60	72	57	84
Only in Parish Register	N	770	55	1058	33
	%	20	17	27	11
Only in Collectors Returns	N	779	34	611	16
	%	20	11	16	5
In Parish Registers	%	80	89	84	95

To such discrepancies caused by the fallibility of those responsible for keeping the registers can be added subsequent depredations: the loss of registers, and wear and tear on the fabric of surviving registers. To protect them from further damage most can now be viewed only on microfilm or microfiche.

Alternative Sources

There are few possible alternatives to parish registers as sources of demographic events, and these are fundamentally flawed as means of measuring seasonality. Wills were used by Gottfried to measure the seasonality of death in fifteenth century England, in the absence of parish registers, but wills do not directly give the date of death. Gottfried took 'the mean between the date the will was made and the date of probate', but this can only be approximate.⁴⁰ Coppel found in a study of two Lincolnshire parishes between 1562 and 1600, that where he could link will makers with their burials in the parish registers, 50 per cent of wills had been made within a week of burial, and at least 75 per cent within a month.⁴¹ A further problem is that wills are socially biased towards the wealthier minority of the population, and sexually biased against women.⁴²

Similar arguments can be made against another potential source: marriage licences, or rather the allegations or sworn statements made in order to obtain a licence. The allegations remained part of the church court records while the licence was issued to the applicant. The allegations are evidence only of an intention to marry, and give only the date the licence was issued, not the date of the marriage. Again, marriage by licence was more common among the wealthier sections of society, and the more literate.⁴⁹

So, despite the drawbacks, parish registers are the only practical source for measuring the seasonality patterns of vital events in the early modern period.

Parish Registers and Seasonality

Given that parish registers are the best available source for studying seasonality, two questions need to be addressed: are the deficiencies in the registers likely to affect seasonality, and if so, can they be corrected or minimised?

The fact that burials are recorded rather than deaths does not seem to be a serious problem, as the delay between the two events was short. The recovery of birth seasonality from baptismal seasonality is more problematic, given the lengthening and variable interval between birth and baptism. It can be attempted, however, using such data on intervals as can be obtained from the registers.

On the other hand, baptismal seasonality is of interest in its own right, and comparison of baptismal customs (including the birth/baptism interval) in town and country may be revealing, in the same way that comparing urban and rural marriage customs will, it is hoped, illuminate contrasts and similarities.

The loss of clandestine marriages from parish registers may be significant, but will not necessarily invalidate urban-rural comparisons. Those who chose to marry clandestinely may have followed the same seasonal rhythms as their counterparts who married regularly, in which case their loss will not affect seasonality. Alternatively, they may have had their own seasonality, which would be of interest in itself. This can be investigated by analysing surviving registers from some of the marriage centres such as the Fleet. Similarly, parish churches which became *temporary* marriage shops can be examined to see what effect this had, if any, on seasonality.

The loss of dissenter events may be significant. It seems unlikely that the seasonality of death (or burial) would be affected by religious affiliation, but it is possible that birth seasonality might be. Further, it seems probable that dissenters had their own marriage customs, especially those who rejected Anglican services, such as the Quakers. Caffyn found that the Sussex Baptists who married in the parish church had a seasonality pattern very similar to that of the general population.⁴⁴ It would be interesting to compare the marriage seasonality of groups like the Quakers with the Anglican patterns. At the same time, comparisons between the urban and rural marriage seasonality patterns of Anglicans (and those who chose to accept Anglican rituals) would be clearer without the added complication of the varying extent of dissent.

It also seems likely that dissenters also had their own baptismal customs, especially those who practised adult baptisms, as did the Baptists and Quakers. However their registers record births rather than the adult baptism, so their baptismal seasonality patterns would be difficult to establish. In any case comparisons between infant and adult baptismal seasonality patterns could be complex. The birth registers could, however, be used for comparison with Anglican birth seasonality, insofar as that is recoverable from baptismal seasonality.

Other possible omissions from the registers, such as suicides, excommunicates, and pre-baptismal deaths, are difficult to compensate for. Techniques have been developed to estimate the extent of the under-registration of infant deaths, but this is no help in assessing the impact on seasonality.⁴⁵ One can only hope that these omissions are relatively small in number, that they will affect rural and urban parishes similarly, and that they will not affect seasonality unduly.

Again, problems relating to events in the 'wrong' register, such as bodies carried away, and London children dying at nurse, are difficult to evaluate, especially as their extent is usually unknown. Some may be marginal, others significant.

Some of the deficiencies caused by inadequate recording can be recovered where paper registers, rough books and Bishops Transcripts survive. This is often done in printed transcripts, but it is not feasible to do this comprehensively in a large scale study, even where the material is extant. Nor has it been feasible to devise and execute a sophisticated computer programme to identify and correct under-recording, as W&S did. One can only assume that the deficiencies will not be seasonally biased and so will not unduly affect seasonal analysis. The problem can be minimised by judicious selection of periods for study, avoiding the periods identified as most deficient.

Parish registers can be used to study seasonality, provided that the shortcomings are recognised. They deal with the ecclesiastical events of baptisms and burial, not births and deaths; they cover in the main only the Anglican majority of the population. Within these constraints, urban/rural comparisons can be made, bearing in mind that with the imperfections of the data it would be unwise to build elaborate theories based on subtle differences.

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10. Ibid p. 38
11. R.L. Brown 'The Rise and Fall of the Fleet Marriages' in R. B. Outhwaite (ed), *Marriage & Society*, p. 118
12. For the increase in marriages by licence in London from the 1620s till the Civil War see J. Boulton, 'Itching After Private Marryings? Marriage Customs in Seventeenth Century London', *The London Journal* 16 (1991). Boulton argues that the increasing laxity of the church authorities in the granting of licences (making some licence marriages technically 'clandestine') was a precursor of the growth of clandestine marriages after the Restoration.
13. Ibid p. 117
14. Stone estimates that by the mid-eighteenth century between 15 and 20 per cent of all marriages were clandestine: L. Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* (1990), p. 115

15. Quoted in B.M. Berry & R.S. Schofield, 'Age at Baptism in Pre-industrial England', *Population Studies* 25 (1971), p. 454
16. The main literature on this subject is Ibid; M. Drake (ed), *Population Studies from Parish Registers* (1982); P. E.H. Hair, 'Bridal Pregnancy in Rural England in Earlier Centuries', *Population Studies* 20 (1966/7); P.E.H. Hair, 'Bridal Pregnancy in Earlier Rural England Further Examined', *Population Studies* 24 (1970); D. Woodward, 'The Impact of the Commonwealth Act on Yorkshire Parish Registers', *Local Population Studies* 14 (1975)
17. Quoted in Berry & Schofield, 'Age at Baptism', p. 454
18. Ibid
19. Newly delivered mothers had a 'lying in' period of about a month, which ended with the ceremony of 'churching'. Mothers therefore could not attend a church baptism taking place within a week or two of birth. See A. Wilson, 'Participant or patient? Seventeenth century childbirth from the mother's point of view' in R. Porter (ed), *Patients and Practitioners* (1985) p. 138.
20. See entries dated 29th May 1661, 19th November 1661, 9th July 1665, 20th February 1666, 5th May 1667 (R.C. Latham & W. Matthews (ed), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (1970-83), vol. 2 pp. 109 & 216, vol. 6 p. 152, vol. 7 p. 49, vol. 8 p. 202, vol. 9 p. 260)
21. See entry for 12th April 1689 (E.S. de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (1959) p. 906)
22. W&S p. 96
23. E.A. Wrigley 'Births and Baptisms: The Use of Anglican Baptism Registers as a Source of Information about the Numbers of Births in England Before the Beginning of Civil Registration', *Population Studies* 31 (1977) p. 310
24. Ibid
25. For death/burial intervals see S. Porter, 'Death and Burial in a London Parish: St Mary Woolnoth 1653-99', *London Journal* 8 (1982) and Woodward 'The Impact of the Commonwealth Act'
26. E.A. Wrigley 'Clandestine Marriage in Tetbury in the Late 17th Century', *Local Population Studies* 10 (1977) p. 15
27. See C. Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (1984) and J. Litten, 'Journeys to Paradise: Funerary Transport 1600-1850', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 23 (1990), p. 345. Both concentrate on the wealthier and literate sections of society.

28. For a later, rural example see R. Schofield, 'Traffic in Corpses: Some evidence from Barming, Kent (1788-1812)', *Local Population Studies* 33 (1984)
29. A. Copley, Conference Notes 26/3/88
30. J. Morgan, 'The Burial Question in Leeds in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries' in R. Houlbrooke (ed), *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (1989), pp. 95-6; Krause, 'The changing adequacy of registration', p. 384; M. Slack, 'Non-conformist and Anglican Registration in the Halifax Area 1740-99', *Local Population Studies* 38 (1987) p. 45
31. J. Caffyn, *Sussex Believers: Baptist Marriage in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1988), pp. 101, 104, 164-5
32. W&S p. 89
33. From W&S Table 4.2, p. 92
34. Ibid p. 93
35. M.P. Watts. *The Dissenters* (1978), pp. 267-289
36. P. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800* (1982), p. 140
37. I. Sutherland, 'When was the Great Plague? Mortality in London, 1563 to 1665' in D.V. Glass and R. Revelle (eds), *Population and Social Change* (1972), p. 291
38. A. Copley, Conference notes, 26/3/88
39. From Glass, 'Notes on the demography of London', p. 283
40. R.S. Gottfried, *Epidemic Disease in Fifteenth Century England* (1978), p. 24
41. S. Coppel, 'Willmaking on the Deathbed', *Local Population Studies* 40 (1988), p. 38
42. People with no property to leave, such as married women and the poor, had no incentive to make a will; see for example Coppel, 'Willmaking on the Deathbed' p. 37; D. Palliser, *The Reformation in York 1534-1553* (1971), p. 19; K. Wrightson & D. Levine, 'Death in Whickham' in J. Walter & R. Schofield (eds), *Famine, diseases and the social order in early modern society* (1989), pp. 157-8
43. R.A. Houston, 'Illiteracy in the diocese of Durham 1663-89 and 1750-62: The evidence of marriage bonds', *Northern History* XVIII (1982), p. 248-250
44. Caffyn, *Sussex Believers*, pp. 110-3
45. See Wrigley, 'Births and Baptisms', pp. 283-9

CHAPTER THREE SAMPLE

The Selection of a Sample

It was necessary to select parishes for analysis from the more than ten thousand ancient English parishes; it would be impossible to include them all. A selection has to be made on two levels: parishes which can help to answer the specific questions this study is addressing and parishes which have registers suitable for analysis.

As the groundwork on overall, mainly rural, seasonality has been done by Wrigley & Schofield, I initially concentrated on the urban sample.

By definition, the 'unit' of the parish register is the parish, which is an ecclesiastical division, not necessarily coterminous with settlements. A rural parish might contain several villages; an urban parish might consist of just a few streets in a town. In selecting registers for the urban sample, I approached the problem from the perspective of the town rather than the parish.

What is a Town?

It seems appropriate first to consider what is meant by a town. Legal definitions such as possession of a borough charter, or Parliamentary representation, are not adequate, as the example of Manchester shows. Manchester was described ironically by Defoe as

the greatest meer village in England. It is neither a wall'd town, city, or corporation; they send no members to Parliament; and the highest magistrate they have is a constable or headborough; and yet it has a collegiate church, several parishes, takes up a large space of ground, and .. it is said to contain above fifty thousand people.¹

Defoe hints at some of the factors that made Manchester a town despite its legal status: its size; its concentration of population; its cultural amenities ('a college, an hospital, a free-school, and a library, all very well supported') and its economic role as a woollen and cotton manufacturing centre.²

Urban historians have attempted to define what makes a town. Susan Reynolds, talking of English medieval towns, thought there were 'two chief and essential attributes': a significant proportion of the settlement's population engaged in a variety of non-agricultural occupations (such as trade, industry and administration), and a social distinctiveness, recognised by townspeople and countryfolk alike, deriving from its population size and density and its occupational structure.³

Clark and Slack suggested that English pre-industrial towns had five basic characteristics: 'first, an unusual concentration of population; second, a specialist economic function; third, a complex social structure; fourth, a sophisticated political order; and fifth, a distinctive influence beyond their immediate boundaries'.⁴ However, only the first two were 'necessary to the existence of any town'.⁵ Reed had misgivings about population size as a criterion and argued that only a specialist economic function (evidenced by the non-agricultural employment of 'a significant proportion' of the working population) was valid, the others being either irrelevant or themselves products of the economic specialisation.⁶

Corfield, writing of eighteenth century towns, took towns to include 'all settlements of a certain size, that were based on a non-agrarian economic function and had a distinctive social and cultural identity'.⁷

There does seem to be some agreement; urbanity involved, principally, population size and density and a non-agricultural function, with possibly a social, cultural and, perhaps, political distinctiveness.

However, given the difficulties in working with such a complex, and, in some respects, subjective definition, it seems advisable to concentrate on the two fundamental aspects: population size and density, and economic function.

Looking first at the second of these - economic function - Clark & Slack pointed to both the significance of non-agricultural occupations, and the diversity of those occupations.⁶ Phythian-Adams indicated the town's 'more broadly based occupational structure'.⁹ He alludes to the work of Patten, who devised an urban hierarchy for East Anglia using occupational data derived mainly from wills. Patten established a clear relationship between the size and importance of a town and the number of different occupations found. He is however unclear about the transition between towns and villages.¹⁰ At the extremes the contrast is clear but the borderline is blurred.

That towns had a greater variety of occupations than villages is only one aspect of their economic distinctiveness. They performed some distinctive functions, as centres of local, regional or international trade; as centres of manufacture and industry; as seats of political, judicial or ecclesiastical administration; as providers of services. These roles were not necessarily exclusively urban; there was rural industry for example, and not all market centres were towns (though most towns held markets). But these functions were often, whether by cause or effect, associated with concentrations of population.

Population, both size and density, is the other indispensable characteristic of a town. In the pre-census era population figures must be estimates, but despite this population size is, as Corfield says, 'one of the few variables that can be examined at all systematically for eighteenth century towns'. Further, she argues, it was a variable which could 'stand proxy' for urban identity.¹¹

There is obviously some relationship between size and importance, but there seem to have been regional differences. Phythian-Adams points to the example of Carlisle, which was a small town of less than 2,000 people in the sixteenth century, but was yet 'the dominant centre' of its region, a remote, economically backward area of the country.¹² On the other hand proximity to London also seems to have depressed the size of towns in the home counties. This has implications for the use of population size as a means of separating towns from villages. The borderline is still blurred. It might vary over time and between regions. Commentators have varying opinions. Patten talks of urban populations 'down to a few hundred people', Clark & Slack suggest 'populations sometimes as low as 600', Chalklin '400 or 500 people'.¹³ Not all places of such small size, however, would be towns; there was an overlap between small towns and large villages. So population size on its own is not a sufficient criterion: 'urbanisation was ... not a matter merely of numbers'.¹⁴

Sample Criteria

The first consideration is the town's non-agricultural specialist economic function. Of these functions, the most basic and ubiquitous was marketing. Though not all towns had markets, a great majority did, and in practice excluding towns which lacked a market does not restrict the sample significantly.

The second consideration is population size. Corfield in her study of eighteenth century towns took an arbitrary minimum of 2,500.¹⁵ However, this excludes small towns such as Totnes, Bodmin, Guildford, Uxbridge, Dorchester, Huntingdon, Richmond and Pontefract, all of which seem to have had fewer than 2,500 inhabitants in 1750, but which contemporaries such as Daniel Defoe and Celia Fiennes regarded as towns. These small towns should be represented in the sample, both because they were a significant part of the urban landscape, and because I want to investigate the transition between urban and rural. I would suggest 1,000 as a more appropriate cut-off point.

To ensure that large villages do not slip through the net, a final requirement is evidence that such contemporary commentators as Defoe and Fiennes regarded the settlement as distinctly urban.

Elaborate tests could be proposed to establish the social, cultural and political distinctiveness of towns, but this would complicate the process unduly. The use of contemporary sources is a straightforward way of demonstrating that the community in question was seen as something different from and apart from the surrounding countryside, an island of 'civilisation'. It also accords with Corfield's 'commonsense' definition : 'a town is a human settlement known to contemporaries as a town'.¹⁶

Classification of towns

Since one of the aims of this study is to see if different types of towns had different seasonality patterns, it is important that a variety of towns are included in the sample. There are a number of ways towns could be classified.

Urban Hierarchy

A number of urban hierarchies for the pre-industrial period have been proposed, the best known probably being that of Clark & Slack. Several are summarised in Table 3.1, concentrating on the provincial towns, since London was predominant in all respects throughout the period.

These hierarchies have similarities: a small group of towns at the top of the hierarchy, a great number at the bottom of the scale, and a middle group, sometimes subdivided.

The hierarchies tend to concentrate on the upper end of the scale, leaving the mass of towns (up to seven hundred) undifferentiated. This means that towns of quite different character are grouped together: thriving market towns with failing centres barely distinguishable from villages.¹⁷

But even in the upper reaches of the hierarchies, county towns, ports and industrial towns find themselves ranked together because they share a similar status or population.

Table 3.1 Urban Hierarchies.¹⁸

<u>CLARK & SLACK</u> <u>c1500</u>			
I		II	III
No: 6/7		No: 100-120	No: 500-600
Size: 7000+		Size: 1500-5000	Size: 600-1500
 <u>PATTEN</u> <u>c1500</u>			
I		II	III
No: 5		No: 300 ?	No: c500
Size: 5-10000		Size: up to 5000+	Size: a few 100 +
 <u>PHYTHIAN-ADAMS</u> <u>C16</u>			
I	II	III	IV
No: 9	No: 18	No: 15	No: 200-300
Size: 6000+	Size: 3-5000	Size: 2-3000	Size: c800-2000
 <u>McINNES</u> <u>c1700</u>			
I	II	III	IV
No: 2	No: 18	No: 30-40	No: c700
Size: 20000+	Size: 7-13000	Size: 3-5000	Size: 500-3000
 <u>CHALKLIN</u> <u>c1700</u>			
I	II	III	IV
No: 6/7	No: c24/5	No: 40-50	No: c500
Size: 10000+	Size: 5-10000	Size: 2-5000	Size: 400-1800
 <u>BORSAY</u> <u>c1700</u>			
I	II	III	
No: 7	No: 60-70	No: 500-600	
Size: 7500 +	Size: 2500-11000	Size: 500-2500	

Some commentators, notably Clark & Slack and Borsay, do at least attempt to differentiate on the basis of status. McInnes and Chalklin largely base their categorisations on population size, which, though related, is not synonymous with status. This reliance on size may in part reflect a change in the urban system by 1700. Corfield claims that it is 'not possible to identify a neat hierarchy of towns in eighteenth century England', and that contemporaries were increasingly describing towns in terms of function rather than status.¹⁹

Clark & Slack acknowledge that by 1700 their urban hierarchy was becoming distorted by the emergence of new types of towns which by the early eighteenth century were forming a rival urban hierarchy.²⁰ Borsay too sees the emergence of 'an urban system defined more by the economic and social function of its members than by their external influence'.²¹

However Borsay believes that 'for our period [up to 1760] the relationship between an urban centre and its immediate hinterland continued to be the major characteristic that determined a town's status'.²² It seems to be the extent of the area over which a town had influence, and for which it provided services, which determined the status of a town. At the pinnacle was London, dominating the whole country; beneath the capital was a handful of towns with influence over wide areas, towns such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Norwich, Bristol and Exeter. Alldridge's description of Chester in the mid-sixteenth century demonstrates this kind of influence:

As a market it served not only Cheshire but much of North Wales; as a port its impact was felt even further, strengthened by the customs control which it exercised over the coastline between Harlech and Carlisle ... ; it was the largest manufacturing centre west of the Pennines boasting at least one specialism of national significance; as the seat of the Palatinate, a semi-autonomous institution to which Westminster devolved much of the justice and administration of Cheshire and North Wales, the city contained a high concentration of professional people and gentry. The royal castle .. was earnest of Chester's strategic importance ... Upon the creation of a new diocese of Chester in 1540, the city became the seat of bishops ... On the landward side Chester dominated Wales and stood at a nodal point in the road network, while seawards it controlled north-south coastwise traffic and the crossing to Dublin. The city thus dominated not only the county but a wide swathe of the region.²³

Below these provincial capitals, came towns with influence over their own county, or similar region. An example would be Ipswich:

the town .. was the site for one of the four quarterly meetings of the Suffolk County Justices the registrar of the archdeaconry of Suffolk was to be found in Ipswich, as well as a commissary of the bishop. Ipswich was also a deanery

The reorganization of the Customs in 1564 led to the creation of a new administrative region based upon Ipswich By sea the economic region of the town was enormous . . . The markets and fairs of the town provided an important focus for the villages and hamlets of the surrounding countryside by the end of the seventeenth century Ipswich .. became increasingly important as a centre attracting the country gentry by reason of growing facilities for entertainment and business.²⁴

At the bottom end of the scale were the bulk of towns, those with only local influence; lesser markets, minor ports, small manufacturing centres. They might have one function of wider influence, but not the multiplicity of the higher status towns. Typical might be Richmond in Yorkshire:

.. it continued to be an important trading centre, with a market held every Saturday, and three fairs a year. As a market town Richmond was not only a centre of trade, it was also a meeting place where news and ideas could be exchanged and argued over. It was the focal point of the surrounding countryside, and its craftsmen existed mainly to serve the needs of the district.²⁵

Such a tripartite scheme, though crude, provides a workable model for a categorisation based on hierarchy. Determining to which rank a town belongs can be difficult. Reed found that the extent of Ipswich's region varied with the differing functions (administrative, economic and cultural), and over time.²⁶ For the purposes of this study, classification will depend on secondary sources and will be to some extent subjective.

Urban Functions

As Borsay and Corfield suggest, towns were also defined in terms of their function(s). Urban functions included

market towns	thoroughfare towns	ports
university towns	spas & resorts	social centres
county towns	manufacturing centres	diocesan centres
commercial centres	dockyard towns	garrison towns

Many towns in the lower reaches of the urban hierarchy were simply market towns, though some also earned a living as ports or thoroughfare towns, or from manufacturing. The larger, more important towns invariably performed several roles.

Salisbury, for instance, was a cathedral city, a county town (with Devizes), a social centre, a market town and a textile manufacturer; Oxford was a cathedral city and a county town, a market centre and a thoroughfare town, as well as housing the university.

The emerging towns of the later seventeenth century, which began to distort the traditional hierarchy, often owed their rapid growth and importance to a dominant function - industry, naval shipbuilding and servicing, or leisure. Though often referred to as 'new towns', these were all established towns, usually in the lowest rank of the hierarchy in the sixteenth century, towns like Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, and Birmingham; Portsmouth, Plymouth and Chatham; and Bath.

One could hypothesise that certain types of towns might share seasonality patterns, for example, industrial towns with their changing work patterns and proletarianised workforce, or the resorts and university towns with their marked seasonal fluctuations in temporary residents. Ports were gateways for immigrants and ideas from abroad, as well as diseases, while plague is thought to have spread along the main thoroughfares, so the towns that catered for travellers along these routes might be especially vulnerable.

Bearing these considerations in mind, and the need for workable groupings of towns for analysis, I concentrated on the following functions:

- a) ports
- b) manufacturing and centres of manufacturing areas, including dockyard towns:
subdivided into textile and others
- c) administrative
includes centres of local and church government
- d) cultural
includes university towns, spas and 'leisure' towns
- e) thoroughfare
- f) marketing

Two problems arise:

Firstly, many towns performed a multitude of functions, though not of equal significance to the town or nationally.

For the purposes of analysis I included in a category, towns where the function was a leading specialism or of greater than local importance. Administrative towns were those with both secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions: towns that were county towns and cathedral cities.

Secondly, how does one determine the function(s) of a town? An answer might seem to be from occupational data. However in the days before the national censuses such information has to be derived from indirect sources, such as wills, freemen and apprenticeship records and parish registers. Each has its own failings, none covers all the adult population or even all the workforce, and none is available for all towns (and certainly not in sufficient numbers and at the same point in time). The nearest to a universal source are the trade directories of the late eighteenth century, too late for this study.

In the absence of systematic occupational data I have relied largely on secondary sources for categorisation.

Population Size

A third method of classifying towns is by population size, a variable that is less subjective and more clear cut than status or function. It is, of course, related to both since it tended to be a multiplicity of functions which propelled and maintained population size, and as Borsay notes 'There had been traditionally a close association between the size of a town and its regional influence'.²⁷ In less densely populated areas towns might be smaller, so this relationship was not absolute. Also the emerging towns like Plymouth and Birmingham were breaking the mould, lacking the regional functions to go with their size.

One could postulate that towns of a similar size might have similar seasonality patterns; that the greater the population concentrated in one place, the more specifically urban would be the lifestyle and mentality, and so the marriage and baptismal patterns would be less influenced by rural habits.

Population density rather than size *per se* is likely to have been a more crucial factor, particularly in determining mortality patterns. However data on population is more accessible and can be regarded as a proxy. It is capable of being assessed quantifiably, examined systematically and categorised objectively. Unfortunately, in the pre-Census era, population size usually has to be derived from other sources, such as tax records, ecclesiastical censuses, muster rolls and parish registers.²⁸ Allowance has to be made for the omitted sections of the population, or estimates made of birth rates, for example.

Population estimates for the sample towns are based on a variety of secondary sources. Categorisation is based on broad bands which vary over time, with the general growth in the size of towns, and based on population estimates at around 1600, 1660s-70s and 1750. The bands are shown in Table 3.2 (excluding London).

Table 3.2 Population Size Groupings

	c1600	1660/70s	c1750
Large	9000-13000	10000-21000	16000-36000
Medium large	5000- 8999	6000- 9999	10000-15999
Medium small	2000- 4999	3000- 5999	4500- 9999
Small	500- 1999	1000- 2999	1000- 4499

Since one could further hypothesise that the rate of growth of a town might also affect seasonality patterns, particularly mortality, the sample should include as well as the rapidly-growing industrial and dockyard towns, some slow-growing and stagnant or declining towns.

Regions

A further means of classifying towns is by geographic region. There seem to have been regional differences in the size of towns and in the degree of urbanisation; climatic and agricultural variations could also be relevant to seasonality. The sample should include towns from all areas of the country.

Unfortunately the large size of parishes in the north, as well as the late start of many registers, makes this difficult. Ultimately six regions were identified, shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Classification of Regions

North	West	East
Cumberland	Midlands	Midlands
Co Durham	Cheshire	Bedfordshire
Lancashire	Derbyshire	Buckinghamshire
Northumberland	Gloucestershire	Hertfordshire
Westmoreland	Herefordshire	Huntingdonshire
Yorkshire	Shropshire	Leicestershire
	Staffordshire	Lincolnshire
	Warwickshire	Northamptonshire
	Worcestershire	Nottinghamshire
		Oxfordshire
		Rutland
East	South	South
Anglia	West	East
Cambridgeshire	Cornwall	Berkshire
Essex	Devonshire	Hampshire
Norfolk	Dorset	Kent
Suffolk	Somerset	Middlesex
	Wiltshire	Surrey
		Sussex

It cannot be pretended that these are homogenous regions, or that they are anything but groupings of convenience.

Suitability of Registers

There are other criteria determined by the nature of the evidence. They involve studying parish maps and lists of parish registers. For inclusion in the sample, a town must have surviving and accessible parish registers commencing preferably by 1560 (and at least by 1600 to ensure no useful category goes unrepresented) and continuing to 1750. The start date was chosen to accommodate the fact that many registers begin about 1558, the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign. The *terminus ad quem* was determined by the change of the calendar in 1752, when 11 days were lost. This may well affect the interpretation of seasonality.

Where a town has several parishes, there should be sufficient available registers to provide enough events to be fairly representative of the town as a whole, and to make the results meaningful. Initial trials suggested that a minimum of 200 events was necessary.

Parishes including a large rural element should be avoided. A final consideration to bear in mind is the availability of registers for parishes around the larger towns, so that the effect of urban seasonality on rural hinterlands can be examined.

Urban Sample

Bearing in mind the above criteria, 28 towns were ultimately included in the sample, plus London. They are shown, with the various classifications used, in Table 3.4, and on Figure 3.1. The sample shows a bias towards larger towns, to the older established towns, and to the south and east. This is due mainly to the limitations caused by the availability of suitable registers. Registers in the north often began late, after 1600, and the parishes are very large so that it is difficult to separate urban and rural. One parish of this type - Leeds - is included. The parish contains a number of townships apart from the town of Leeds. In the later seventeenth century about two thirds of the inhabitants lived in Leeds town.²⁹ For some periods, places of residence are given in the register and it is possible to show that the rural element does not distort unduly. By the early eighteenth century, the villages in Leeds parish had their own chapels.

London is treated as a category of its own. It was by far the largest town in the country and at the pinnacle of the urban hierarchy. It gathered to itself a multiplicity of functions which in many cases dominated the country and its urban rivals. It was, as capital, the administrative centre, seat of government and the law; it was the leading port, a major market centre and the pre-eminent cultural and social centre.

It was a centre for finance and commerce, as well as being home to a number of specialised industries. It was a unique city.

Table 3.4 Urban Sample

Category Period	Size			Hierarchy		Region All	Functions			Abbr Name
	1&2	3	4	1-3	4		All			
Barnstaple	MS	S	S	III	III	SW	P			BAR
Bath	S	S	MS	III	II	SW	C			BAT
Bedford	S	S	S	II	II	EM	M			BED
Birmingham	S	MS	L	III	II	WM	I			BIR
Cambridge	ML	ML	MS	II	II	EA	C			CAM
Canterbury	ML	ML	MS	II	II	SE	A	R		CAN
Chester	ML	ML	ML	I	I	EA	P	A		CHE
Dover	MS	MS	S	III	III	SE	P			DOV
Durham	MS	MS	MS	II	II	N	A			DUR
Exeter	L	L	L	1	1	SW	P	T	A	EXE
Guildford	S	S	S	II	II	SE	R	M		GUI
Ipswich	ML	ML	ML	II	II	EA	P	R		IPS
Kings Lynn	MS	MS	MS	II	II	EA	P			KIN
Leeds	MS	MS	ML	III	II	N	T			LEE
Leicester	MS	MS	MS	II	II	EM	T	R		LEI
Lincoln	MS	MS	MS	II	II	EM	A			LIN
Ludlow	S	S	S	II	II	WM	M			LUD
Newcastle- under-Lyme	S	S	S	III	III	WM	I			NEWL
Newcastle- upon-Tyne	L	L	L	I	I	N	P	I		NEWT
Norwich	L	L	L	I	I	EA	T	A		NOR
Nottingham	MS	MS	ML	II	II	EM	T			NOT
Plymouth	ML	ML	ML	III	II	SW	P	I		PLY
Reading	MS	MS	MS	II	II	SE	R	M		REA
Richmond	S	S	S	III	III	N	M			RIC
Salisbury	ML	ML	MS	II	II	SW	C	A	R	SAL
Uxbridge	S	S	S	III	III	SE	R	M		UXB
Worcester	ML	ML	ML	II	II	WM	T	A		WOR
York	L	L	L	I	I	N	C	A		YOR

Size L = Large ML = Medium Large MS = Medium Small S = Small

Hierarchy I = Provincial Capitals II = Regional Centres
III = Local Towns

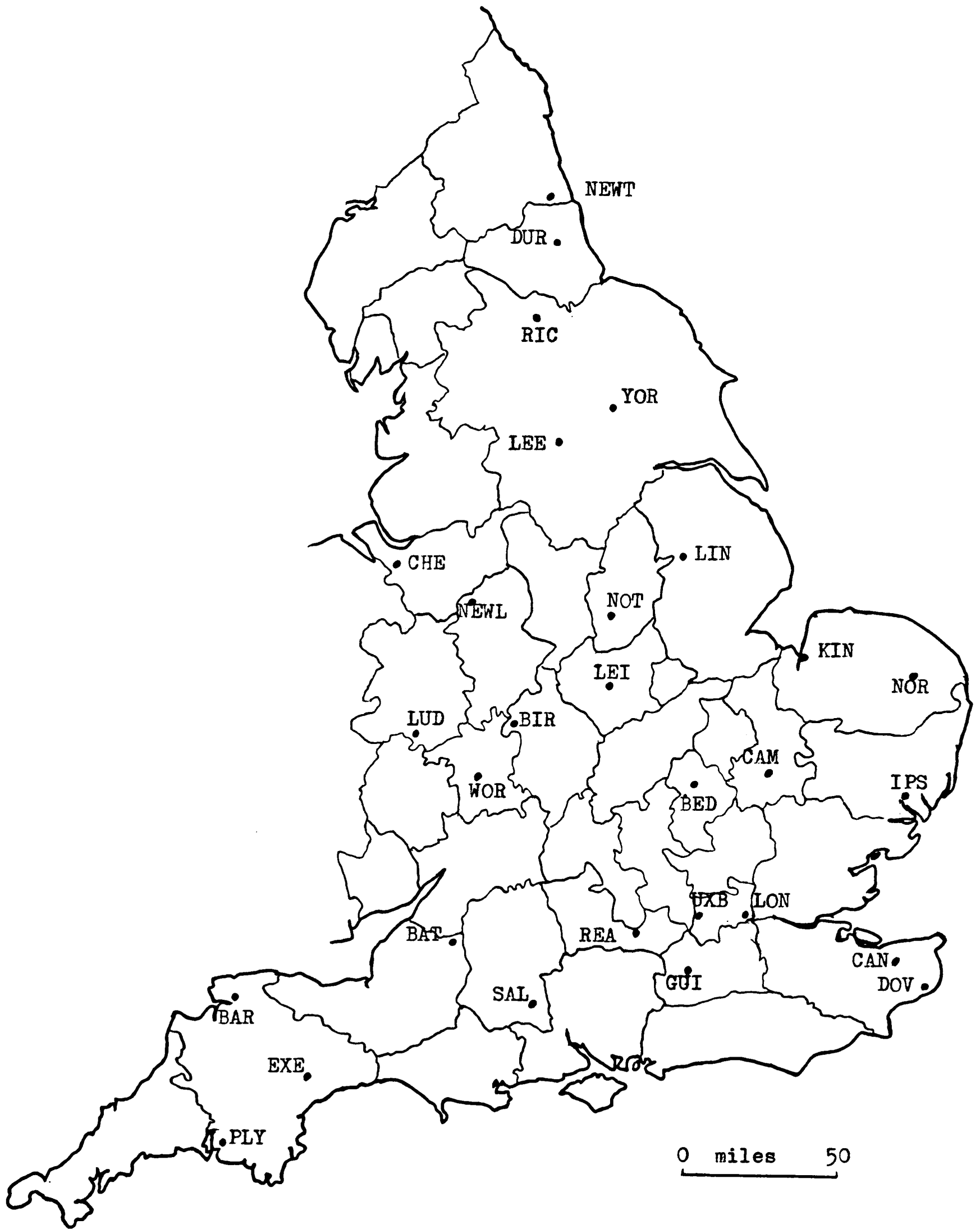
Regions N = North EM = East Midlands WM = West Midlands
EA = East Anglia SW = South West SE = South East

Functions P = Ports T = Textile Industry I = Other Industry
C = Cultural A = Administration
R = Thoroughfare M = Marketing

Periods see chapter 4.

Appendix 1 lists the parishes actually included in the sample, together with dates and totals of events.

FIGURE 3.1 DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN SAMPLE



For key to abbreviated names see Table 3.4

Rural Sample

I originally intended to compare the urban data with the W&S seasonality figures as representative of rural England. However, it became necessary to supplement this, because the W&S seasonality was done on a monthly basis while the urban sample was done on a weekly basis. Monthly seasonality conceals some of the details of the weekly patterns.

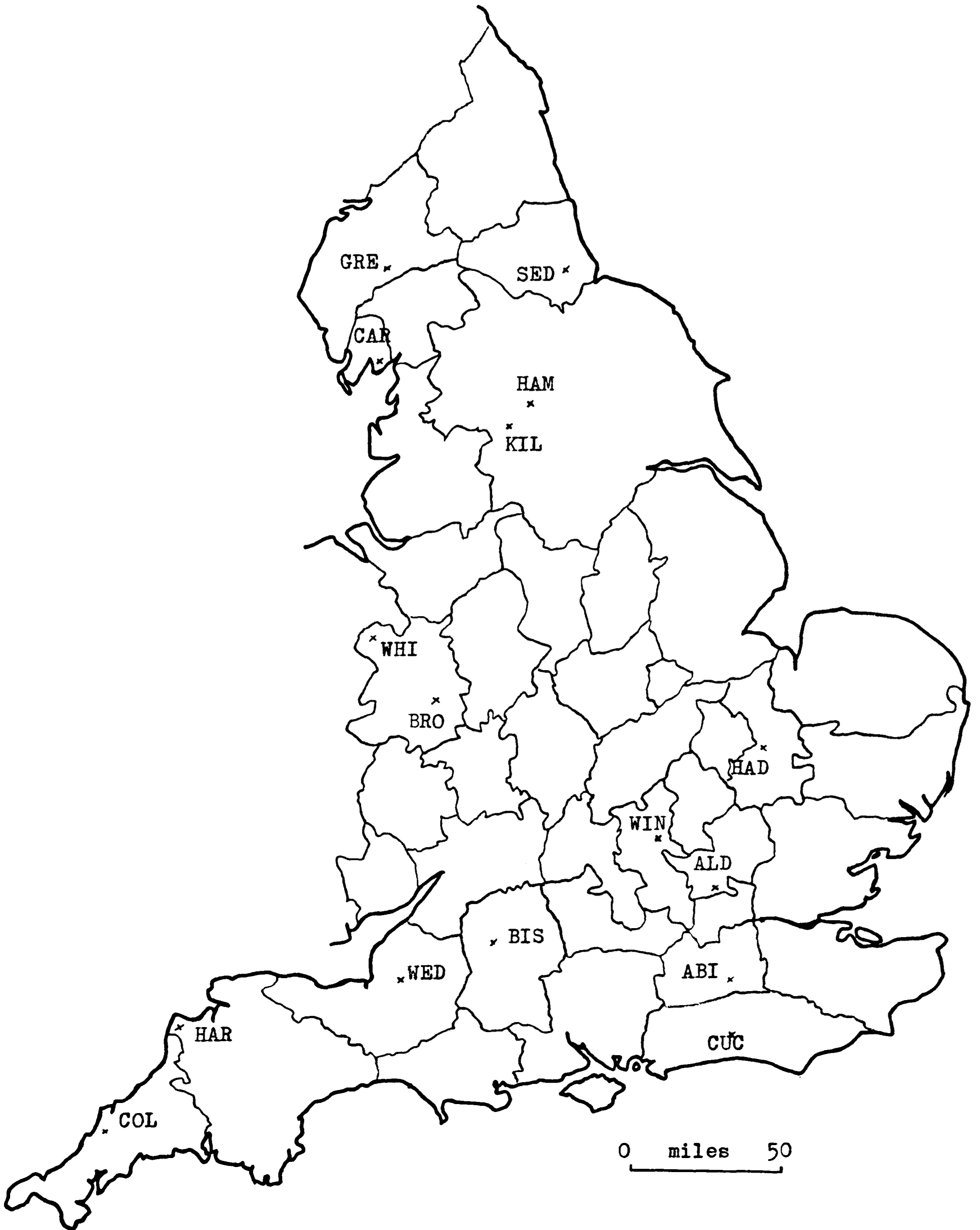
A small rural sample was therefore selected - for convenience large parishes with easily accessible registers were chosen. Because analysis of the urban data showed that patterns in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were similar, with the significant changes coming around 1650 and 1700, I concentrated on the post 1600 periods. This also served to increase the 'pool' of available parishes from which the sample could be selected. I attempted to cover the whole country, but the small size of parishes in the south and east made this difficult (even when resorting to the expedient of combining adjacent parishes). Generally speaking, the rural sample was treated as a single category, rather than as individual parishes or areas, or subdivided into subgroups. The rural sample is shown in Figure 3.2, and is detailed in Appendix 1.

Rural Marriages

The sample described above restricted to baptisms and burials. It seemed necessary to treat marriages separately, for two main reasons.

Firstly, the number of marriages is small relative to baptisms and burials. W&S found marriages running at about a quarter of births, as shown in Table 3.5.⁹⁰ Bearing in mind also the under-registration of marriages in parish registers after 1660, it will be clear that a parish that produces adequate numbers of baptisms and burials for seasonality may fail to provide enough marriages. A larger sample is therefore required.

FIGURE 3.2 DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL SAMPLE



For key to abbreviated names see Appendix 1

Table 3.5 National Totals of Births Deaths and Marriages

	Births	Deaths	Marriages	Marriages as % of Births	Deaths
1600-29	4374439	3391623	1146922	26	34
1660-89	4518173	4522110	1118190	25	25
1720-49	5507788	4999526	1446097	26	29

Secondly, there is evidence that marriage seasonality was subject to much greater variation than was baptismal or burial seasonality. W&S noted this, and mapped the geographical distribution of the main variations.³¹ Ann Kussmaul has elaborated on this, and her recent work (published while this work was in progress) views the economy of rural England purely from the perspective of marriage seasonality.

Kussmaul based her *General View* on the W&S sample, supplemented by 138 other parishes, which, though filling to some extent the spatial gaps in their map (see Figure 1.1), also intensifies the concentration in central England. She used the raw monthly totals, uncorrected for deficient registration, because the W&S method of correction, based on national monthly seasonality patterns, tended to conceal local variations.³² She used the parish as the basis of analysis, eliminating the parishes with less than 24 marriages in a 40 year period, and concentrated on the months of peak marriage.

For my purposes I wished to look at marriage seasonality on a weekly basis rather than the monthly basis used by W&S and Kussmaul. I also wanted a larger unit than the parish. For weekly seasonality, a larger number of events is needed than for monthly analysis (at least 200), so parishes are often too small. On the other hand the unit should not be so large as to conceal variations. I eventually decided to base my analysis on the county, which, while being a somewhat arbitrary division, in practice proved valid on the whole.

The counties sampled are shown on Figure 3.3. The parishes used are detailed in Appendix 1. Some small towns were also included for comparative purposes, but these were not included in county aggregations.

FIGURE 3.3 DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL MARRIAGE SAMPLE



For key to abbreviated names see Appendix 1

The counties were selected partly to cover the areas where W&S and Kussmaul were weakest (the north and south west) and also as part of the hinterland aspect of this study.

Hinterlands

One of the purposes of this study is to examine the relationship between urban and rural patterns, and one way to do this is to look at the hinterlands of certain towns more closely.

London was an obvious candidate for such treatment, and I concentrated on the county of Middlesex as the hinterland rather than look at parishes more dispersed around the capital. I also included two suburban parishes - St Martin in the Field and St James Clerkenwell.

I also looked at the hinterlands of two of the 'provincial capitals' in the urban sample, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Exeter. Northumberland parish registers generally start late, so the hinterland parishes are all from County Durham, and this allows the hinterland of the county town of Durham also to be considered. The hinterland sample was agriculturally mainly intermediate (corn and cattle) with some pastoral.³³ Some parishes were involved in coalmining, including Whickham, characterised by Wrightson & Levine as 'Britain's first industrialised society'.³⁴

The Exeter hinterland concentrated on the area to the south west of the city. It was mainly arable, though fringed on the pastoral uplands, with some rural textile industry.³⁵

It did not seem worthwhile to extend this hinterland analysis further down the urban hierarchy in respect of baptisms and burials, the urban/rural distinctions being insufficient to justify it.

The parishes are shown in Appendix 1 and Figures 3.4 to 3.6.

FIGURE 3.4 LONDON HINTERLAND SAMPLE PARISHES

For key to abbreviated names see Appendix 1

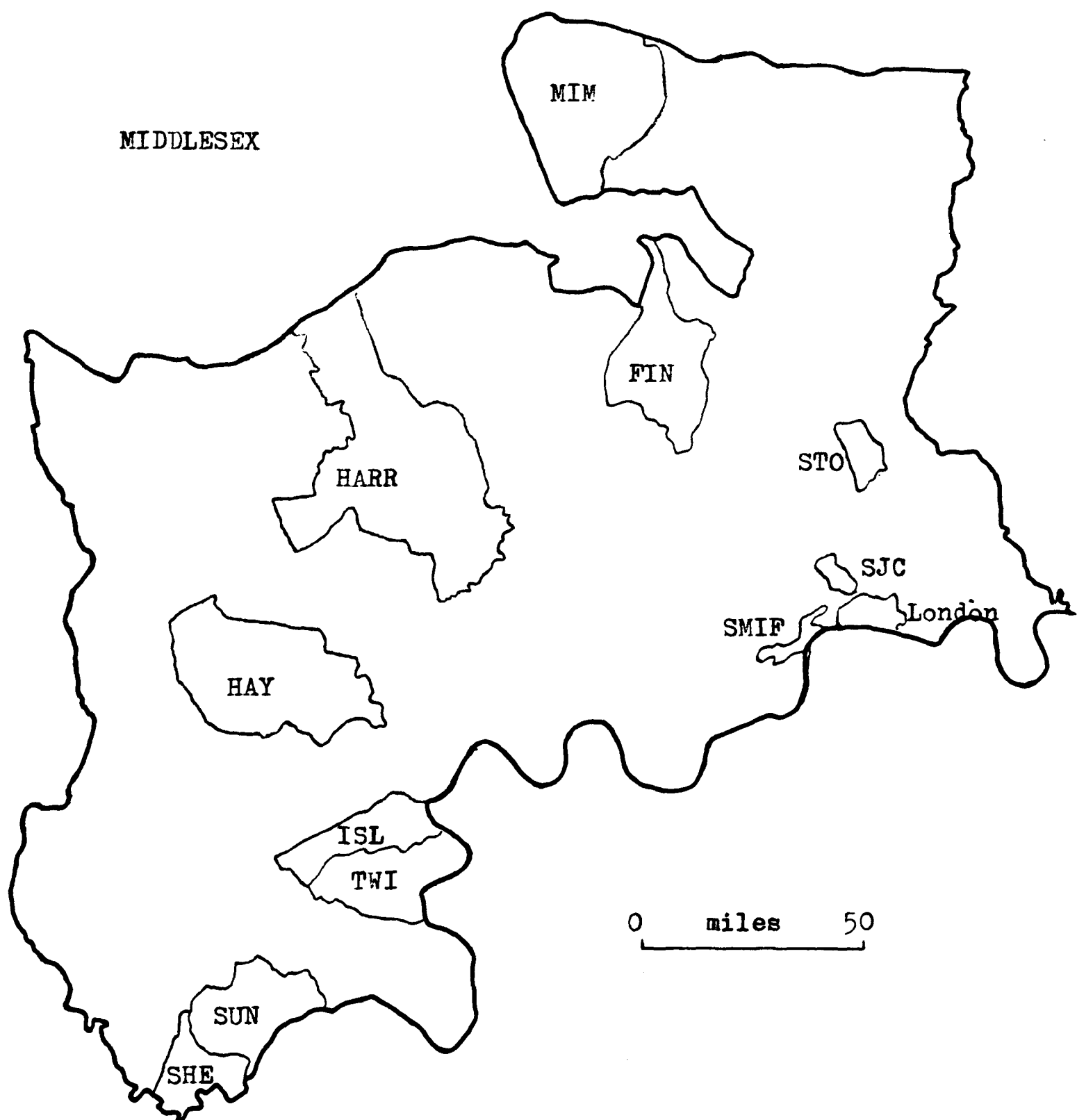
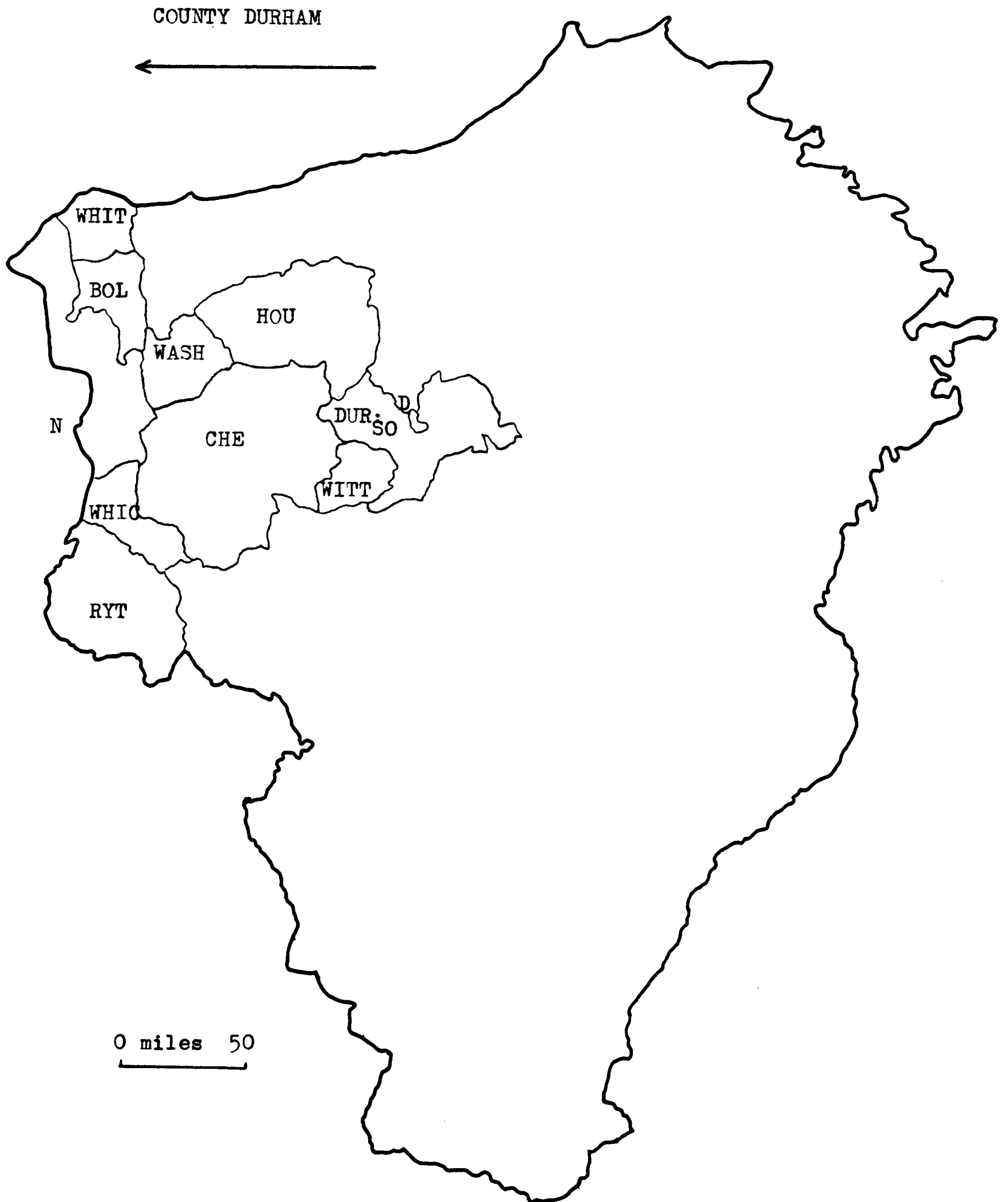


FIGURE 3.5 NEWCASTLE HINTERLAND SAMPLE PARISHES

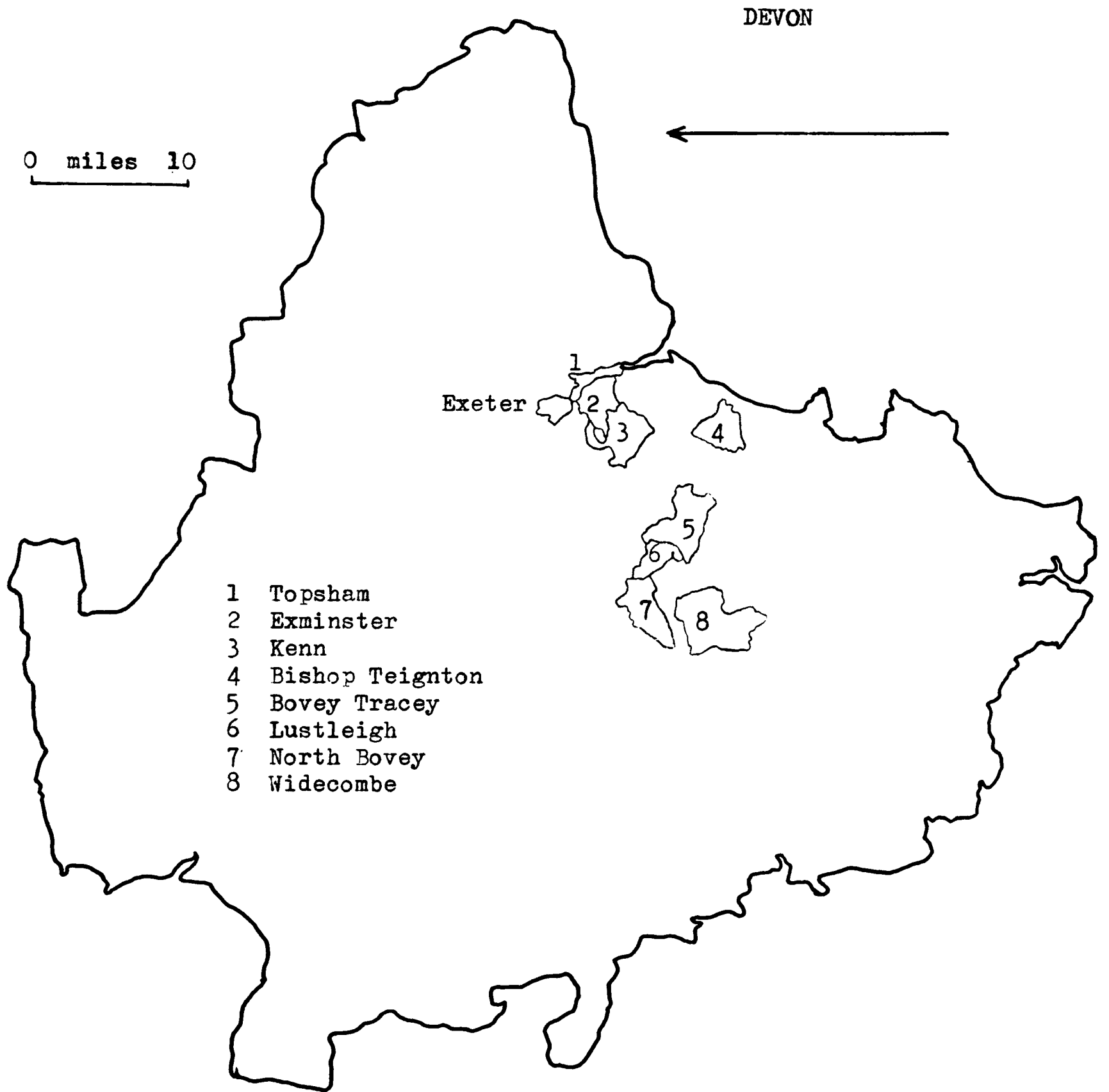


N Newcastle-upon-Tyne

D Durham

For key to other abbreviated names see Appendix 1

FIGURE 3.6 EXETER HINTERLAND SAMPLE PARISHES



Hinterland Marriages

For marriage seasonality, the hinterland parishes around London, Exeter and Newcastle were supplemented by additional parishes to increase the number of events. For the eighteenth century some Northumberland parishes were also included.

I also looked at the hinterlands around three regional centres: Nottingham, Lincoln and Salisbury. The latter two were both in arable areas, while Nottingham, in the Trent valley, was intermediate (corn and cattle). Their counties also included other types: Lincolnshire also intermediate, Wiltshire pastoral, and Nottinghamshire arable. The counties demonstrate, however the three main marriage seasonality types, Nottinghamshire and Wiltshire representing arable types, and Lincolnshire a pastoral type.

A few smaller towns have been included for comparative purposes. For analysis, the rural hinterland parishes have been subdivided into groups around the major town. They have also been aggregated (excluding urban and suburban parishes) and included in the rural marriage analysis. The parishes are listed in Appendix 1, and mapped in Appendix 2.

Non-conformist Events

a) French Huguenot churches in London and Canterbury

For comparative reasons I looked at seasonality among the French Huguenots, both because they were non-Anglican and because they were immigrants and perhaps more vulnerable as a group to epidemic disease.

b) London and Middlesex Quakers

There is no reason to suppose that other non-conformist groups had mortality patterns different from conformists. I did however look at births and marriages among Quakers. I concentrated on marriage seasonality, where there was a greater variety in practice among Anglicans.

The Quakers were the most meticulous of record keepers concerning marriage (so effectively that in 1754 they were exempted from the requirements of the Hardwicke Act and allowed to perform their own marriages). They seem to have been the only dissenting group which consistently eschewed Anglican marriage. I looked at the marriages of the London & Middlesex Quakers because they were a numerous group (Quaker burial registers show that 20 per cent of all Quakers lived in London and Middlesex), and because the register of the Quarterly Meeting (which recorded marriages taking place at the constituent monthly meetings) is well kept.³⁶

Although the marriages recorded in the register were concentrated in London and its suburbs (Westminster and Southwark), the register also covered a wide area of the London hinterland. Figure 3.7 shows the locations of the marriages recorded between 1720 and 1749. The marriages in the more outlying places were presumably recorded in the register because one of the partners belonged to the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting. Despite the wide area, the actual number of marriages was smaller in the eighteenth century (after Toleration) than in the later seventeenth century, reflecting the decline in Dissent.

The Quakers had their own system of dating, since they rejected 'pagan' names. They followed the church year, so that March became the 'first month', April the 'second month' and so on. September to December were often so called, because these month names were valid (being based on the Latin words for seven to ten). January and February were the eleventh and twelfth months. The dates have been converted to conventional dates for this study.

Clandestine Marriages

a) London

The major clandestine marriage centre in London, and the country, was the Fleet, the area around the Fleet prison.

FIGURE 3.7 DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON & MIDDLESEX
QUAKER MARRIAGES 1720-49



Many of the priests and marriage shops in the Fleet maintained registers, which are now at the Public Record Office. After looking at several I selected the registers of Mr Dare, which commenced November 1736 and ended September 1747, and appeared to be well kept. I have used the years 1742 to 1746 which seem complete. These five years, in four consecutive registers, comprised over 5500 marriages, and would only be a proportion of the marriages performed in the Fleet in those years. In respect of seasonality, they may or may not be typical of all marriages taking place there.

I also looked at marriages in Mayfair Chapel. This chapel was opened about 1730 and became a centre for clandestine marriage, its minister Rev Alexander Keith even advertising the advantages of marriage in the Chapel in the press. The Rector of St George Hanover Square instituted proceedings against Keith, resentful of the loss of fees, and Keith was excommunicated in October 1742 and imprisoned in the Fleet in April 1743. Marriages resumed in May 1744, performed by an assistant of Keith. I have examined marriages from 1745 to 1751, nearly 7500 marriages in all.

For the late seventeenth century I looked at St James Duke's Place, whose incumbent, Rev Adam Elliott, was suspended for three years on 17th February 1687 'for having married or suffered persons to be married at his church without banns or licence', but this was relaxed on 28th May 1687. Marriages immediately recommenced.³⁷ Between 1680 and 1690 (excluding 1687) there were over 17000 marriages.

Brown thought that the Fleet catered mainly for 'the artisan sections of society', and Mayfair the professional and upper classes.³⁸ In fact analysis of the occupation of grooms suggests that they were both patronised by artisans.³⁹ The better-off probably used licences to avoid the publicity of banns, rather than resorting to clandestine marriage, and married in churches like St George Hanover Square. Between 1726 and 1749, half of the marriages in Hanover Square were by licence.

b) Derbyshire

There were clandestine centres all round the country. One such was the Peak Forest Chapel, in the Derbyshire Peak District. It was an extra-parochial chapel, dedicated to King Charles the Martyr, whose minister had the right to issue marriage licences. In the 1740s he was marrying up to 100 couples a year, from Derbyshire and neighbouring counties. The earlier registers are mostly lost, but I have examined the marriages recorded between 1728 and 1751. For comparison, I have also looked at marriage seasonality in the county town of Derby and in rural Derbyshire, which will be referred to in discussions of rural and urban marriages. These parishes are detailed in Appendix 1.

Marriage Allegations

Strictly, marriage allegations (the sworn statements made to obtain a licence) cannot be used for seasonality because they do not record the date of the marriage. It would be time consuming to trace from allegation to actual marriage. However in a few registers the date of the licence as well as the date of the marriage are recorded, and from this it seems that the interval between the issue of the licence and the marriage was short.

Table 3.6 Interval between licence and marriage in days

	Chester St John 1679-89	Chester St Peter 1676-89	Plymouth St Andrew 1721-43
Interval between licence and marriage in			
25% of cases	0	0	0
50% of cases	1	1	1
75% of cases	3	3	1
90% of cases	8	7	3
% same day	31	32	39
N	117	61	565
% of all marriages by licence	89	78	98

Over three-quarters of these marriages by licence took place within three days of the licence being granted. These parishes may not be typical, and also the figures take no account of licences which did not lead to a marriage. However the implication is that normally licences were obtained with the intention of using them in the immediate future. Therefore the seasonality of the issuing of licences may reflect the seasonality of marriage of those who married by licence.

This is significant, since it seems that marriage licences were used by the wealthier sections of society, in contrast to clandestine marriage.⁴⁰ This is confirmed by the comparison between the Vicar-General licence marriers and the Fleet clandestine marriers. Although the Vicar-General's remit was the whole of the Canterbury province, his office was in London, and his catchment area was, like that of the Fleet, dominated by London.⁴¹ Almost forty per cent of the Vicar General grooms were gentlemen or professional men compared to just five per cent of the Fleet grooms. They clearly catered for different levels of society, and this will have a bearing on the interpretation of their respective marriage seasonality patterns.

The licence jurisdictions sampled are shown in Appendix 1.

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31. W&S p. 302 and Fig 8.4
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34. D. Levine & K. Wrightson, *The Making of an Industrial Society: Whickham 1560-1765* (1991), p vii; see also K. Wrightson and D. Levine 'Death in Whickham' in J. Walter & R. Schofield (eds), *Famine, disease and the social order in early modern society* (1989)
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39. Comparing the figures in Brown, 'Fleet Marriages', p. 126 with my own analysis of the May Fair register.
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41. J. Boulton, 'Itching After Private Marryings? Marriage Customs in Seventeenth-Century London', *The London Journal* 16 (1991), p. 29. For origins of Fleet marriage partners see Brown, 'Fleet Marriages', pp. 124-5. The origins of Vicar General grooms based on my own analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR METHODS

Periods

Seasonality is best studied by aggregating events over a period of years - not so few that one abnormal year can have an undue influence, or that there are too few events for meaningful analysis, but not so many so as to obscure change. Bradley used decades, but most subsequent researchers have used more. W&S used 50 years, Dyer about 40 years, Kussmaul 25 or 40 years, Boulton 50 and 60 years, Landers 25 years.¹

It was my original intention to divide the period 1550 to 1750 into eight 25-year periods. However this was reconsidered, firstly to avoid the periods of greatest deficiency, secondly to reduce the amount of work involved to reasonable proportions. The start date was put back to 1560, to accommodate the fact that pre-1558 registers are rare, and four 30-year periods were determined as follows:

1. 1560-1589
2. 1600-1629
3. 1660-1689
4. 1720-1749

These avoid the periods of greatest problems in registration: the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, and the Civil War and Commonwealth period (See Table 2.1). Apart from the late sixteenth century, these periods are evenly spaced, and they include thirty years from each half century.

In practice, to accommodate gaps in the registers, the periods were extended by a decade, so that the units of analysis became:

- | | | |
|------------------|----|-----------|
| 30 years between | 1. | 1560-1599 |
| | 2. | 1600-1639 |
| | 3. | 1660-1699 |
| | 4. | 1712-1751 |

Where possible the original thirty year periods were used.

All dates were converted to New Style, and secular rather than church years were used (except in one or two rare cases). Where there were gaps or obvious deficiencies, complete years were omitted. No attempt has been made to identify or correct less obvious deficiencies, it being assumed that these deficiencies would affect all times of the year equally.

Weekly or Monthly

Most studies of seasonality have used calendar months. Gottfried used 'seasons' of three months, due to the inadequacy of his data source (wills).²

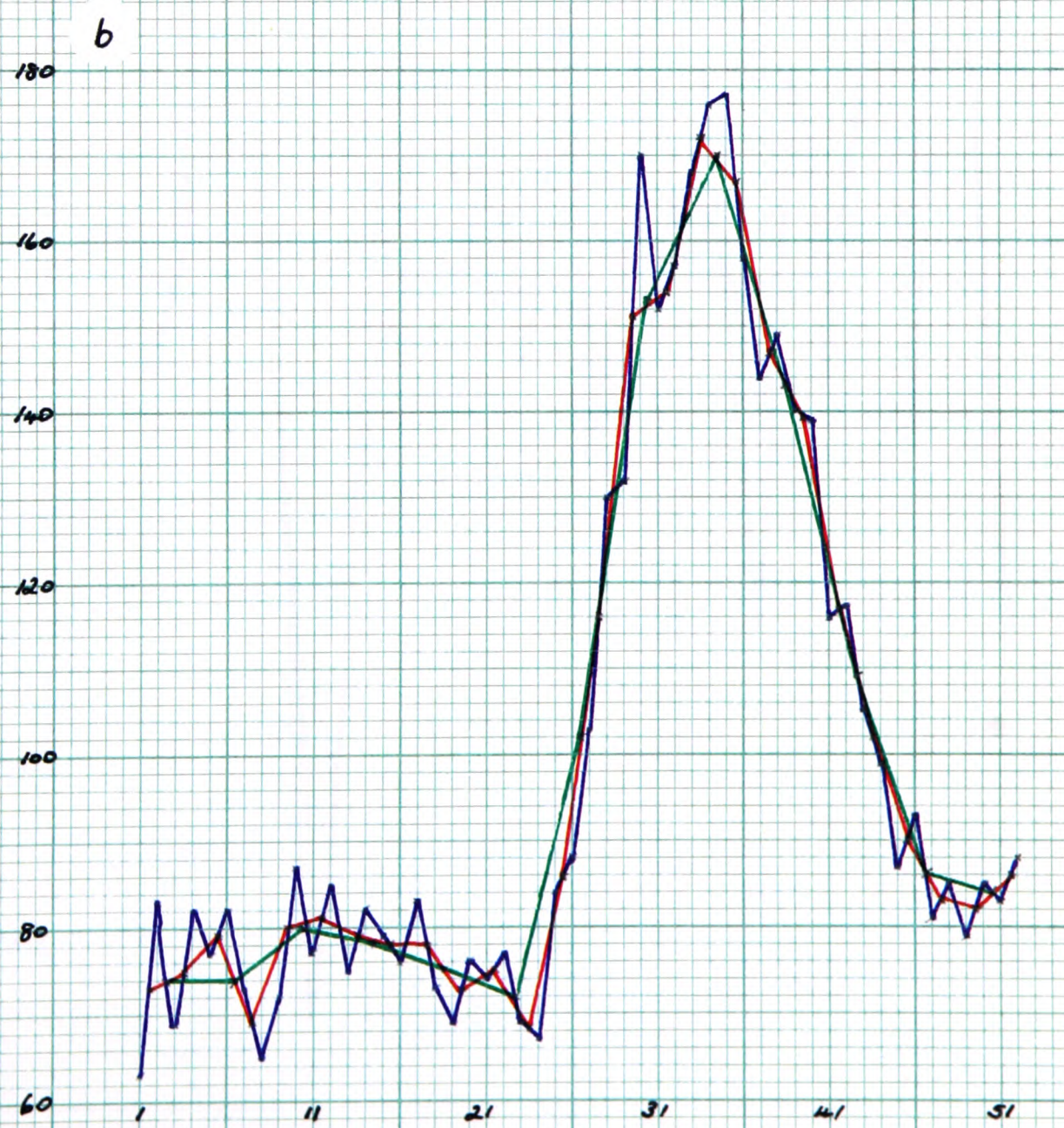
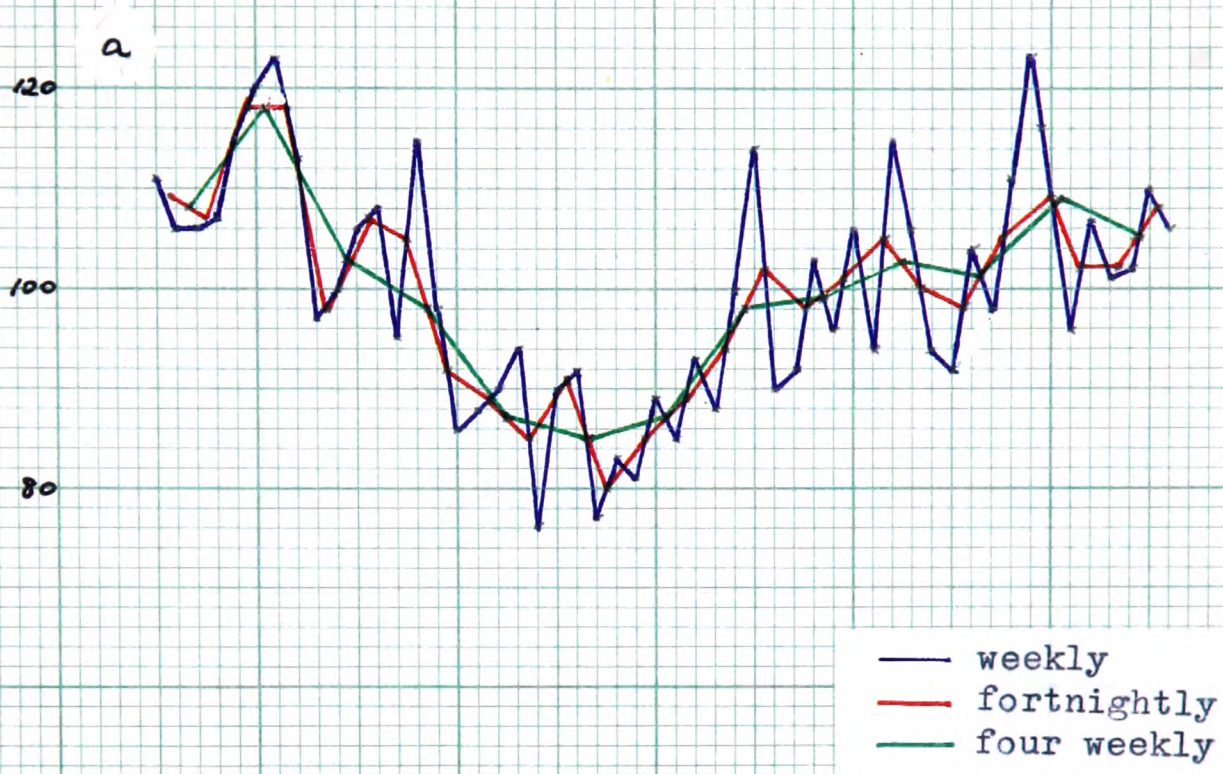
Dyer, in his study of baptismal seasonality, analysed the data by week rather than by month 'thus ensuring a greatly enhanced sensitivity ... Only by this means can the time of conception be pinpointed with sufficient accuracy for a convincing explanation of short term seasonal variations'. He argues that significant but brief variations are obscured when spread over one or two calendar months.³ In conversation he recommended the approach for baptismal and burial seasonality, but not for marriages because of the complications of the 'prohibited' periods. (See Chapter Five Section C)

Dyer's technique was 'to distribute baptismal numbers among 52 seven-day periods: since this gives a 364 day year, the omission of the (very few) events falling on 31 December, and on 29 February in leap years, was unavoidable'.⁴

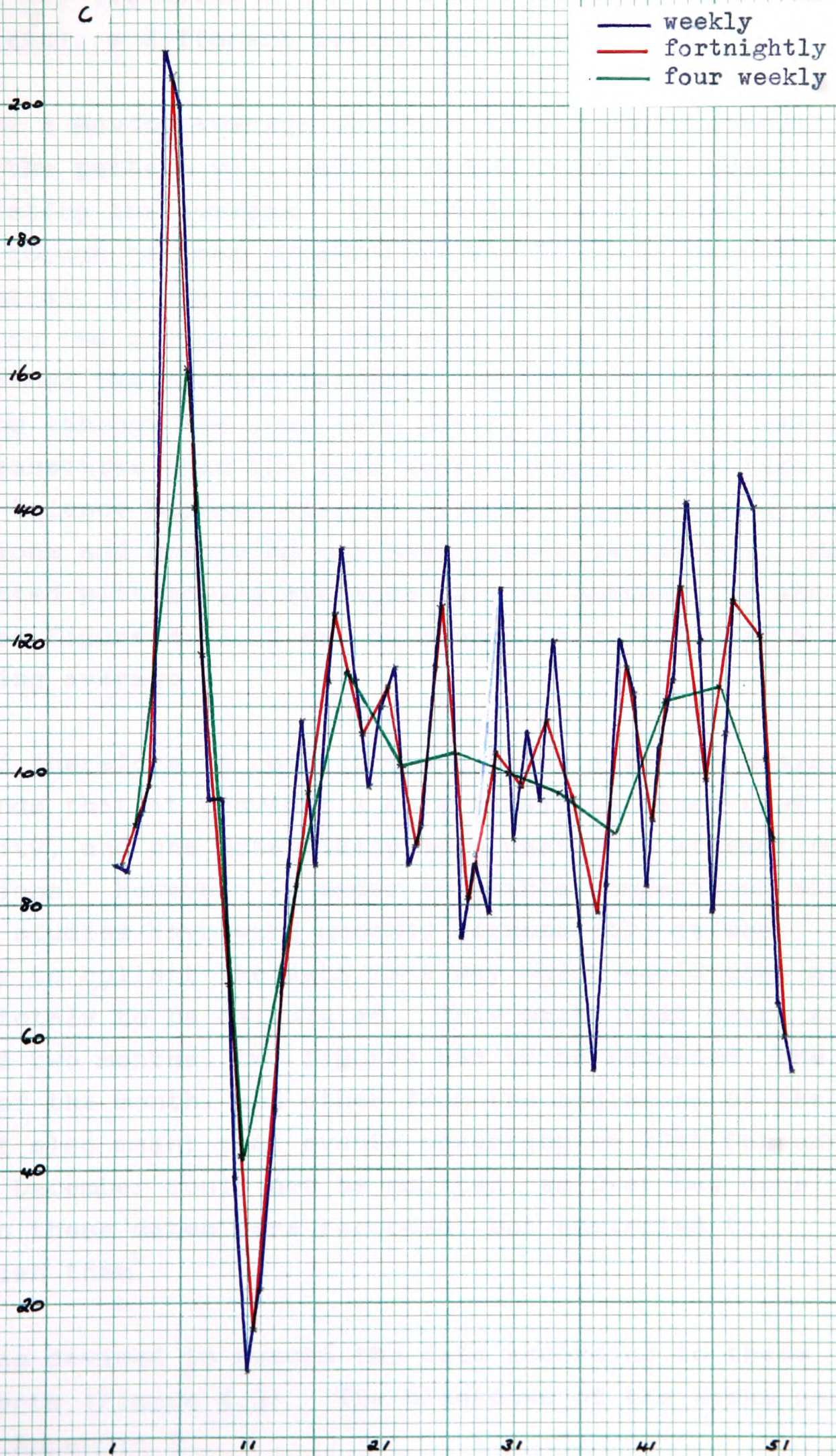
I tested this with a preliminary sample of London parishes (All Hallows Bread Street, St Antholin Budge Row, St Dionis Backchurch, St Michael Cornhill, St Mary Somerset, St Matthew Friday Street and St Botolph Bishopgate).⁵ The events were recorded by week as defined by Dyer. Figure 4.1 shows weekly, fortnightly and four weekly seasonality patterns for 1600 to 1624. These show that the four weekly patterns (the nearest equivalent to monthly seasonality) look very simplified and crude, especially the marriage graph, and do seem to smooth out what may be significant variations.

FIGURE 4.1 WEEKLY, FORTNIGHTLY AND
FOUR WEEKLY INDICES FOR LONDON
1600-24

- (a) baptisms
- (b) burials
- (c) marriages



C



A smaller time span would seem preferable. The weekly seasonality patterns show marked peaks and troughs. The fortnightly patterns smooth out the fluctuations, but are subject to chance, in that if the weeks were combined in a different way (ie weeks 2 & 3, 4 & 5 etc instead of weeks 1 & 2, 3 & 4 etc), a different pattern would result.

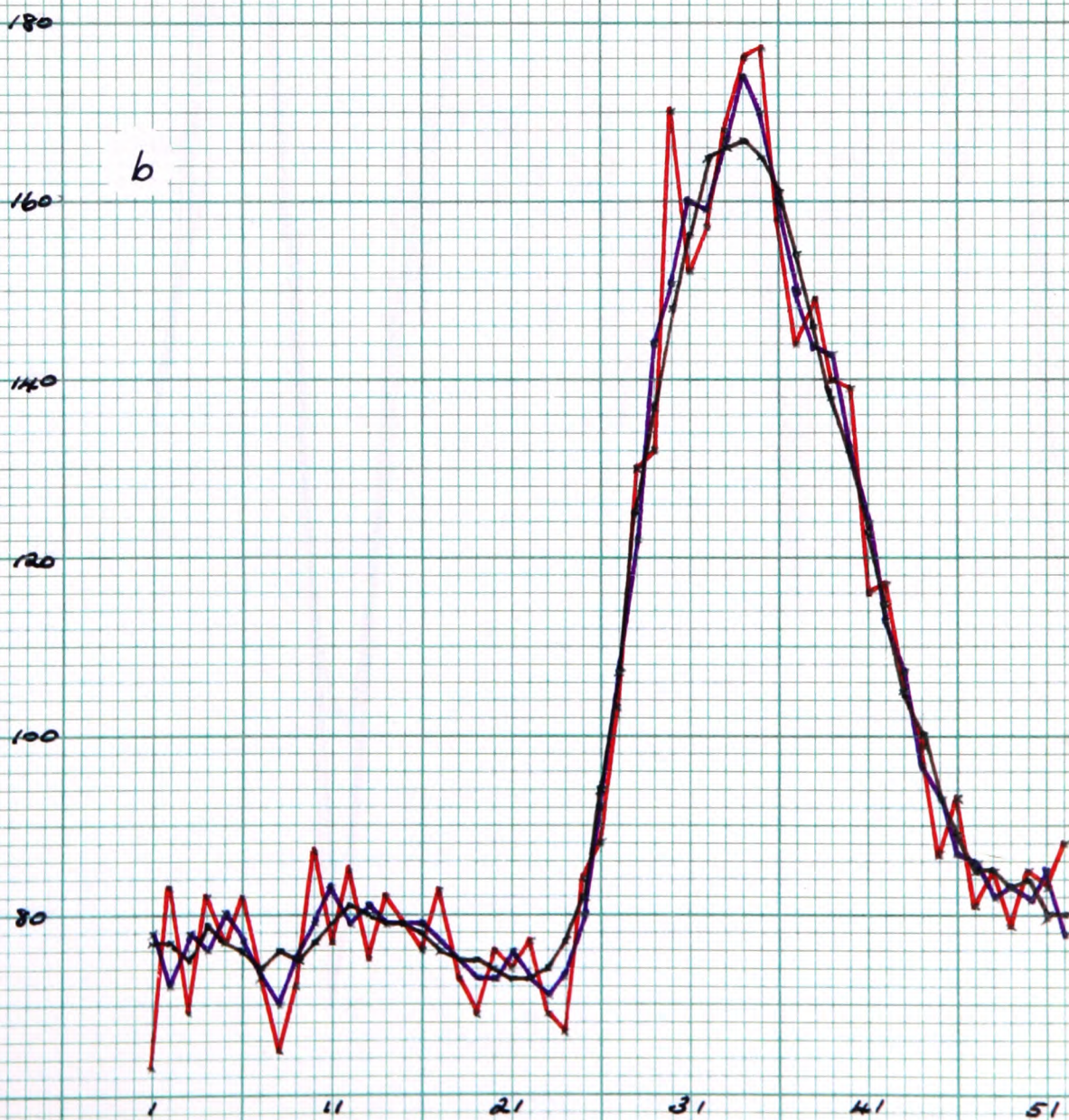
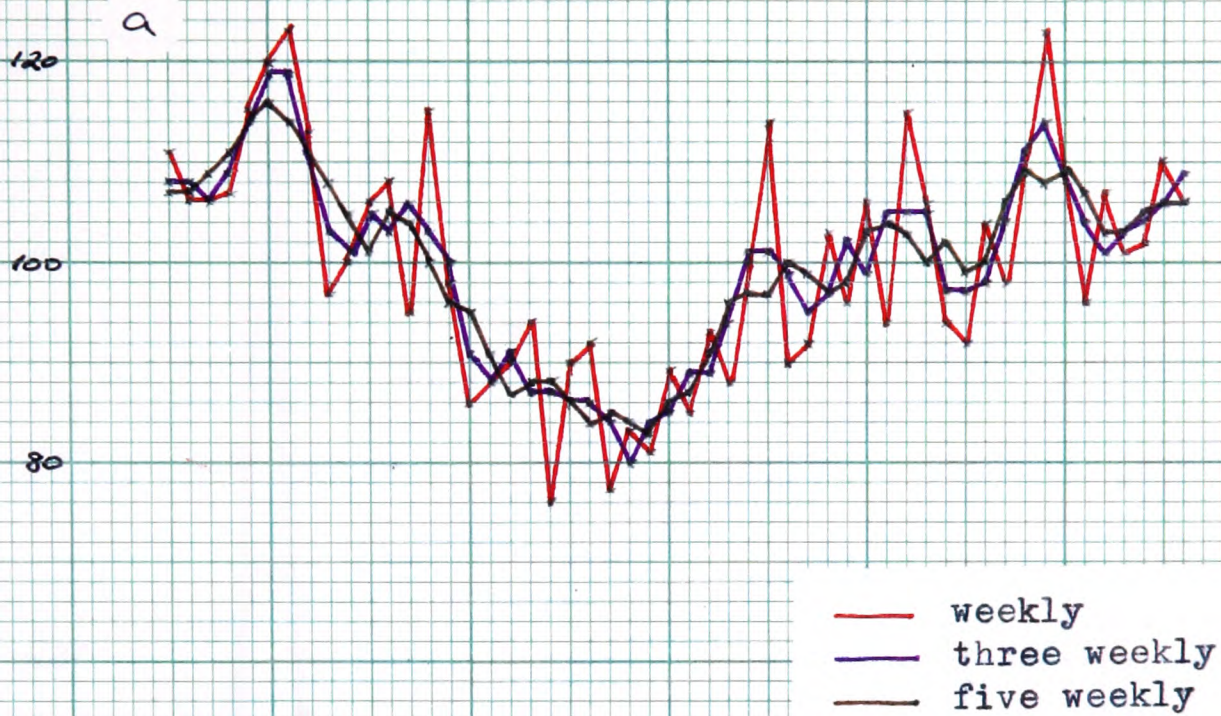
The use of a moving average obviates this problem, though the shape of the pattern will vary with the number of weeks used in calculating the average. Dyer used a three weekly moving average, though he does not explain why.⁶ It is normal, but not essential, to use an odd number, so that the value is assigned to the mid point.⁷ The more weeks that are used, the more smoothed the pattern becomes, and the less sensitive to variations (though the four week moving average, for example, is more sensitive than the four weekly graph). The task is to strike a balance between the two effects: smoothing out random fluctuations and smoothing out significant variations. Having experimented with moving averages varying between two and five weeks (see Figure 4.2), I see no reason to reject Dyer's three week moving average.

I decided therefore to collect the data on a weekly basis, on the grounds that it provides a more sensitive measure of seasonality, and one potentially more useful in attempting explanations. However, in order to enable comparisons with existing studies involving monthly seasonality, it was necessary to collect the data in a way which would also allow monthly totals to be calculated. This meant that where a week straddled two months, two figures had to be recorded, one to the end of the month, and other from the beginning of the next. It also meant that events occurring on 29th February and 31st December could not be omitted, as Dyer had done. Events on these dates were recorded, but encircled to distinguish them.

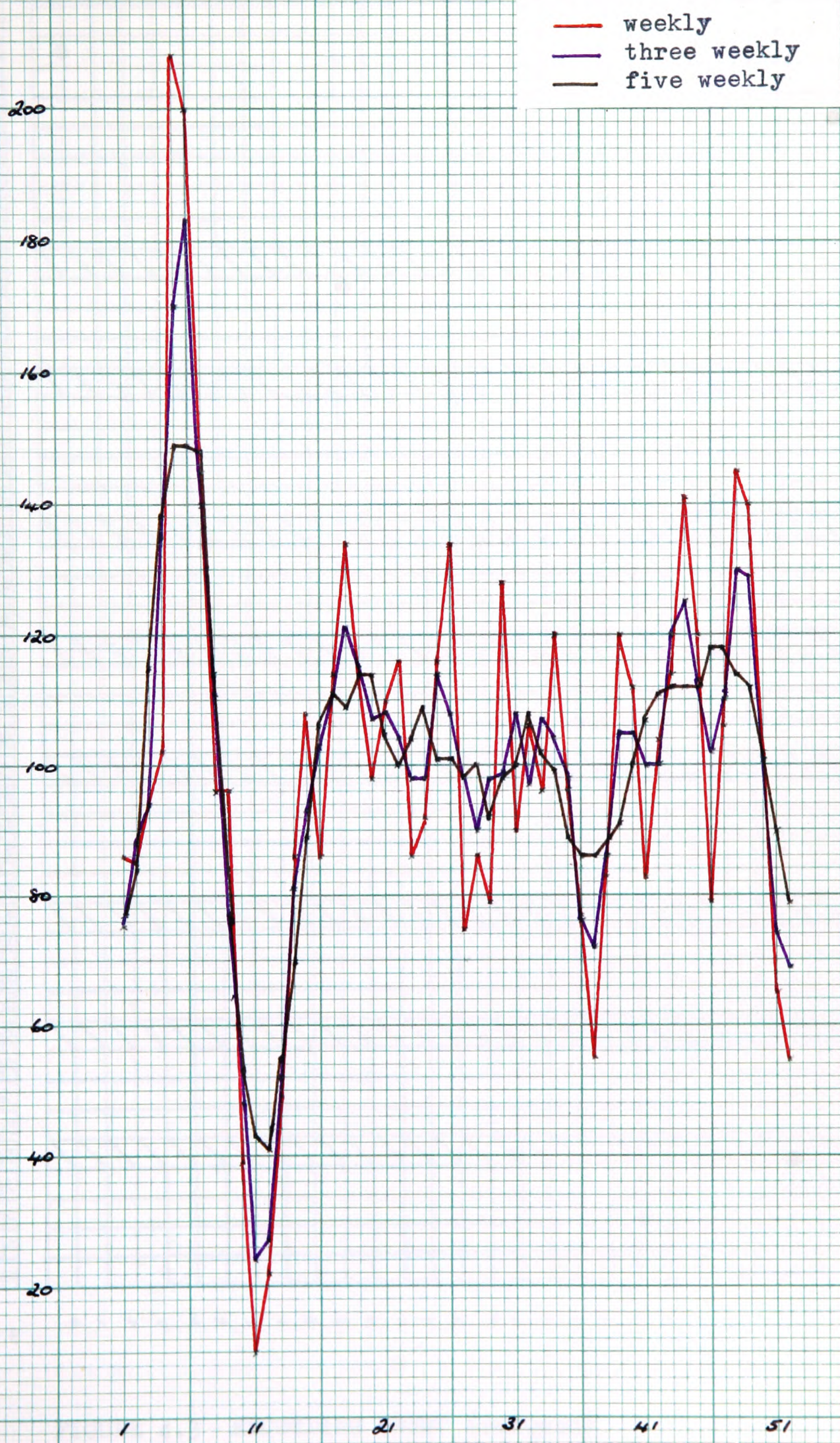
A form was devised to record the data according to these requirements (Figure 4.3). The breakdown of the weeks used is shown in Appendix 3.

FIGURE 4.2 MOVING AVERAGE INDICES
FOR LONDON 1600-24

- (a) baptisms
- (b) burials
- (c) marriages



C



Indices

The first question is how to present the results in a clear, meaningful way, which makes comparisons possible. Using the raw totals does not fulfil either criteria; a standardised form of presentation is required. Bradley, a pioneer of seasonality investigations, used percentages, so that the total number of events for each month was expressed as a percentage of the overall annual total.⁸ Thus the baptisms in Wirksworth for 1621-30 are expressed as follows:⁹

Table 4.1 Wirksworth Baptisms 1621-30 in monthly percentages

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOT
N	75	66	106	79	64	66	49	64	72	57	57	69	824
%	9.1	8.0	12.9	9.6	7.8	8.0	6.0	7.8	8.7	6.9	6.9	8.4	100.1

There are two drawbacks to this method. Firstly, it is not immediately clear which months experience above average baptisms and which below average. In fact, any month with more than 8 1/3 per cent (100/12) is above average, and under that is below average.

Secondly, it does not take into account the fact that months are of differing lengths. As an illustration of this, in the above example, both February and June have 66 baptisms, and therefore the same percentages, but as February has 28 or 29 days and June 30 days, February has relatively more baptisms i.e. 2.3 baptisms per day compared to June's 2.2 baptisms per day. The same argument applies to October (57 baptisms in 31 days) and November (57 baptisms in 30 days), November experiencing 1.9 baptisms per day to October's 1.8.

The use of indices, as employed by W&S and others, overcomes both difficulties, by taking into account the number of days in each month, and by indicating clearly months above and below average.¹⁰ An index of 100 indicates an average or expected number of events; over 100 indicates an above average number and under 100 below average.

Monthly indices are calculated as follows:

$$I(m) = (me / (N / 365.25 \times md)) \times 100$$

where me = the number of events in the month

N = the total number of events

md = the number of days in the month

and assuming that February has 28.25 days.

Firstly a daily average is calculated, then the expected number for that month by multiplying the daily average by the number of days in the month. This expected total is divided into the actual number of events to produce a ratio, which is multiplied by 100 to produce an index.

Thus using the figures in Table 4.1, the index for January would be:

$$(75 / (824 / 365.25 \times 31)) \times 100 = 107.24, \text{ rounded to } 107$$

In effect there is a daily average of 2.255989 (824/365.25) and an expected total for January of 69.935659 (2.255989 x 31 days) The actual, at 75, is greater than the expected total, so the index is over 100.

Table 4.2 shows the figures in Table 4.1 reworked as seasonality indices:

Table 4.2 Wirksworth Baptisms 1621-30 in monthly indices

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOT
N	75	66	106	79	64	66	49	64	72	57	57	69	824
I(m)	107	100	152	117	92	98	70	92	106	82	84	99	1199

This shows, I think, that indices give clearer, as well as more precise, results. Thus it is immediately apparent that February has the average, or expected, number of events; that January, March, April and September, with indices over 100, are popular; whilst May to August and October to December, with indices under 100, are not favoured. It also makes it clear that February is relatively more popular than June, despite having the same number of baptisms, and similarly that November is more popular than October.

The method does however have the disadvantage of being more complex to calculate than percentages.

One advantage of weekly seasonality as employed by Dyer was its simplicity since it was based on periods of equal length: 52 weeks of seven days (29th February and 31st December being omitted). Dyer used percentages (1.9230769 per cent being the expected or average weekly percentage), but again indices give a clearer result.

The calculation for weekly indices is:

$$I(w) = (we / (N / 364 \times 7)) \times 100$$

where we = the number of events in the week
and N = the total number of events

It is possible to adjust the calculations to allow for 29th February and 31st December, though this robs the method of its basic simplicity. The calculation for week 9 (26th February to 4th March) becomes:

$$I(w) = (we / (N / 365.25 \times 7.25)) \times 100$$

and for week 52 (24th December to 31st December):

$$I(w) = (we / (N / 365.25 \times 8)) \times 100$$

and for all other weeks:

$$I(w) = (we / (N / 365.25 \times 7)) \times 100$$

As I was recording the events on these two days for the monthly seasonality, and for the sake of accuracy, I decided to include them in the weekly seasonality calculations.

The indices can be expressed numerically in a table or, for visual impact, graphed, as in Figures 4.1-4.2.

Measures of Seasonality

It is clear from these graphs that some series of indices show more seasonal variation than others - baptismal seasonality seems much 'flatter' than marriages or burials, and marriages show most fluctuations. There needs to be some way of evaluating these differences. W&S used two measures: the ratio between the maximum and minimum index, and the mean absolute deviation of the indices from the average (100).¹¹

The first of these measures, the maximum/minimum ratio (M/M), is calculated simply by dividing the highest index number by the lowest. Thus, using the figures in Table 4.2

$$M/M = 152 \text{ (March)}/70 \text{ (July)} = 2.17$$

This only uses two of the values at the extremes.

The second measure, the mean absolute deviation (MAD) uses all the values, and finds the average of the differences between each index number and 100 (the average), regardless of sign. (If the sign was taken into account, the sum of the differences from 100 would always be nil, the variations above 100 cancelling out the variations below 100). Using the figures in Table 4.2, and totalling the differences of the indices from 100, regardless of sign:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{MAD} &= (7 + 0 + 52 + 17 + 8 + 2 + 30 + 8 + 6 + 18 + 16 + 1)/12 \\ &= 165/12 = 13.75 \end{aligned}$$

This means that the mean difference from the average in this range of values is + or - 13.75.

A third measure of seasonal variation is the standard deviation (SD). This also takes into account all the values, and is calculated as follows:

- (1) totalling the squares of the differences from 100

For example using the above figures:

$$\begin{aligned} 49 + 0 + 2704 + 289 + 64 + 4 + 900 + 64 + 36 + 324 + 256 + 1 \\ = 4691 \end{aligned}$$

- (2) calculating the average of these squared deviations

$$4691/12 = 390.91666$$

- (3) taking the square root of this average

$$\sqrt{390.91666} = 19.771612$$

$$\text{SD} = 19.77$$

The greater the seasonality, the more a series of indices varies from the mean, the greater will be these measures of seasonality. As an example, we can look at seasonality in towns in the later sixteenth century. In the case of baptisms, the monthly indices only vary between 89 and 110:

Table 4.3 Urban Seasonality of Baptisms later sixteenth Cent

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOT
I	106	110	107	100	90	89	93	98	105	103	105	95	1201
Diff	6	10	7	0	10	11	7	2	5	3	5	5	71
M/M	110/89 = 1.23												
MAD	71/12 = 5.9												

The burial indices fluctuate between 88 and 120, and the minimum/maximum ratio is correspondingly greater than that for baptisms. However for part of the year the indices are close to average, and so the MAD is only slightly larger than that for baptisms:

Table 4.4 Urban Seasonality of Burials later sixteenth Cent

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOT
I	95	99	98	98	95	88	90	107	120	110	100	100	1200
Diff	5	1	2	2	5	12	10	7	20	10	0	0	74
M/M	120/88 = 1.36												
MAD	74/12 = 6.2												

The marriage indices show much greater variation, and both measures of seasonality reflect this:

Table 4.5 Urban Seasonality of Marriages later sixteenth Cent

	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	TOT
I	136	113	13	78	109	112	109	84	97	138	149	65	1203
Diff	36	13	87	22	9	12	9	16	3	38	49	35	329
M/M	149/13 = 11.46												
MAD	329/12 = 27.4												

The high value of MAD for marriages indicates a highly seasonal pattern.

All these measures of seasonality can be applied to weekly indices as well as monthly indices. I have generally preferred MAD and SD to M/M because they use all the values, and I have preferred weekly to monthly MAD and SD because they use 52 values rather than just 12.

There is a problem in the interpretation of these measures of seasonality, which is that the smaller the sample, the more likely there are to be extreme fluctuations. I had initially thought that a minimum of 200 events for weekly seasonality would be adequate. Table 4.6 shows, for the early eighteenth century, the value of weekly MAD for each town in the sample, for baptisms, burials and marriages, together with the number of events from which the indices were calculated.

Table 4.6 Weekly MAD, Sample Towns, early eighteenth century

BAPTISMS			MARRIAGES			BURIALS		
TOWN	N	MAD	TOWN	N	MAD	TOWN	N	MAD
BED	422	18.9	RIC	396	37.6	BED	546	22.3
			GUI	274	31.6			
EXE	1113	13.8	NEWL	446	29.7	RIC	1443	18.6
SAL	3866	12.2				NEWT	13448	18.6
LUD	2198	10.9	LIN	1038	26.4	DUR	1524	15.6
UXB	1358	10.8	LUD	838	26.4	YOR	4700	15.5
NOT	3385	10.6	DUR	867	26.4	BAR	2784	14.9
WOR	1331	10.2	REA	656	25.9	GUI	1602	14.7
DUR	1702	9.4	BED	831	25.7	WOR	1633	13.1
REA	1935	9.0	DOV	775	24.8	NEWL	2350	13.1
LEI	2224	8.9	IPS	809	23.9	BAT	3214	12.5
CAM	1983	8.7	NOR	767	23.4	LEE	11134	12.5
RIC	1445	8.7	CAM	690	21.8	EXE	1462	12.2
NEWL	2610	8.5	YOR	1624	21.8	CAM	2846	11.2
CHE	2965	8.3	CHE	1299	21.5	PLY	8120	10.7
LEE	10449	8.3	BAT	1333	21.1	CHE	2915	10.3
IPS	1497	8.2	BIR	3888	20.7	NOT	4401	10.3
GUI	1243	8.1	KIN	821	20.7	UXB	1491	10.1
LIN	1757	8.1	LEI	1124	19.8	KIN	3853	9.5
KIN	2617	7.9	BAR	1153	19.4	DOV	2501	9.3
BAT	3392	7.9	CAN	1740	18.4	IPS	2064	9.2
NOR	1734	7.8	NEWT	4389	18.3	SAL	4496	9.1
CAN	2049	7.6	LEE	5091	17.6	LIN	2092	8.4
DOV	3238	7.5	NOT	2550	17.1	LEI	2658	8.0
BIR	13970	7.1	SAL	1563	16.7	LON	18792	7.2
YOR	4097	6.6	EXE	899	15.4	LUD	2253	6.8
PLY	5772	6.1	WOR	1134	15.0	CAN	2542	6.8
BAR	2176	6.0	PLY	3362	12.6	BIR	14858	6.6
LON	15199	4.7	LON	3332	11.2	NOR	2262	6.1
NEWT	13116	3.1				REA	2672	5.9

It will be seen that the towns with the smallest number of events (under 600) exhibit the greatest seasonal variation. For samples above 600, there does not seem to be a direct relationship between size of sample and size of MAD.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne (NEWT), for example, has a large number of baptisms with a very small MAD, but an equally large number of burials produces a high MAD. For indices based on samples of more than 600, there would appear not to be a problem, but there may a danger in placing too much reliance on these measures of seasonality for the smaller samples.

Aggregations

Bradley hypothesised that factors affecting seasonality could be expected on three levels. At one end of the scale are what he calls the 'fundamental factors', which are constant over long periods of time and over large areas. These are the sort of factors which are revealed by W&S's study of 404 English parishes over three centuries. At the other end of the scale are the 'almost accidental factors', which affect a small area over a short period of time (such as a particular priest being absent from his parish at a certain time of year). In between these two extremes are the fairly widespread and persistent factors.¹²

This study aims to identify factors at this second level, but looking at towns as a sub-group of the whole population, rather than at regions within the country; and within that sub-group, at different types of towns. Were there factors that towns had in common, which differed from the rest of the population? Were there factors that different types or sizes of towns had in common that differ from other towns?

To investigate these questions it is necessary to group together all the towns, and the different groupings of towns. This has been done by aggregating the events recorded in all the towns, and in the towns in each grouping, and calculating overall indices and measures of seasonality.

Procedure

After the preparatory work on determining the sample parishes and the methodology, the next phase was to collect the data, using the recording form (Figure 4.3) devised for the purpose.

The work was basically done in the following order: urban sample; rural sample; hinterland samples; dissenter and clandestine samples. Much of the data was collected from County Record Offices and Libraries around the country, and this was partially financed by a grant from the LPS Research Fund.

A small personal computer was used for the bulk of the number crunching involved in this study. A database was used to store weekly totals and to perform the aggregations; and spreadsheets to calculate indices and measures of seasonal variation.

The advantages of using a computer are its ability to handle large volumes of data, and the speed with which it performs complex calculations. The danger is that it gives the deceptive illusion of precision.

It is deceptive partly because of the basic flaws in the source, as discussed in Chapter Two. Also, it cannot be claimed that the seasonality of the urban sample represents seasonality in all English towns. There has been no weighting in the aggregations to make the sample more representative; it under-represents the smaller, low status, market towns for example. However, since most of England's urban dwellers lived in the larger towns (including London), this does not invalidate any conclusions based on these aggregations. ¹³

At worst, it can be said is that the sample approximates to the seasonality experience of people living in the urban parishes used in the sample, who may not be, but, hopefully, are, typical of urban dwellers. At best, it reflects the experience of most English townspeople.

Similar caveats apply to all the indices derived from aggregations, including the rural sample. And indeed the seasonality indices for many of the towns, including London, are themselves based on aggregations which may not represent the whole town.

Whilst one should be wary of leaping to hasty conclusions about all English towns on the basis of this sample, there are grounds for believing that it does provide a solid foundation for making reasoned judgements and generalisations about urban seasonality.

References

1. L. Bradley, 'An Enquiry into Seasonality in Baptisms, Marriages and Burials Part 1' in M. Drake (ed), *Population Studies from Parish Registers* (1982) p. 4; E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (1981), p. 286; A. Dyer, 'Seasonality of Baptisms: An Urban Approach', *Local Population Studies* 27 (1981), p. 26; A. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (1981), p. 107; A. Kussmaul, 'Time and Space, Hoof and Grain: The Seasonality of Marriage in England' in R.I. Rotberg & T.K. Rabb (eds), *Population and Economy* (1986), p. 197; A. Kussmaul, *A General View of the Rural Economy of England 1538-1840* (1990), pp. 48-9; J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: a London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (1987), p. 51; J. Landers & A. Mouzas, 'Burial Seasonality and Causes of Death in London 1670-1819', *Population Studies* 42 (1988), p. 62
2. R.S. Gottfried, *Epidemic Disease in Fifteenth Century England* (1978), p. 24
3. Dyer, 'Seasonality of Baptisms', p. 26. Also using weeks are P. Ogden, 'Patterns of Marriage Seasonality in Rural France', *Local Population Studies* 10 (1973), see p. 54, and E. Lord, 'Fairs, Festivals and Fertility in Alkmaar, North Holland 1650-1810', *Local Population Studies* 42 (1989), p. 45. In the latter case 'each month was divided into four periods as follows: One = days 1-7, Two = days 8-15, Three = days 16-23, Four = Days 24-30/31'
4. Dyer, 'Seasonality of Baptisms', p. 26
5. The total number of events in the London sample were: 7934 baptisms, 10961 burials and 2646 marriages.
6. Dyer, 'Seasonality of Baptisms', p. 27
7. See R. Floud, *An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians* (1979), p. 117
8. Bradley, 'An Enquiry into Seasonality Part 1', p. 4
9. From Ibid, p. 5 Table 2
10. For examples of the use of indices see W&S p. 286; Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, p. 50; Landers & Mouzas 'Burial Seasonality in London', p. 62
11. W&S p. 286
12. Bradley, 'An Enquiry into Seasonality', p. 1-2
13. Based on Corfield (who has a high lower threshold) and Chalklin: P.J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns 1700-1800* (1982), p. 11; C.W. Chalklin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England* (1974), pp. 3-5

CHAPTER FIVE RESULTS

The amount of data generated by this study is large, and this chapter attempts to summarise the results and pinpoint the major features, looking at each event in turn.

Each section looks first at the Wrigley and Schofield monthly, and the rural weekly and monthly patterns to establish the background seasonality with which the urban patterns can be compared. Next I look at the overall urban sample for the main outlines of urban seasonality and at the urban groupings for variations within the urban pattern. Finally I look at the hinterland samples to examine the relationship between urban and rural seasonality.

The indices for each of these series have been graphed to enable visual comparisons to be made, though it must be admitted that sometimes the similarities between the patterns makes it difficult to distinguish individual series.

The full results (weekly and monthly indices and the three measures of seasonality) will be deposited with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

SECTION A BAPTISMS

Wrigley & Schofield

The fundamental pattern for baptisms in the period from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century, can be seen in the graphs of the monthly indices recalculated from the data published by W&S, shown in Figure 5.A.1(a).¹ The basic pattern emerges: the first four months of the year (January-April) with baptisms above average; the middle four months (May-August) with below average baptisms and the final four months (September-December) with baptisms just below average. W&S found that most parishes in their sample shared this basic pattern.² There was a slight flattening over time (which in fact accelerated after 1750).

Rural Sample

Looking at the monthly indices of the small rural sample, shown in Figure 5.A.1(b), there is clearly a very similar pattern to that of the W&S sample, though the rural sample shows a tendency to a higher winter/spring peak and deeper summer trough, especially in the early seventeenth century.

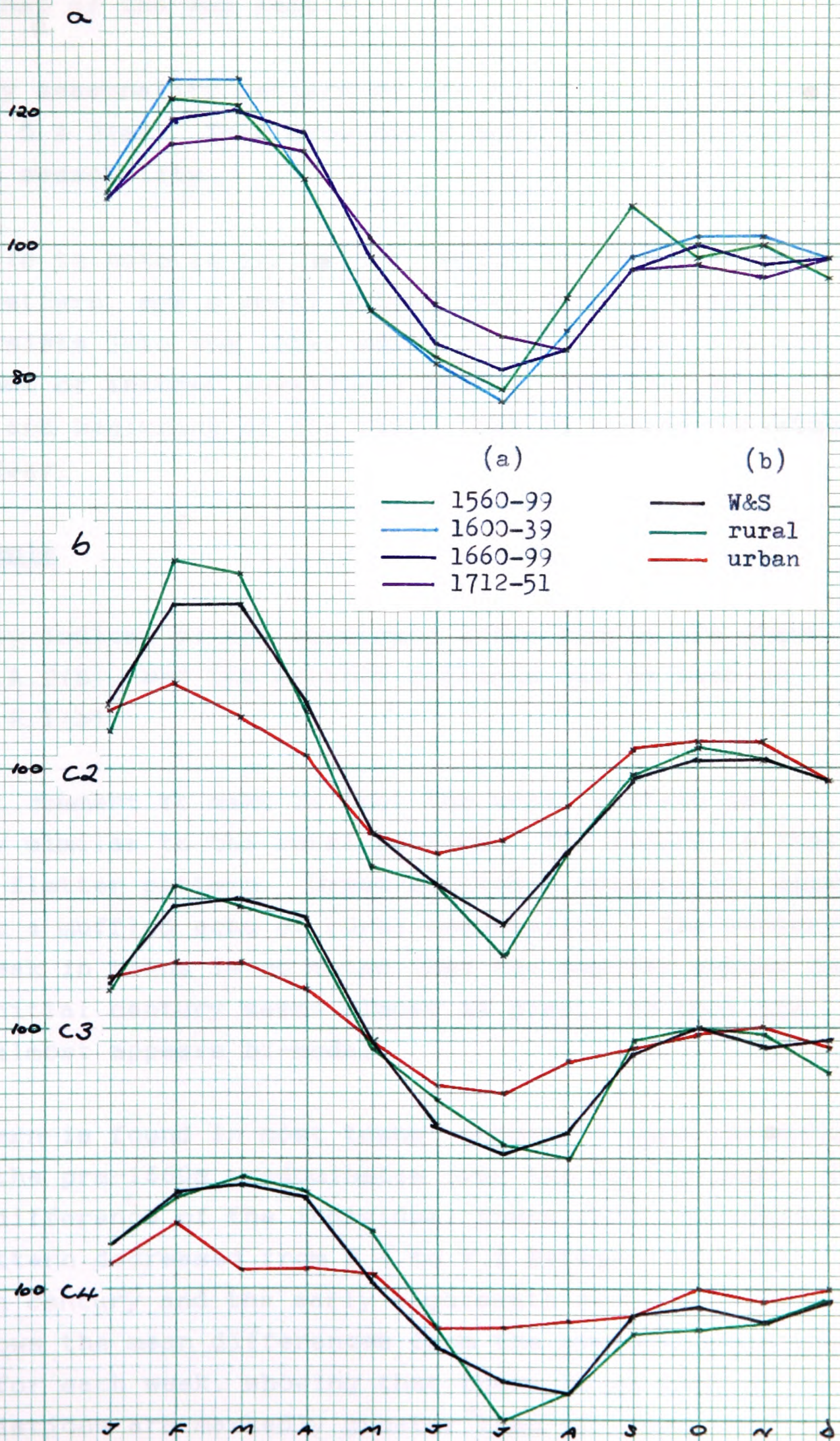
This is reinforced by considering the measures of seasonality, which show the variations from the average of each set of indices. These are shown in Table 5.A.1, together with those for the urban sample for contrast (likewise in Figure 5.A.1(b))

Table 5.A.1 Monthly MADs: W&S, Rural and Urban Samples

	C2	C3	C4
W&S	11.7	10.4	8.9
Rural	13.1	10.6	10.3
Urban	7.0	5.6	3.7

FIGURE 5.A.1 MONTHLY BAPTISMAL INDICES

(a) W&S
 (b) W&S, rural and urban



The graphs and this Table indicate that the *monthly* seasonality pattern of the rural sample is close to that of the W&S sample. We can, therefore, have some confidence that the *weekly* seasonality pattern of the rural sample will reflect that of the W&S sample.

The weekly seasonality pattern of the rural sample can be seen in Figure 5.A.2(a). This provides a more detailed picture of baptismal seasonality.

The details to note in particular, which are obscured in the monthly pattern, are a small autumn peak (around October) which persists into the later seventeenth century, and the development of another subsidiary peak in baptisms around the very end and beginning of the year, that is around Christmas and New Year.

Urban Sample

The weekly indices of the aggregate urban sample are shown in Figure 5.A.2(b), and the monthly patterns can be seen on Figure 5.A.1(b).

The first comment to make is that the urban pattern is basically similar to the rural pattern. The second is that it is a far flatter pattern. Urban baptismal seasonality appears in effect a muffled echo of rural seasonality. The winter/spring peak in towns is so muted that the smaller autumn peak of the initial century seems almost as great, so that the pattern almost appears bi-modal.

The pattern is found in most towns, though in some the autumn peak of the pre-1660s predominates over the spring peak. The average difference of the individual towns from the overall urban pattern decreased from 9.4 to 7.5 between the late sixteenth century and the early eighteenth century.³ Figure 5.A.3 shows the mean differences from the overall urban sample indices for each week, showing that there is no time of year when variations are markedly greater than at other times.

FIGURE 5.A.2 WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES

(a) rural
(b) urban

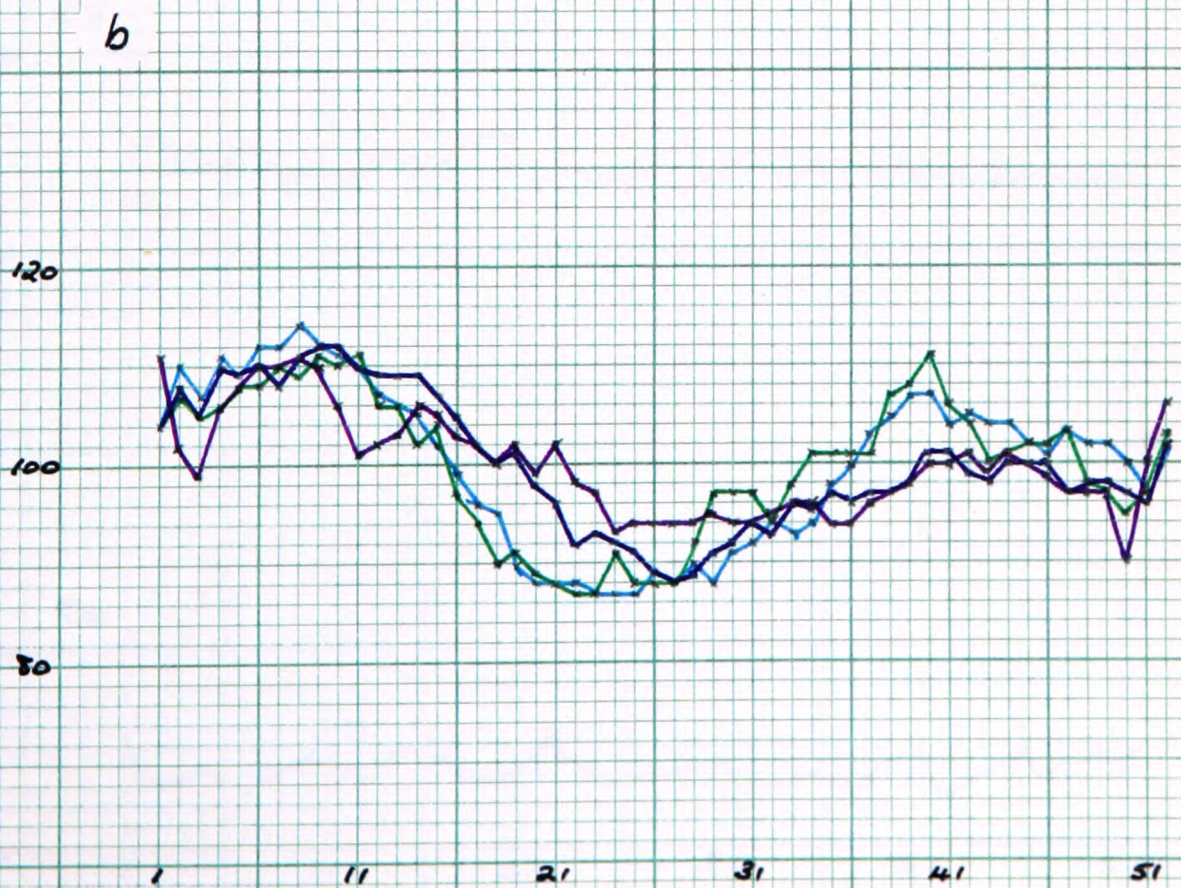
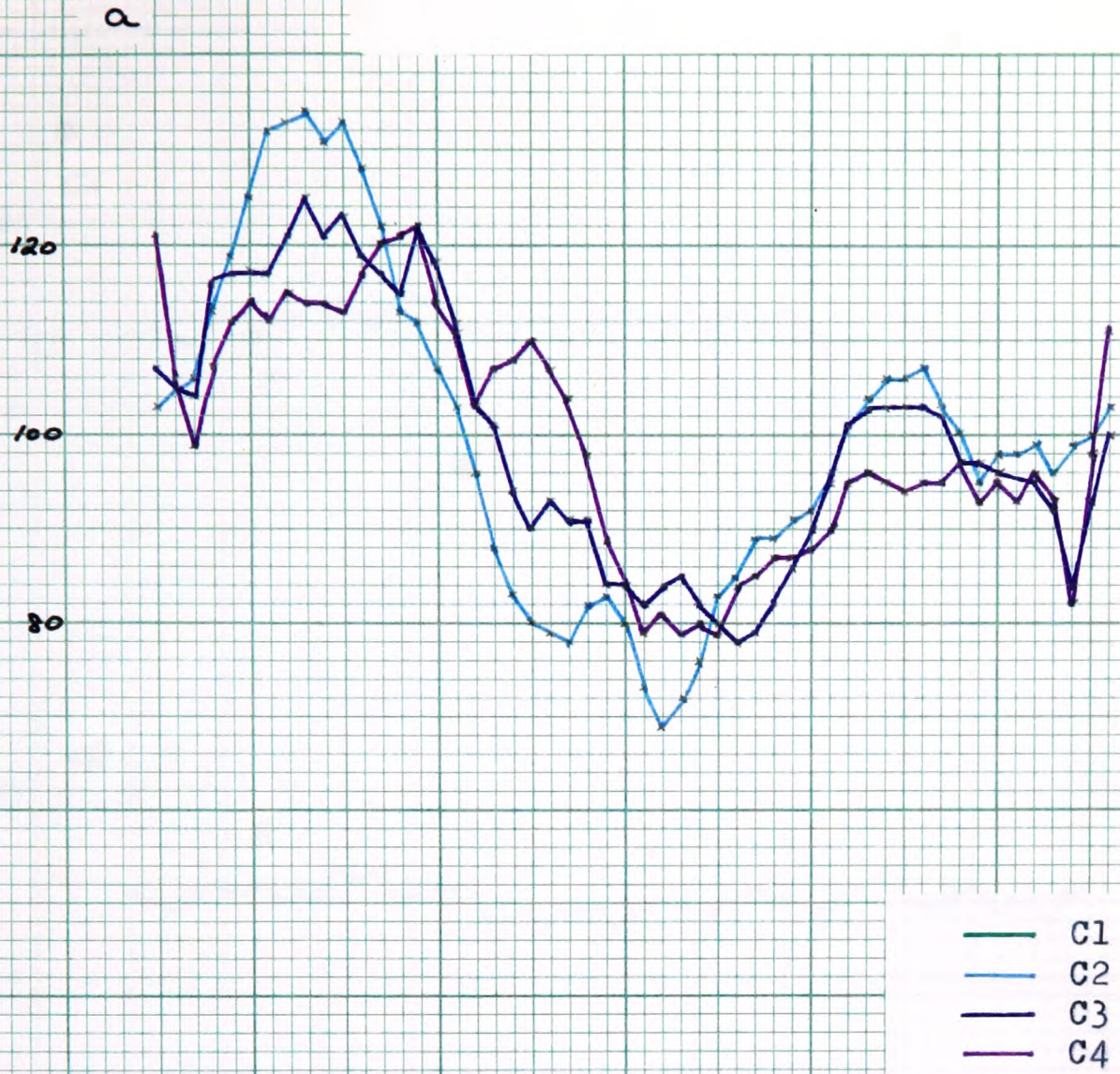


FIGURE 5.A.3 MEAN DIFFERENCES OF
INDIVIDUAL TOWNS FROM URBAN
BAPTISMAL INDICES

C1



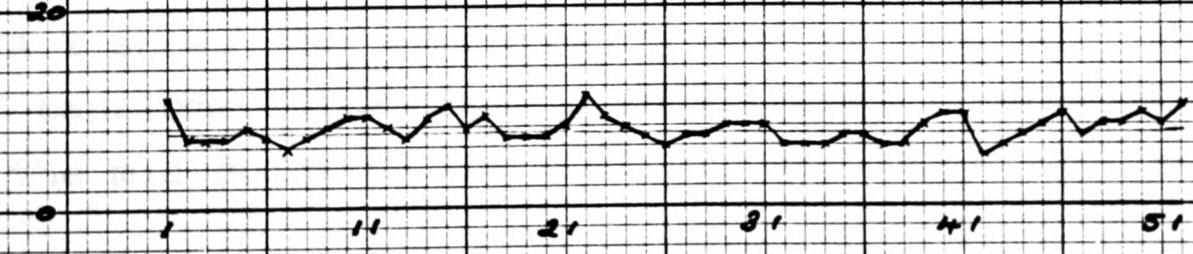
C2



C3



C4



The most popular weeks of the individual sample towns are mapped on Figure 5.A.4. The peak weeks can be grouped into three: winter/spring peaks around weeks 3-16 (mid-January to mid-April); autumn and early winter peaks around weeks 30-48 (late July to November); and Christmas/New Year peaks (weeks 1 & 52). It can be seen that autumn and early winter baptismal peaks predominated in the late sixteenth century, almost disappeared in the seventeenth century, and revived somewhat in the early eighteenth century.

Two features of the urban pattern of the early eighteenth century are worthy of comment. The first is that, like the rural sample, the towns had developed a Christmas/New Year peak in baptisms, though more muted than the rural peak. In both the overall rural and urban samples the last week of the year was the most popular for christenings. The patterns suggest that baptisms were delayed or brought forward to this period. There were some regional differences in the popularity of Christmas/New Year baptisms, as shown in Figure 5.A.5. Among the rural sample it was most marked in the north and west, whilst it was most marked in towns in the south west and West Midlands. The graphs in Figure 5.A.9(a) confirm this.

Secondly, there is a dent in the urban spring peak around week 11 (12th to 18th March). This is not observable in the rural sample, but is in most of the urban groupings (London and northern towns being the main exception). (See Figure 5.A.9)

Urban Groupings

The weekly indices for the urban groupings can be seen graphed in Figures 5.A.6 to 5.A.9. For ease of comparison, all the graphs for the same period are shown on the same page.

Table 5.A.2 shows, for the urban groupings, the most popular week for baptisms. The 'most popular week' is precisely that and not the mid point of the most popular three week period.

FIGURE 5.A.6 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES - C1

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

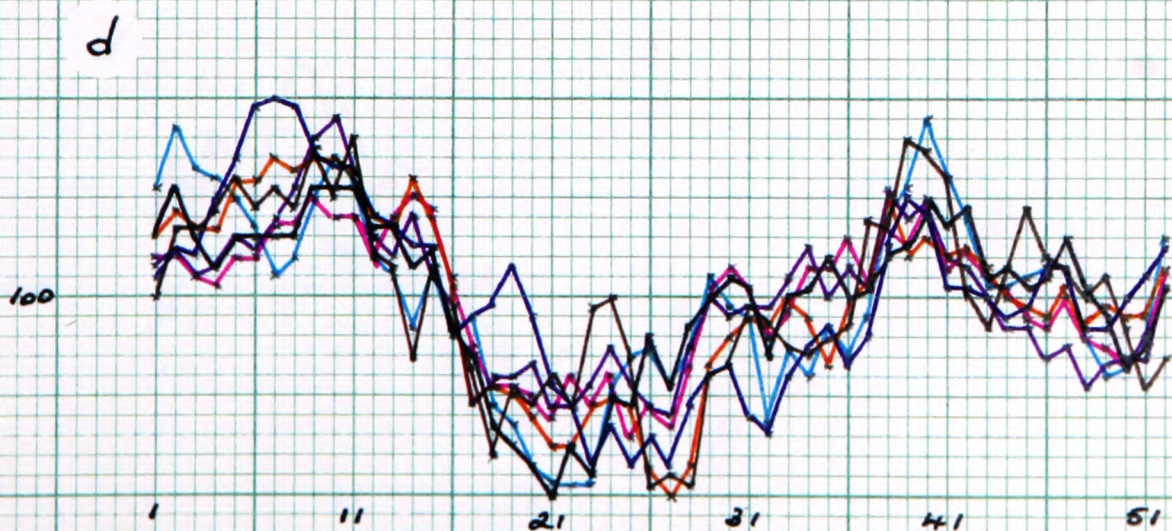
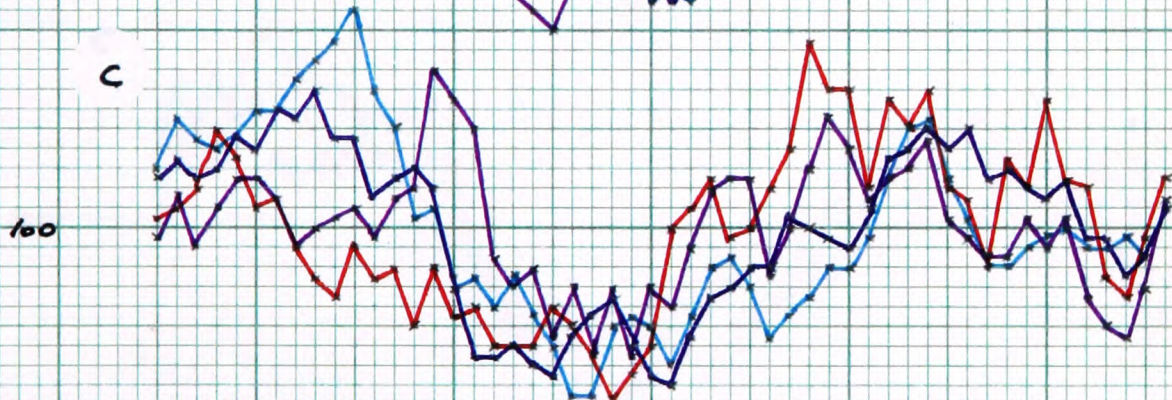
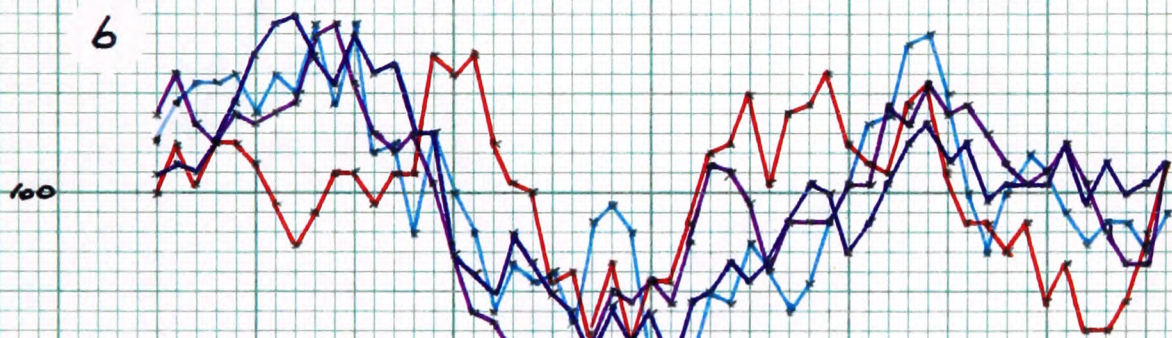
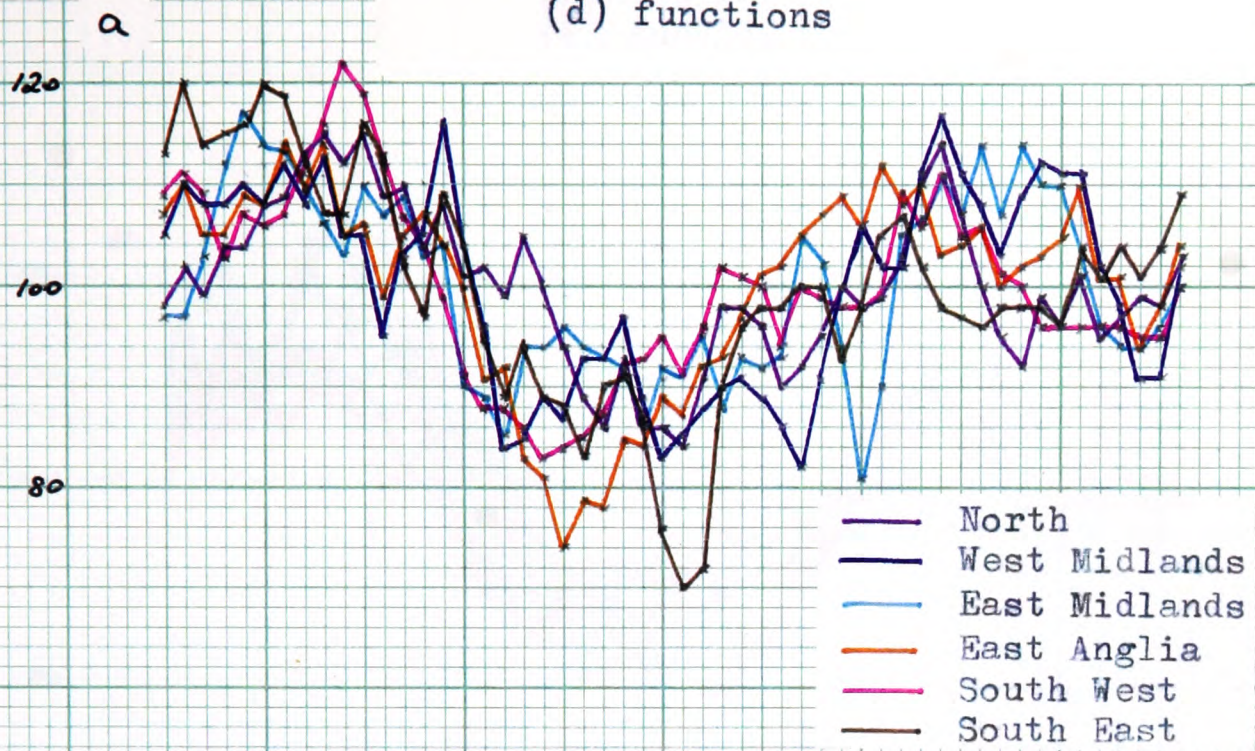


FIGURE 5.A.7 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES - C2

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

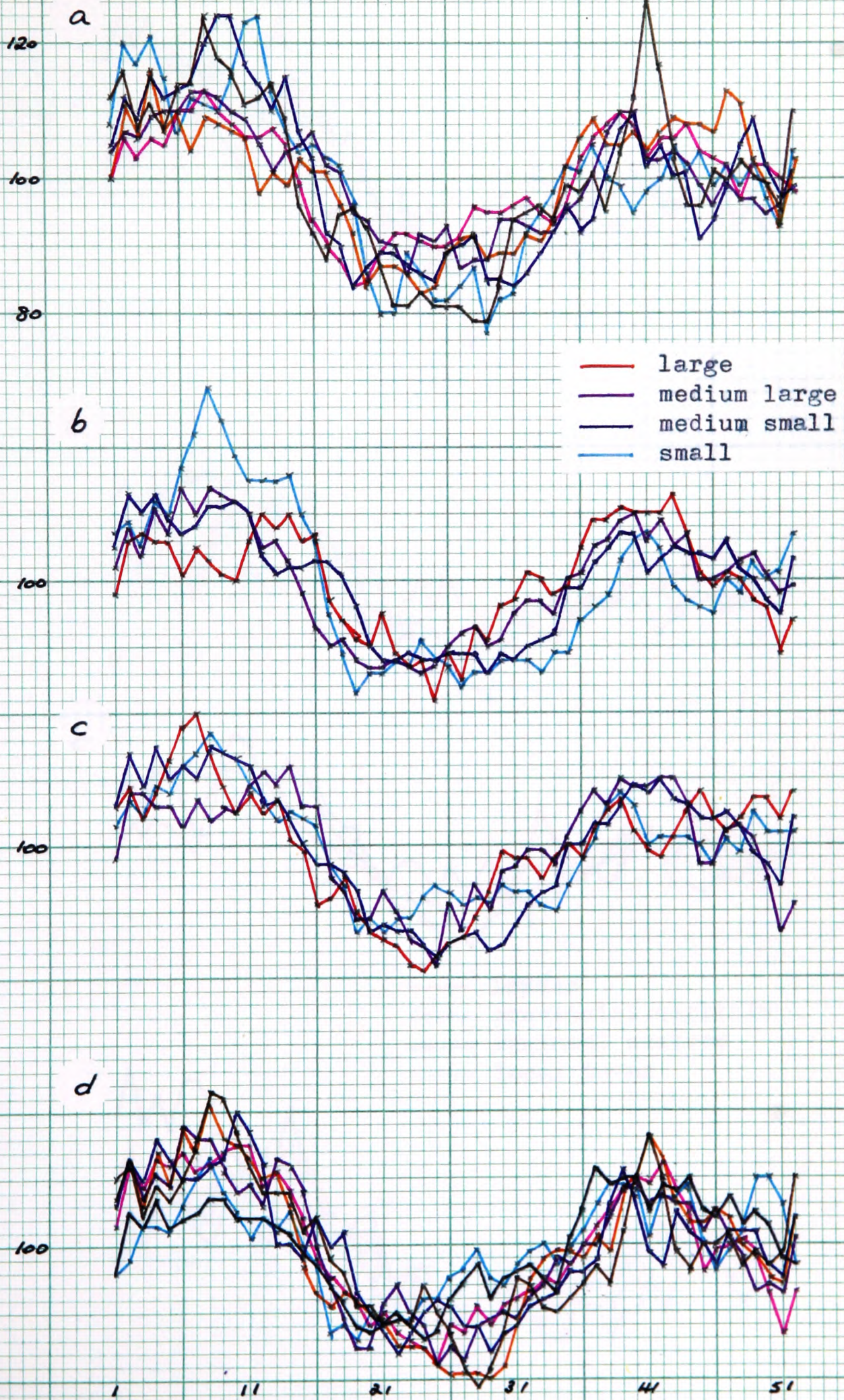


FIGURE 5.A.8 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES - C3

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

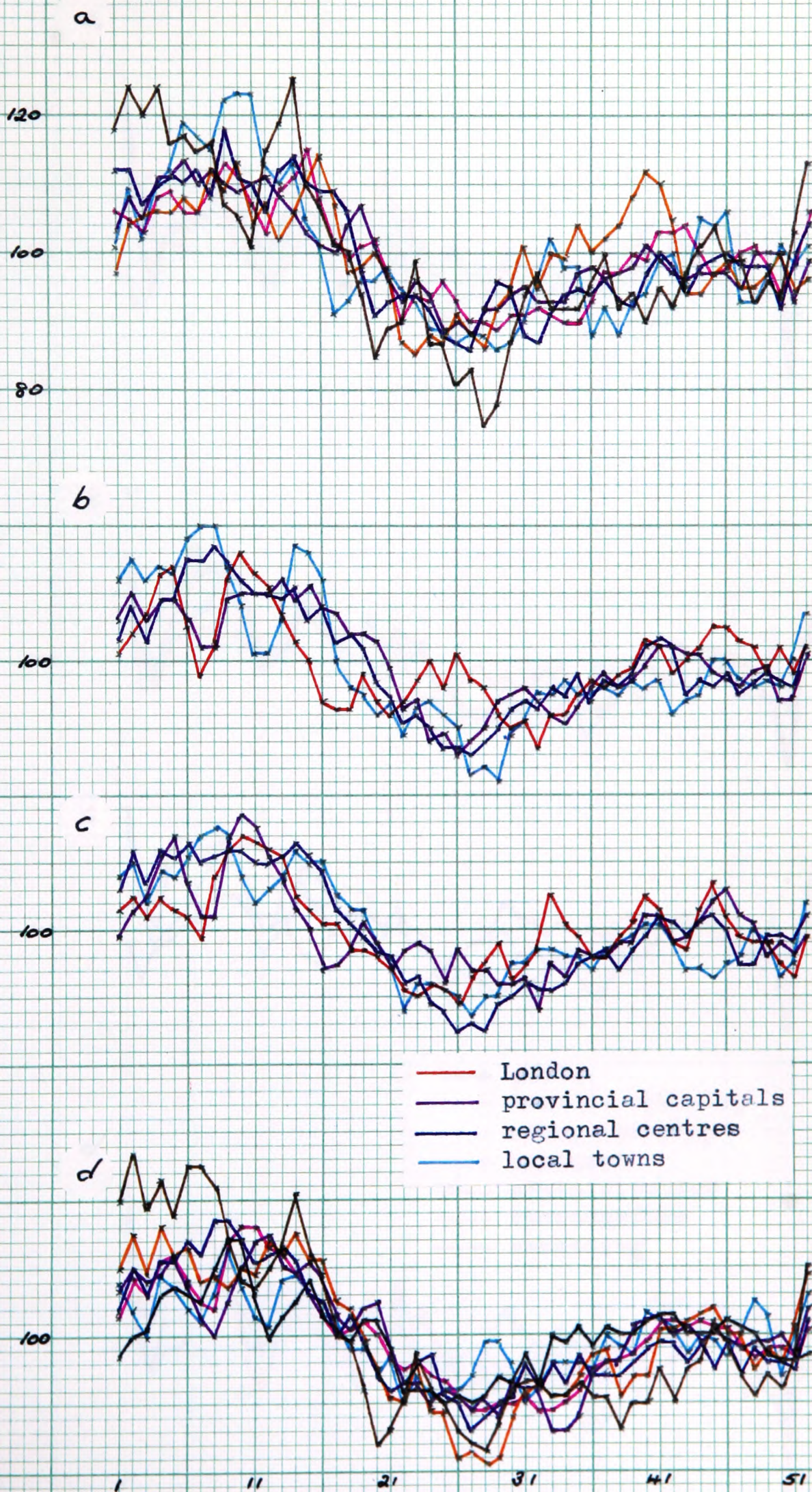
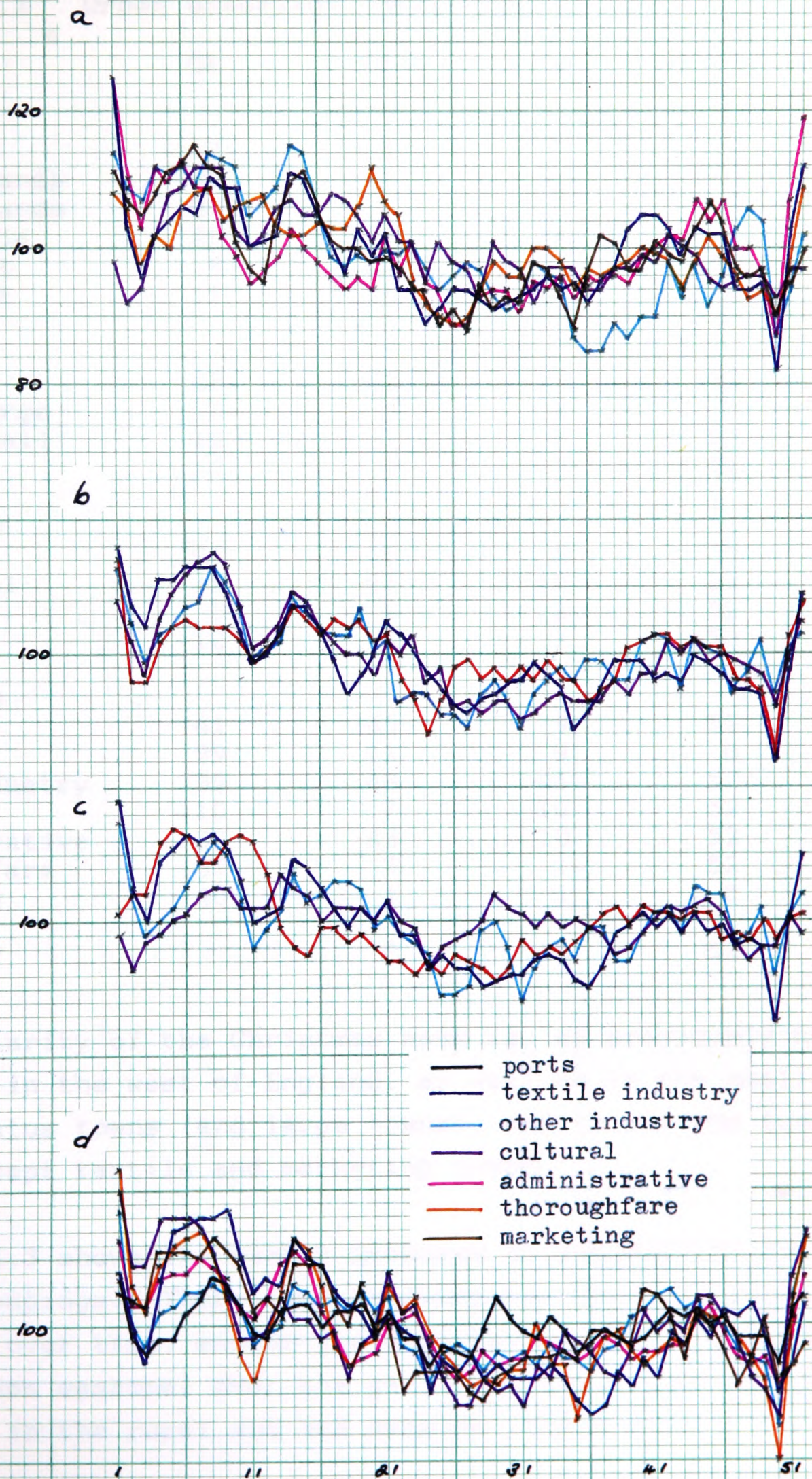


FIGURE 5.A.9 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES - C4

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions



Since the graphs are based on three weekly moving averages, the most popular week may not coincide with the highest point of the related graph.

Table 5.A.2 Urban Groupings, Most Popular Weeks

	C1	C2	C3	C4
<i>Regions</i>				
North	12	8	5	8
West Midlands	40	11	10	52
East Midlands	34	1	10	5
East Anglia	38	3	16	1
South West	9	43	1	52
South East	12	1	13	8
<i>Size</i>				
Large	16	40	5	52
Medium Large	10	5	16	8
Medium Small	12	1	7	52
Small	12	8	7	52
<i>Hierarchy</i>				
London	45	6	9	5
Provincial	16	43	10	22
Regional	8	1	1	52
Local	12	8	1	52
<i>Functions</i>				
Ports	41	43	9	52
Textiles	39	11	9	8
Other Industry	39	43	41	52
Cultural	10	7	16	52
Administrative	39	43	10	52
Thoroughfare	37	7	1	52
Marketing	40	1	1	5
<i>All Rural</i>		8	12	52

The popularity of the Christmas week is, as previously noted, greatest in the west of England, as well as in the smaller and lower status towns (and large towns), and in all the functional types except textile and marketing towns.

Table 5.A.3 shows the weekly measures of seasonality for the urban groupings. There is a tendency for these measures to decrease over time, suggesting that the timing of baptisms became less seasonal over the two centuries. This is also apparent in the rural and W&S samples (Table 5.A.1).

Table 5.A.3 Urban Groupings, Weekly MADs

	C1	C2	C3	C4
<i>Regions</i>				
North	6.1	6.5	5.6	4.3
West Midlands	8.8	9.9	7.5	5.8
East Midlands	7.8	9.4	8.2	7.2
East Anglia	7.9	7.6	6.2	4.8
South West	7.1	6.4	5.8	5.7
South East	8.6	10.2	10.1	5.6
<i>Size</i>				
Large	6.2	6.4	5.3	4.0
Medium Large	7.6	7.1	6.0	5.2
Medium Small	7.2	6.9	6.8	5.4
Small	7.5	10.0	8.0	4.7
<i>Hierarchy</i>				
London	7.0	7.4	4.9	4.7
Provincial	5.2	7.0	4.9	2.5
Regional	7.2	8.3	7.0	5.5
Local	6.7	4.2	8.1	9.0
<i>Functions</i>				
Ports	6.3	6.3	4.1	2.6
Textiles	7.6	7.8	6.8	6.8
Other Industry	7.6	5.6	4.5	4.3
Cultural	6.1	8.4	6.2	6.6
Administrative	5.6	8.4	6.1	4.8
Thoroughfare	7.4	9.7	8.1	6.3
Marketing	7.5	8.5	10.9	5.7
<i>All Rural</i>		13.4	11.4	11.1

There is a nice progression from large to small and high status to low status in the later seventeenth century, but this is marred in the early eighteenth century by the relatively high seasonality of London and the relatively low seasonality of the small towns. Provincial capitals appear to have a very low seasonality, as do ports among urban functions.

Hinterlands

Figures 5.A.10 to 5.A.12 compare the overall seasonality patterns in the rural hinterlands of London, Newcastle and Durham, and Exeter, with the patterns in the towns and suburbs.

FIGURE 5.A.10 HINTERLAND WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES - C2

- (a) London
- (b) Newcastle
- (c) Exeter

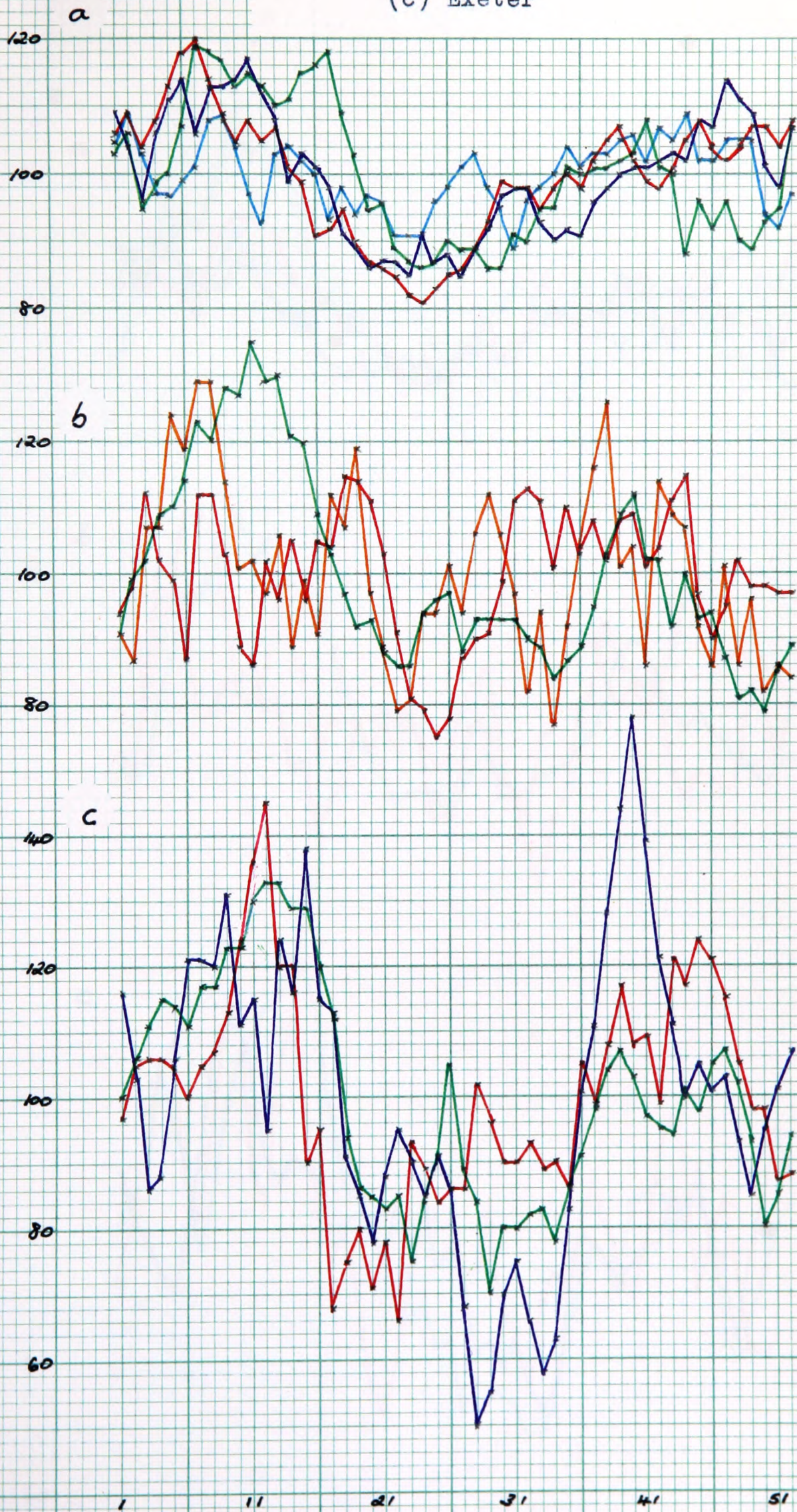


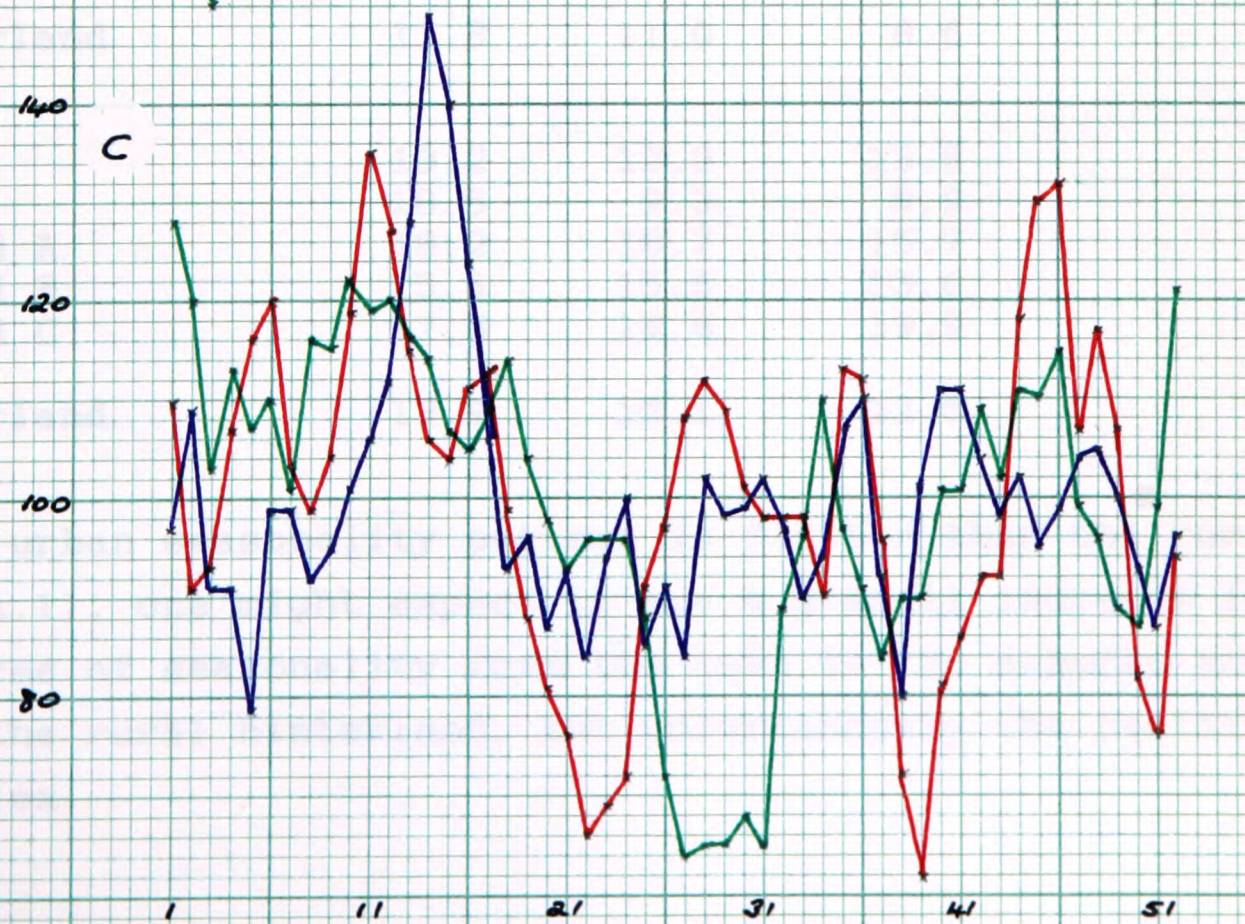
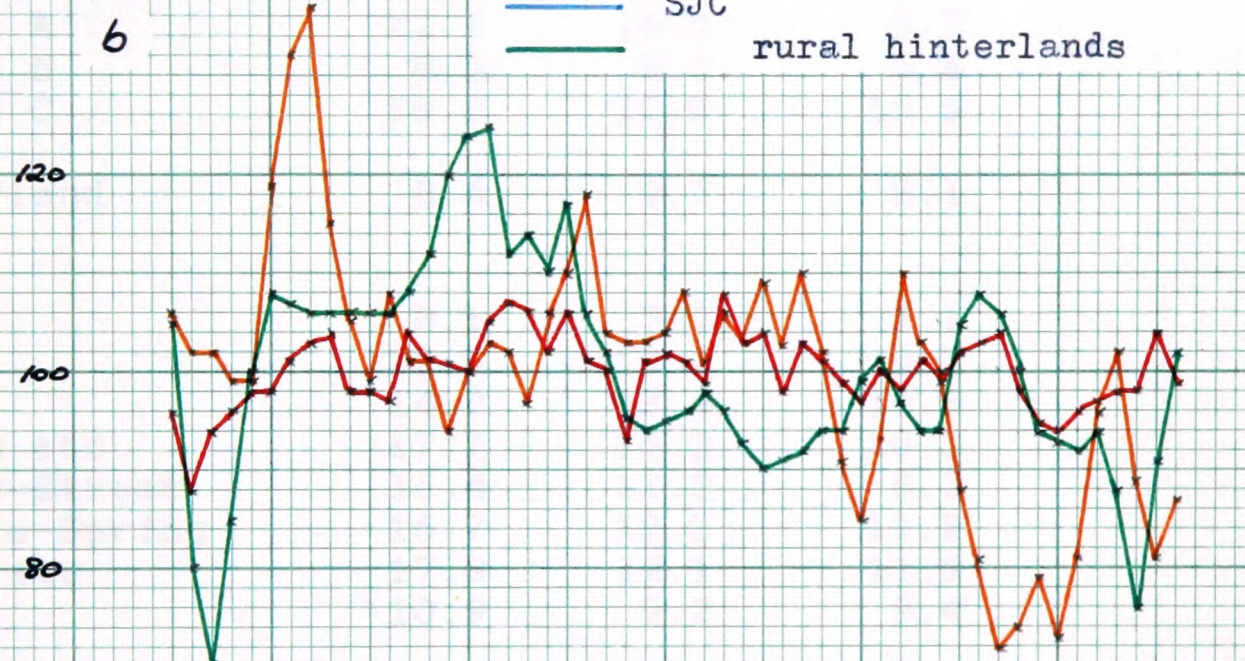
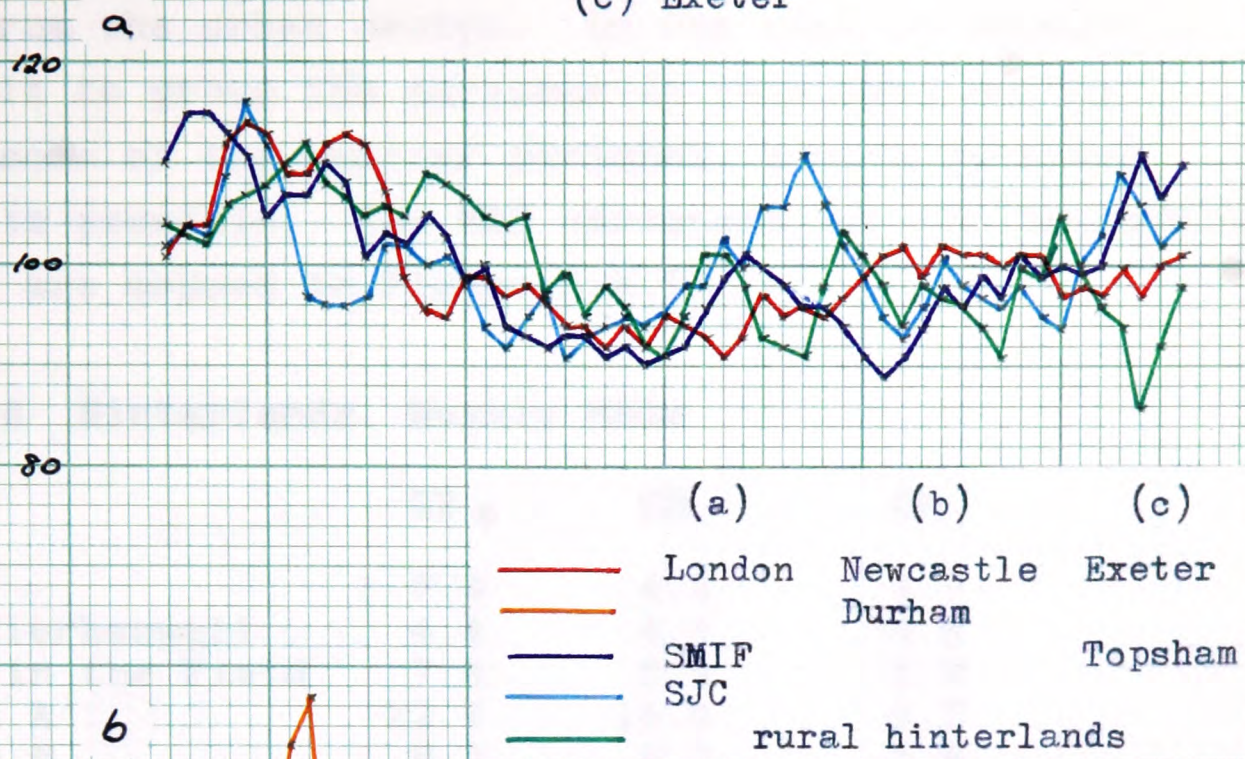
FIGURE 5.A.11 HINTERLAND WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES - C3

- (a) London
- (b) Newcastle
- (c) Exeter



FIGURE 5.A.12 HINTERLAND WEEKLY BAPTISMAL INDICES - C4

(a) London
 (b) Newcastle
 (c) Exeter



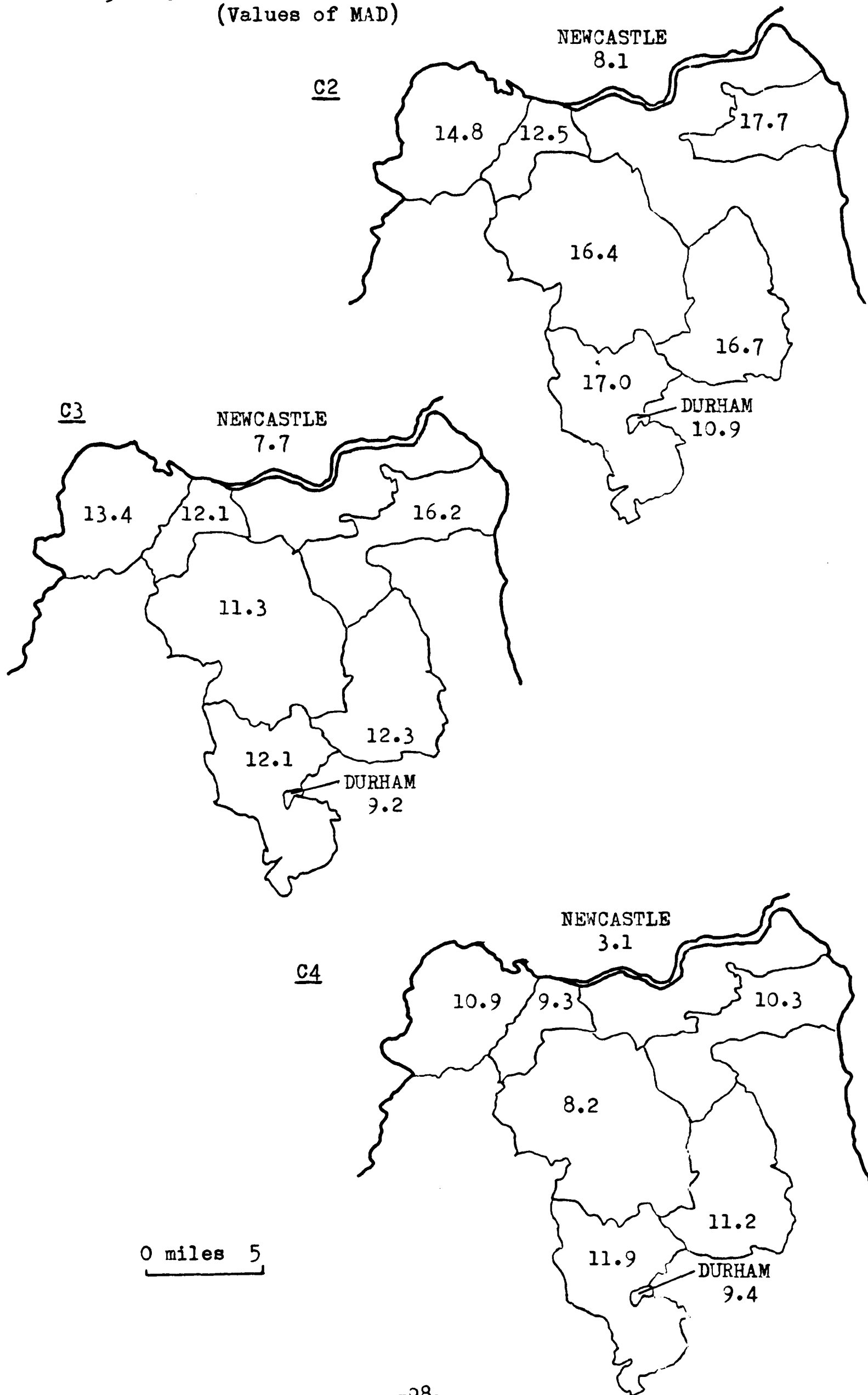
Tables 5.A.4 and 5.A.5 show measures of seasonality, and peak weeks. For the London and Exeter hinterlands the hinterland parishes have been divided into three bands, reflecting distance from the urban centre. In the case of Newcastle, it is difficult to group the parishes in this way, but by combining some of the smaller parishes, a more detailed breakdown is possible. The MAD variances for the Newcastle hinterland are mapped in Figure 5.A.13.

Table 5.A.4 Hinterlands, Weekly MADs

	C2	C3	C4
<u>LONDON</u>			
London	7.4	4.9	4.7
St James Clerkenwell	4.4	4.5	4.6
St Martin in the Field	7.6	5.3	5.7
Hinterland A	12.9	16.9	9.7
Hinterland B	8.3	9.0	5.6
Hinterland C	18.3	21.0	10.2
All hinterland	8.4	9.7	5.1
<u>NEWCASTLE</u>			
Newcastle	8.1	7.7	3.1
Whickham	12.5	12.1	9.3
Ryton	14.8	13.4	10.9
Washington etc	17.7	16.2	10.3
Chester-le-Street	16.4	11.3	8.2
Houghton-le-Spring	16.7	12.3	11.2
St Oswald etc	17.0	12.1	11.9
Durham	10.9	9.2	9.4
All hinterland	11.8	11.0	8.6
<u>EXETER</u>			
Exeter	13.2	12.0	13.8
Topsham	18.5	9.3	8.9
Hinterland A	18.2	18.7	15.7
Hinterland B	15.6	15.6	13.6
Hinterland C	17.5	19.8	19.9
All hinterland	13.9	15.1	12.5

Since the urban seasonality pattern is flatter than the rural (Table 5.A.1), one might expect to see a gradual increase in the measures of seasonality from the town to the suburbs and out into the rural hinterland, but unfortunately the reality is more complex.

FIGURE 5.A.13 BAPTISMAL SEASONALITY IN NEWCASTLE HINTERLAND
(Values of MAD)



Whilst London and its suburbs (Clerkenwell and St Martin in the Field), and Newcastle, do have flatter patterns than their rural hinterlands, this is not true of Exeter. Exeter's suburb (Topsham), from the mid-seventeenth century, exhibits the least seasonal pattern, seeming more 'urban' than Exeter itself.

It is difficult to see any pattern in the distribution of the weeks most popular for baptisms. In and around London, spring weeks generally predominate throughout. In Newcastle and Exeter, autumn weeks become popular in the early eighteenth century, with Christmas/New Year weeks predominating in their hinterlands overall

Table 5.A.5 Hinterlands, Most Popular Weeks

	C2	C3	C4
<u>LONDON</u>			
London	6	9	5
St James Clerkenwell	48	4	6
St Martin in the Field	5	1	1
Hinterland A	1	6/13	8
Hinterland B	8	11	15
Hinterland C	9	8/14	11
All hinterland	8	13	15
<u>NEWCASTLE</u>			
Newcastle	8	5	30
Whickham	11	41	52
Ryton	10	9	18
Washington etc	39	8	20
Chester-le-Street	7	9	52
Houghton-le-Spring	11	11	52
St Oswald etc	8	18	6
Durham	4	5	7
All hinterland	10	9	52
<u>EXETER</u>			
Exeter	11	9	45
Topsham	40	10	14
Hinterland A	29	13	1
Hinterland B	13	5	45
Hinterland C	16/40	12/16	18
All hinterland	16	13	1

SECTION B BURIALS

Wrigley & Schofield

Turning first to the basic English burial seasonality pattern in the mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries, Figure 5.B.1(a) shows the pattern derived from W&S's sample.⁴ As they note, the burial seasonality pattern is very similar to that for baptisms (Figure 5.A.1(a)): burials are above average in the first few months of the year (though peaking about a month later than baptisms) and well below average in the summer, returning to just below average for the last few months of the year. W&S also note that the pattern was constant over time, and shared by most of their sample parishes.⁵

Rural Sample

The rural sample, shown in Figure 5.B.1(b), has a similar monthly pattern to the W&S sample, especially in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the early seventeenth century the rural sample shows a higher winter/spring peak, and lower autumn burials, though the pattern is basically the same. Given this similarity, it seems probable that the weekly pattern of the rural sample will adequately represent that of rural England.

Turning to these more detailed weekly indices, graphed in Figure 5.B.2(a), it can be seen that there are small variations over time, but no significant change in the basic pattern of spring peak and summer trough.

Urban Sample

The monthly and weekly indices of the overall urban pattern are shown in Figures 5.B.1(b) and 5.B.2(b). From these it is clear, firstly, that the urban pattern, except in the early eighteenth century, differs from the rural pattern; secondly, that the urban pattern changes considerably over time.

FIGURE 5.B.1 MONTHLY BURIAL INDICES

(a) W&S
 (b) W&S, rural and urban

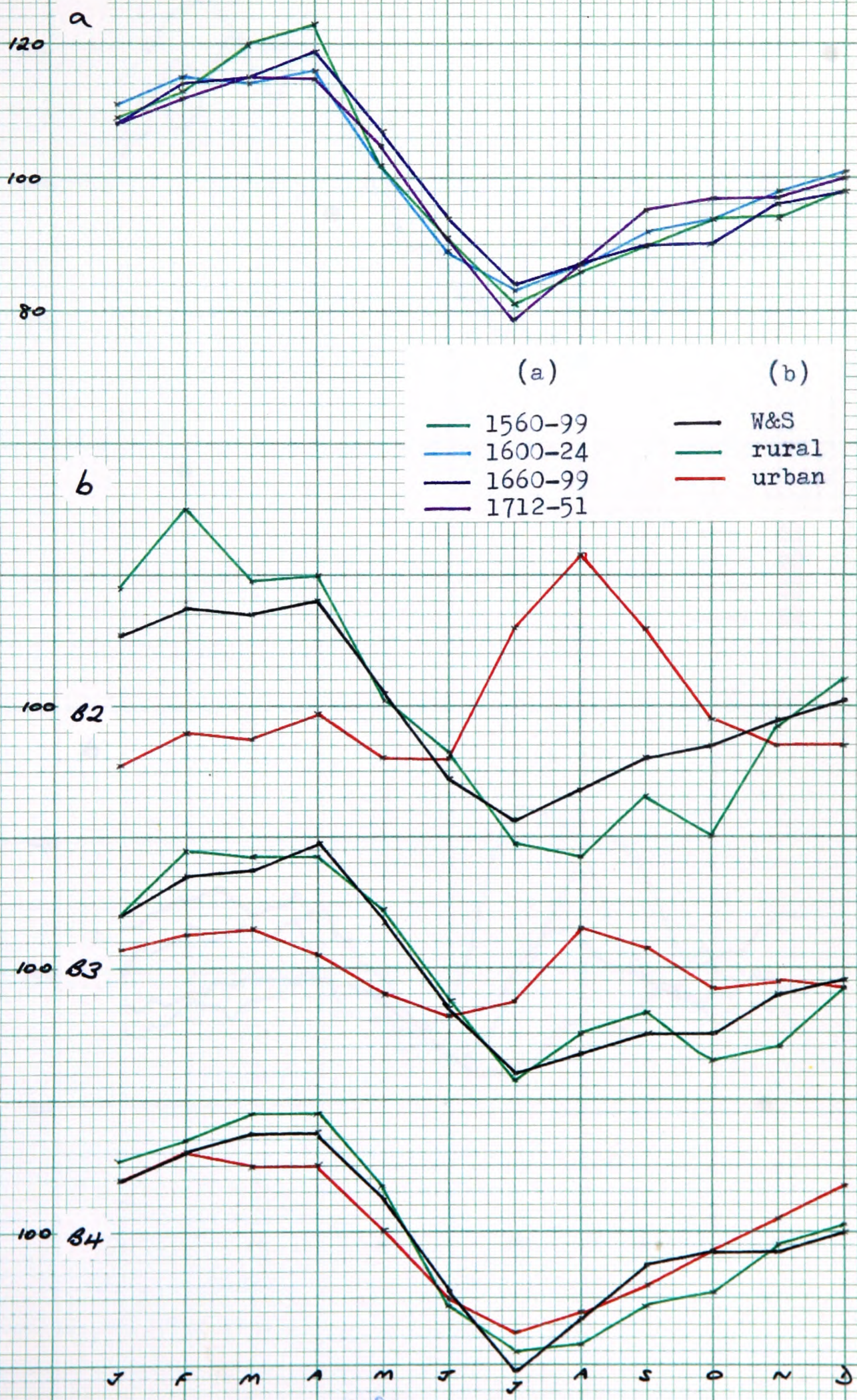
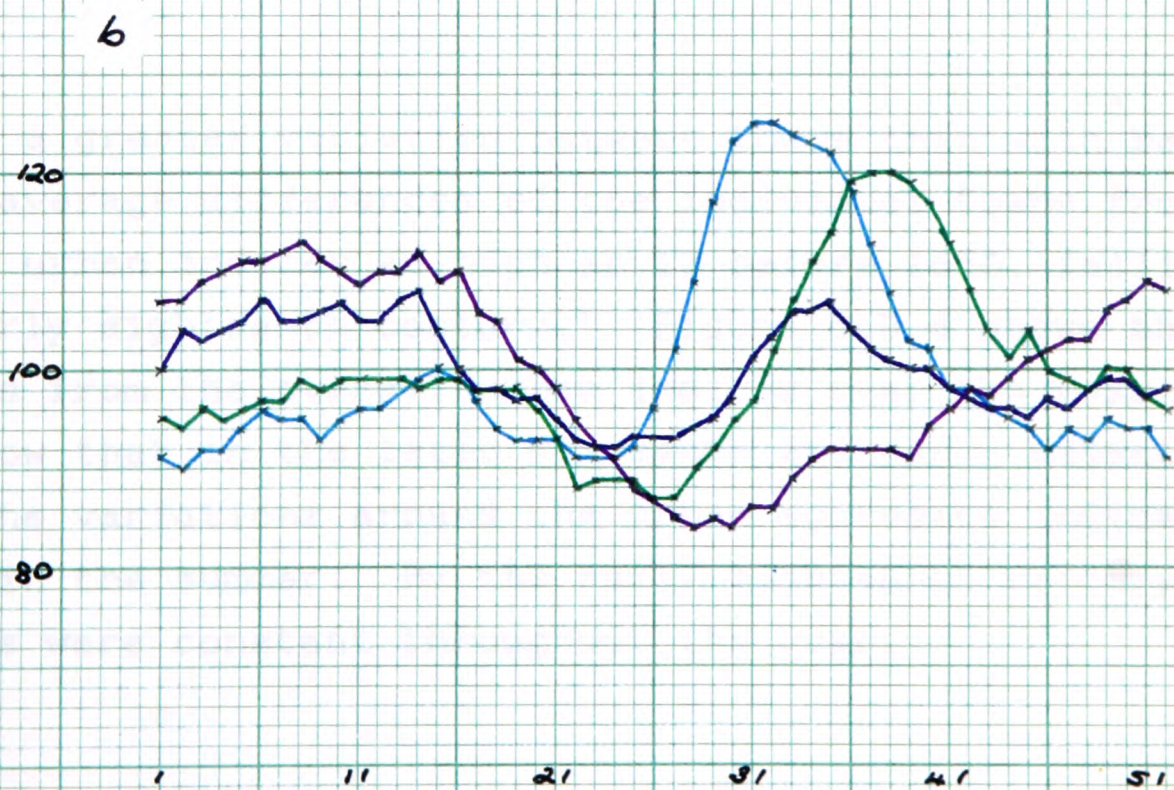
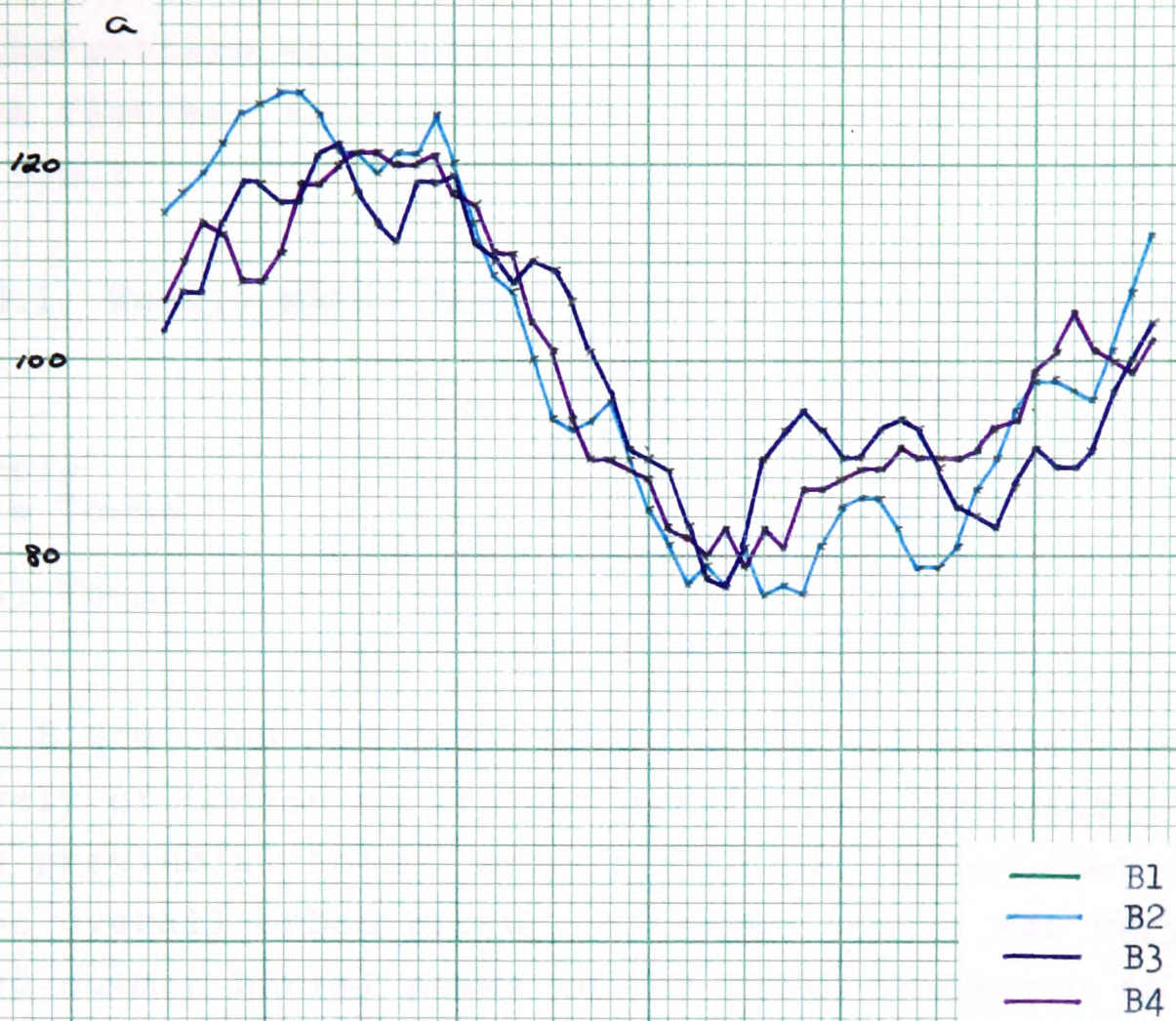


FIGURE 5.B.2 WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES

(a) rural
(b) urban



In the late sixteenth century there was a large late summer peak centering on September; in the early seventeenth century, an even more prominent summer peak, around August; in the late seventeenth century there was a small summer peak as well as a spring peak, a bi-modal pattern. In the early eighteenth century the pattern approximates to the rural pattern, though it is much flatter, as evidenced by the measures of seasonality in Table 5.B.1

Table 5.B.1 Weekly MADs: Rural, London, Provincial Towns

	B2	B3	B4
Rural Sample	15.5	11.5	11.5
All Sample Towns	8.2	4.1	8.2
London	36.4	10.2	7.2
Provincial Towns	3.0	4.7	8.6

Figures 5.B.3(a) and 5.B.3(b), showing the seasonality patterns respectively of London on its own and of the aggregate of the remaining provincial towns, demonstrate the impact that London has on the overall urban picture. London itself has very pronounced summer burial peaks in the later sixteenth to later seventeenth centuries. Without London, the provincial urban pattern is considerably flattened, though the summer peaks remain.

There was a greater variation between towns than with baptisms, with the average differences of the individual towns from the aggregate urban indices as high as 13 before 1650, falling to 8 in the early eighteenth century.⁶ Figure 5.B.4 shows these variations from the overall urban indices over the year. These graphs show that in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century the variations around the urban aggregate indices were greatest in the summer. By the early eighteenth century the variations were constant throughout the year.

The urban pattern conceals a dichotomy amongst the towns, some having summer/autumn peaks like (but not as prominent as) London, others with spring peaks like the rural pattern.

FIGURE 5.B.3 WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES

- (a) London
- (b) provincial towns

(broken lines indicate intra-mural London i.e. excluding SBB)

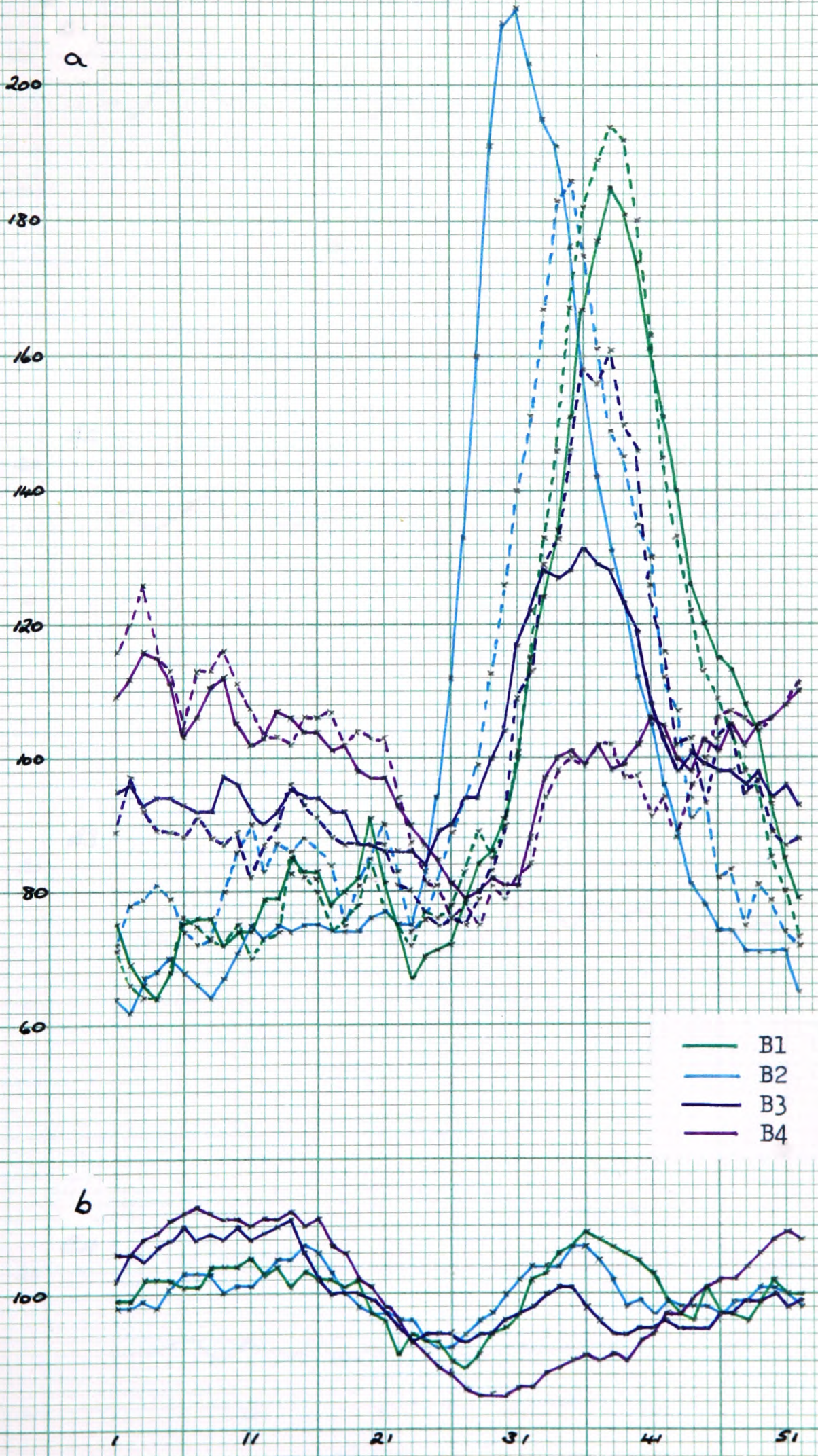
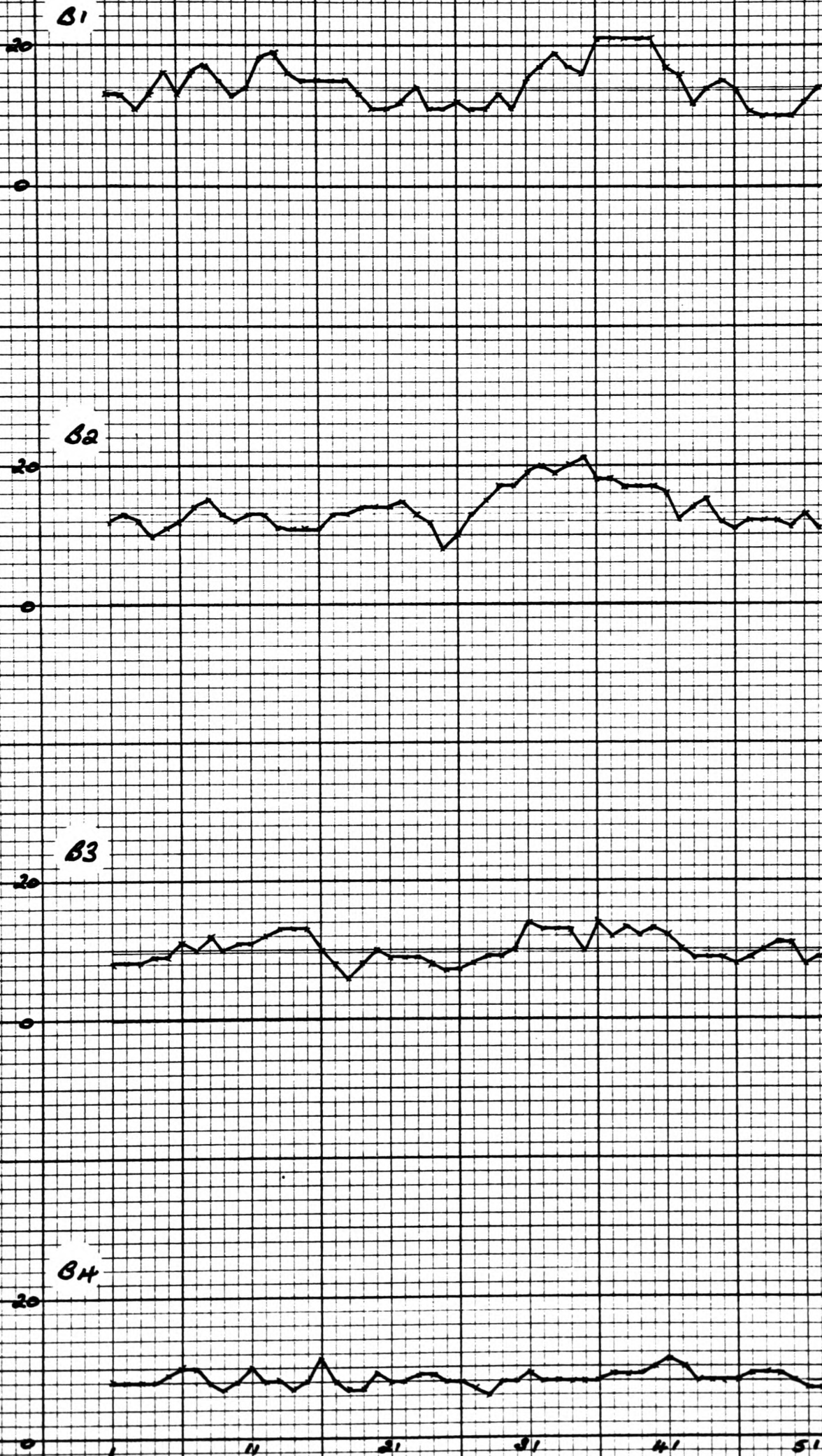


FIGURE 5.B.4 MEAN DIFFERENCES OF
INDIVIDUAL TOWNS FROM URBAN
BURIAL INDICES



The towns having summer/autumn peaks are mapped on Figure 5.B.5. In the later sixteenth century they were concentrated in the east and south of England. By the later seventeenth century they had contracted to the south and East Anglia and by the early eighteenth century only Canterbury remained, in the extreme southeast.

These summer peaks can be partly attributed to plague, so there are two factors which could be affecting the distribution of the peaks, especially in the later sixteenth century.

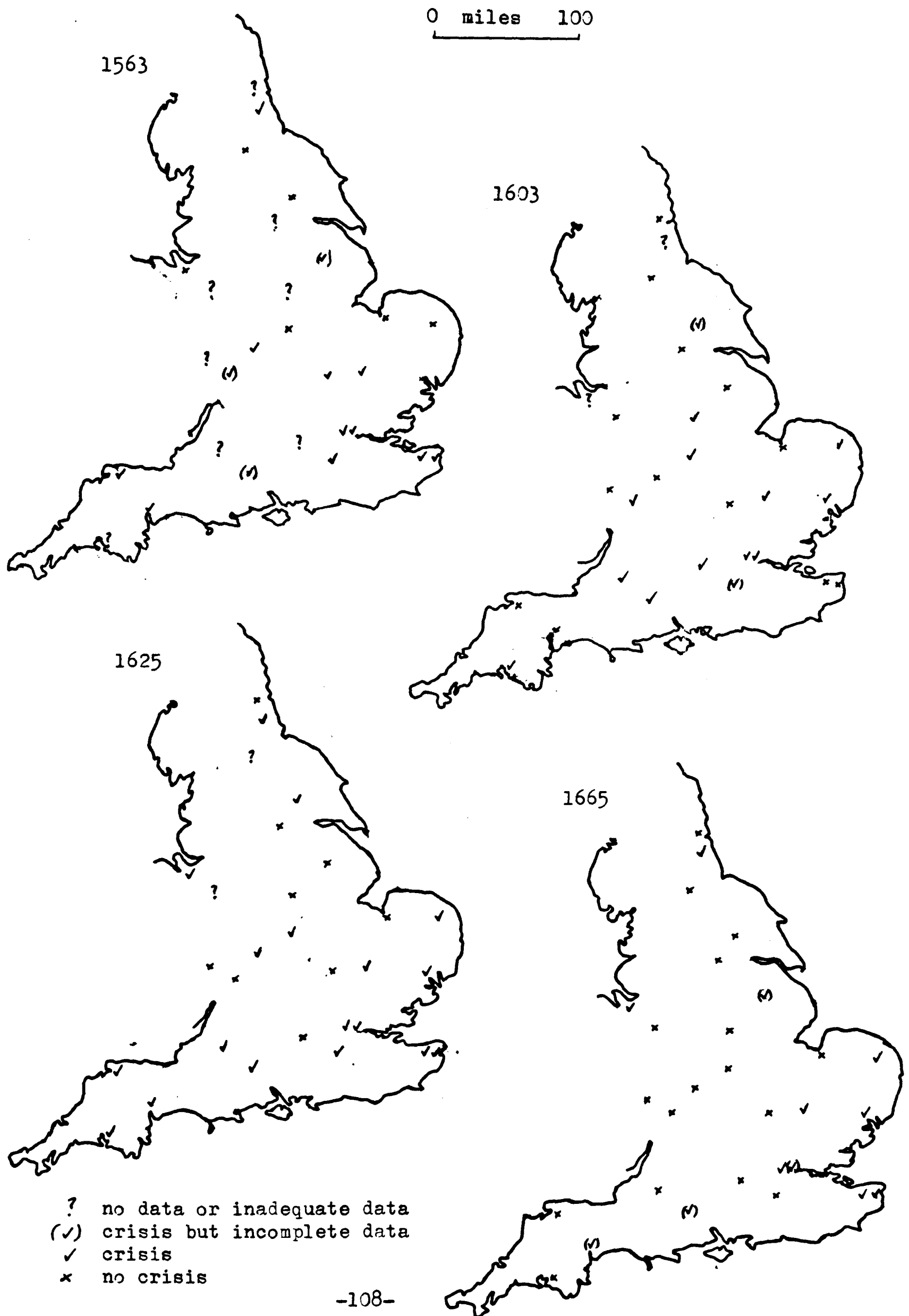
There was often a breakdown in registration during an epidemic with the result that the epidemic may be missing from the seasonality data in some towns, or from some parishes within a town (since incomplete years were omitted). In other towns or parishes, epidemics may be missing because registration began late. For these reasons, data for 1563 (a plague year) is missing from Bath, Leeds, Ludlow, both Newcastles, Plymouth and Reading. Other epidemic periods were also affected, but not to the same extent. Figure 5.B.6 attempts to summarise which towns have absent or deficient data for particular epidemics.

It may be, therefore, that the effect of plague has been understated in the affected towns, and therefore understated overall. In London the plague year of 1665 is missing from one of the sample parishes, St Botolph Bishopgate. Figure 5.B.3(a) includes the seasonality graph of the remaining parishes, revealing a greater summer peak for these parishes compared to the overall graph for London (including St Botolph). This suggests that the graph for London in the later seventeenth century understates the effect of plague, especially as plague is thought to have been more virulent in peripheral and suburban parishes like St Botolph in the seventeenth century.⁷ In the early seventeenth century, example, the peak for intramural London was smaller than that for London including St Botolph.

FIGURE 5.B.5 DISTRIBUTION OF SUMMER/AUTUMN BURIAL PEAKS



FIGURE 5.B.6 DISTRIBUTION OF PLAGUE EPIDEMICS IN SAMPLE TOWNS



In view of this, the location of the selected parishes within towns may also be affecting the seasonality indices. In other words, if a town is represented by central parishes, the impact of plague on the whole town may be understated, and conversely a town represented only by suburban parishes may have a seasonality pattern which exaggerates the effect of plague on the whole town. Canterbury, for example, is represented by three intra-mural churches and one extra-mural, while Exeter's four sample parishes are all intra-mural.

Given the impact of London on the overall urban seasonality burial pattern, the loss of the 1665 plague epidemic in St Botolph Bishopgate from the London data may well mean that the impact of plague on the seasonality pattern in the later seventeenth century has been considerably underestimated.

Urban Groupings

The seasonality patterns of the urban groupings are shown in Figures 5.B.7 to 5.B.10. London is graphed separately on Figure 5.B.3(a).

The geographical distribution of summer burial peaks is reflected in the regional seasonality patterns, being most marked in East Anglia and the south east. The hierarchy and size categories suggest that the summer peaks were most prominent in the largest and the highest status towns. The functional group with the most persistent summer peak is the thoroughfare towns, with cultural and administrative towns also featuring strongly.

The months with the most burials in the various urban groupings are shown in Table 5.B.2: I have not shown the most 'popular' weeks as I did with baptisms and will do with marriages, because the element of choice is (generally) lacking in the timing of death (and hence burial), and so the week with most burials is of less significance.

FIGURE 5.B.7 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES - B1

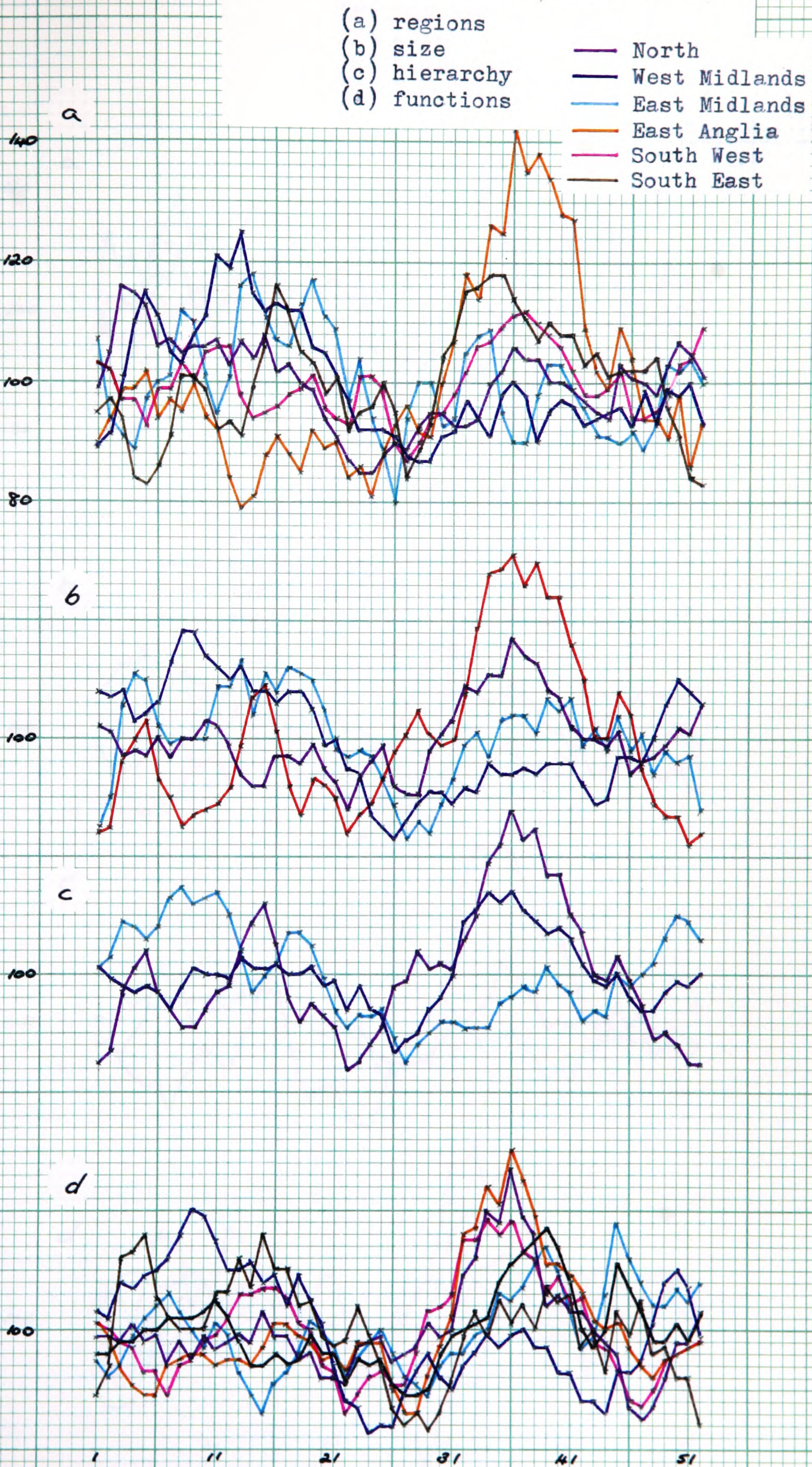


FIGURE 5.B.8 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES - B2

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

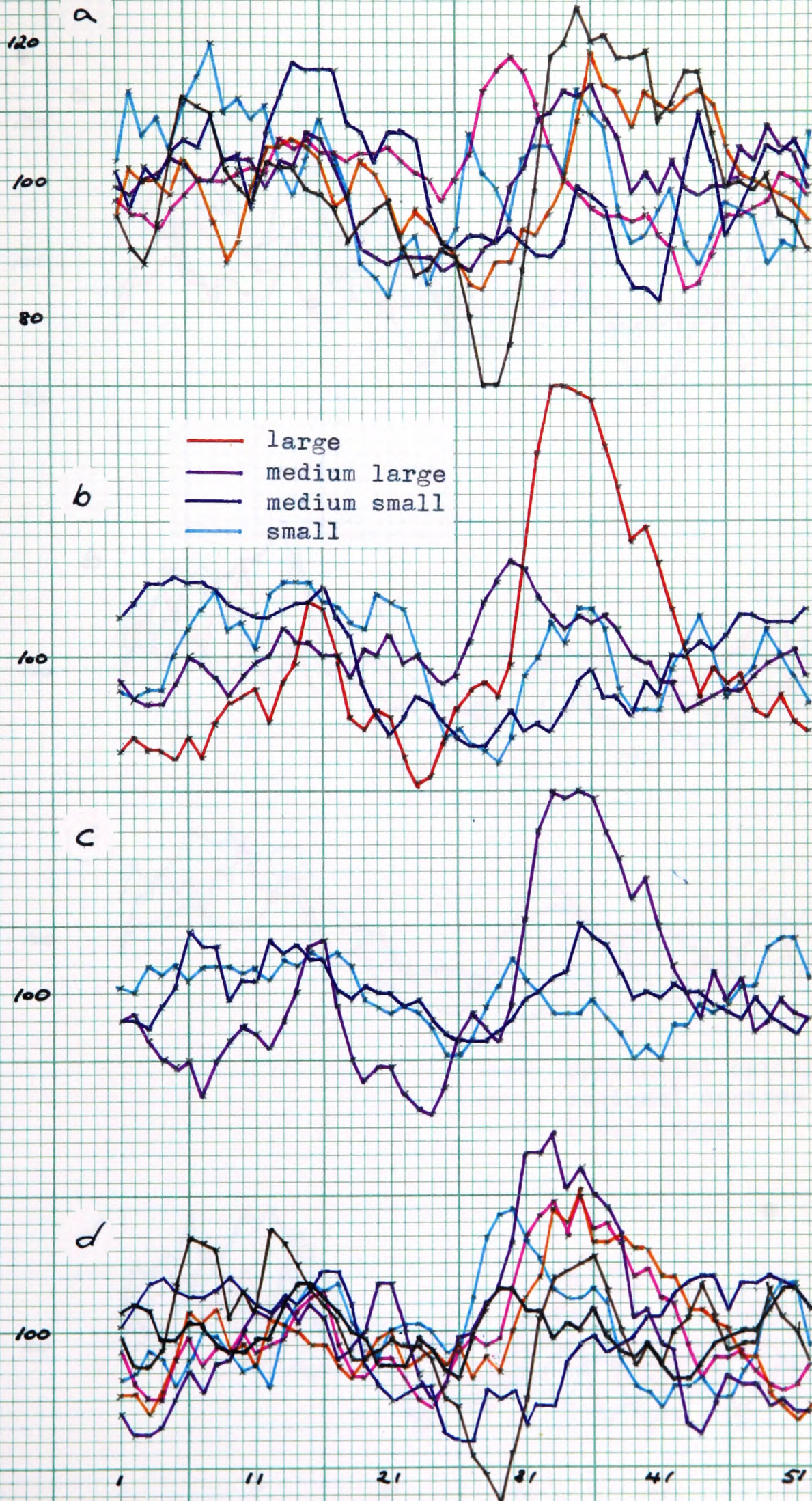


FIGURE 5.B.9 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES - B3

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

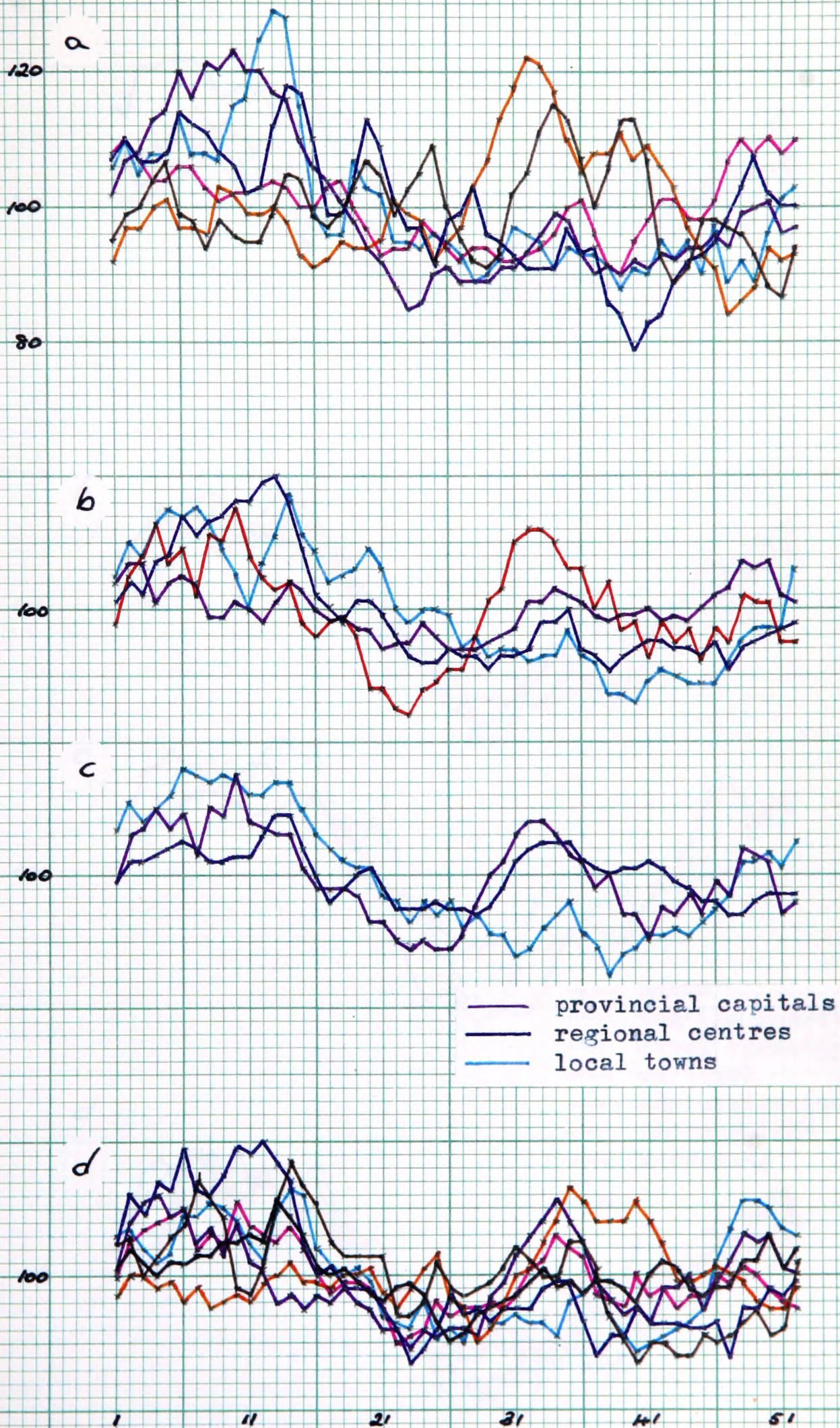


FIGURE 5.B.10 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES - B4

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

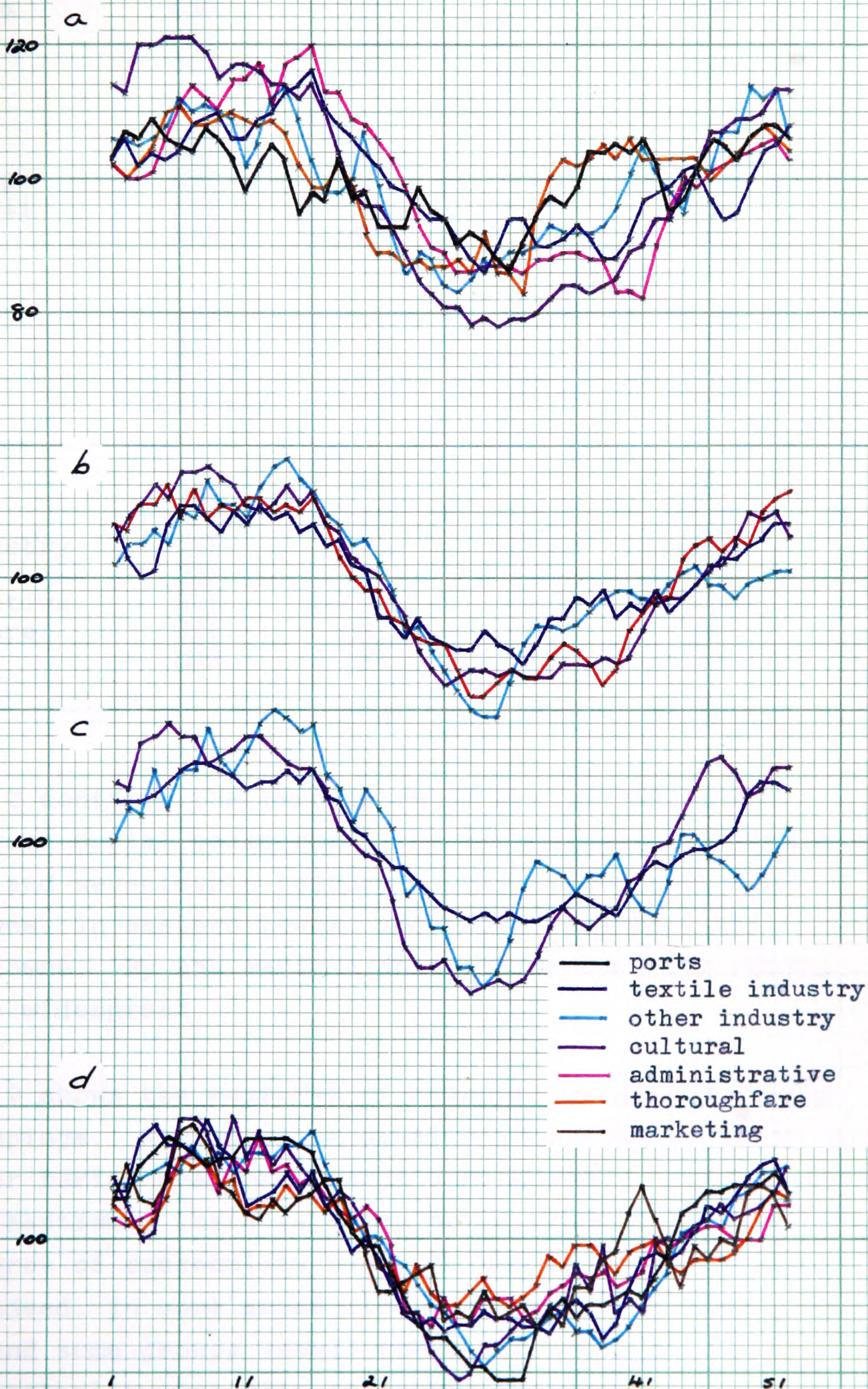


Table 5.B.2 Urban Groupings, Peak Months

	C1	C2	C3	C4
<i>Regions</i>				
North	JAN	AUG	MAR	FEB
West Midlands	MAR	APR	FEB/APR	APR
East Midlands	MAY	FEB	MAR	FEB
East Anglia	SEP	SEP	AUG	MAR
South West	SEP	JUL	JAN/DEC	APR
South East	OCT	SEP	AUG	JAN
<i>Size</i>				
Large	SEP	AUG	AUG	JAN-MAR
Medium Large	SEP	JUL	JAN	FEB
Medium Small	FEB	FEB	MAR	FEB
Small	APR	APR	FEB	APR
<i>Hierarchy</i>				
London	SEP	AUG	SEP	JAN
Provincial	SEP	AUG	AUG	MAR
Regional	AUG/DEC	FEB	AUG	FEB
Local	FEB/DEC	APR	MAR	FEB
<i>Functions</i>				
Ports	SEP	APR	MAR	MAR
Textiles	FEB/MAR	APR	MAR	FEB
Other Industry	SEP	JUL	FEB	FEB
Cultural	SEP	AUG	AUG	FEB
Administrative	AUG	AUG/SEP	FEB	FEB/MAR
Thoroughfare	SEP	SEP	SEP	FEB
Marketing	MAR	FEB	APR	FEB
<i>All Rural</i>		FEB	FEB	MAR/APR

Table 5.B.2 confirms the impression of the graphs, with summer/autumn burial peaks prevalent in the later sixteenth centuries and seventeenth century in the larger and higher status towns, in eastern towns, and in thoroughfare and cultural towns. By the early eighteenth century the spring peaks were widespread.

Table 5.B.3 shows the measures of seasonal variation in the urban groupings. A high value usually indicates either a very high summer burial peak or a large spring peak. Unlike the case with baptisms, there is often not a progressive decrease in the degree of seasonality over the two centuries of the study. Indeed, in some areas (the North and South East, for example) and some groups (small towns and other industrial towns), seasonality actually increases over the two centuries.

Table 5.B.3 Urban Groupings, Weekly MADs

	C1	C2	C3	C4
<i>Regions</i>				
North	5.7	5.4	9.1	13.6
West Midlands	7.9	7.4	7.6	6.7
East Midlands	7.1	7.8	8.4	7.7
East Anglia	12.1	6.6	6.6	6.5
South West	4.6	5.2	4.8	9.5
South East	7.9	10.1	5.5	5.2
<i>Size</i>				
Large	10.9	12.6	6.4	9.5
Medium Large	4.8	4.0	2.9	10.0
Medium Small	7.9	7.3	6.7	6.4
Small	6.0	6.3	7.7	7.8
<i>Hierarchy</i>				
London	28.5	36.4	10.2	7.2
Provincial	8.8	10.0	5.7	12.1
Regional	4.4	3.6	3.4	7.6
Local	6.7	4.2	8.1	9.0
<i>Functions</i>				
Ports	5.1	3.2	3.2	10.6
Textiles	8.2	6.6	7.9	9.2
Other Industry	5.5	5.8	6.6	10.0
Cultural	5.5	9.1	5.3	9.3
Administrative	6.9	6.7	4.2	6.7
Thoroughfare	7.5	6.2	3.7	5.2
Marketing	6.4	6.7	6.2	7.0
<i>All Rural</i>		15.5	11.5	11.5

Hinterlands

The interesting aspect of hinterlands is to see how far round the largest, high status towns the summer peaks penetrated. As Table 5.B.4 demonstrates, they are found around London, but not around Exeter or Newcastle. Indeed in London, the summer peaks appear to persist in the hinterland after they have disappeared from London itself, if not the suburbs. The distribution of the summer peaks in Middlesex is shown on Figure 5.B.11. The seasonal patterns of the hinterlands are shown on Figures 5.B.12 to 5.B.14. Because of the high values of the indices, these graphs are on a smaller scale than previous graphs.

Table 5.B.4 Hinterlands, Monthly Indices

	B2 JFMAMJJASOND	B3 JFMAMJJASOND	B4 JFMAMJJASOND
<i>London Hinterland</i>			
LON	-----*** --	-----**+-	++++-----++
SJC	-----***----	-----**+----	+++ -----++
SMF	-----**+-	-----**----	++++-----+
STO	-----+***--	-----+**+-	++-----+- +
FIN	++-++ -+++-+	+--+++++*----	- + -----*+-
MIM	+----+ ----+*	+--+*+-----	+--+++-----
HARR	+*+--+---*--	+--+--+--+----	---++---+*--
HAY	+*+---+---*-	-**+---+-----	+--+---+---*+-
ISL	-----+-----+	-----+-----+	-----+---*+-
TWI	++-----***--	---+ -+--+--+	++- +-----++
SUN	-+-----+**--	+--+---**--+--	++-+++-----++
SHE		+-*+-----	-+*+-----++
<i>Newcastle/Durham Hinterland</i>			
NEWT	----+----*+--	++++-----++	++++-----++
WHIC	-+++--*+--+	-+**+-----+	++++-----++
RYT	+*+*+-----+	+*+*+-----	+*+*+-----
WHIT	+**+-----++	*-++*-----++	*+***+-----
BOL	-+*+--+---*--	+-*+-----*+-	-++*+-----*+-
WASH	+--+**+---*+-	+++*+-----+	-++*+-----++
CHE	+*+*+-----	-*+*+-----+	+*+*+-----+
HOU	+*+*+-----++	-+**+-----	+*+*+-----
WITT	-+*+-----+--*	+**+-----	**+--+-----++
DURSO	+**+-----	++*+-----+	+*+*+-----
DUR	+*+-----++	-***+-----	+*+*+-----++
<i>Exeter Hinterland</i>			
EXE	++-*+-----*+	+-----+--+--	+++++-----++
TOP	++-++-----++	++-+++--+-----	+++++-----
EXM	+*-*------**	*+--+-----*+	+*+-----+--+
KEN	+++**-----+	*+*-----+-	+++**+-----
BIS	**+*+-----+-	+ -+++--+-----	-*+*+-----+-
BOV	+***+-----	++*+-----+	+*+*+-----*
LUS	+-***-----*	+*+*+-----+*	+*+*+-----*+
NOR	+*+*+----- +	---*+*+-----	+++*+-----
WID	-+***+-----+	+***+-----	**+**+-----

- Monthly Index under 100
 + Monthly Index over 100
 * Monthly Index over 124

FIGURE 5.B.11 SUMMER BURIAL PEAKS IN LONDON & MIDDLESEX

Only those sample parishes with summer burial peaks are shown

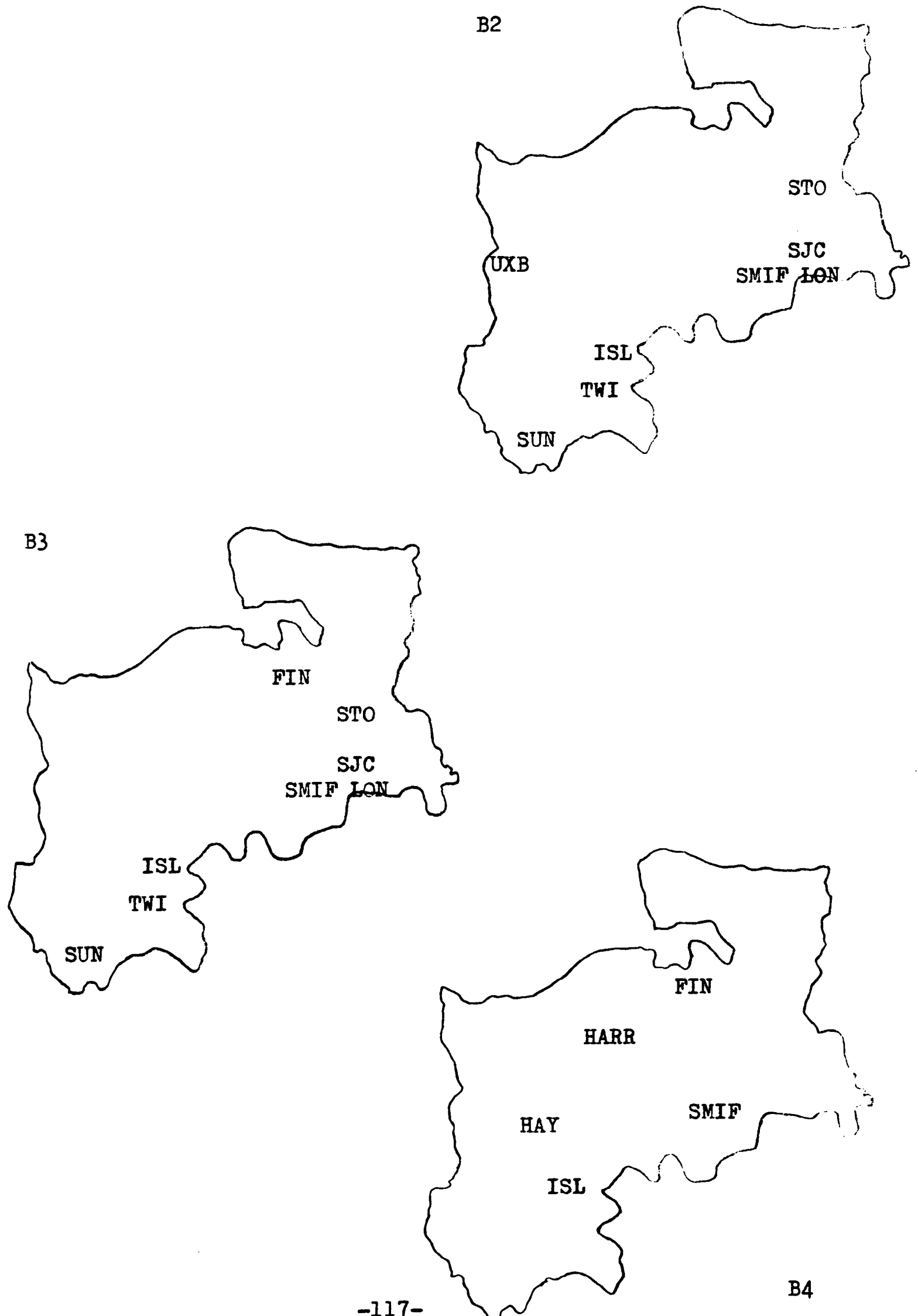


FIGURE 5.B.12 HINTERLAND WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES - B2

- (a) London
- (b) Newcastle
- (c) Exeter

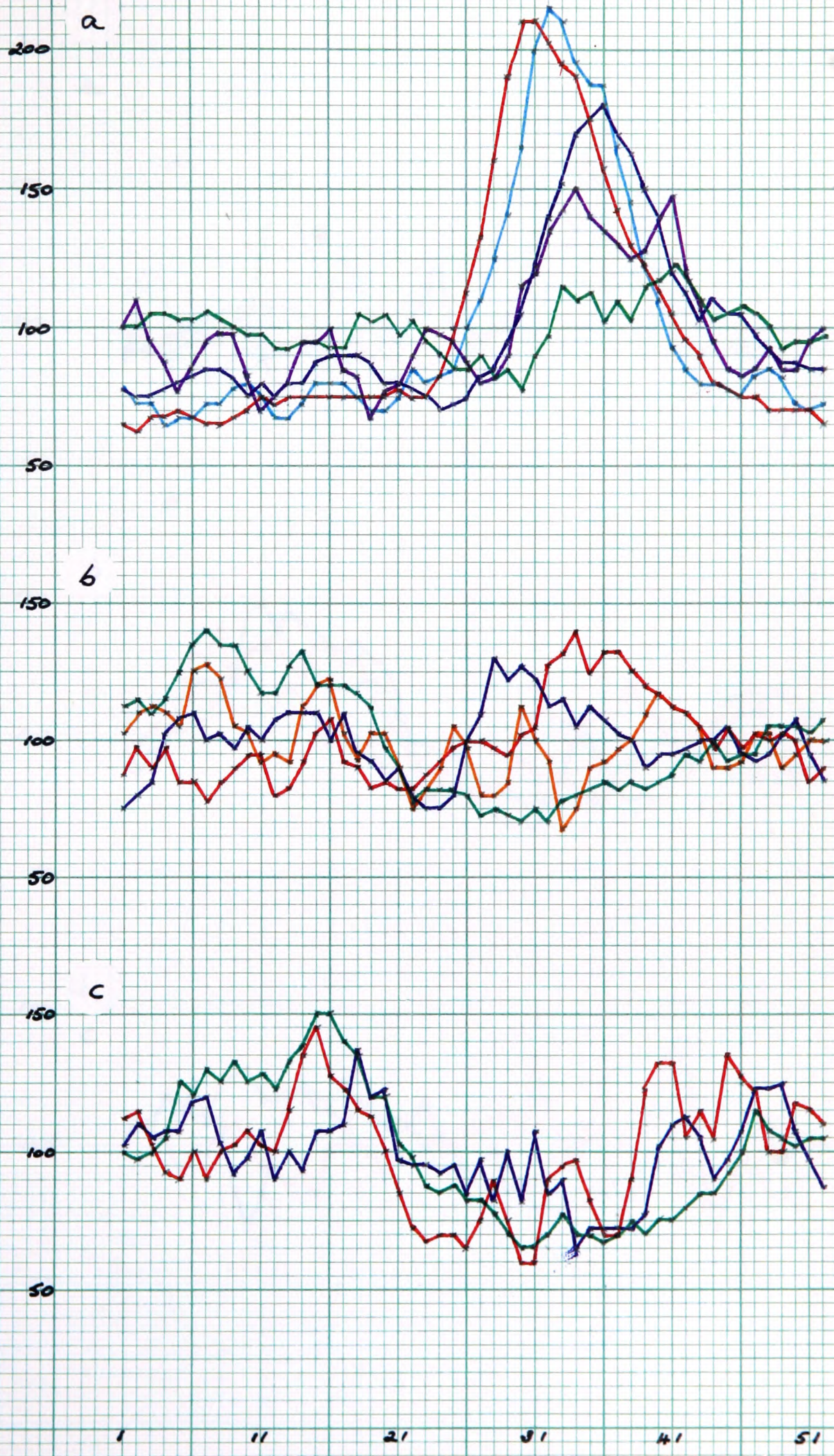


FIGURE 5.B.13 HINTERLAND WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES - B3

- (a) London
- (b) Newcastle
- (c) Exeter

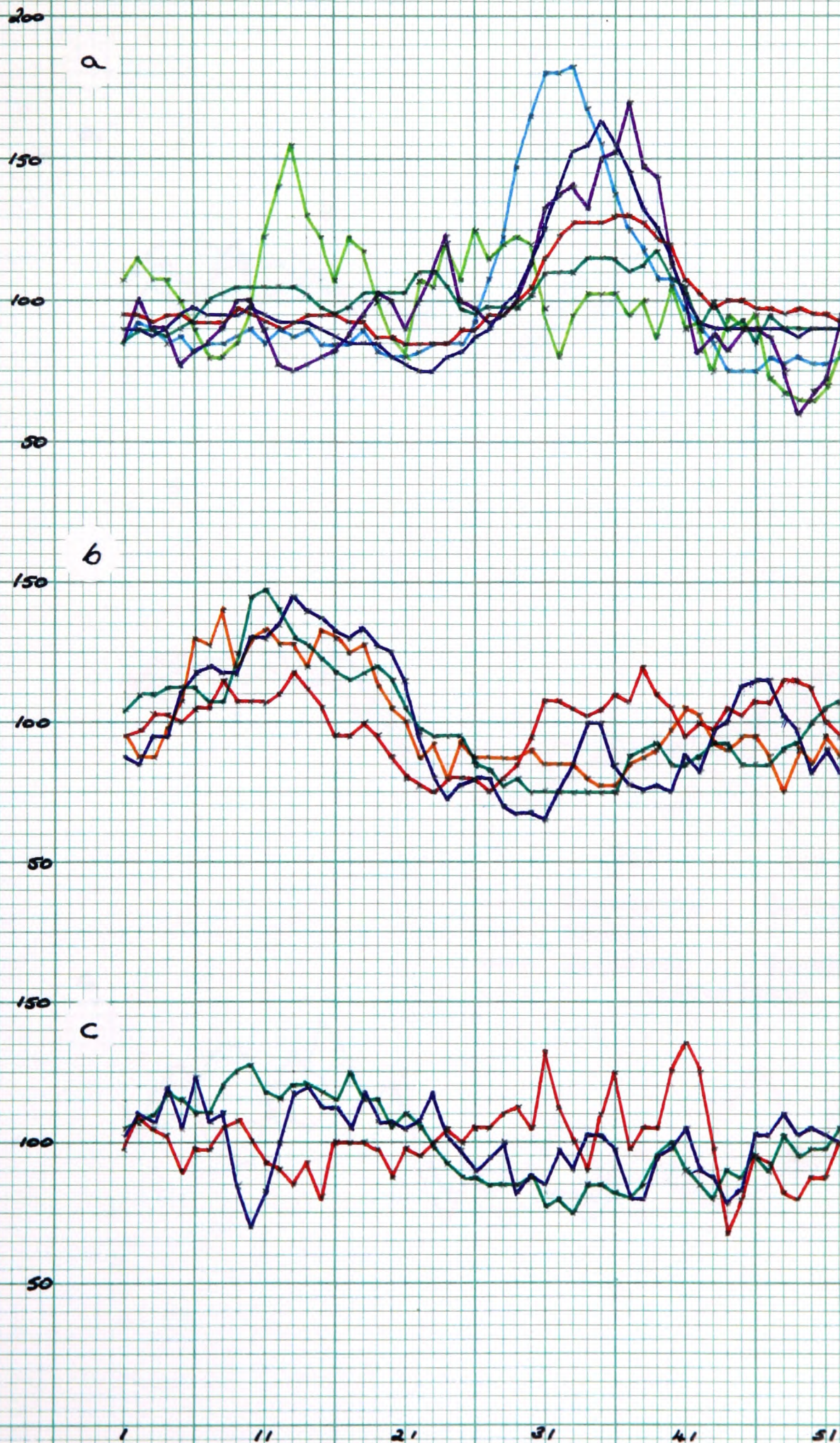
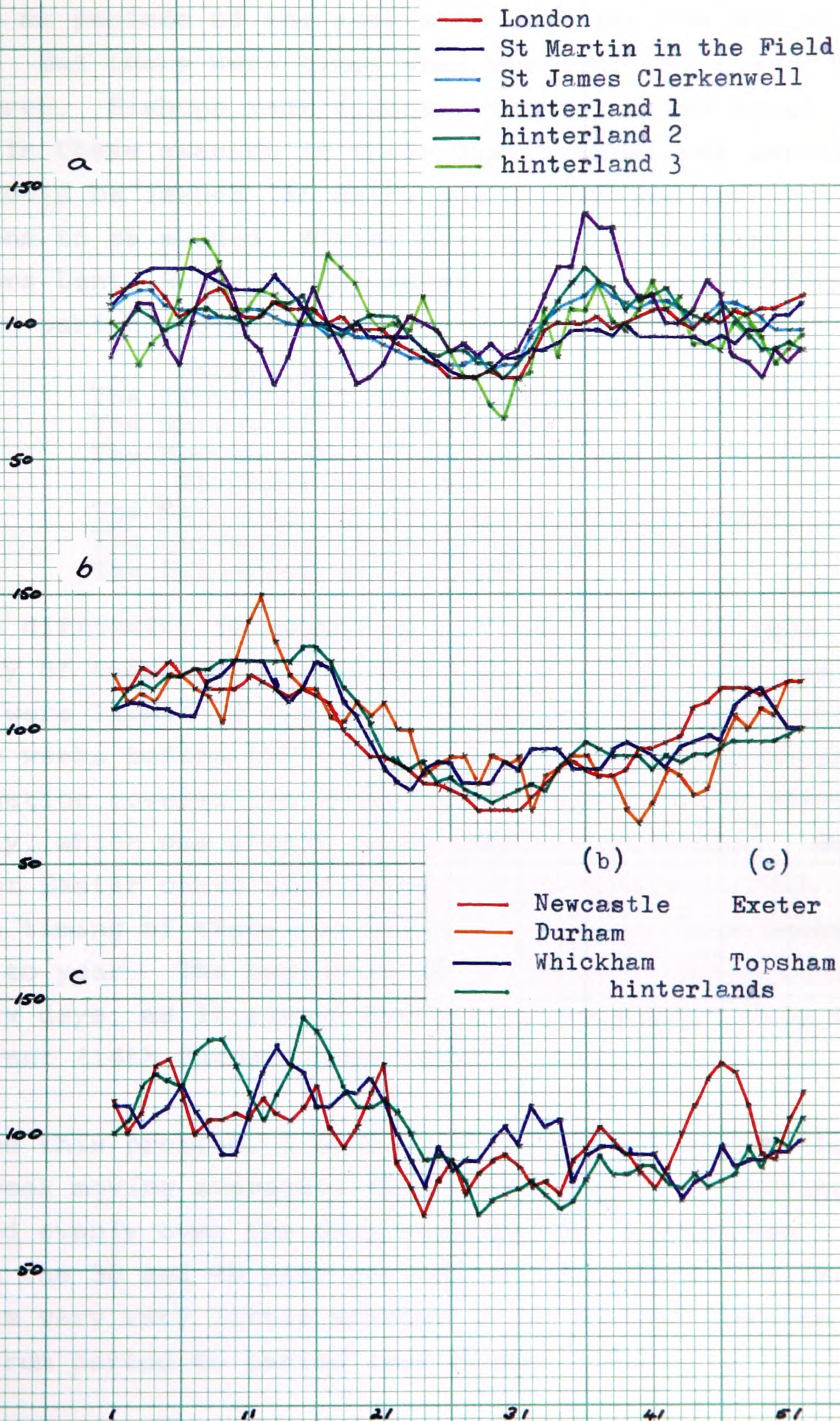


FIGURE 5.B.14 HINTERLAND WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES - B4

- (a) London
- (b) Newcastle
- (c) Exeter



SECTION C MARRIAGES

Prohibited Periods

Marriage seasonality is complicated by the so-called 'prohibited' periods. In reality, in post-Reformation England there were no periods of the year when marriage was actually forbidden. But there were times when marriage was discouraged by the church. Bishops made disapproving enquiries about marriages in these seasons in their Visitations, and marriage licences could be issued (at extra cost) to allow the restrictions to be evaded. These mis-named 'prohibited' periods were Lent, Rogation and Advent. They were sometimes recorded in parish registers:

Marryages cometh in
The ffourteenth day of Januarye
The Morrow after Low Sunday
The Morrow after Trinitye Sunday
Maryages goeth out
The Satterday before Septuagesima Sunday
The Satterday before Rogation Sunday
The Satterday before Advent⁶

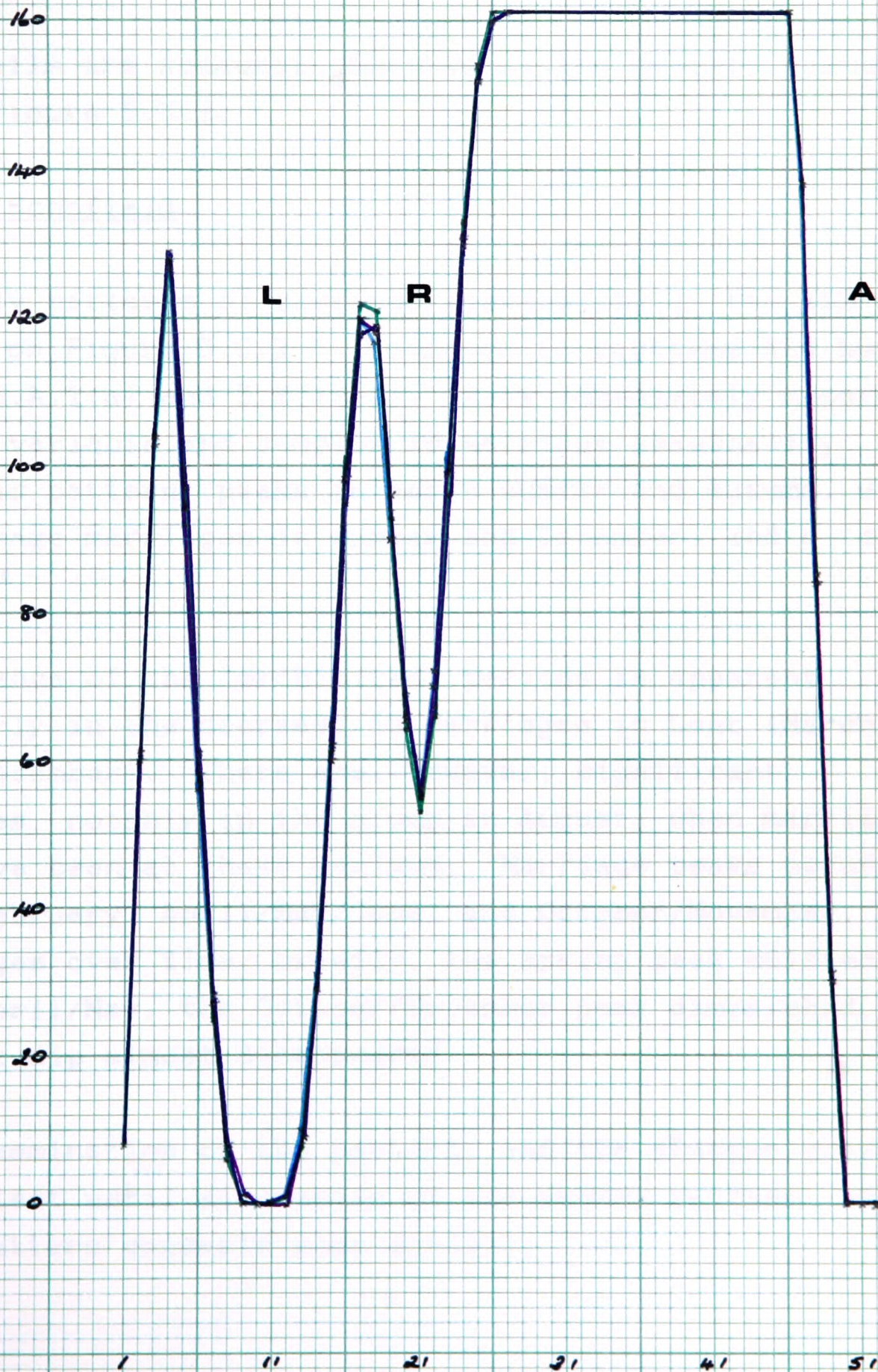
There is a difficulty in assessing the impact on marriage seasonality of these periods because two of them, Lent and Rogation, were linked to the date of Easter. The Lent period began nine weeks before and ended a week after Easter Sunday, whilst Rogation covered two weeks before and one week after Whit Sunday, which was itself seven weeks after Easter. Since the date of Easter could vary between 22nd March and 25th April, the timing of these periods could vary by five weeks from year to year. The beginning of the Advent period could vary by six days, as it always began on a Saturday. Only the end of Advent (14th January) was fixed.

To overcome this problem, I have calculated the indices (based on three week moving averages) that would result if marriages were spread evenly over the days outside the 'prohibited' periods in the 30 and 40 year periods of the study. In fact the indices vary very little whether 30 or 40 year periods are used, or from period to period (see Figure 5.C.1).

FIGURE 5.C.1 'PROHIBITED PERIODS'
WEEKLY INDICES

L = Lent R = Rogation A = Advent

— 1560-99
— 1600-39
— 1660-99
— 1712-51



Only weeks 26 to 46 (ie July to mid-November) are entirely free of the effects of the 'prohibitions'. The Lent and Advent periods produce very deep dips, with times when there would be no marriages if the 'prohibition' were observed. Because the Rogation period was short (just three weeks) but could vary by five weeks, its impact was more limited. Mid-May was most affected, but on no one day in the month was marriage always 'prohibited'. The Rogation 'prohibited' period thus produces only a short, shallow dip in the seasonality pattern.

These details are somewhat obscured in the monthly pattern, shown on Figure 5.C.2.

Wrigley & Schofield

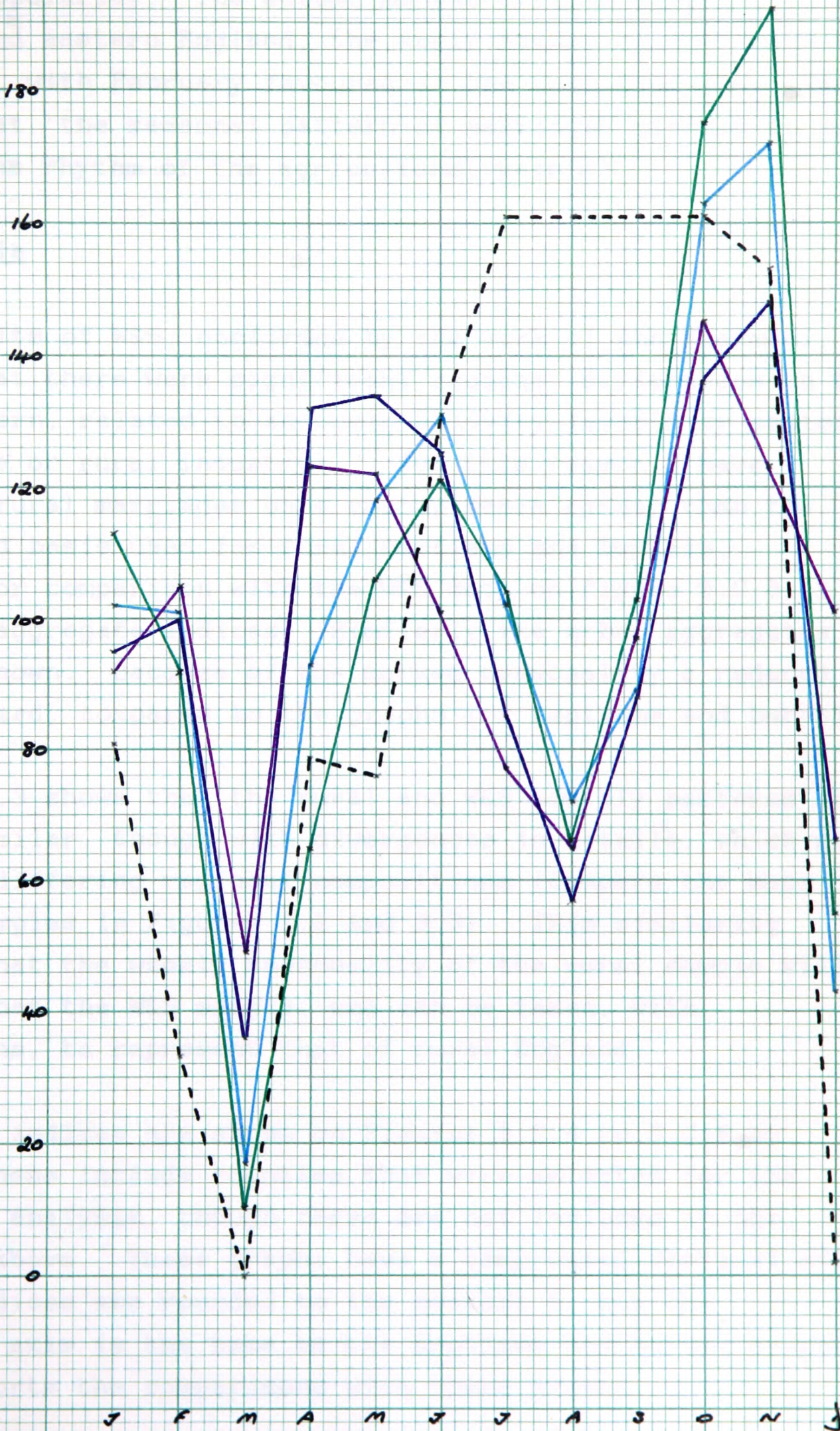
The monthly patterns of marriage seasonality in the W&S sample are shown on Figure 5.C.2.⁹ Compared to baptisms and burials (Figures 5.A.1(a) and 5.B.1(a)), it is immediately apparent how much more variable and complex is marriage seasonality. There was a basic pattern: peaks in early summer and autumn, with below average marriages in summer and December, and a 'chasm' in March.¹⁰

The influence of the 'prohibited' periods is apparent, particularly in the decrease in marriages in Lent (March) and Advent (December). There are, however, significant differences, notably in the slump in August, when marriages should have been at their maximum. Marriage peaks occur in January/February, April/May/June, and October/November. There were changes over time: briefly, the spring peak shifted from June to April/May, the October/November peak diminished, and the Advent dip almost disappeared.

Further examination of the pattern, and the changes over time, are best left until discussion of the weekly pattern, as the monthly pattern conceals some details.

FIGURE 5.C.2 W&S MONTHLY MARRIAGE INDICES

- 1560-99
- 1600-39
- 1660-99
- 1712-51
- - - 'Prohibited Periods' 1712-51



W&S found that the marriage seasonality pattern, unlike the case with baptisms and burials, was not shared by the bulk of the sample parishes. March was invariably the month of least marriages, but there was great diversity in the month of greatest popularity. The autumn months predominated in southern and eastern England, the early summer in the north and north west, with February favoured in the west Midlands. W&S thought that 'the seasonal pattern of marriages appears to have followed the rhythm of the agricultural year'.¹¹

Rural Sample

These results of W&S, confirmed by the work of Ann Kusssmaul, suggest that there were significant regional differences in the rural pattern, related to economic activity (arable or pastoral agriculture or rural industry).¹² For this reason I have looked at rural marriages on a county basis rather than the all-England basis used for rural baptisms and burials. However, for comparison with the W&S data on Figure 5.C.3, I have used aggregate indices. Similarly the urban aggregates are also shown. Because of the marked seasonality a reduced scale is used, compared to the graphs for baptisms and burials.

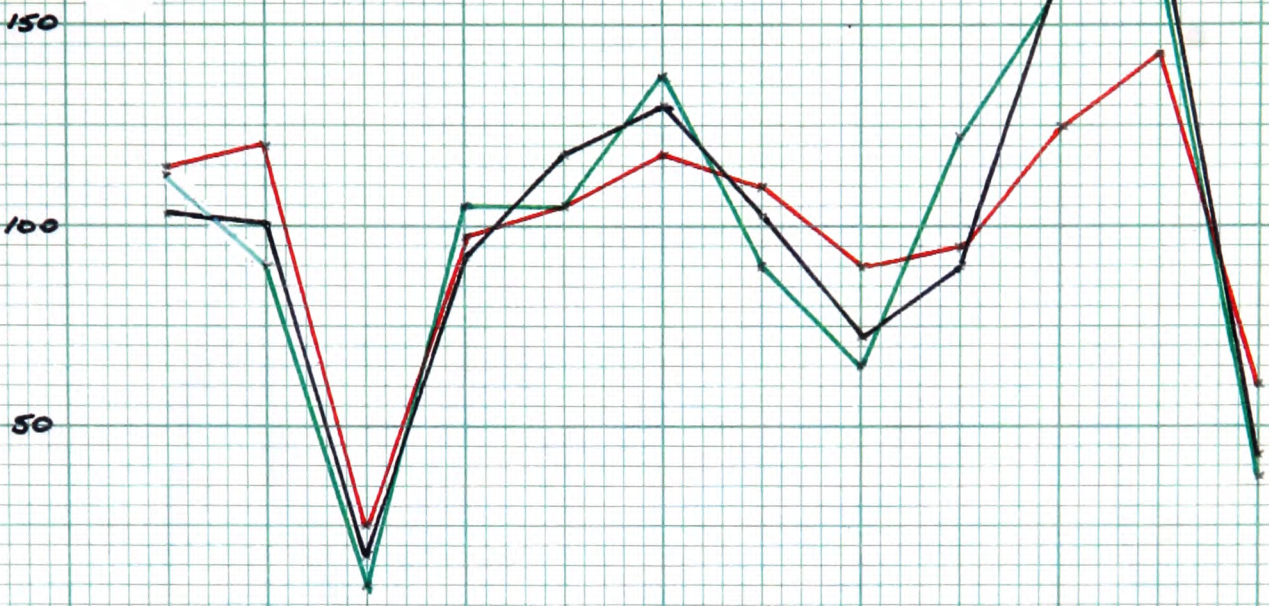
Figure 5.C.3 shows that the rural and W&S monthly patterns are clearly similar, though with divergences in details, which may be due to differing regional compositions (compare the maps of the two samples in Figures 1.1 and 3.3). This similarity suggests that the weekly seasonality of the rural sample will resemble that the W&S sample, and can be taken, with reservations, to represent that of rural England.

The weekly indices are shown on Figures 5.C.4 to 5.C.6 by county. These include counties that were selected for the hinterland analysis, though these are not included in the aggregate above. These graphs have a compressed vertical axis and the indices are rounded to the nearest 5, but the horizontal axis is the same as the baptisms and burial graphs, which distorts the comparisons with these graphs.

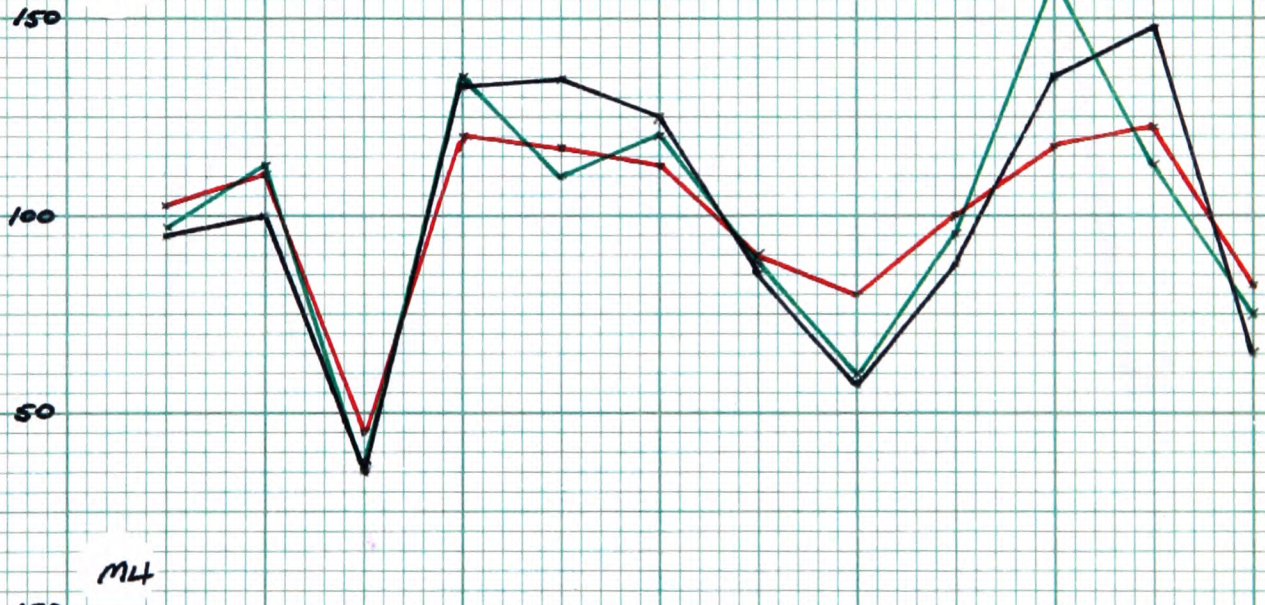
FIGURE 5.C.3 W&S, RURAL AND URBAN MONTHLY MARRIAGE INDICES

— W&S
 — rural
 — urban

m2



m3



m4

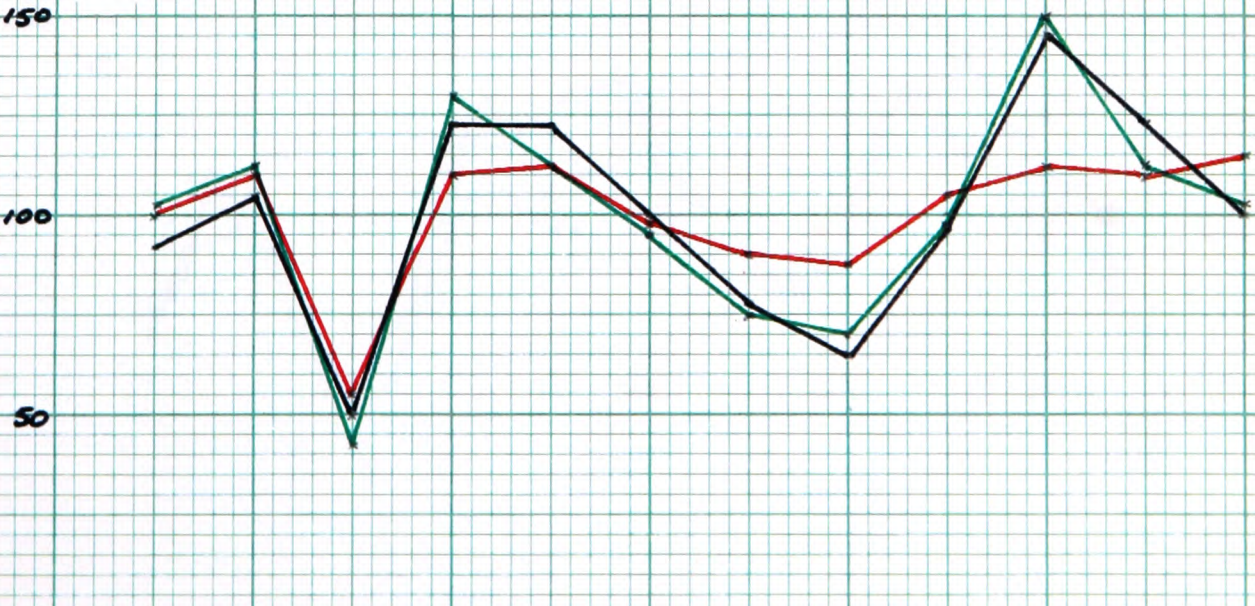


FIGURE 5.C.4 RURAL WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M2

- (a) North and Midlands
- (b) South West
- (c) South East

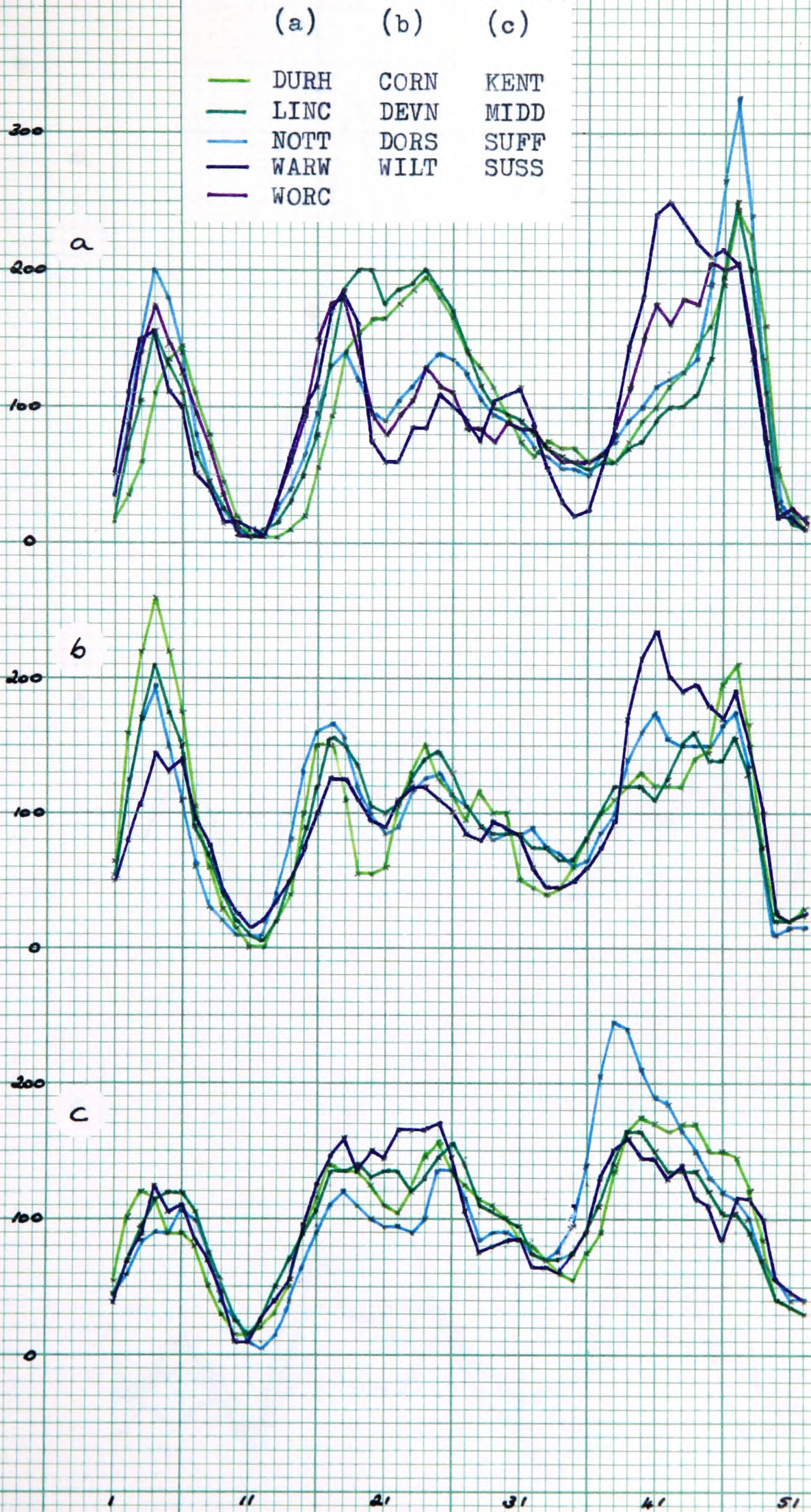


FIGURE 5.C.5 RURAL WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M3

- (a) North and Midlands
- (b) South West
- (c) South East

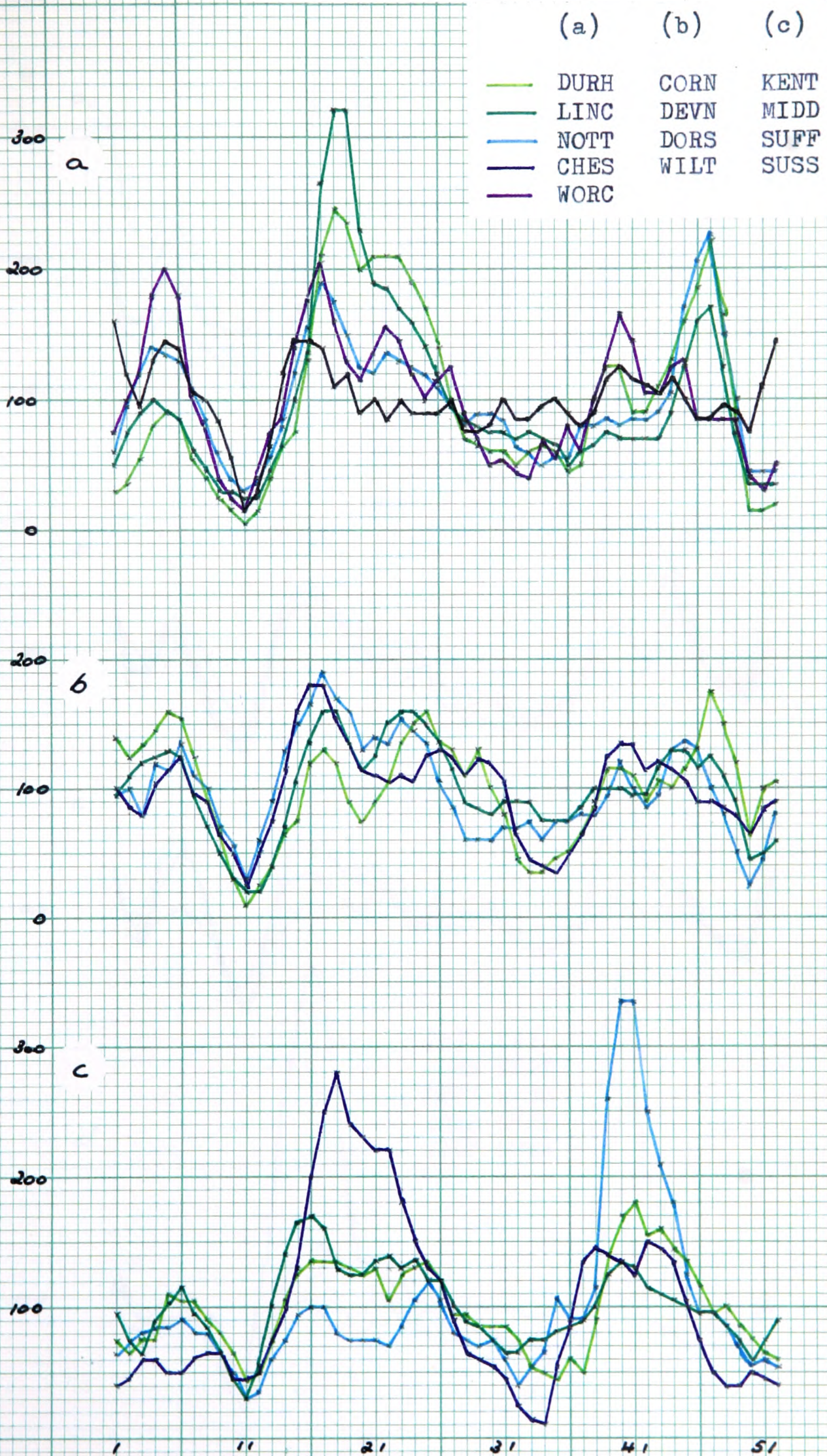
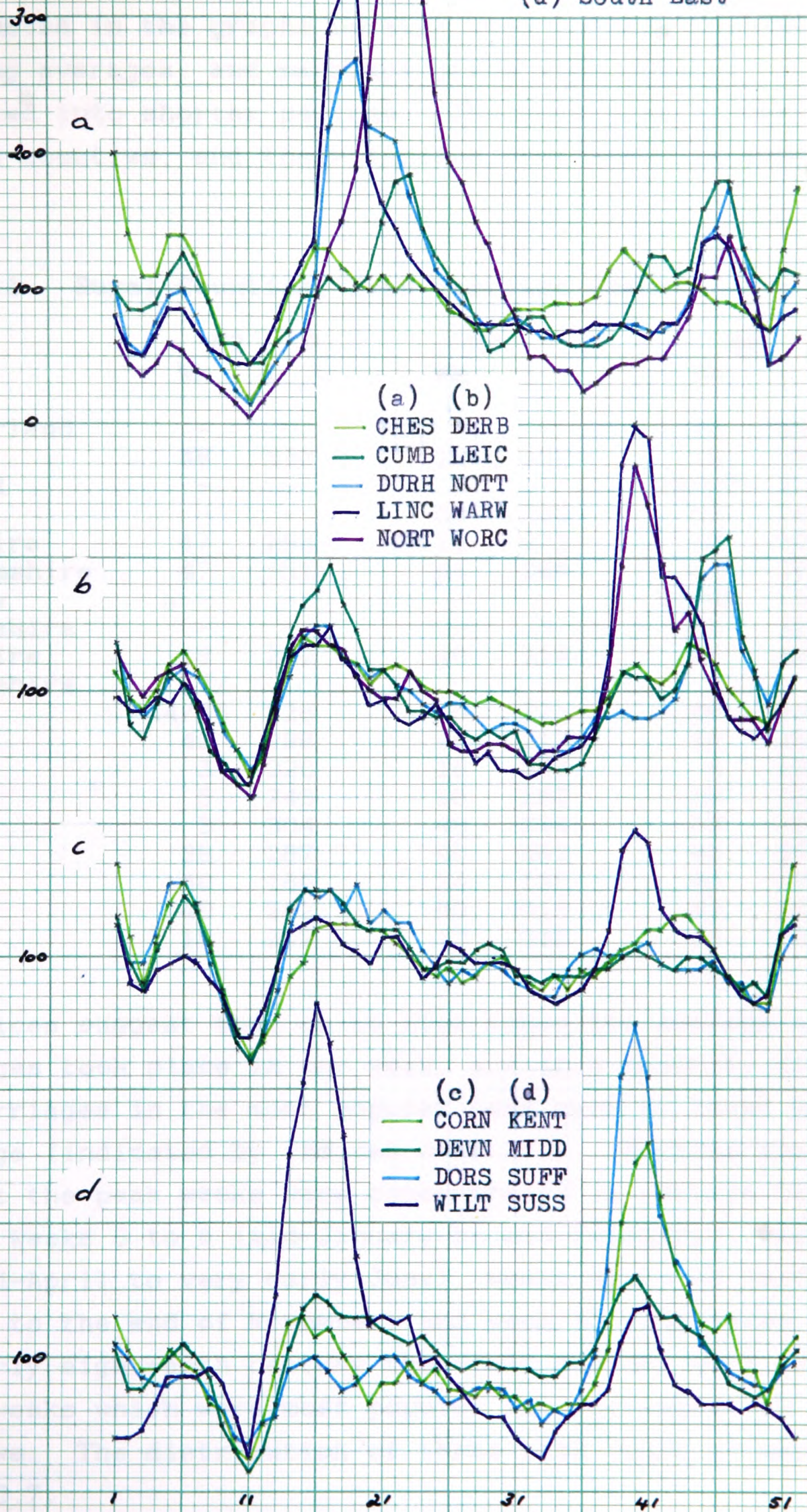


FIGURE 5.C.6 RURAL WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M4

- (a) North
- (b) Midlands
- (c) South West
- (d) South East



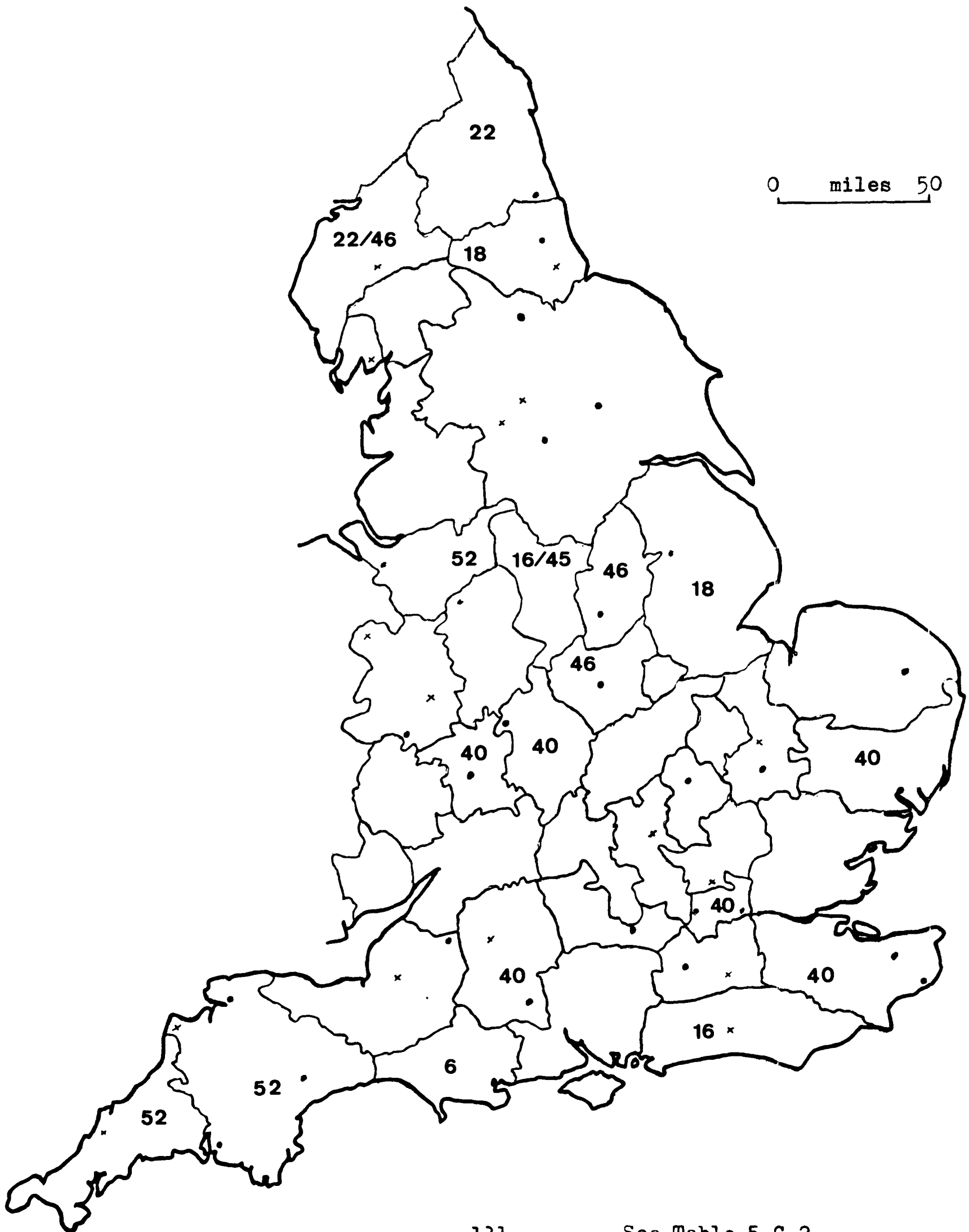
Bearing in mind that the graphs are reduced to a fifth vertically compared to baptisms and burials, it is clear that there were very high peaks in marriages. These peaks are underestimated in the graphs because they reflect the three week moving averages, and marriage peaks were often concentrated into shorter periods. The most popular weeks in the sample counties, and their indices, are shown in Table 5.C.1.

Table 5.C.1 Rural Counties, Peak Marriage Weeks

	M2		M3		M4	
	Wk	I	Wk	I	Wk	I
Northumberland	-	-	-	-	22	422
Co Durham	48	332	18	307	18	391
Cumberland	-	-	-	-	22/46	213
Cheshire	-	-	52	208	52	262
Lincolnshire	47	283	18	473	18	568
Nottinghamshire	47	351	46	269	46	278
Derbyshire	-	-	-	-	16/45	151
Leicestershire	-	-	-	-	46	324
Warwickshire	18	282	40	314	40	482
Worcestershire	17/ 44/46	228	5	271	40	321
Wiltshire	40	288	16	212	40	259
Dorset	3	220	18	206	6	196
Devon	5	243	18	183	52	191
Cornwall	3	304	48	224	52	229
Suffolk	38	287	40	482	40	332
Middlesex	40	180	16	190	40	174
Kent	40	202	40	213	40	349
Sussex	19	209	17	320	16	391

These indices suggest that up to five times the average number of marriages took place in one week, and in a majority of cases, marriages in the most popular week were at least double the average (indicated by indices over 200). Further analysis shows that the peak weeks were concentrated in certain times of the year: weeks 3 to 6 (mid-January to mid-February), weeks 16 to 22 (mid-April to very early June), weeks 38 to 48 (mid-September to the end of November) and week 52 (Christmas week). By the early eighteenth century there was an even more limited range of weeks which were most popular for marriages, as Table 5.C.2 shows. The distribution of these peak weeks is mapped on Figure 5.C.7.

FIGURE 5.C.7 DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL PEAK MARRIAGE WEEKS
EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



**Table 5.C.2 Peak Marriage Weeks in Rural Counties
Early Eighteenth Century**

Week	Dates	Counties
6	5-11 February	Dorset
16	16-22 April	Sussex Derbyshire
18	30 April-6 May	Durham Lincolnshire
22	28 May-3 June	Northumberland Cumberland
40	1-7 October	Warwickshire Worcestershire, Wiltshire Suffolk Middlesex Kent
46	12-18 November	Cumberland Nottingham Leicestershire
52	24-30 December	Cheshire Devon Cornwall

As Figure 5.C.6 shows, week 46 peaks are found only in the north and Midlands, week 40 peaks only in the Midlands and south, and the spring peaks (weeks 16-22) are earliest in the south west and latest in the extreme north. In Cumberland and Derbyshire there were two major peaks, in spring and autumn, and in most counties there was a subsidiary peak, in spring for autumn marrying counties and in autumn for spring marrying counties.

While the seasonality patterns in some counties show great extremes, others are much flatter, relatively speaking: in the early eighteenth century, Derbyshire, Middlesex and the western counties.

Table 5.C.3 Rural Counties, Weekly MADs

	M2	M3	M4
Northumberland	-	-	70.1
Co Durham	52.5	56.4	43.8
Cumberland	-	-	27.6
Cheshire	-	20.3	22.2
Lincolnshire	52.7	50.7	40.4
Nottinghamshire	48.2	36.0	26.7
Derbyshire	-	-	17.6
Leicestershire	-	-	36.8
Warwickshire	54.6	43.7	41.9
Worcestershire	45.3	38.6	36.4
Wiltshire	43.7	27.1	23.0
Dorset	42.9	31.1	23.4
Devon	38.8	28.7	20.4
Cornwall	48.3	32.6	23.4
Suffolk	39.9	40.2	38.3
Middlesex	32.1	24.5	22.3
Kent	38.2	29.3	33.4
Sussex	37.2	56.0	51.5

As Table 5.C.3 demonstrates, generally there was a decline in the degree of seasonality over the period, but the values remain high.

Urban Sample

Figure 5.C.8 shows the overall urban marriage seasonality pattern over the period. The timing of peaks and troughs is basically the same as the rural. The main changes over time are clear: the increase in Christmas/New Year marriages; the continuing if decreasing unpopularity of Lent, the decrease in marriages in the short period between Advent and Lent, and in late summer and autumn, and the popularity of May marriages in the late seventeenth century.

Not only did the urban marriage seasonality pattern show marked change over time; there was also considerable variation between towns. The average difference of the individual towns' seasonality indices from the urban aggregate indices was over 20 in the late sixteenth century, and still over 15 in the eighteenth century.¹⁹ Figure 5.C.9 shows that generally the variations amongst towns were least in the periods of low marriage (Lent and the summer), and greatest in the peak periods (in the early eighteenth century around week 18, weeks 39 to 41, weeks 45 and 46, and weeks 52 and 1). The unpopular times were common to most towns, but the popular times varied.

Rather than being a representative pattern, the aggregate urban pattern conceals a variety of patterns, which may be regional in basis, like the rural variations. Table 5.C.4 shows the most popular marriage weeks in the sample towns, and these are mapped on Figures 5.C.10 to 5.C.12, together with those of the rural counties.

The maps show that there is indeed a diversity of peak marriage seasonality among the sample towns. Often but not always the towns shared the favoured season of their rural area, for example Canterbury, Durham, Ipswich and Lincoln.

FIGURE 5.C.8 URBAN WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES

M1
M2
M3
M4

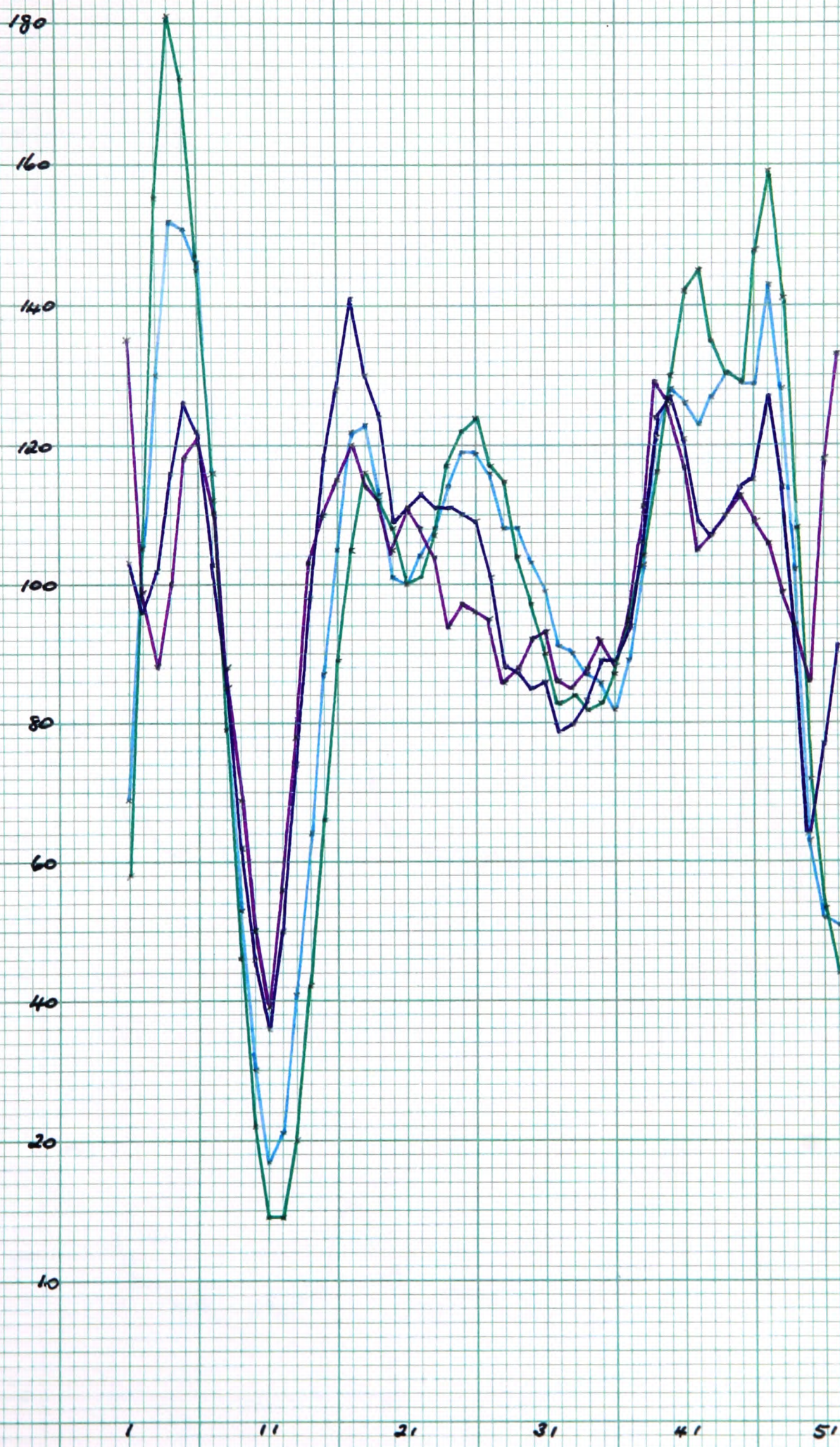


FIGURE 5.C.9 MEAN DIFFERENCES OF
INDIVIDUAL TOWNS FROM URBAN
MARRIAGE INDICES

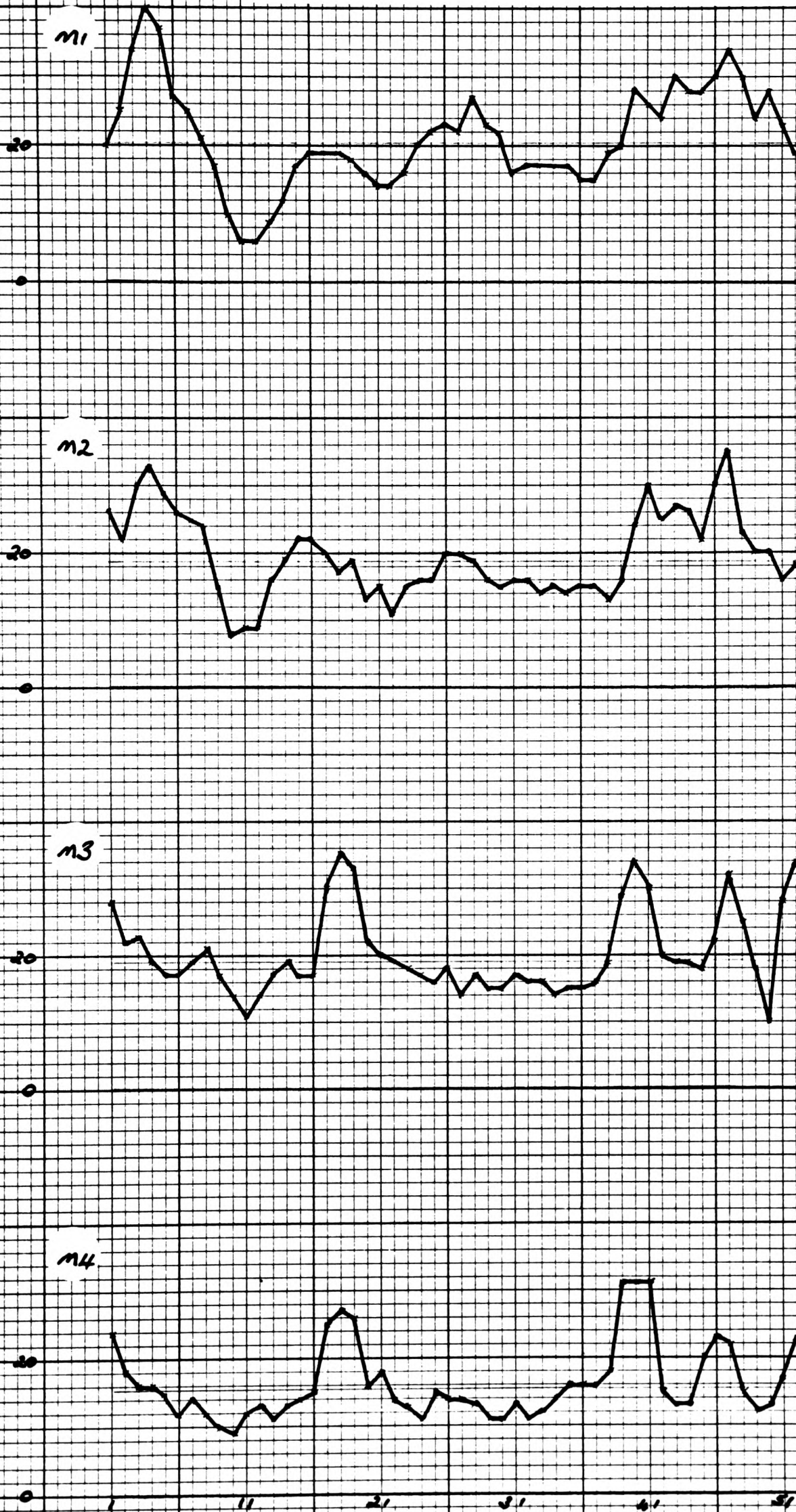
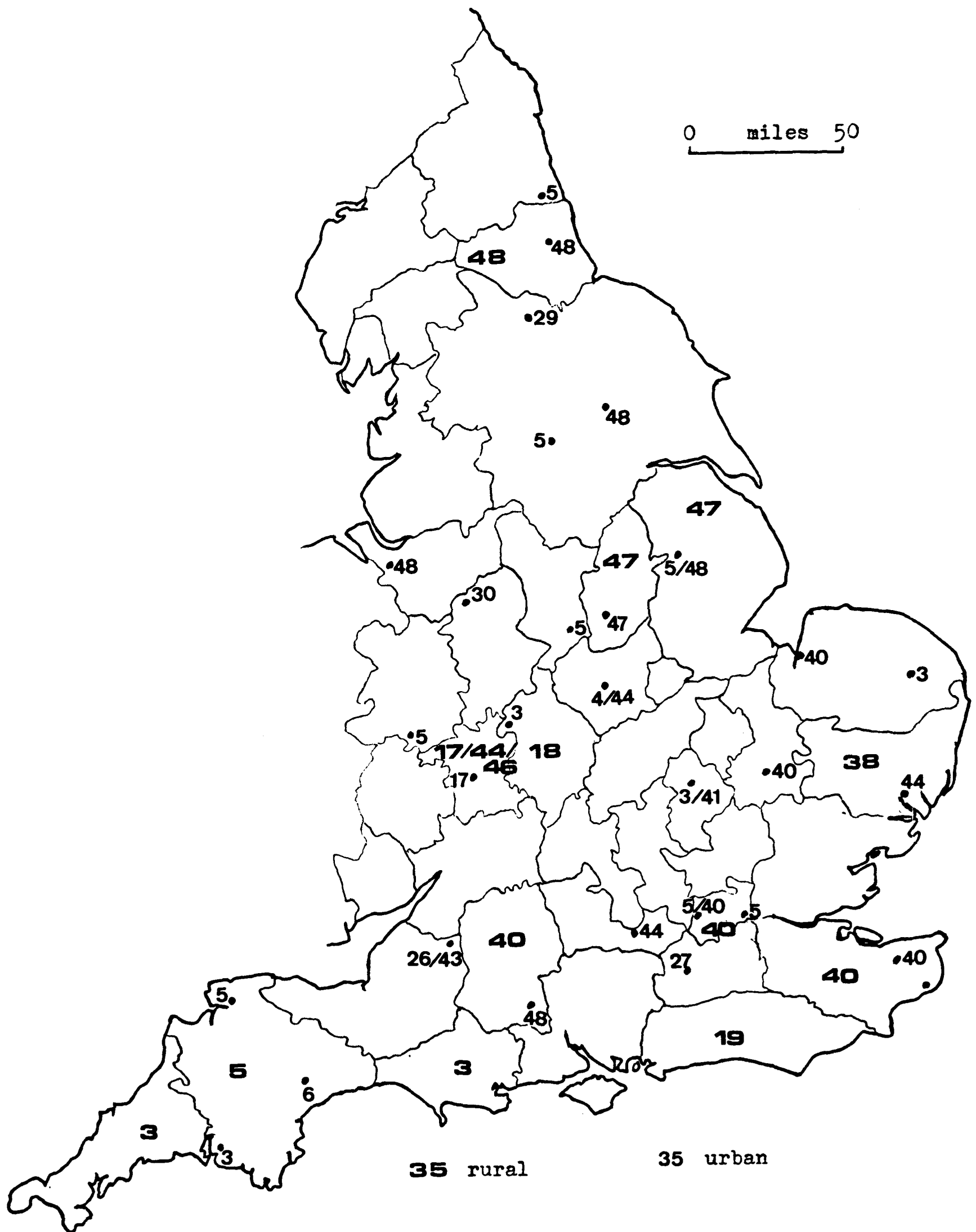


FIGURE 5.C.10 DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL & URBAN PEAK MARRIAGE WEEKS
EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



As with the rural counties (Table 5.C.1), marriages were often concentrated in the favoured week in towns. Marriages in the peak weeks in these towns are often double or treble the weekly average, though the index is seldom more than 350.

Table 5.C.4 Urban Sample, Peak Marriage Weeks

	M1		M2		M3		M4	
	Wk	I	Wk	I	Wk	I	Wk	I
BAR	3	313	5	305	4	222	52	238
BAT	4	278	26/43	241	52	490	52	250
BED	44	353	3/41	254	40	294	40	232
BIR	48	302	3	328	39	222	52	282
CAM	40	223	40	219	37	297	37	295
CAN	3/41	229	40	254	40	206	40	318
CHE	6	247	48	174	39	196	26/39	217
DER *	4	257	5	228	5/16	206	52	195
DOV	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	295
DUR	47	238	48	256	18	297	18	253
EXE	44	262	6	232	18	244	52	186
GUI	40	277	27	310	17	247	5	286
IPS	48	231	44	227	40	176	40	284
KIN	41	218	40	176	6	192	52	228
LEE	5	200	5	221	48	246	52	166
LEI	3	330	4/44	214	5	172	41	209
LIN	3	256	5/48	181	18	319	18	256
LUD	5	265	5	244	18	232	18	305
NEWL	43	272	(30)		52	261	1	480
NEWT	4	399	5	247	48	325	52	181
NOR	39	272	3	255	40	299	40	320
NOT	48	296	47	245	17	238	38	321
PLY	25	184	3	291	52	173	52	170
REA	34/45	264	44	207	40/41	238	52	271
RIC	48	256	29	202	18	342	45/46	277
SAL	4	195	48	185	5	198	52	201
UXB	(44)		5/40	219	(20)		(52)	
WOR	3/43	244	17	352	40	210	40	198
YOR	47	348	48	286	48	204	46	254
LON	5	238	5	202	34	156	5/6	152

* Derby. Not included in urban aggregates.

Urban Groupings

Figures 5.C.13 to 5.C.16 show the seasonal marriage patterns of the urban groupings. The patterns vary least between the different functions, and generally vary most between regions.

FIGURE 5.C.13 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - MI

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

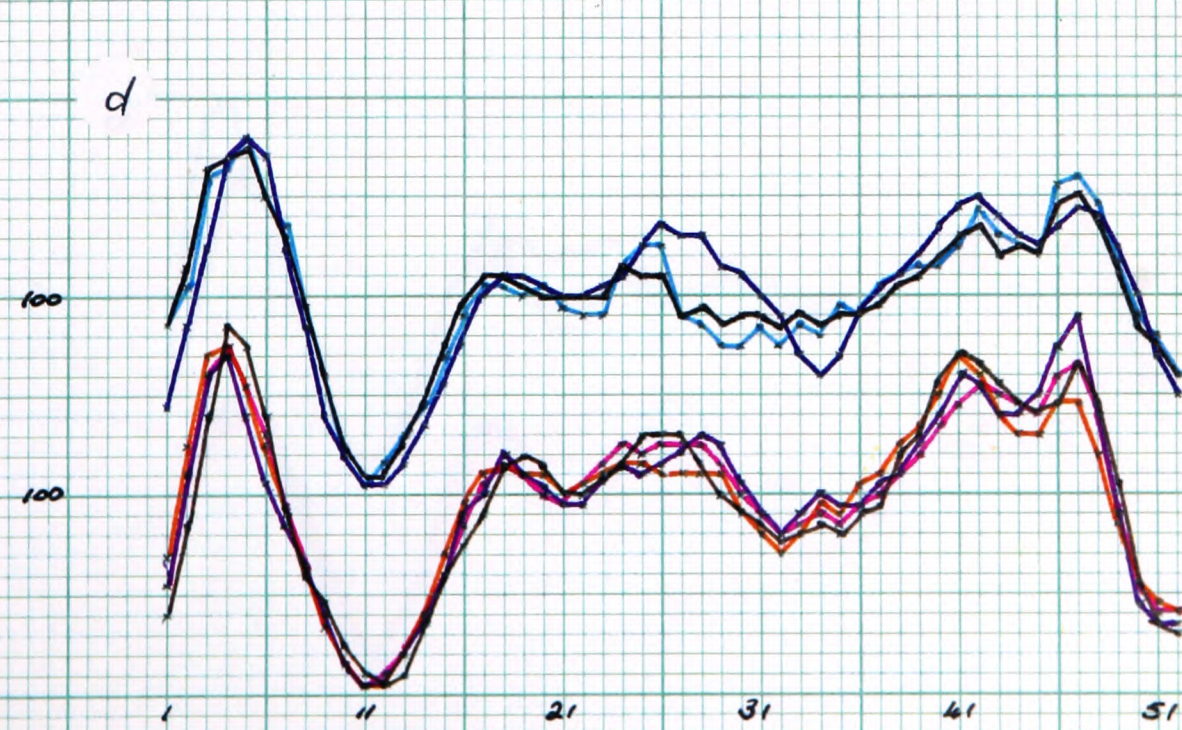
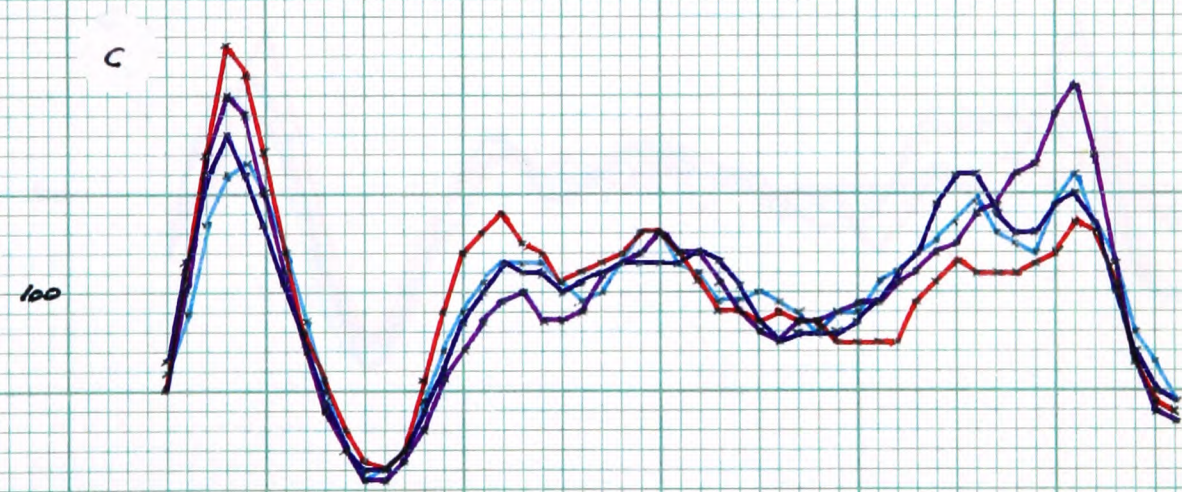
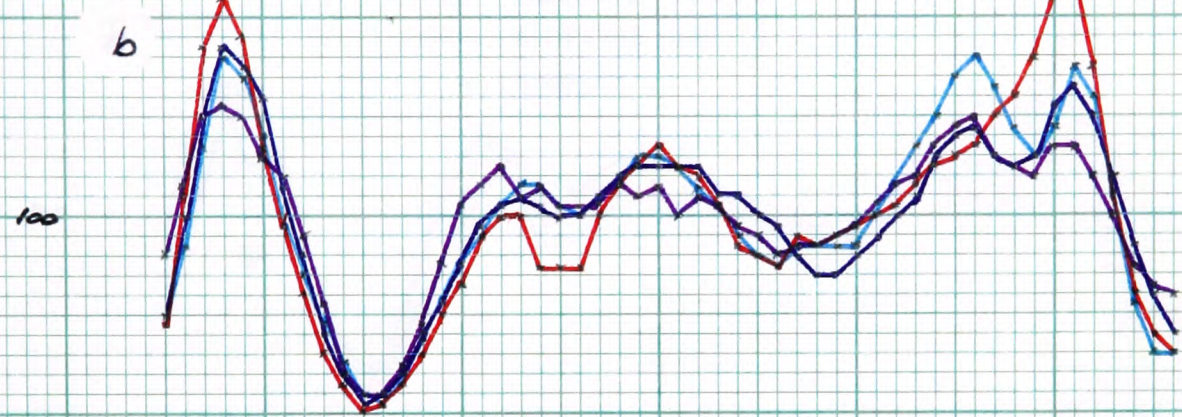
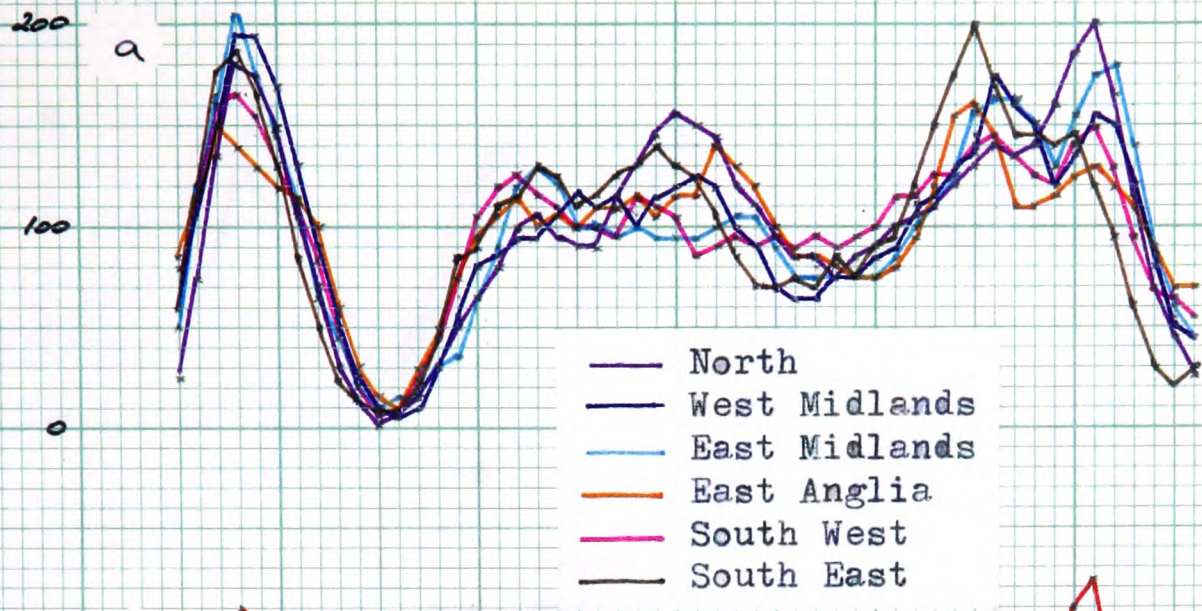


FIGURE 5.C.14 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M2

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

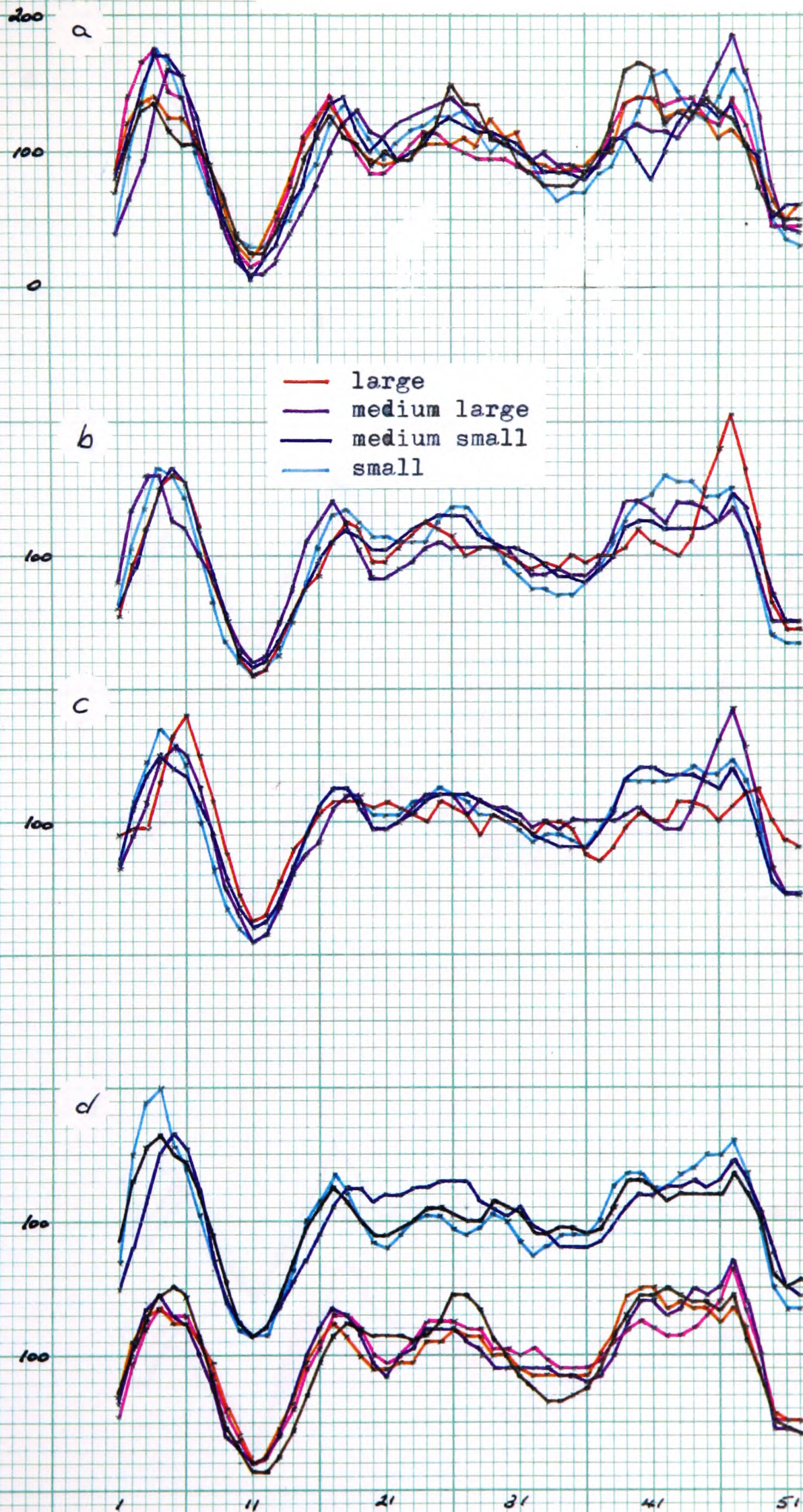


FIGURE 5.C.15 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M3

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions

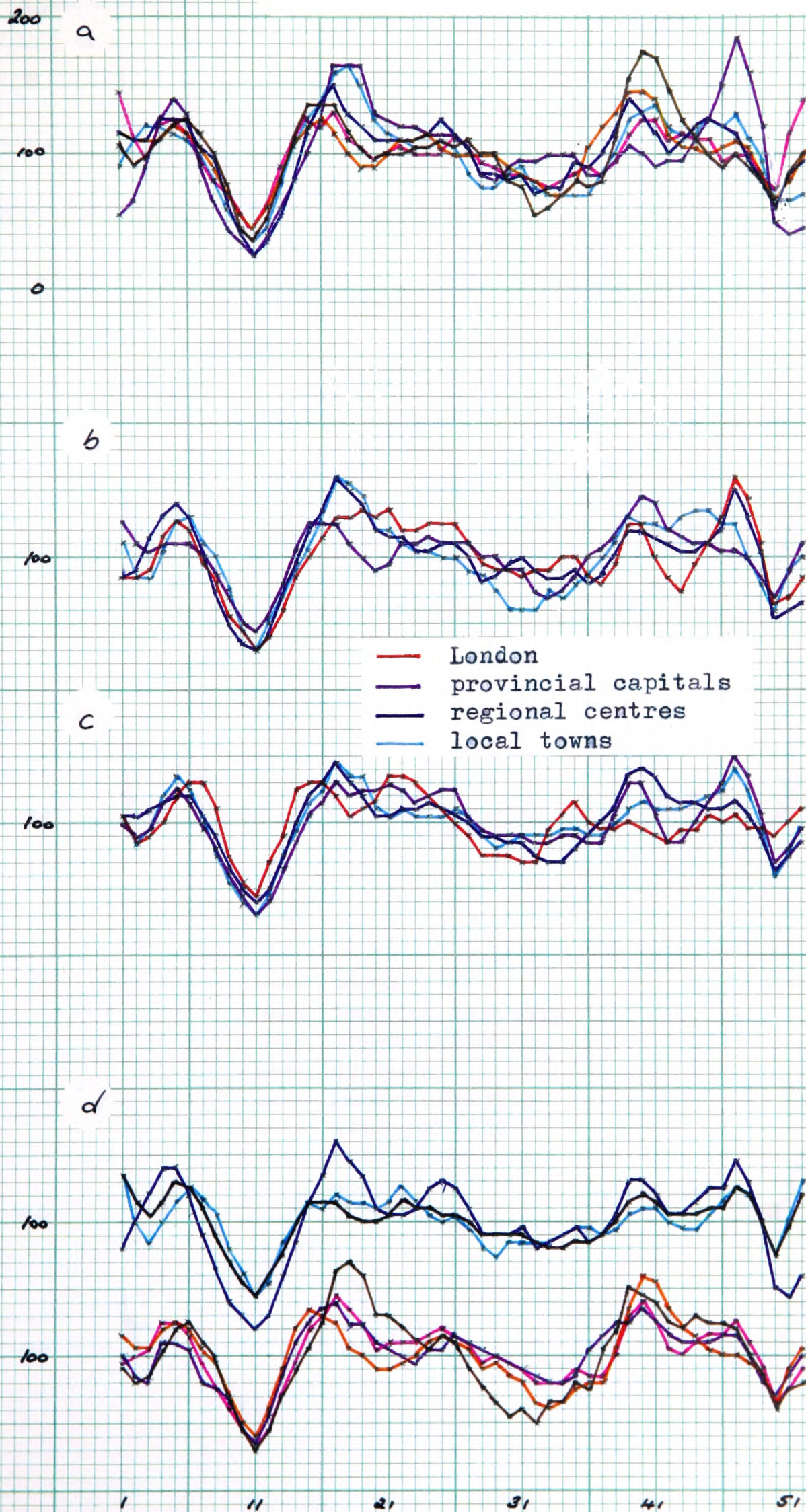
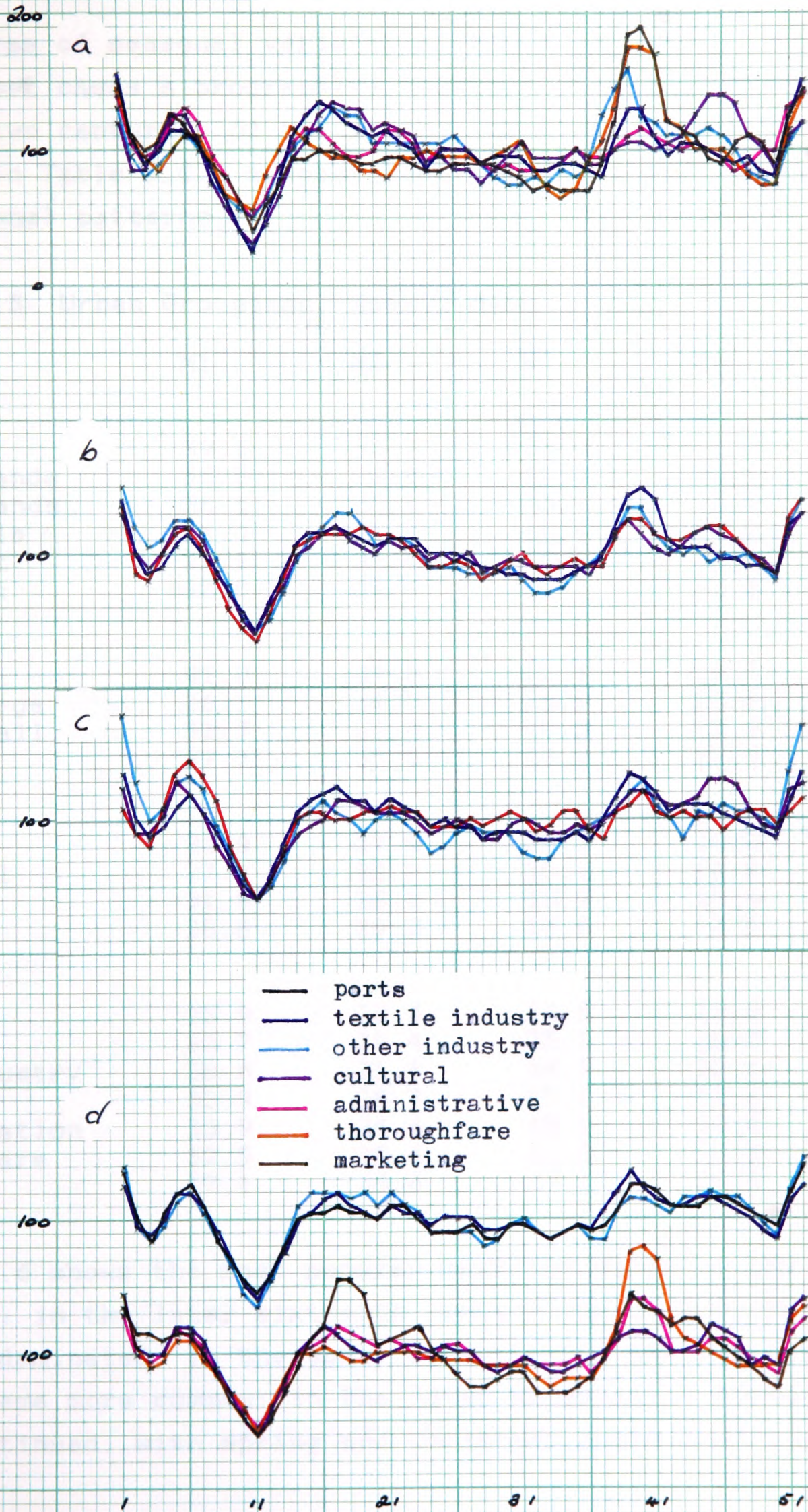


FIGURE 5.C.16 URBAN GROUPINGS
WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M4

- (a) regions
- (b) size
- (c) hierarchy
- (d) functions



Reflecting the rural distribution (Figure 5.C.4), week 46 peaks are greatest in the northern towns and week 40 peaks in the southern and East Anglian towns.

The measures of seasonal variations, shown in Table 5.C.5, show in most cases a progressive decrease in urban seasonality over the two centuries of the study. Comparison with the rural counties in Table 5.C.3 suggest that the towns did indeed have less seasonal patterns.

Table 5.C.5 Urban Groupings, Weekly MADs

	M1	M2	M3	M4
<i>Regions</i>				
North	39.1	32.3	28.0	17.8
West Midlands	35.5	26.8	21.4	17.4
East Midlands	36.1	32.8	23.8	17.5
East Anglia	25.0	21.9	16.4	17.8
South West	27.1	28.6	15.6	12.1
South East	40.6	26.4	21.2	19.9
<i>Size</i>				
Large	41.0	27.8	21.8	16.7
Medium Large	26.1	26.0	16.1	13.6
Medium Small	32.7	26.9	27.5	15.9
Small	37.2	35.5	23.2	17.9
<i>Hierarchy</i>				
London	31.9	17.9	15.7	10.9
Provincial	37.7	25.0	20.0	14.9
Regional	31.9	26.1	18.9	15.4
Local	28.8	29.2	18.8	17.5
<i>Functions</i>				
Ports	25.9	23.4	14.6	13.6
Textiles	32.7	29.4	25.1	13.5
Other Industry	28.6	31.6	14.1	16.6
Cultural	33.9	28.7	17.1	13.6
Administration	33.9	24.4	19.2	13.5
Thoroughfare	32.5	25.4	19.5	17.2
Marketing	37.1	33.6	27.2	21.5

Table 5.C.6 shows the most popular marriage weeks of the urban groupings: in the later sixteenth century the January/February peaks predominated; in the early seventeenth century autumn peaks became more common; in the later seventeenth century this trend continued, with spring and Christmas peaks emerging.

By the early eighteenth century Christmas was the most usual peak marriage week. Christmas was popular in towns of all ranks and sizes (except London), in northern and western towns. In eastern towns and thoroughfare towns, autumn marriages predominated and in marketing towns, spring marriages.

Table 5.C.6 Urban Groupings, Peak Marriage Weeks

	M1		M2		M3		M4	
	Wk	I	Wk	I	Wk	I	Wk	I
<i>Regions</i>								
N	47	211	48	202	48	244	52	173
WM	5	236	5	179	5	155	52	230
EM	3	246	48	194	18	192	38	214
EA	41	187	40	176	40	182	40	255
SW	4	186	3	216	52	193	52	200
SE	4	217	40	206	40	196	40	271
<i>Size</i>								
L	47	264	48	210	48	206	52	223
ML	4	176	3	212	40	161	52	175
MS	5	189	5	196	48	190	52	192
S	5	216	5	183	18	192	52	197
<i>Hierarchy</i>								
LON	5	238	5	202	34	156	5/6	152
P	4	235	48	203	48	187	52	186
R	4	190	48	158	40	157	52	191
L	5	180	5	193	48	170	52	239
<i>Functions</i>								
P	4	198	3	189	48	150	52	193
T	5	201	5	190	48	190	52	178
I	4	207	3	269	52	176	42	213
C	47	212	48	202	5	152	52	207
A	47	194	48	190	18	159	52	176
R	3	195	3/40	179	40	177	40	243
M	5	207	5	167	18	234	18	211

Hinterlands

In Figures 5.C.10 to 5.C.12 it could be seen that towns often, but not always, shared the prevailing peak week of their county or region. The hinterland analysis explores this aspect in more detail. Because of the often small number of marriages in each parish, the hinterland parishes have been aggregated in groups (numbered 1A, 1B, 2A etc.) around the town concerned.

These are mapped in Appendix 2. The peak weeks of these groups are shown in Table 5.C.7. Some small towns in the hinterlands are also included. Figures 5.C.17 to 5.C.19 show the seasonality patterns for the hinterland parishes. For clarity, they are grouped into three bands around the central town (all groups numbered 1 being grouped together and so on).

Also included in this hinterland section are marriages in Leeds, comparing those taking place in the parish churches of St Peter and St John, located in the town of Leeds, with those taking place in the various chapelries of the townships within the parish in the early eighteenth century. The seasonal patterns are shown in Figure 5.C.19(g).

As Table 5.C.8 shows (confirmed by the indices in Table 5.C.7), the major towns (and their suburbs) usually had a noticeably lower degree of seasonality than their rural hinterlands. The main exception was Exeter. The smaller towns, including Barnstaple, seem to be within the same range as the rural parishes of their region. Around London and Newcastle, the degree of seasonality seems to increase in a progression from the town to the nearer parishes out to the further parishes. This effect is not apparent around the provincial capital of Exeter or regional centres of Nottingham, Lincoln and Salisbury, though the closest parishes to Nottingham are the least seasonal of the Nottinghamshire hinterland parishes.

In the early seventeenth century the leading towns (London, Exeter and Newcastle) had marriage peaks in January or February, between Advent and Lent, while Nottingham, Lincoln and Salisbury had shared the autumn peaks of their hinterlands. In the early eighteenth century most of the major towns, and some of the smaller towns, tended to have different peak months to their hinterlands.

The rural parishes tend to be homogenous within the county, especially in the early eighteenth century. Parishes near the major town, or sometimes those near the county border may have different peaks, but most seem to share the prevailing custom.

FIGURE 5.C.17 HINTERLAND WEEKLY
MARRIAGE INDICES - M2

- (a) London
- (b) Exeter
- (c) Newcastle

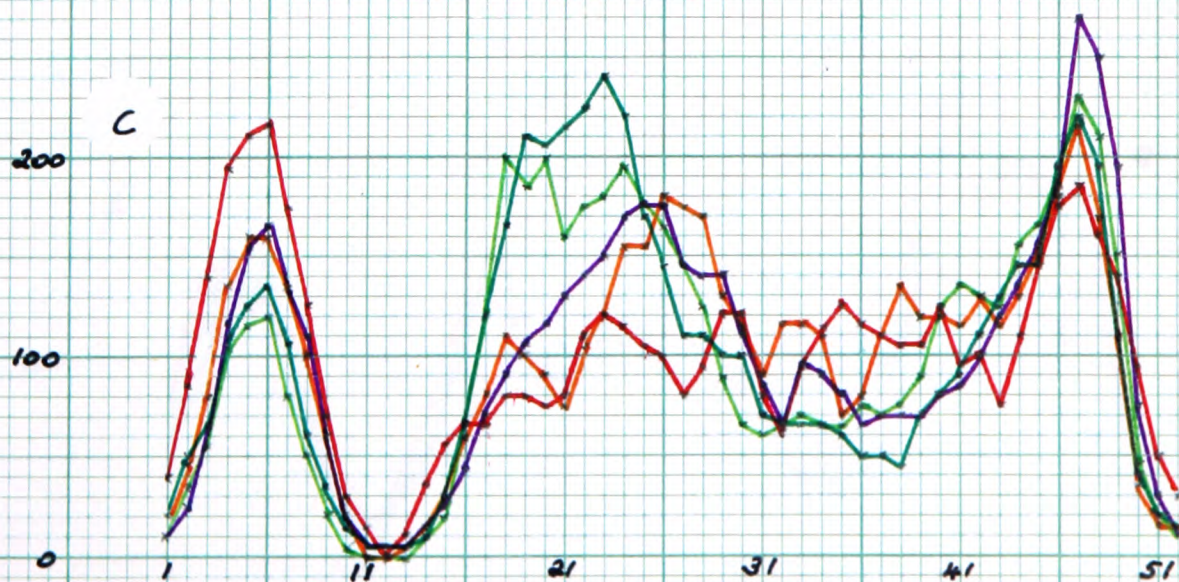
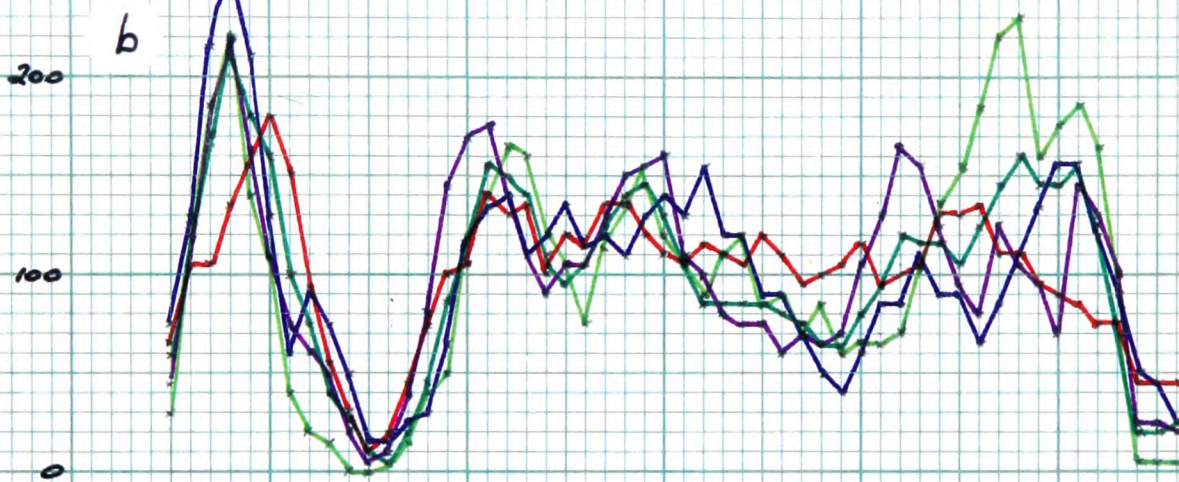
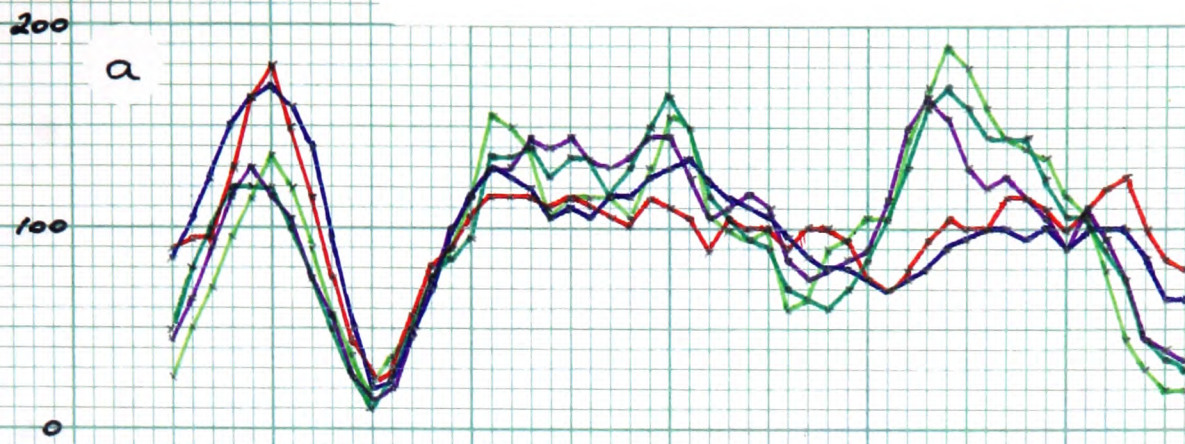


FIGURE 5.C.17 continued

- (d) Nottingham
- (e) Lincoln
- (f) Salisbury

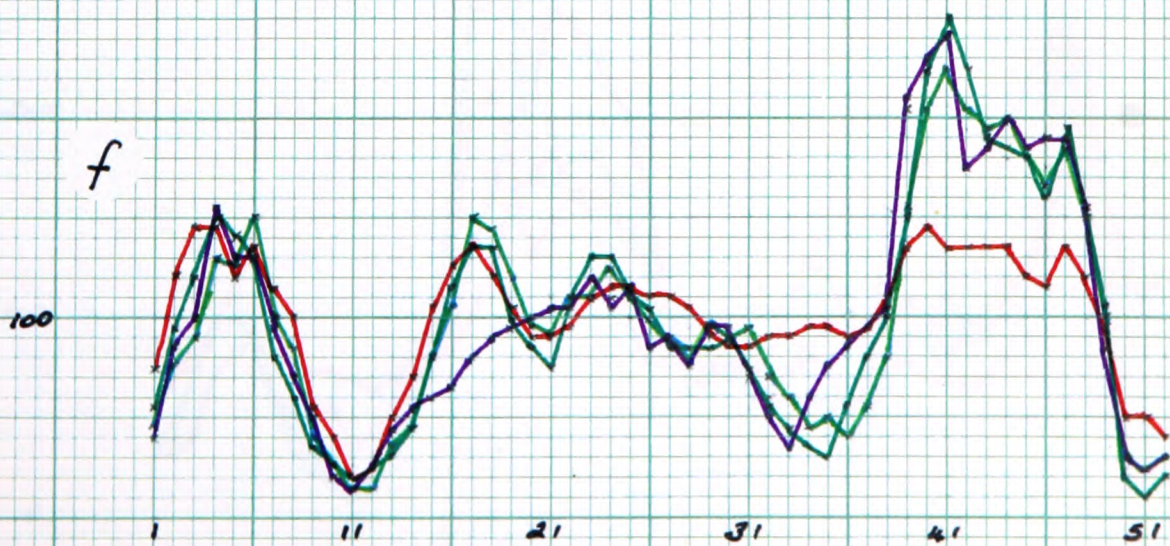
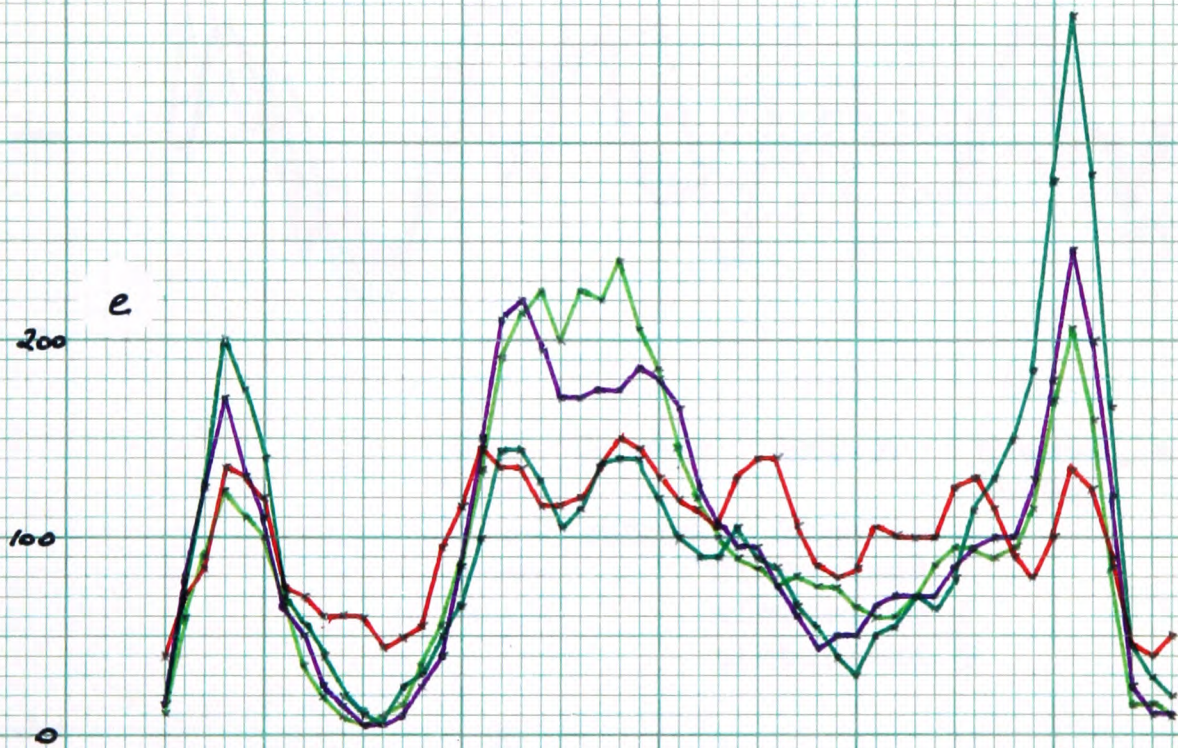
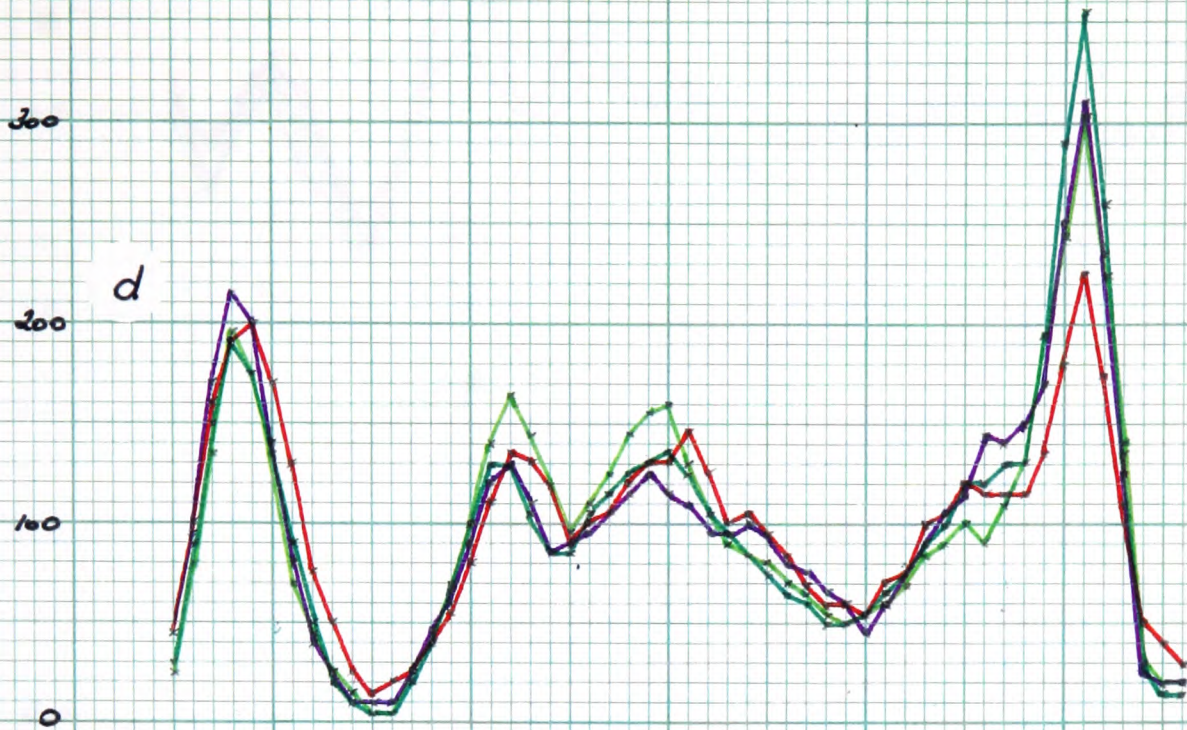
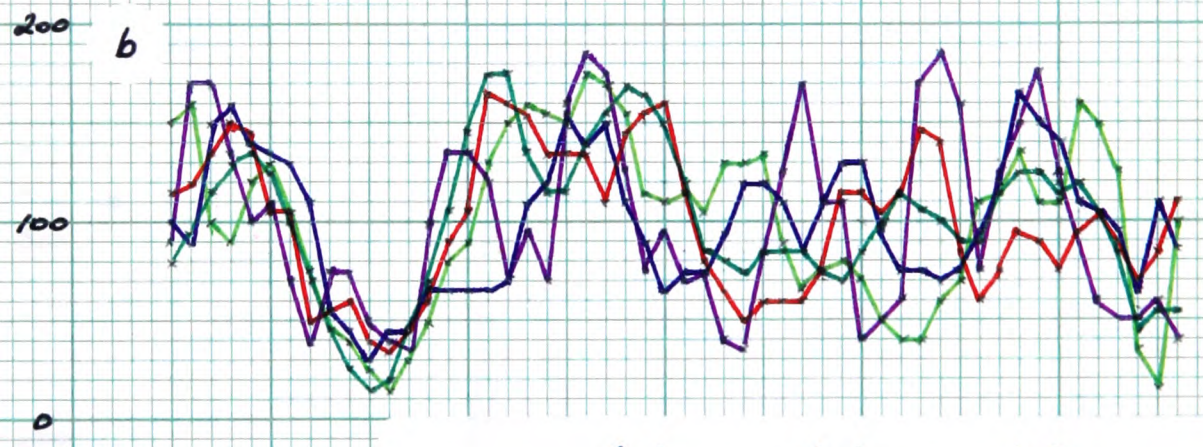
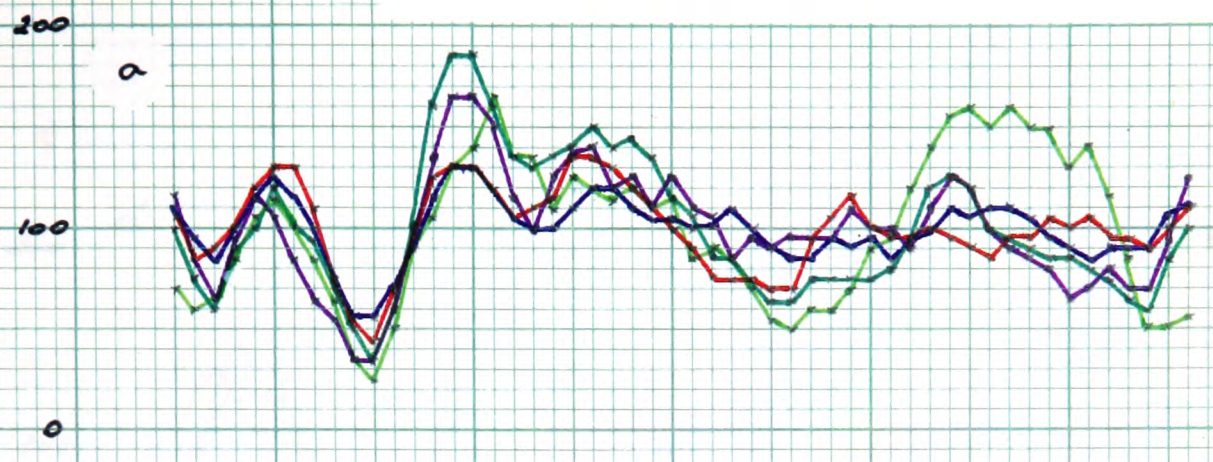


FIGURE 5.C.18 HINTERLAND WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M3

- (a) London
- (b) Exeter
- (c) Newcastle



	(a)	(b)	(c)
— London	Exeter	Newcastle	
— suburbs	Topsham	Durham	
— hinterland 1	hinterland 1		
— hinterland 2	hinterland 2		
— hinterland 3	hinterland 3		

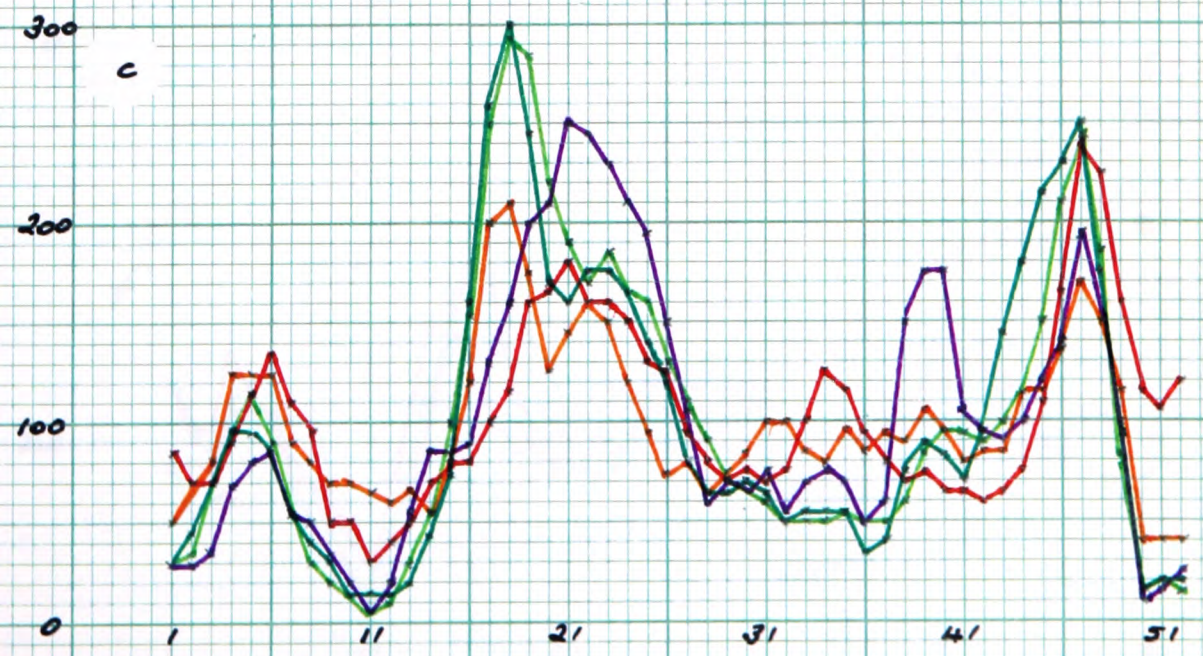
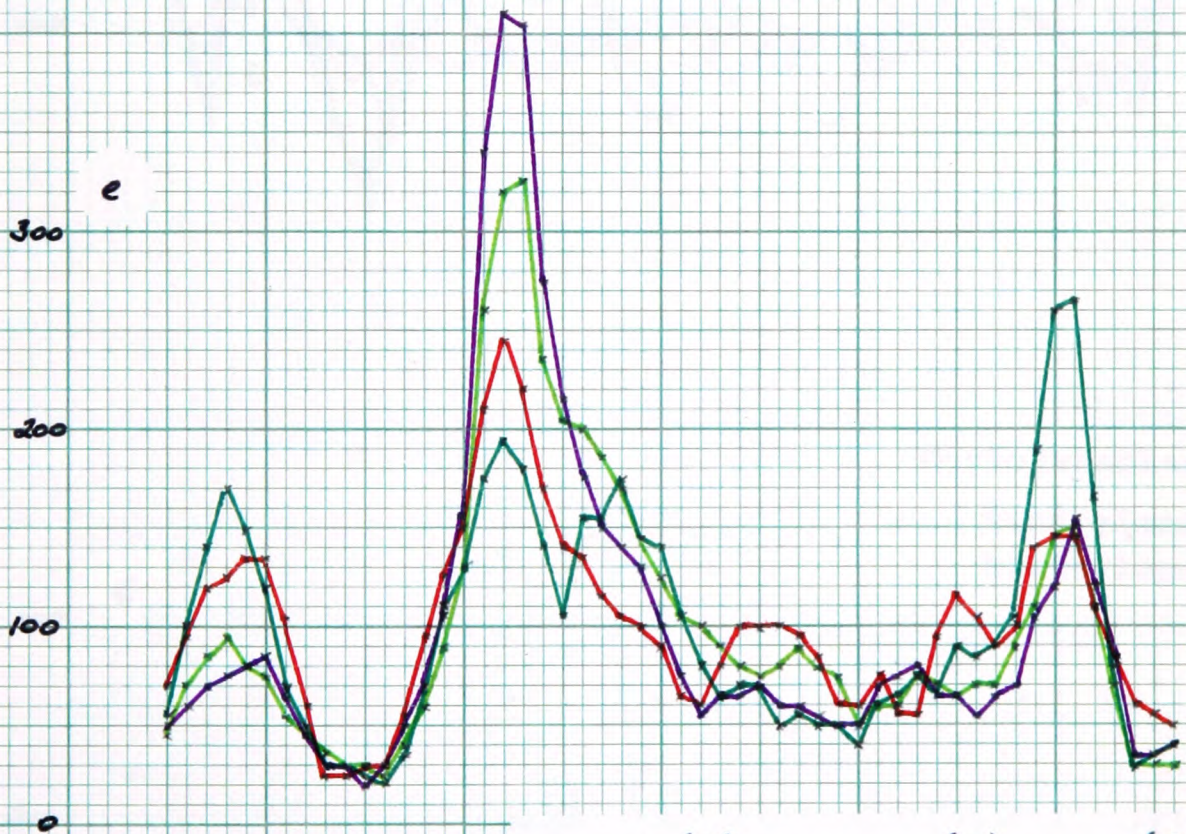


FIGURE 5.C.18 continued

- (d) Nottingham
- (e) Lincoln
- (f) Salisbury

d
200
100
0



e
300
200
100
0

- (d) Nottingham
- (e) Lincoln
- (f) Salisbury
- hinterland 1
- hinterland 2
- hinterland 3

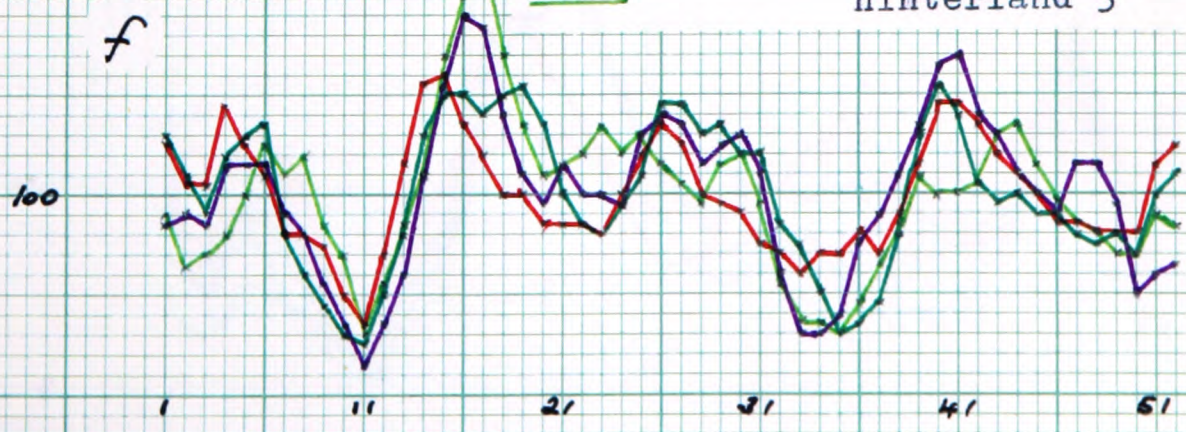


FIGURE 5.C.19 HINTERLAND WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M4

- (a) London
- (b) Exeter
- (c) Newcastle

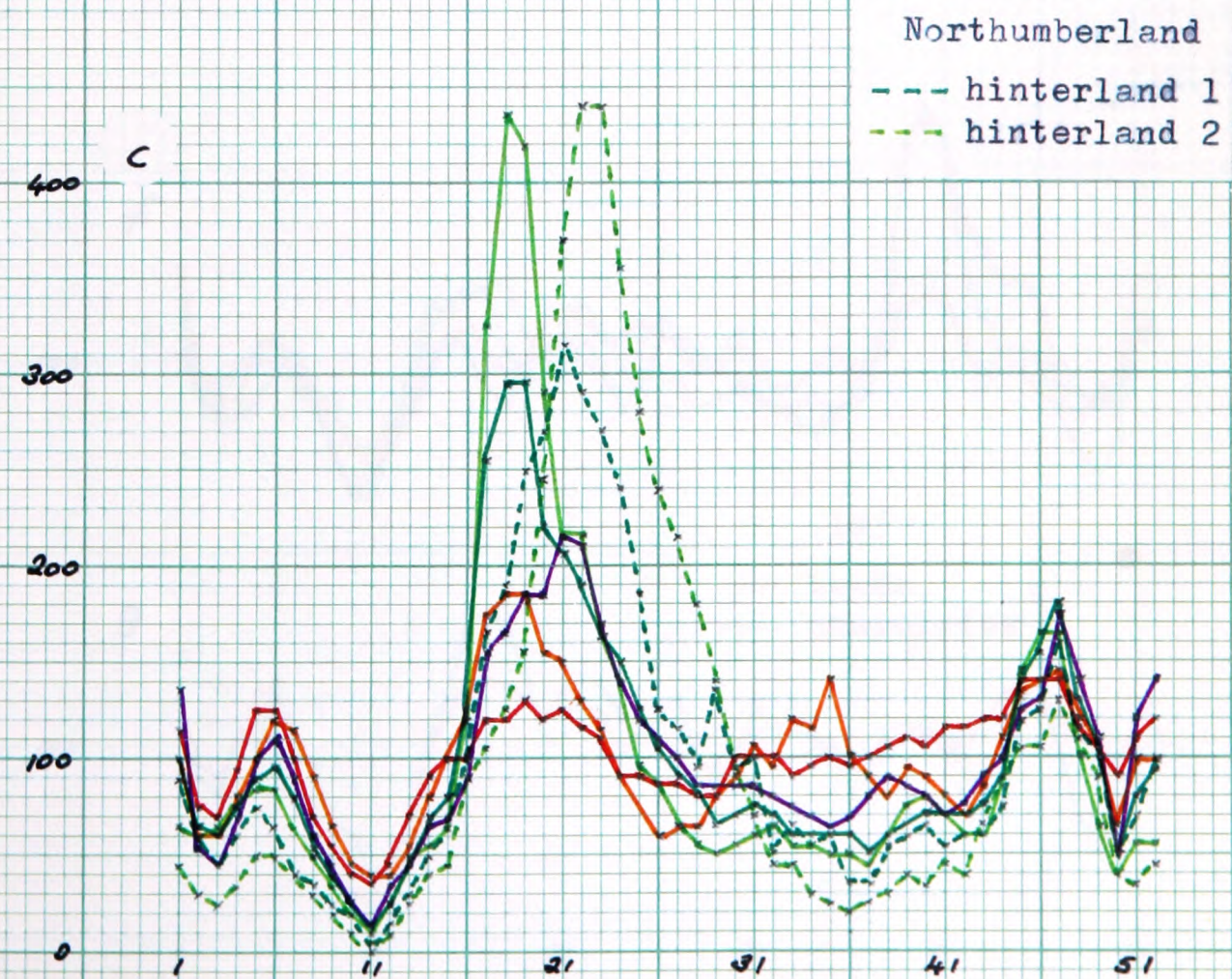
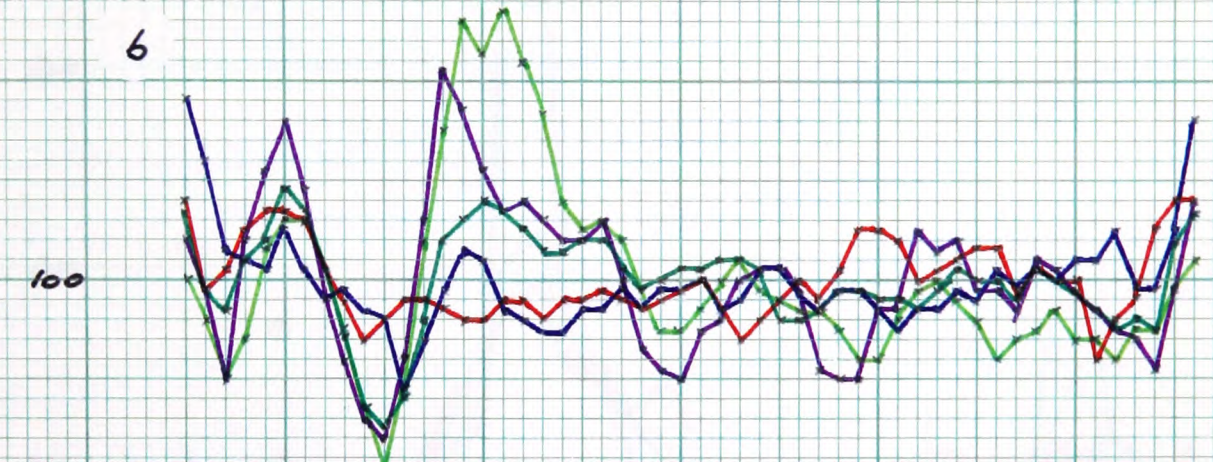
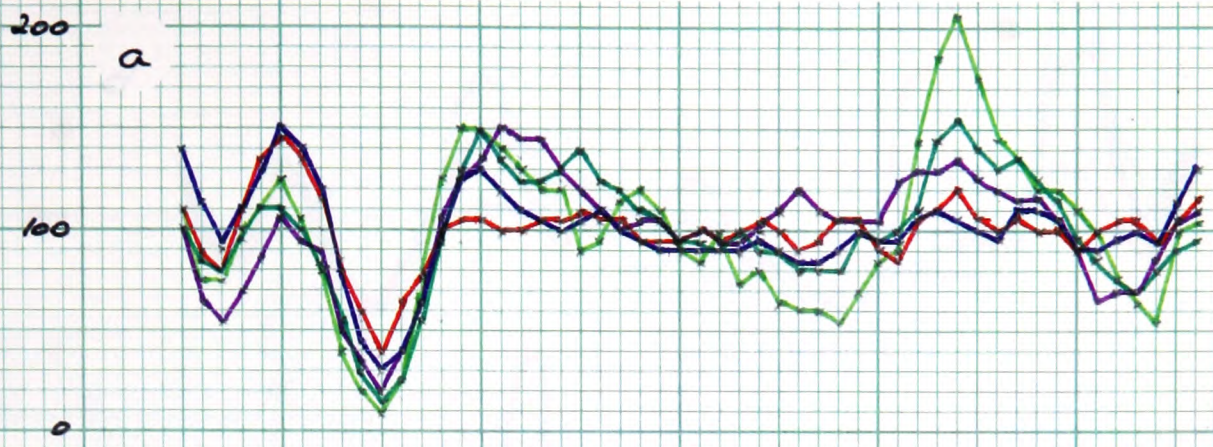
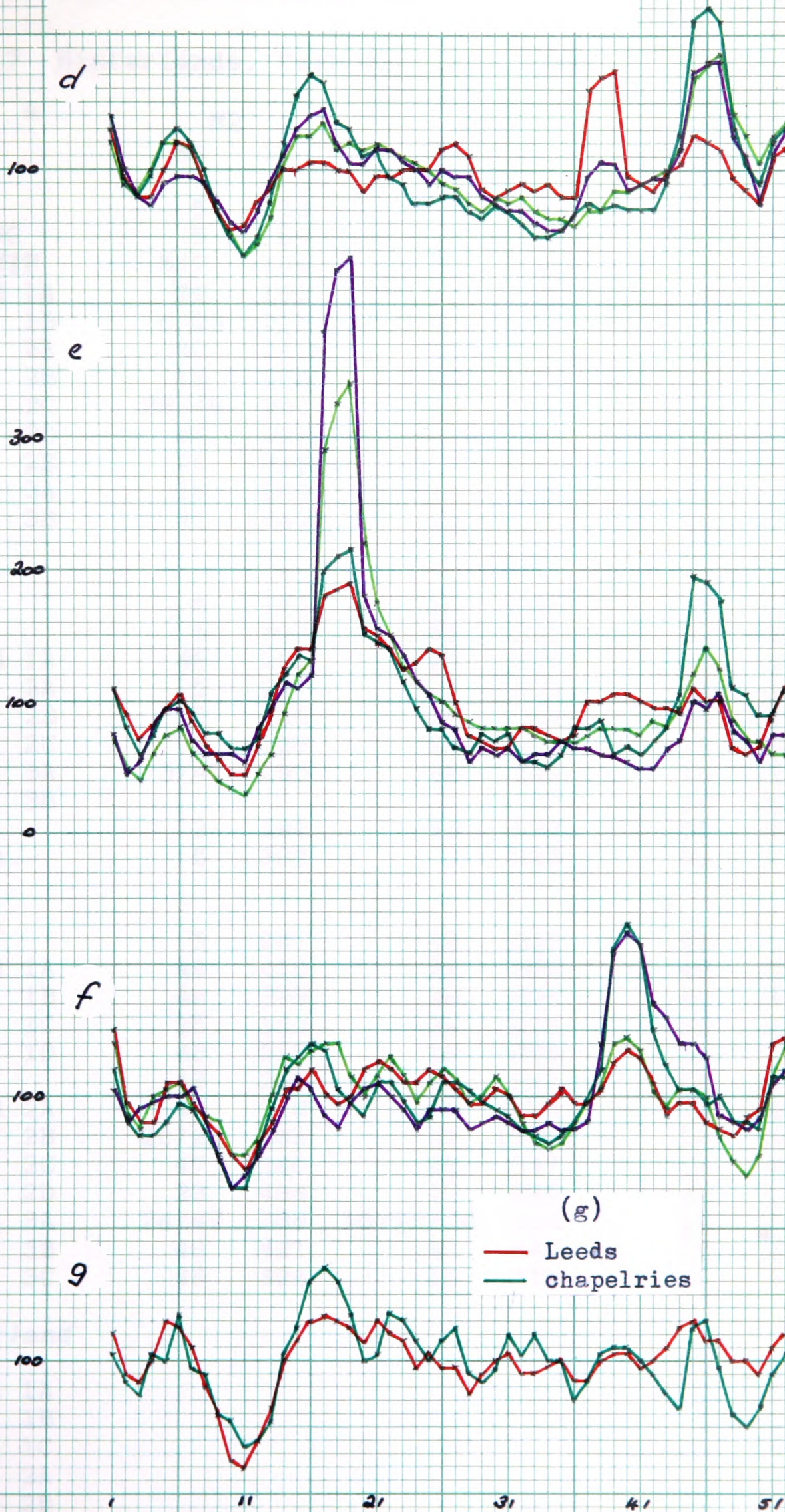


FIGURE 5.C.19 continued

- (d) Nottingham
- (e) Lincoln
- (f) Salisbury
- (g) Leeds



This seems generally true of all the counties sampled, the main exceptions being Devon, split between Christmas and April; the London hinterland in Middlesex; and Derbyshire (Figure 5.C.20).

Table 5.C.7 Hinterlands, Peak Marriage Weeks

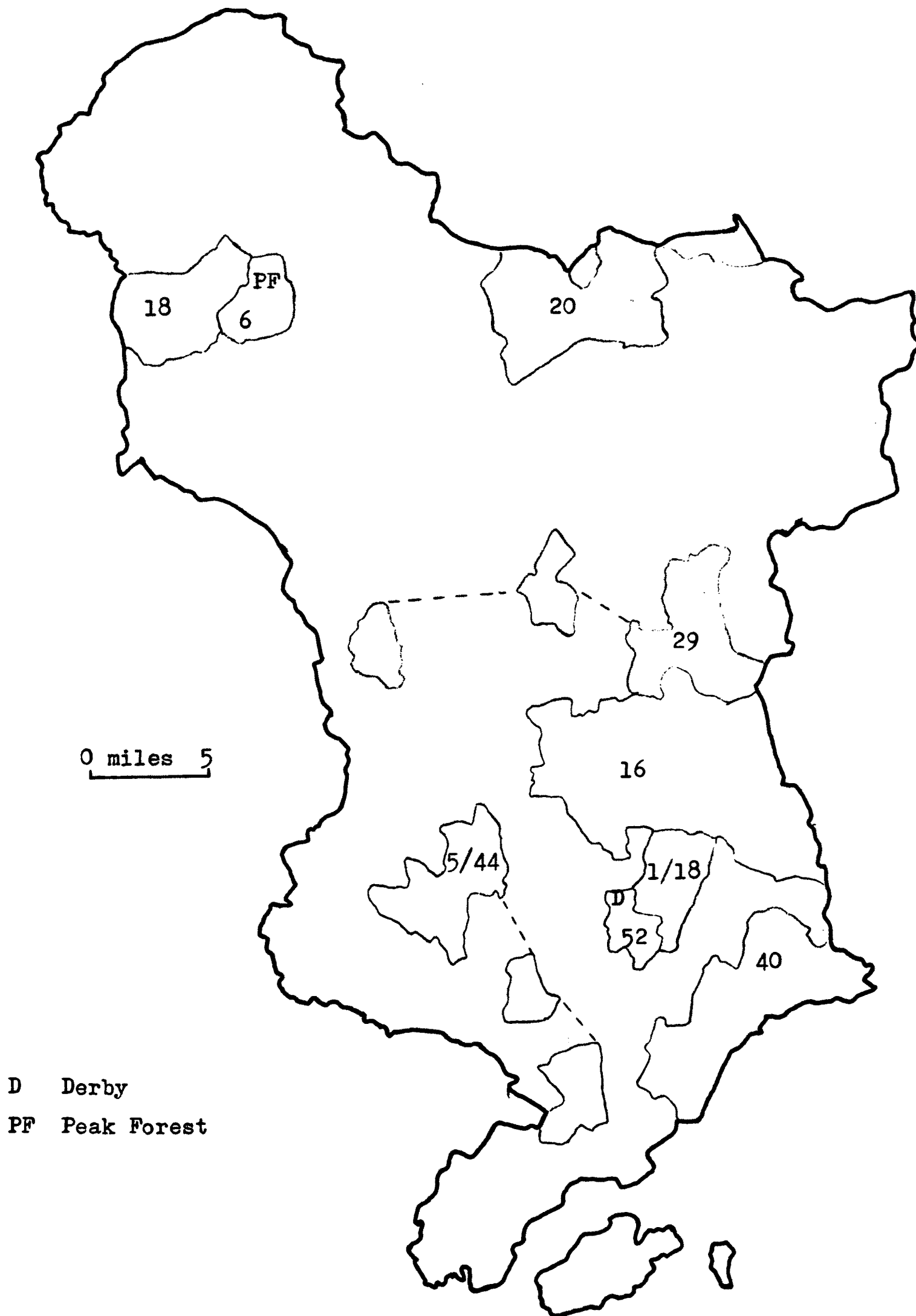
	M2		M3		M4	
	Wk	I	Wk	I	Wk	I
<i>Middlesex</i>						
London	5	202	34	156	5/6	152
Suburbs SJC	5	169	15	148	52	167
SMIF	5/7	196	52	176	52	170
Hinterland 1A	39	191	16	225	18/41	179
1B	6/25	215	41	216	7/37	198
2A	40	241	40	241	40	220
2B	18	316	18	320	52	217
2C	26/48	240	23	(360)	39/44	(257)
2D	44	201	16/28	227	20/36	225
2E	26	(291)	5	221	16	202
3A	18	200	16	205	39	260
3B	41	(440)	20	(275)	24	289
<i>Devon</i>						
Exeter	6	232	18	244	52	186
Topsham	5	307	45	231	52	229
Hinterland 1A	48	262	40	329	15	231
2A	5	277	25	225	52	229
2B	5	226	18	319	52	254
2C	3	228	26	253	17	201
3A	3/47	290	48	299	16	326
3B					14	385
Plymouth	3	291	52	173	52	170
Barnstaple	5	305	4	222	52	238
<i>Co Durham</i>						
Newcastle	5	247	48	325	52	181
Hinterland 1A	48	410	21	385	48	301
1B	48	395	48	306	52	385
1C	25	333	39	419	52	277
1D	48	515	18	438	18	695
Durham	48	256	18	297	18	253
Hinterland 2A	47	310	18	455	18	469
2B	20/22	282	19	(580)	18	566
2C	47	340	48	347	18	329
2D	23	434	47	399	18	810
3A	24/47	306	18/20/24	334	18	763
3B	48	421	47	449	18	807
3C	48	326	18	375	18	445
<i>Northumberland</i>						
Newcastle					52	181
Hinterland 1A					20	430
1B					25	439
1C					21	367
2A					22	501
2B					22	503



Table 5.C.7 Hinterlands, Peak Marriage Weeks (continued)

	M2		M3		M4	
	Wk	I	Wk	I	Wk	I
<i>Nottinghamshire</i>						
Nottingham	47	245	17	238	38	231
Hinterland 1A	48	320	5/47	201	38	197
1B	48	318	46	266	52	298
1C	46	417	47	356	46	401
1D	47	558	18	364	46	256
1E	47	512	3	235	46	383
2A	46	434	46	260	46	274
2B	48	379	46	313	46	387
2C	47	525	46	358	46	349
2D	49	349	46	306	46	389
3A	5	314	17	242	49	215
3B	48	407	46	302	46	369
3C	48	356	46	301	46	267
Southwell	46	302	46	303	46	377
Mansfield	47	288	18	266	1	243
Newark	5	248	18	398	18	280
<i>Lincolnshire</i>						
Lincoln	5/48	181	18	319	18	256
Hinterland 1A	23/47	254	18	509	18	868
1B	48	355	18	720	18	929
2A	48	434	47	413	18	339
2B	47	401	46	354	46	366
3A	25	320	18	385	18	365
3B	24	376	18	496	18	420
3C	19/47	286	18	519	18	616
3D	47	291	18	514	18	932
Spalding	47	210	19	438	18	568
<i>Wiltshire</i>						
Salisbury	48	185	5	198	52	201
Hinterland 1A	40	336	5/17/27	(226)	39	258
1B	40	411	40	233	40	337
2A	41	354	5	213	40	360
2B	48	273	27/40	(326)	40	234
3A	40	337	16	309	40	230
3B	48	289	17	254	52	240
Devizes	40/41	281	15/41	(240)	41	352
Marlborough	48	230	40	284	26	241
<i>Leeds</i>						
Town					52	166
Chapelries					18	209

FIGURE 5.C.20 DISTRIBUTION OF PEAK MARRIAGE WEEKS IN DERBYSHIRE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



The measures of seasonal variation of the hinterland bands are shown in Table 5.C.8.

Table 5.C.8 Hinterlands, Weekly MADs

	M2	M3	M4
<i>Middlesex</i>			
London	17.9	15.7	10.9
SJC	23.2	11.5	14.1
SMIF	24.2	18.1	16.0
Hinterland 1	30.7	21.9	21.5
Hinterland 2	33.7	26.9	22.2
Hinterland 3	35.0	31.5	30.3
<i>Devon</i>			
Exeter	26.1	30.9	15.4
Topsham	38.9	27.9	16.1
Hinterland 1	40.2	40.0	29.8
Hinterland 2	38.5	30.7	18.2
Hinterland 3	52.0	37.3	34.1
Plymouth	32.9	12.3	12.6
Barnstaple	30.1	25.0	19.4
<i>Co Durham</i>			
Newcastle	37.0	36.3	18.3
Hinterland 1	49.2	53.1	36.7
Hinterland 2	56.0	60.0	47.7
Hinterland 3	56.7	58.4	61.7
Durham	42.9	30.1	26.4
<i>Northumberland</i>			
Newcastle			18.3
Hinterland 1			56.7
Hinterland 2			78.5
<i>Nottinghamshire</i>			
Nottingham	38.2	21.4	17.1
Hinterland 1	46.2	31.3	21.9
Hinterland 2	49.9	41.4	33.2
Hinterland 3	49.2	37.8	25.1
Southwell	46.9	35.5	28.1
Mansfield	37.8	34.9	22.0
Newark	40.4	40.9	21.4
<i>Lincolnshire</i>			
Lincoln	26.8	34.5	26.4
Hinterland 1	55.3	57.7	47.4
Hinterland 2	53.4	48.6	33.6
Hinterland 3	53.2	50.7	42.0
Spalding	49.1	42.3	35.2
<i>Wiltshire</i>			
Salisbury	24.8	23.6	16.7
Hinterland 1	43.5	31.2	27.1
Hinterland 2	47.1	30.1	26.6
Hinterland 3	44.2	28.8	21.8
Devizes	43.4		27.1
<i>Leeds</i>			
Town			17.6
Chapelries			22.0

Clandestine Marriages

The marriage seasonality pattern for the Peak Forest Chapel, a centre for clandestine marriages, is shown on Figure 5.C.21(a), compared with the county town of Derby and with rural Derbyshire and neighbouring Cheshire. The clandestine marriage pattern shared the Lenten dip and the remnants of the Advent slump, though it lacked the popularity of Christmas/New Year, and summer marriages were more popular. Derbyshire rural marriage seasonality lacked the homogeneity of other counties (see Figure 5.C.20). This had the effect of making the overall rural marriage pattern relatively flat (see Table 5.C.3). Even so Peak Forest marriage seasonality was even flatter, and peaked at a different time of year.

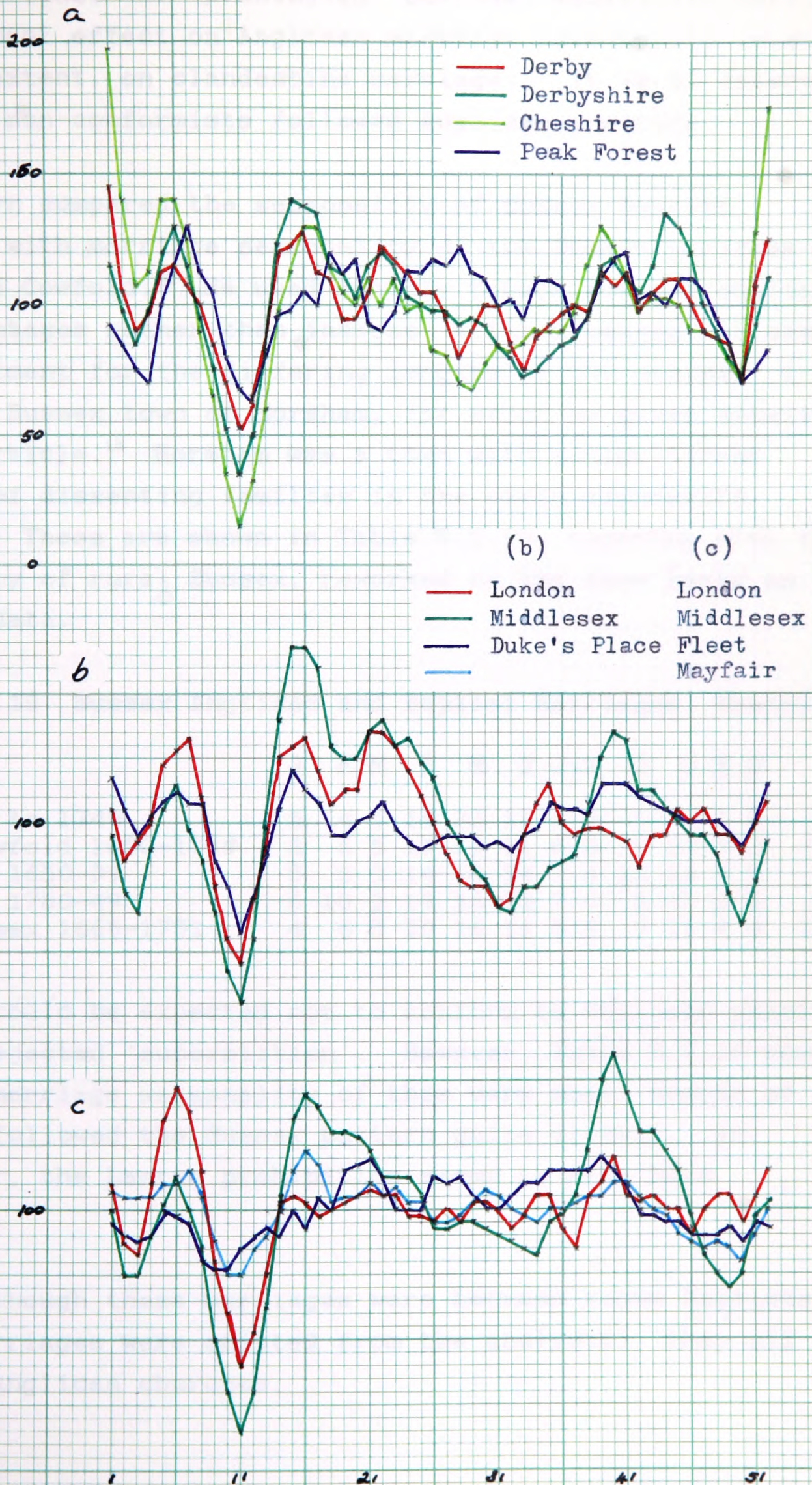
The seasonality patterns of the London clandestine centres are shown on Figure 5.C.21 contrasted with those of London and rural Middlesex. In the late seventeenth century the clandestine pattern was similar to the urban and rural patterns, though less variable. In the 1740s the Lenten dip in the clandestine centres was much shallower, summer marriages more common, and the patterns markedly less seasonal.

Table 5.C.9 Clandestine Marriage Centres, Weekly MADS and Peak Marriage Weeks

	MAD	Wk	I
<i>Derbyshire M4</i>			
Derby	13.0	52	195
Derbyshire	17.6	16/45	156
Cheshire	22.2	52	262
Peak Forest	12.5	6	151
<i>London M3</i>			
London	15.7	34	156
Middlesex	24.5	16	190
Duke's Place	8.8	52	133
<i>London M4</i>			
London	10.9	5/6	152
Middlesex	22.3	40	174
Mayfair Chapel	8.0	16	132
The Fleet	9.1	20	128

FIGURE 5.C. 21 CLANDESTINE WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES

- (a) Peak Forest - M4
- (b) London - M3
- (c) London - M4



Non-conformist Marriages

It is clear that the 'prohibited' periods, especially Lent, had a significant effect on Anglican marriage seasonality (even, to a lesser extent, on clandestine marriage). It is of interest to see if non-conformists followed Anglican practice.

John Caffyn compared the seasonality of Sussex Baptist marriages with marriage seasonality of the Sussex parishes of Bolney and Cowfold.¹⁴ He used monthly totals for seasonality, and percentages rather than indices, without making, it seems, any adjustment for the differing lengths of the months. I have added the Sussex town of Horsham, for which he gives details in another article.¹⁵ Horsham was a town with a significant minority of dissenting families in the early eighteenth century.¹⁶ These are shown in Table 5.C.10, together with the seasonality of rural Sussex, reworked on the same basis as Caffyn's data.

Table 5.C.10 Sussex Anglican and Baptist Marriages, Monthly %

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	N
Baptists to 1749	5	14	5	18	23	11	2	2	5	8	6	3	65
Bolney/Cowfold 1650-1749	3	6	5	19	19	11	6	3	9	10	7	3	594
Horsham 1650-99	5	6	3	14	14	14	7	4	10	10	7	5	737
1700-49	6	10	2	13	16	12	7	3	9	10	6	5	610
Rural Sussex 1660-1751	4	6	5	20	16	11	5	3	9	11	6	4	1091

Baptists could be expected not to conform to Anglican practice, as they rejected 'superstition'. However, Table 5.C.10 shows that the marriage seasonality of this very small sample of Baptists followed the Sussex pattern quite closely. In particular, the Lenten prohibition seems to have been respected.

However, though these marriages were between known Baptists (mixed marriages were omitted from the analysis), they all took place in Anglican churches.

They may well indicate, not that Baptists accepted the 'prohibited' periods, but that Anglican clergy were reluctant to perform marriages in these periods, particularly Lent, even when non-Anglicans were involved.

Another group of non-conformists were the French Huguenot refugees meeting at Threadneedle Street. Their marriage seasonality pattern for the early seventeenth century is shown on Figure 5.C.22. They too clearly observed the Lenten prohibition. The interesting features of their marriage pattern are the popularity of early spring marriages, around week 15 (9-15th April), and the popularity of Christmas/New Year marriages half a century earlier than such marriages were popular for Anglicans.

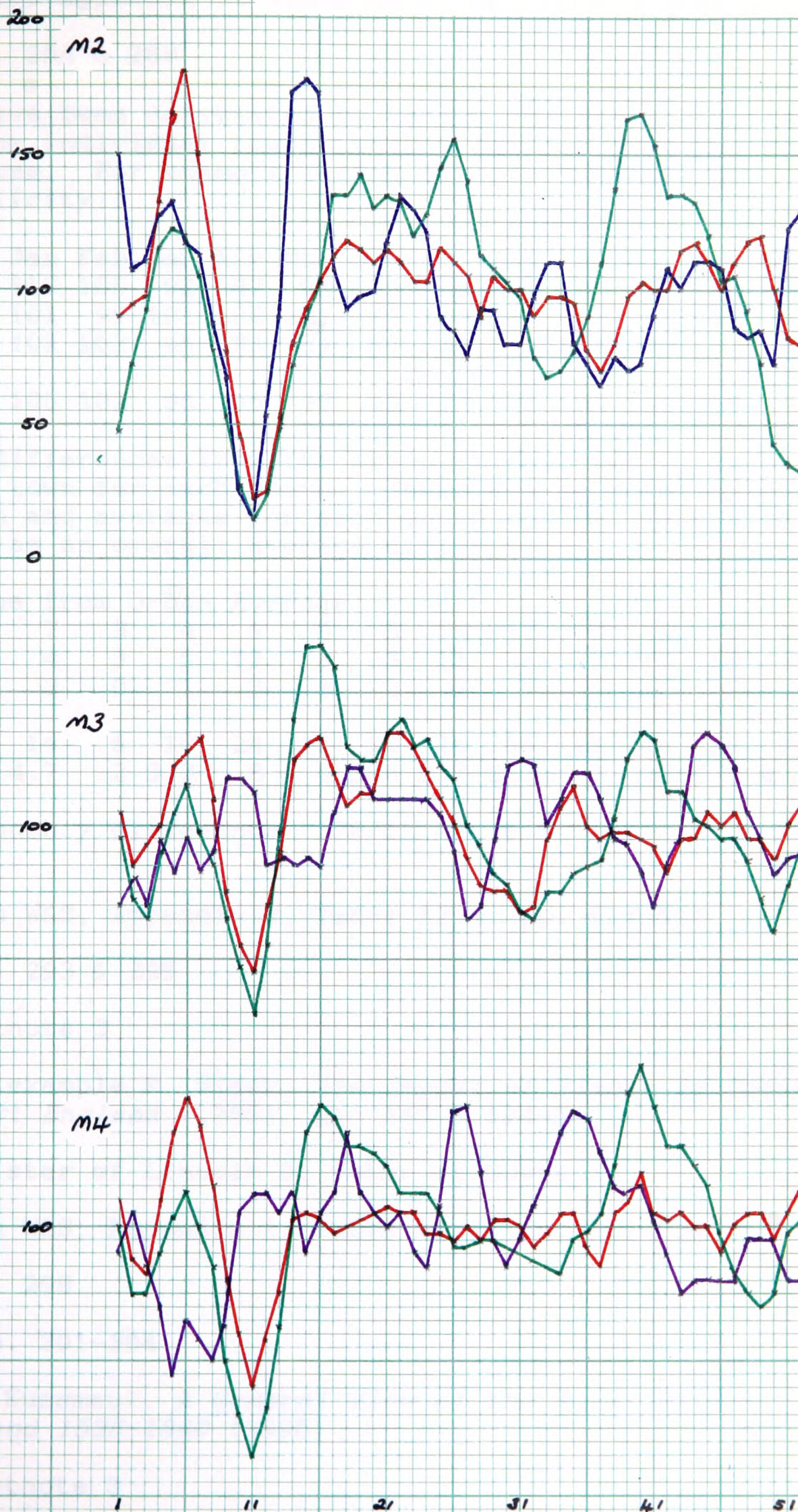
To observe a native non-conformist group marrying outside the Anglican church we turn to the Quakers. Figure 5.C.22 shows the marriage seasonality of the London and Middlesex Quakers, compared to urban London and rural Middlesex. It is clear from this that the Quakers did not avoid Lent. It also seems that Quaker marriage seasonality was erratic in pattern, and had little in common with that of their Anglican counterparts.

Table 5.C.11 London Non-Anglicans, Weekly MADs and Peak Marriage Weeks

		MAD	Wk	I
Huguenots	M2	23.3	15	289
Quakers	M3	15.7	10	166
Quakers	M4	17.3	27	175

FIGURE 5.C.22 NON-CONFORMIST
WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES

- London
- rural Middlesex
- London Huguenots
- London & Middx Quakers



References

1. Based on figures in E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (1981), Appendix 2, Table A2.4, pp. 503-508

2. W&S, pp. 286 & 288

3. These have been calculated by taking the average difference of the individual towns' weekly indices from the urban indices. For example (using monthly indices for simplicity):

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Tot
Town A	112	105	92	87	95	95	85	92	95	135	112	95	1200
Town B	101	99	101	108	101	87	109	111	106	99	93	85	1200
Town C	102	102	95	93	89	88	100	112	111	99	113	96	1200
Urban Av.	105	102	96	96	95	90	98	105	104	111	106	92	1200

The differences from the urban average are calculated for each town for each month. These are to be totalled for each month and averages for each month can be calculated, as well as an overall average difference:

Differences from Urban Average													
Town A	7	3	4	9	0	5	13	13	9	24	6	3	96
Town B	4	3	5	12	6	3	11	6	2	12	13	7	84
Town C	3	0	1	3	6	2	2	7	7	12	7	4	54
Totals	14	6	10	24	12	10	26	26	18	48	26	14	234
Av Diffs	4.7	2	3.3	8	4	3.3	8.7	8.7	6	16	8.7	4.6	78

Average monthly difference: $78/12 = 6.5$

4. Based on W&S, Appendix 2, Table A2.4, pp. 511-516

5. W&S, pp. 293 & 295

6. See footnote 3

7. See for example P. Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (1985), pp. 143 & 194-5

8. The Register of Lincoln St Peter at Gowts

9. Based on W&S, Appendix 2, Table A2.4, pp. 519-524

10. W&S, p. 298

11. W&S, pp. 301-304

12. See A. Kussmaul, *A General View of the Rural Economy of England 1538-1840* (1990)

13. See footnote 3

14. From J. Caffyn, *Sussex Believers: Baptist Marriage in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (1988), p 110-111
15. J. Caffyn, 'Marriage in the "Prohibited Periods" in the Mid-Sussex Weald, 1541-1799, and Marriage by Day of Week', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 126 (1988), p. 170
16. Caffyn, *Sussex Believers*, p. 116

CHAPTER SIX THE TIMING OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES AND BURIALS
IN TOWNS - DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter I summarised the results of the analysis of the data. In this chapter I want to look more closely at what we have learnt about the timing of baptisms, marriages and burials in towns, to put the findings into context, and discuss what they can tell us about life in towns in the period between the mid-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. It encompasses a number of factors which may influence seasonality patterns, including the environment, health, work and leisure patterns, apprenticeship and service, and perceptions of time.

Complications of Burial Seasonality

Burial seasonality can potentially tell us something about the physical environment in so far as it impinges on mortality. We must first, however, establish the temporal relationship between death and burial. It is generally assumed that the period between death and burial was short, and data from the few registers that give dates of both events confirms this.

Table 6.1 Death/Burial Intervals in Sample Towns

Parish	Period	N	% of bur	Days within which of burials complete				Mean No of Days
				25%	50%	75%	90%	
Newcastle SN	1646-53	489	76	1	1	1	1	1.1
Chester SJ	1663-64	46	55	1	1	3	4	1.7
London STA	1646-64	518	93	1	1	2	3	1.5
London STA	1665	158	98	0	0	1	1	0.4
London STA	1673-79	132	90	1	1	2	3	1.6
London SMA	1673-99	858	93	1	2	3	3	2.5
London SMW	1670-99	797	76	1	2	3	4	2.5

SJ=St John SMA=St Mary Aldermary SMW=St Mary Woolnoth ¹
SN=St Nicholas STA=St Thomas the Apostle ²

These examples suggest that in the seventeenth century burial generally followed within a few days of death (within a day during plague epidemics such as the 1665 epidemic in London).

This seems reasonable given the difficulties and cost of preserving corpses at that time, and there is no reason to believe that delays were any longer in the sixteenth or eighteenth centuries. It seems safe therefore to assume that burial seasonality closely reflects the seasonality of death. This is confirmed by Figure 6.1, showing the seasonal indices of deaths and burials in some of the above parishes.³

There is also a possibility that burial seasonality is related to the seasonality of birth and, before proceeding, it is necessary to consider this. The similarity of the rural burial seasonal pattern to baptismal seasonality was noted in Chapter 5 Section B. Given a high infant mortality rate in the early modern period, might not the burial seasonality pattern therefore be determined by the deaths of newly born children?

It is not always easy to find an answer to this in the parish registers as ages are not generally given. Sometimes, however, a register will identify children among the burials. A case in point is the register of Plymouth St Andrew in the early eighteenth century. The registers of St Botolph Bishopgate and St James Clerkenwell go further and give ages at death.

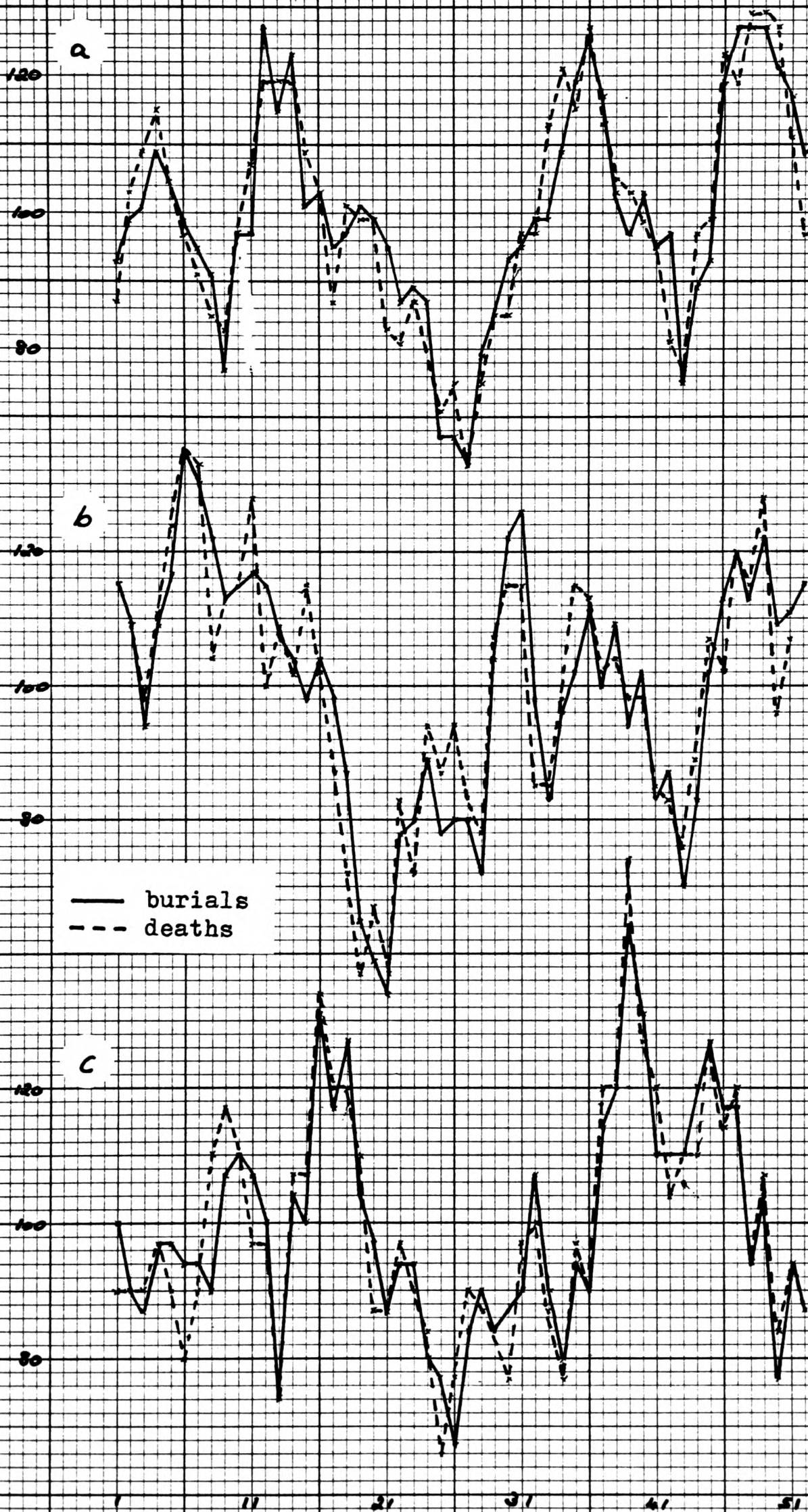
Table 6.2 Children and Adults in Burial Registers

	N	%
<i>Plymouth SA 1714-43</i>		
'children'	1333	28
adults	3346	72
<i>London SJC 1748-49</i>		
'infants'	354	31
under 15 years	477	43
15 years & over	632	57
<i>London SBB 1601-49</i>		
stillborn, chrisom	931	7
infants under 1 year	2115	16
aged 1-14 years	4476	33
aged 15 - 49 years	3759	28
aged 50 & over	2141	16

These raise further problems: how old, or young, was a 'child', and how reliable were reported ages in earlier times?

FIGURE 6.1 WEEKLY DEATH AND BURIAL INDICES

- (a) St Mary Aldermary 1673-99
- (b) St Mary Woolnoth 1670-99
- (c) St Thomas Apostle 1646-64



The term 'child' may have indicated an individual who was still resident with his/her parents, so could include the early teens. The uncertainty however does not prevent general contrasts being made between the experiences of adults and children. Similarly in the case of the London parishes, the fact that ages were probably rounded will not affect comparisons. Keith Thomas suggests that children's ages were recorded with more precision than were adults', because exact age was of more significance to the young for social and administrative reasons.⁴

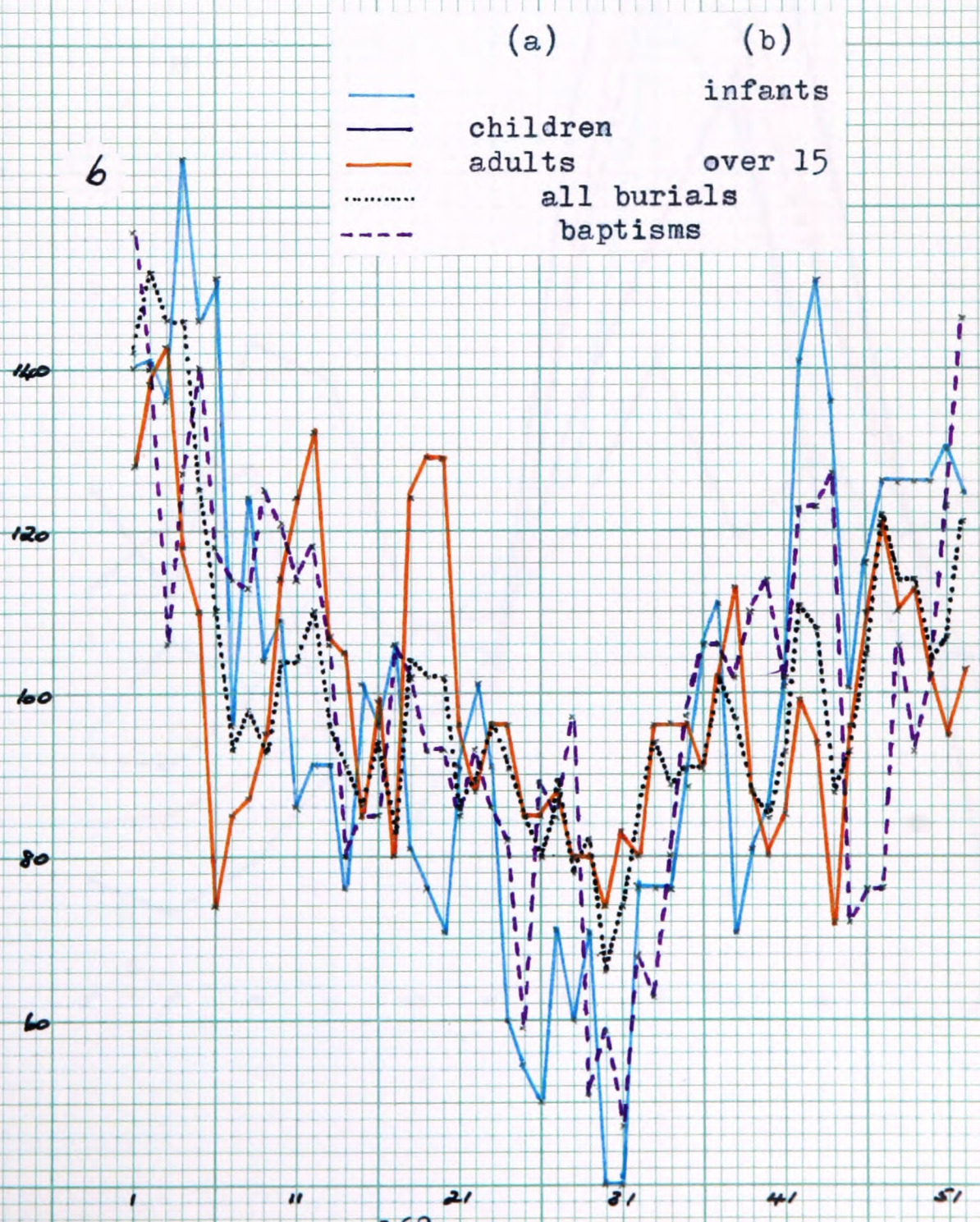
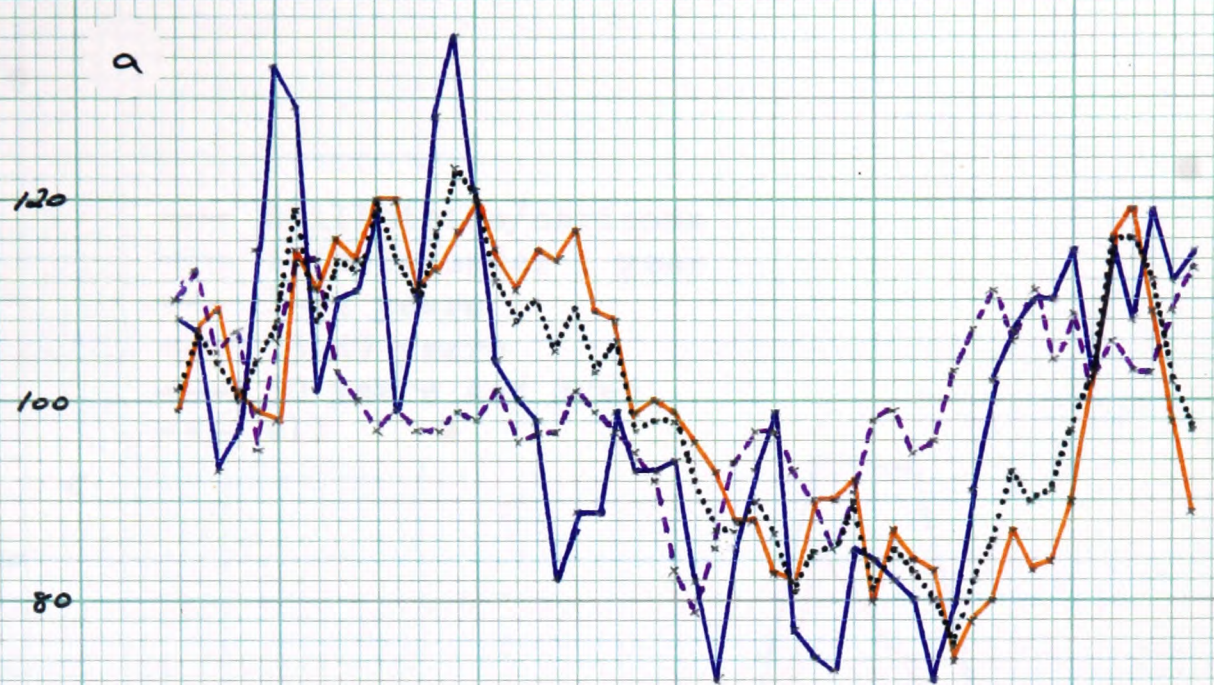
The deaths of children seem to have made up between a quarter and a half of all entries in these burial registers. (The proportion in Plymouth may be understated as the clerk may not have been consistent in identifying all children.) If the experience of St James Clerkenwell is typical, a majority of child deaths were of infants (i.e. under one year of age).

Figure 6.2(a & b) shows the seasonal burial patterns for the different age groups in Plymouth and St James Clerkenwell. Also shown are the baptismal seasonality patterns for comparison with the infant/child burial patterns. Bearing in mind the varying delay between birth and baptism and between birth and infant death, it is difficult to be certain of a direct link between the seasonality of baptisms and infant deaths, though the two patterns have similarities in St James Clerkenwell. The important point to note is that both adults and children share basically similar burial seasonality patterns: summer low and winter high. The overall burial patterns are strongly influenced by the seasonality of adult mortality.

In seventeenth century London the burial pattern did not resemble the baptismal pattern, because of the high summer (plague associated) burial peak. Significantly, in the St Botolph Bishopgate sample, infant burials more resembled the overall burial pattern than they did the baptismal pattern.

FIGURE 6.2 WEEKLY BURIAL INDICES
BY AGE

(a) Plymouth St Andrews
(b) St James Clerkenwell



(a)	(b)
— (light blue)	infants
— (dark blue)	children
— (orange)	adults over 15
..... (black)	all burials
- - - (purple)	baptisms

FIGURE 6.2 continued

(c) St Botolph Bishopgate

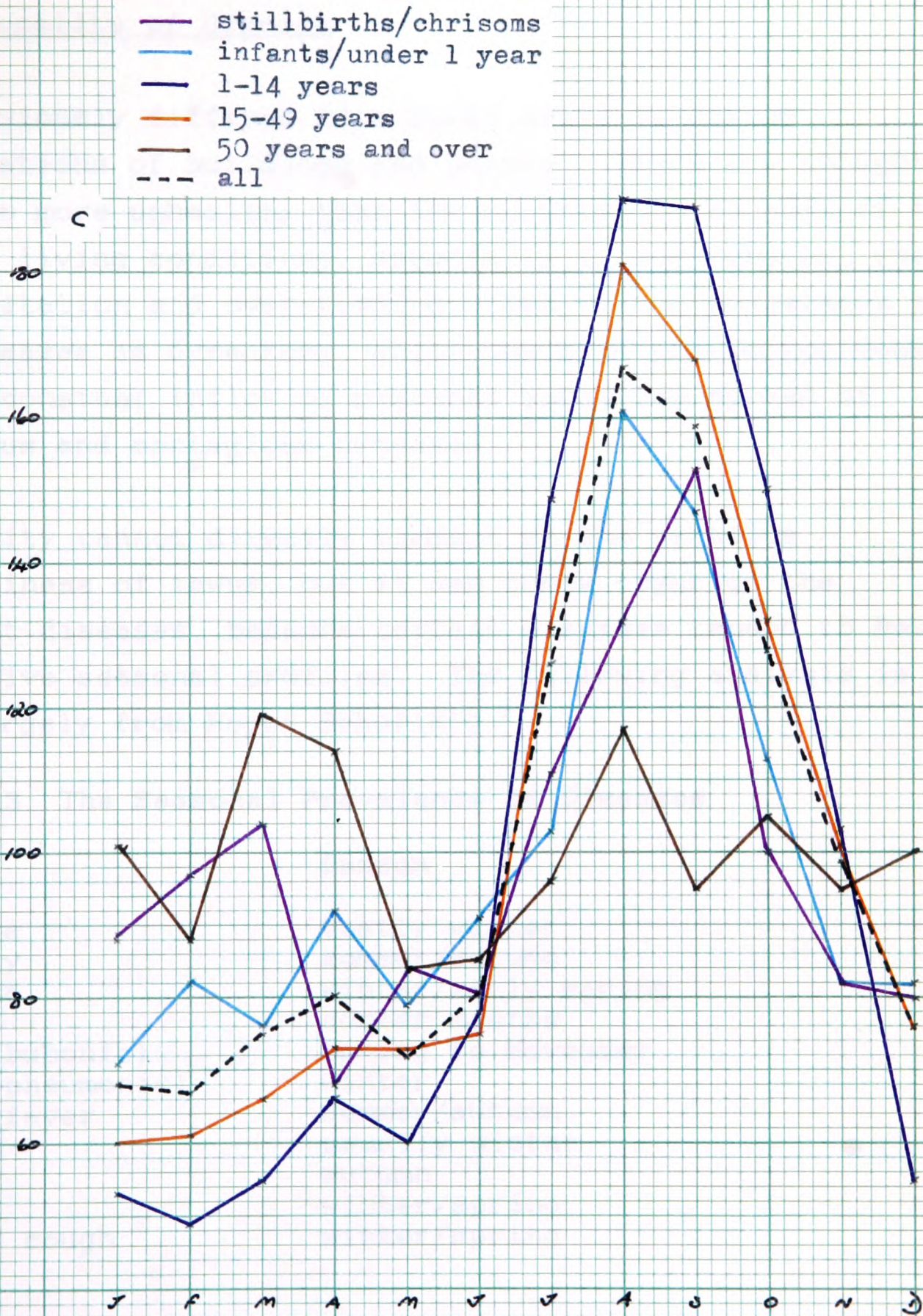


Figure 6.2(c) looks at monthly burial seasonality in St Botolph Bishopgate between 1601 and 1649 (excluding 1617, 1619-25 and 1644-5). In these years, over 96 per cent of burial entries indicated age. This included stillborn children and chrisoms (children who died before baptism), who also shared the burial pattern with a summer peak.

The Seasonality of Disease

Towns obviously differed from rural areas in having concentrations of buildings and people. Towns are thought to have been more unhealthy than the countryside because of this. The poor living conditions, especially in the suburbs, the poor sanitation and overcrowding, lead to the prevalence of such diseases as dysentery, while the high population density and the constant inflow of migrants aided the spread of infectious and contagious diseases.

Seasonality cannot directly comment on the relative unhealthiness of towns, but it can throw light on the prevalent diseases, because certain diseases tended to have distinctive seasonal profiles. The following analysis is drawn largely from Roger Schofield.⁵

Table 6.3 The Seasonal Prevalence of Diseases

Disease	Season
Diphtheria	mostly winter
Dysentery	summer/autumn
Influenza	winter/early spring
Measles	cooler months
Plague (bubonic)	spring to November
Plague (pneumonic)	winter
Scarlet fever	summer/autumn
Smallpox	usually winter
Typhoid	autumn
Typhus	winter/spring
Whooping cough	winter/spring

In his analysis of the London Bills of Mortality, Landers found in the period up to 1750, deaths from convulsions (a disease of infancy), smallpox and fevers all peaked in the summer and autumn, while consumption peaked in the spring.⁶

The overall burial pattern in rural areas (and in modern-day England) show burials peaking in the winter and spring, which implies that 'cold weather' diseases predominated.'

Bubonic Plague

The urban pattern shows a different picture, having a distinctive summer peak in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The extreme example is London (Figure 5.B.3(a)). The classic cause of this pattern of burials is bubonic plague, which was responsible for recurrent epidemics in London up to 1665, and was probably also endemic.

Few other towns show the pattern in quite this extreme form, Norwich coming closest, which may indicate that plague was not endemic lower down the urban scale, or that epidemics elsewhere were less virulent or less frequent. It does seem, however, that the larger the town, the more likely it was to experience a summer/autumn peak. Smaller towns near London, such as Bedford and Uxbridge, were also vulnerable. Figure 5.B.5 shows that plague peaks were concentrated in the east and south, contracting towards the south east corner by the later seventeenth century. This may be in part a product of the sample, as the larger towns included are in this area.

Plague epidemics tended to spread along the major routes from the ports and major towns to other large towns, and sometimes diffusing out to smaller towns and small villages.⁸ Plague was imported from abroad, thus it entered the country at the ports in most frequent contact with the Continent. This explains in part the concentration of the disease in the south and east. Ports show a marked summer/autumn peak in the late sixteenth century, but not in later periods. (Figure 5.B.7-5.B.10)

Bradley demonstrated how plague spread along major routes from London.⁹ It is no surprise therefore to find 'thoroughfare' towns exhibiting the characteristic summer/autumn peaks.

However, except in the later seventeenth century, they do so no more markedly than other urban groups. To some extent all towns were 'thoroughfare' towns, situated on main routes and catering for overnight travellers. They also attracted longer term visitors and migrants for various reasons. Travellers were a means whereby plague was spread; in addition rural migrants who had not been exposed to plague as urban residents had been, may well have been more susceptible to plague and other urban diseases, not having built up an immunity.

The larger and more important a town was, the more functions it performed and the greater the number of visitors and migrants it attracted. These towns also tended to have larger suburbs, which is where plague tended to be more virulent.¹⁰ These factors may explain why the summer/autumn peak is so prominent in London and the larger towns, and tends to decrease down the size and status hierarchies.

One might expect to find evidence of plague in rural areas around major centres, being spread by contacts between the town and its hinterland. This is apparent around London, but not so much around Newcastle and Exeter (See Figures 5.B.12 to 5.B.14). Whickham (in Newcastle's hinterland) had a plague profile in the early seventeenth century. This mining parish has been described as having an urban type mortality regime - it certainly appears to have been fast growing with concentrations of poorly housed pitworkers. It also had frequent trading connections with Newcastle, where plague was often epidemic and perhaps endemic, so there was an established route for plague to reach the parish.¹¹ Whickham's register is deficient for the 1665 epidemic, but Newcastle itself seems not to have been severely affected.¹²

Plague died out in England after the 1665 epidemic (whose severest effect was mainly limited to London). The last plague death in London, according to the Bills of Mortality, was in 1679.¹³ This is reflected in the reduced size of the summer/autumn peaks in the later seventeenth century, and their virtual disappearance in the early eighteenth century.

Gastric and Enteric Diseases

Though plague was clearly a major factor in forming the urban burial seasonality pattern, it is not the full story. When plague epidemic years are excluded from the figures, the remaining burials in London still show very high burials in late summer and autumn. This is due to some extent to endemic plague and frequent minor epidemics. However Landers found from the Bills of Mortality that London still had a summer/autumn peak in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, after the disappearance of plague.

Table 6.4 London 'Non-Plague' Burials, Monthly Indices

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1560-89 ^a	77	84	88	90	96	75	93	116	145	130	109	95
1600-29 ^a	86	90	93	98	88	84	98	124	130	119	96	94
1660-89 ^a	96	94	97	98	89	91	99	125	115	100	100	96
1670-99 ^b	102	104	101	96	92	92	104	119	105	92	96	97
1700-24 ^b	109	109	105	99	94	89	91	103	106	98	97	102
1720-49	113	110	103	106	96	87	80	94	99	103	102	104

a excluding 1563, 1603, 1625 and 1665 epidemics

b from the London Bills of Mortality ¹⁴

Landers found that one disease with a particularly high summer peak was 'gripping in the guts' (an August index of 262, over twice the monthly average). This formed 11 per cent of burials in 1670-99, 3.3 per cent in 1700-24, and subsequently disappeared from the records. It has been identified as infantile diarrhoea, and Quaker burial registers show that three-quarters of victims were under two years of age, which supports this interpretation.¹⁵ Landers argues elsewhere that the high summer burials of London's infants was linked to artificial feeding, the children being exposed to contaminated food and water while lacking the natural immunity acquired from breastfeeding.¹⁶ Clark suggests that London mothers were often immigrants who had not acquired antibodies to bacterial contaminants to pass on in their milk to their children, who thus died from summer gastric diseases.¹⁷

W&S found that in the nineteenth century, the Mediterranean countries of Italy and Spain experienced most burials in the summer, while northern Europe (Scotland, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary & Roumania) shared the English rural pattern of high spring and low summer burials. France and North Germany had intermediary patterns with spring and summer peaks (and the lowest MADs).

Table 6.5 European Burial Seasonality, Monthly Indices Mid-Nineteenth Century

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	MAD
Finland	104	113	116	124	127	109	90	83	77	80	87	92	15.3
France	106	110	110	104	94	87	90	105	108	98	94	95	7.1
Spain	95	90	88	86	82	94	117	123	118	110	101	96	11.5

W&S concluded that climate was the crucial factor, with respiratory infections dominating in the north and intestinal infections in the warmer south.¹⁸

London's seasonality pattern up to about 1720 indicates that the intestinal diseases that gave the Mediterranean countries their summer burials, were also prevalent there. Other towns also had above average non-plague burials in the summer and autumn in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, notably Canterbury, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the East Anglian towns of Norwich, Ipswich and Kings Lynn.

Table 6.6 Burial Seasonality excluding Plague Epidemics Monthly Indices¹⁹

	B1 JFMAMJJASOND	B2 JFMAMJJASOND	B3 JFMAMJJASOND
CAN	+---++---++--	--+ -+---++--	+++--+--+ +--
NEWT	-+-+---*--+	---+---*++--	++++---++--
NOR	---++-++-+-	+---+---++--	+++---*++--
IPS	+-----++++-	-+++---+--+	---+---++--
KIN	+ -++- -++	++-+-+---++	---+---++--

- Monthly Index under 100
 + Monthly index over 100
 * Monthly Index over 124

Furthermore some towns continued to have excess burials in summer and autumn months in the early eighteenth century, including Cambridge, Canterbury, Dover, Ipswich, Kings Lynn, Norwich, Reading, Worcester and York.²⁰ It seems that the overcrowded and insanitary conditions in towns fostered enteric and gastric diseases, such as typhoid and dysentery, caused by contaminated food and polluted water. These may have hit young children more severely than adults.

Another factor may be smallpox, which in London Landers found was most virulent in the latter half of the year, and which replaced plague as the most feared disease. In large towns and London it was endemic, affecting mainly children or migrants who had not previously been exposed. In smaller towns and country areas outbreaks were more infrequent. Unlike plague, however, many people survived smallpox, albeit with the disfiguring pox marks. In London between 1670 and 1750, smallpox accounted for only 6.5 to 8 per cent of all burials, and the proportion could have been lower elsewhere.²¹ It did not have a determining influence on the overall burial seasonality pattern.

Early Eighteenth Century Mortality

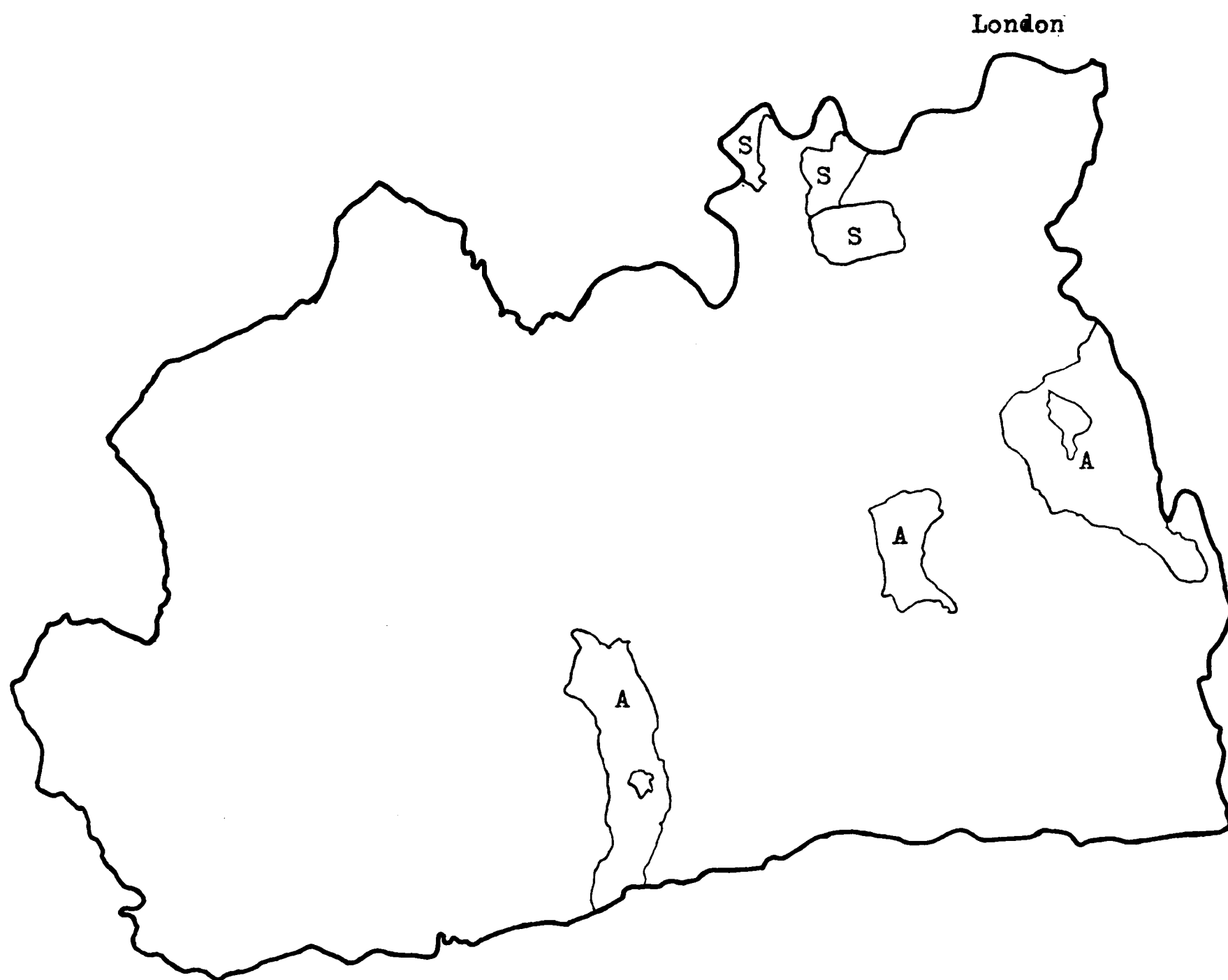
In the early eighteenth century, autumn burials, though below average, continued to be in higher in towns overall than in rural areas (See Figures 5.B.1 & 5.B.2). This excess was most marked in the south eastern and east Anglian towns, and London (Figures 5.B.3 & 5.B.10). This concentration may be related to the gastric and enteric diseases that Mary Dobson thought were recurrent and widespread in the extreme south east (Essex, Kent and Sussex) in the later seventeenth century and early eighteenth centuries. She explained this by 'the increased global and regional population movements of the time'. This would explain why ports and towns suffered heavily, ports being vulnerable to imported strains and towns to the frequent passage of travellers. It would also explain why the south east was particularly affected.²²

Dobson points to the frequent small-scale movements out of London into its hinterland.²³ This may be a factor in the persistence of summer/autumn burials peaks in the early eighteenth century in Middlesex and North Surrey.²⁴ (See Figures 5.B.11 and 6.3) That such peaks had already disappeared from London itself by this time makes it problematic. It is possible that movement of a specialised kind, that of the 'export' of London children to nurses around London, may have made a special contribution. Clark found that children who died at nurse had a summer high/winter low burial pattern, like children dying in London, but unlike native rural children who had a winter high/summer low pattern.²⁵ The distribution of London nurse children is uncertain, but in the seventeenth century the hinterland parishes of Surrey and Middlesex were among those receiving nurse children.²⁶ In smaller, rural, populations the impact of the death of a number of London children might have a greater impact on seasonality than in London itself.

The decline in the summer/autumn burial peaks in London is difficult to explain. Landers sees the decline of infantile diarrhoea, or 'griping in the guts' as significant, and attributes it to a change in climatic conditions and/or the pathogen producing a less severe form of the disease. He discounts the possibility that any improvement in the living conditions in London led to a decrease in gastric infections; rather he saw an *increase* in respiratory diseases and typhus, associated with poverty.²⁷

The overall similarity between the urban and rural burial patterns in the early eighteenth century implies that their mortality regimes had become more alike and that the same diseases were responsible for mortality in towns and countryside. This might imply that the 'urban renaissance' and associated improvements might have decreased the unhealthiness of towns. The case cannot be proven on the evidence of aggregate seasonality, and it seems that towns continued to be unhealthy places in which to live, with burials exceeding baptisms in the sample towns.

FIGURE 6.3 BURIAL SEASONALITY IN SURREY 1700-1749



0 miles 5

S Peak burials in September

A Peak burials in April

Seasonal Unemployment

Another factor which may affect burial seasonality is working patterns. Levine and Wrightson found a higher than normal proportion of young adult males dying in Whickham in 1600-49, which they attribute to industrial accidents - mining was a dangerous occupation. It was also a seasonal occupation, most active in the summer and idle in the winter (due to the lack of shipping at Newcastle).²⁸ This may mean that the industrial accidents were concentrated in the more clement months, when mining activity was at its height. Since the winter lay-off seems to have shortened in the eighteenth century this would have been most marked in the seventeenth century, when Whickham's summer/autumn burial peak was at its greatest, and so may be, with plague, a contributory cause.

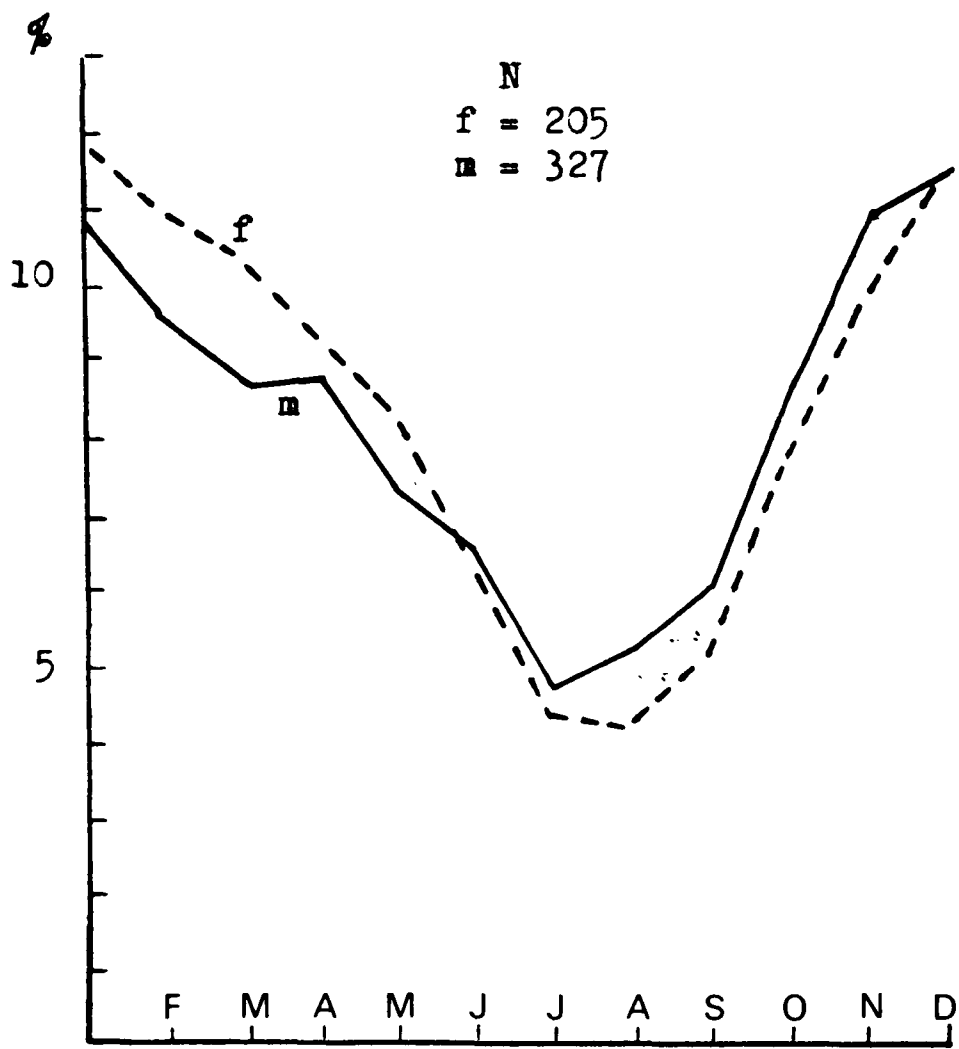
This was no doubt an exceptional case. Few occupations in the early modern period were as dangerous as mining. But mining also points to a more common scenario: seasonal unemployment. It was said of the Newcastle keelmen in 1729:

They give over work the beginning of November and many of them had not then a shilling before hand. They live upon Credit and a little labouring work till they get their binding money at Christmas. That money goes to their Creditors and they borrow of their fitters to buy provisions .. and so they put off till trade begins. Now if they are not to begin [work again] till about Ladyday [25th March], half of them will be starved ..²⁹

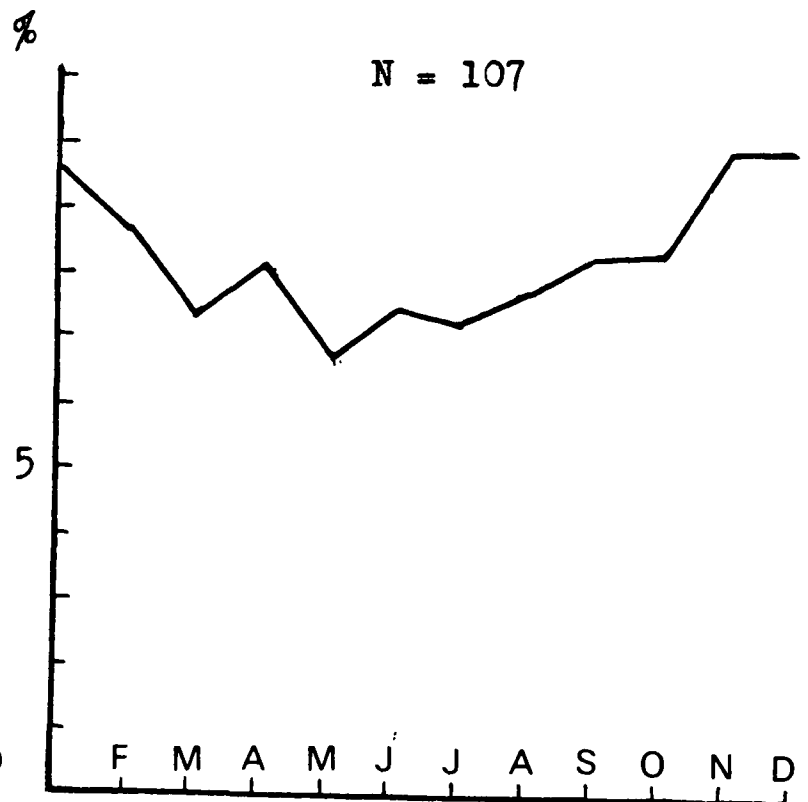
Such conditions of hardship may have lead to increased mortality in the winter and spring.

There is some similarity between the rural burial seasonal pattern and the pattern of agricultural unemployment (mainly of the arable south) found by Snell for 1690 to 1750, using settlement examinations. (See Figure 6.4).³⁰ The pattern is one of winter high and summer low: burials and unemployment were at their lowest in July and August, but burials were at their highest in February to April when employment was improving.

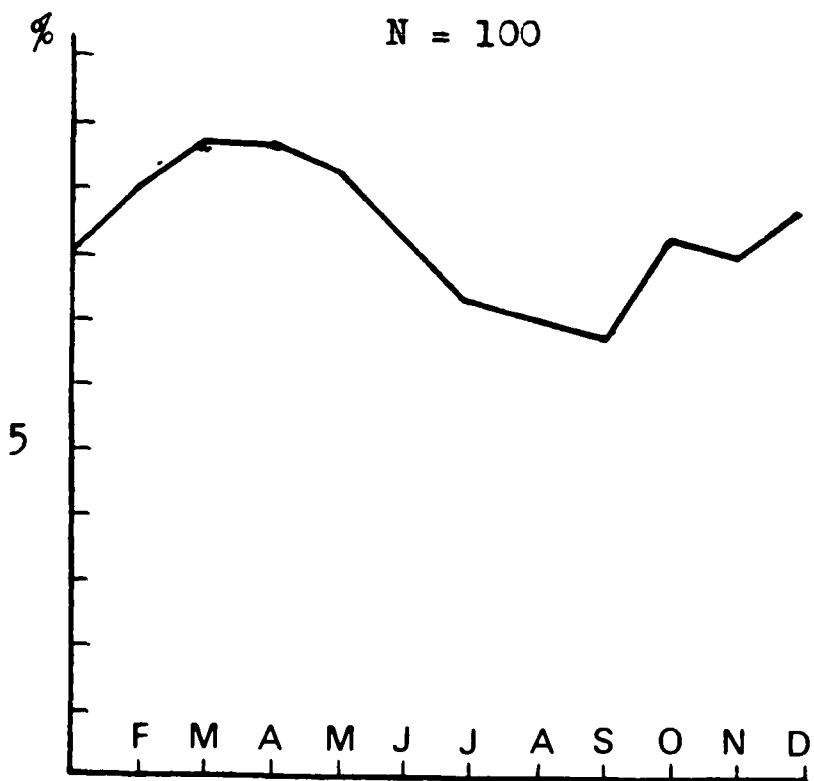
FIGURE 6.4 THE SEASONAL DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT
 (from K D M Snell: Annals of the Labouring Poor)



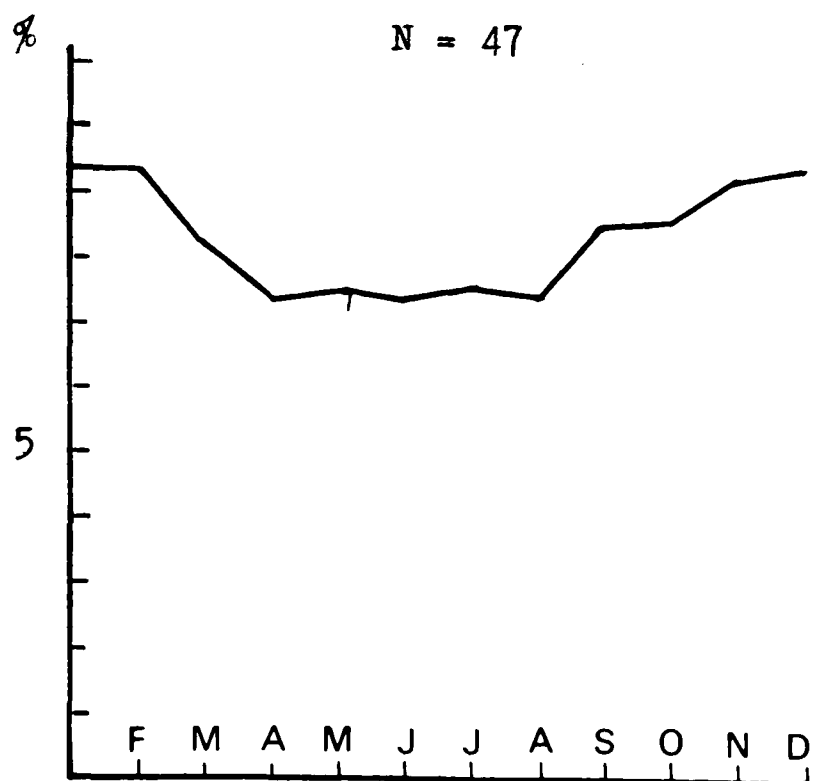
Agricultural workers 1690-1750
 Southern and eastern England



Building trade workers before 1790
 Eastern, south-western and Midland counties



Cordwainers before 1790
 Eastern, south-western and Midland counties



Tailors before 1790
 Eastern, south-western and Midland counties

This pattern of rural unemployment, causing hardship, may not have been a direct cause of mortality, but it may have served to exacerbate the underlying burial seasonality pattern. Snell used the same source, settlement examinations, to graph seasonal unemployment among building workers, cordwainers and tailors, also shown on Figure 6.4.³¹ These trades, before 1790, displayed much more regular unemployment patterns. After 1790 (or in fact after 1780 or earlier) these trades developed patterns more akin to the agricultural pattern shown in Figure 6.4. Snell links this changing pattern to the decline in the institution of apprenticeship, and it may be that the apprenticeship system in towns mitigated seasonal unemployment to some extent in the period up to and beyond 1750. This may be a factor in the flatter burial patterns in town in the early eighteenth century, relative to rural areas (despite the mechanism of service in husbandry which might have had a similar effect in rural areas).

Marriage and baptismal seasonality can also throw light on employment patterns. As social events, and involving at least one adult likely to be in employment, these might be expected to take place when employment demands were less. The decline in rural marriages and baptisms at harvest time suggests that this is so. A period of unemployment may not have been the best time for marriage, or to celebrate an extra mouth, but as social events they may have been concentrated in periods of leisure. As Jeremy Boulton suggested, 'for the convenience of guests and to avoid loss of earnings, weddings should have fallen on days set aside for leisure'.³² Baptisms may be less revealing on this aspect because the timing was linked to births and in turn to conceptions.

Complications of Baptismal Seasonality

The seasonal pattern of conception is obscured by such factors as pregnancies not going to full term, stillbirths, deaths prior to baptism, the varying length of pregnancy and the problematic interval between birth and baptism.

There is little data on the seasonality of miscarriages, but what there is, according to W&S, suggests that it would have little effect on birth seasonality. W&S also report that the seasonality of stillbirths in nineteenth century Sweden and twentieth century France was close to that of live births. They conclude that 'it would seem reasonable to treat the seasonality of births, set back nine months, as indicating, if somewhat diffusely, the seasonal cycle of conceptions.'³³

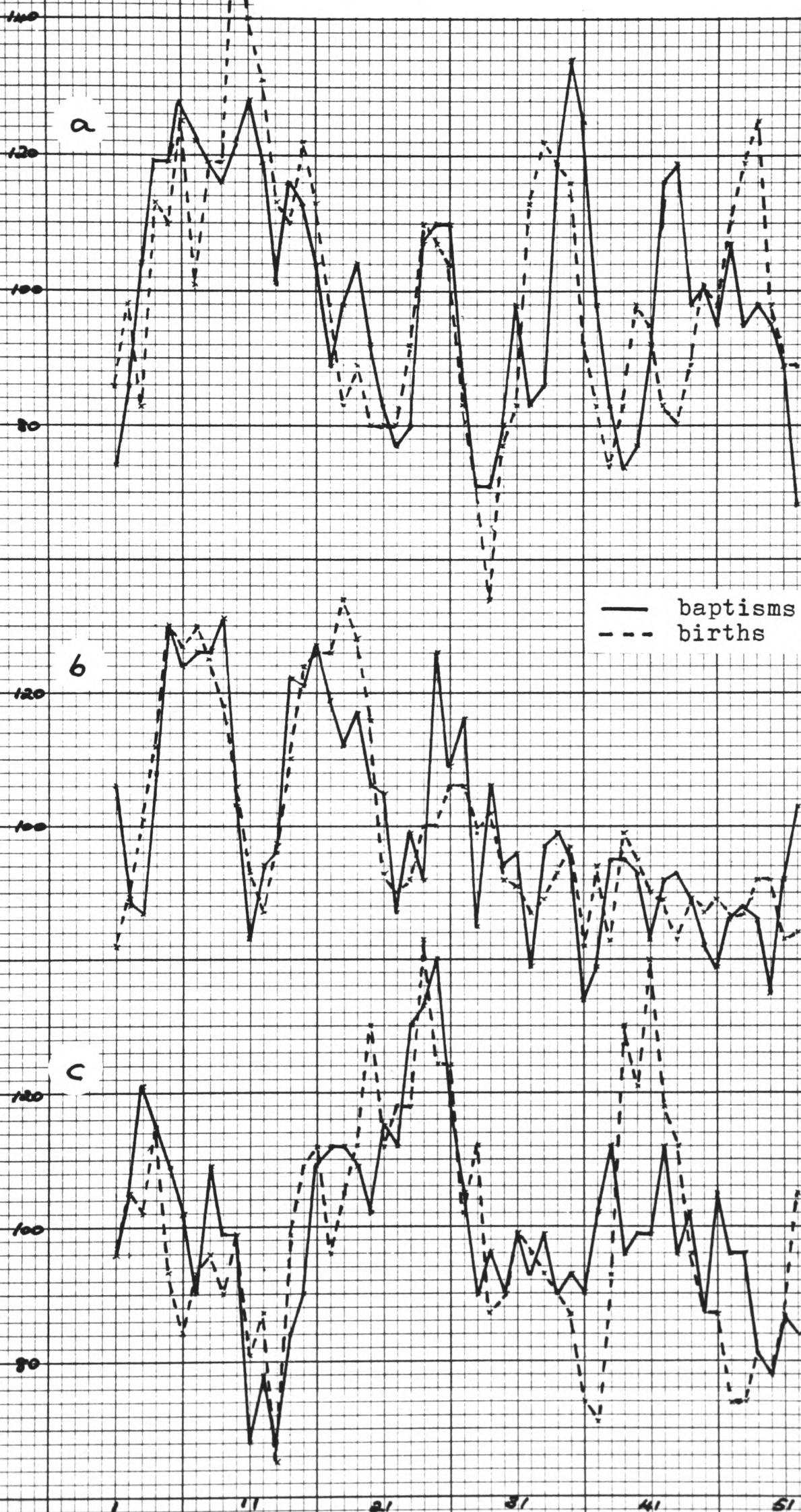
The length of pregnancy is popularly taken as nine months, but the actual number of weeks can vary quite widely. In the early modern period, apparently, women regarded 40 weeks as the normal term.³⁴ Dyer used a 38 week gestation period, based on a modern study which found that 59.5 per cent of pregnancies lasted 37-39 weeks while 10.7 per cent were less than 35 or more than 41 weeks.³⁵

Evidence from early modern towns on the interval between birth and baptism is given in Appendix 4, drawn from sample towns and, except for London St Peter Cornhill, from the period after 1640. The data suggest that the interval varied from place to place, and generally lengthened over the period. But it remained relatively short, a matter of weeks. However the delay, and the spread of intervals even within a parish, makes it difficult to determine birth seasonality from baptismal seasonality. Figure 6.5 compares the birth and baptismal seasonality graphs for some parishes. The birth indices are advanced by the number of weeks approximating to the median interval (for example, when the median interval between birth and baptism is 8 days, the birth seasonality graph is advanced by one week).³⁶ The birth and baptismal graphs are quite similar, but in some cases there are significant differences.

The variations from place to place and from time to time make it difficult to predict a median or mean interval for towns or for periods where no interval information is available. When the baptismal totals from several towns are aggregated it becomes even more difficult to work back from baptisms to births with any hope of accuracy.

FIGURE 6.5 WEEKLY BIRTH AND BAPTISMAL INDICES

- (a) Norwich St James 1740-49
- (b) Leeds 1745-49
- (c) St Dionis Backchurch 1720-49



For all these reasons, the attempt to ascertain the seasonality of conceptions from the seasonality of baptisms can be only very approximate. A starting point for considering the seasonality of conceptions is the modern day pattern, derived from the monthly seasonality of births.³⁷ This is not the true picture, since it takes no account of the varying length of pregnancies and omits conceptions that did not result in a live birth. This it has in common with the early modern data. However, the modern figures do not have the problems of the birth/baptism delay, and deaths prior to baptism.

It will be seen from Figure 6.6(a) that modern conceptions are at their greatest in late spring and summer, peaking in June, and at their lowest in February, with another dip in November. Judging by the W&S data (based on baptisms adjusted by nine months), the pre-registration period closest to this is the early nineteenth century, though here the peak comes one month later, in July. Perhaps this indicates that the birth/baptism interval had extended to one month; however, against this, the troughs are in the same months.

Up to 1750, there was a fairly consistent monthly pattern in the W&S sample, which was shared by the rural and urban samples (based on baptismal seasonality adjusted by nine months) - a spring and early summer peak, and an autumn trough.

Another approach is to look at the conceptions of the London & Middlesex Quakers in the period 1720-49, based on *births*. (Figure 6.6(c)). This is compared to the patterns for urban London and rural Middlesex from parish registers (based on baptisms). It will be seen that the patterns are similar, sharing lowest conceptions in September. The Quakers' peak in conceptions came earlier (March to May) with a trough in February rather than March. This may reflect the baptismal delay in the parish registers, or the fact that Quaker marriages were at their lowest in February (Figure 5.C.22).

FIGURE 6.6 MONTHLY INDICES OF CONCEPTIONS

- (a) England & Wales 1951-80
- (b) W&S
- (c) London & Middx 1720-49

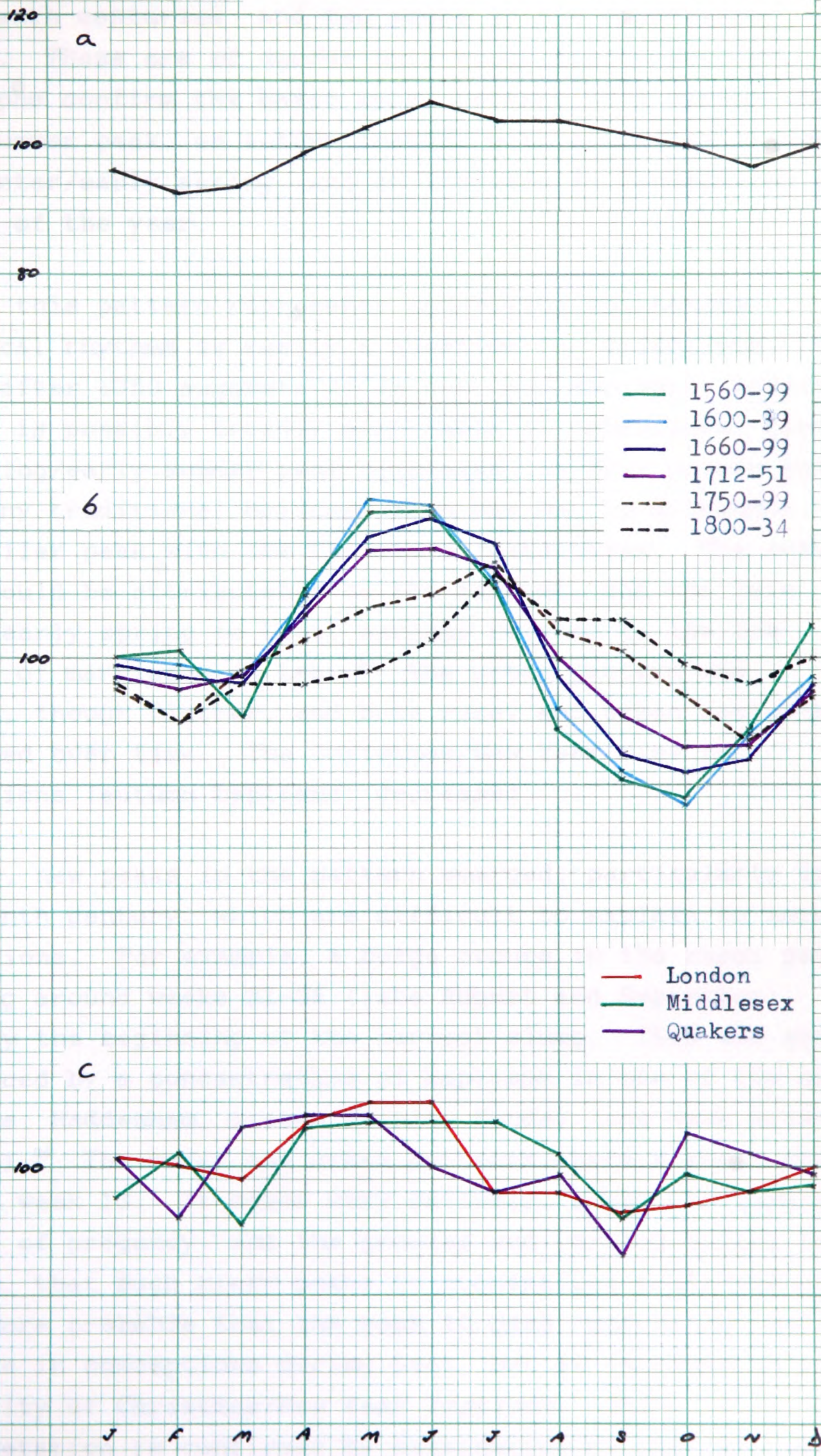


Figure 6.7 shows the weekly patterns of conceptions for the rural and urban samples, assuming a 38 week gestation period with one week's delay for baptisms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and two weeks in the eighteenth century. These are of course only rough approximations. The graphs confirm the basic rural pattern of a spring and early summer peak, an autumn trough, with a smaller trough in late winter/early spring, and an increase in conceptions at the end of the year.

Whether this pattern represents underlying autonomous biological rhythms is really a question for scientists. The change after 1750 suggests it is not, and the early modern pattern is possibly broadly explicable in behavioural terms. The spring/early summer peak coincides, as Dyer points out, with many traditional holidays from May Day to Midsummer, and the smaller peak with the Christmas festivities. The autumn slump could be attributable to the harvest, and the late winter/early spring to Lent, perhaps related to the low numbers of marriages in Lent.³⁸ The urban pattern was similar, though flatter, and both rural and urban patterns flattened over time. The Christmas/New Year rise in conceptions (autumn baptisms) decreased.

However, new peaks in the pattern emerged, particularly in the eighteenth century, which are difficult to explain in terms of conceptions. For example, a bulge occurs in the rural pattern emerging around weeks 31-36 (late August and September), formerly the beginning of the harvest slump. This was greatly influenced by a concentration of baptisms in one of the sample parishes, Haddenham, around Trinity Sunday (one week after Whitsun).³⁹ The rural and urban patterns share a short sharp peak in week 13. It seems very unlikely, given the varying lengths of pregnancy, and the growing and varying delays before baptism, that such clear peaks in conceptions could emerge. It is more probable that the week 13 peak represents, not a increase in conceptions during Lent, but an increase in the popularity of Christmas/New Year *baptisms*. This interpretation is confirmed by examination of marriage seasonality.

FIGURE 6.7 WEEKLY INDICES OF CONCEPTIONS

(a) rural
(b) urban



Rural Marriages and Hiring Fairs

It may be recalled that marriage patterns showed greater variation than did baptisms and burials. Generally harvest time, and the prohibited periods of Lent and Advent (up to 1650) were periods of low marriages, but the peak periods varied from county to county. (See Figures 5.C.4-5.C.6) The most popular weeks for marriages are shown in Tables 5.C.1 and 5.C.2. W&S and Kussmaul, using monthly seasonality, have suggested that the rural marriage peaks relate to the agricultural year, and in particular, to hiring fairs.⁴⁰

These were the occasions on which yearly hired farm servants changed jobs, and they were normally held after the busiest time of the year: in autumn, after the harvest, in arable areas and in spring, after lambing, in pastoral areas. From the farmers' point of view, this ensured that the workers were available when they were most needed, and from the workers point of view it ensured maximum wages and the right to a 'settlement' in the parish. It is argued that this is the time of year when young people would marry, at the end of their annual term, when they had just been paid. In the arable south east the common time for hiring fairs was Michaelmas (29th October), further north where the harvest was later it was Martinmas (11th November). In pastoral areas it was commonly May Day (1st May), although Easter and Whitsun would also be suitable. Kussmaul found from settlement examinations (mainly eighteenth century) that most contracts began on one of these days.⁴¹

Table 6.7 Hiring Dates of Farm Servants, percentages

Place	Mi	Ma	May	LD	Other	N
Yorks (N & E Ridings)	0	92	8	0	0	24
Northants & Leic	91	7	0	2	0	44
Cambs & Norf	98	1	0	0	1	120
Lincs	0	7	90	0	3	72
Wilts & Glouc	96	1	0	1	1	85

Mi=Michaelmas Ma=Martinmas May=May Day LD=Lady Day

Michaelmas, Martinmas and May Day were all known as Pack-Rag Day in various parts of the country -

the day on which farm and sometimes domestic servants hired by the year packed or pagged up their cloths and other effects in a bundle ... preparatory for spending a week at home or entering, at once, the service of a new employer.

In Lincolnshire this was May Day, in Yorkshire, Martinmas and in Norfolk, Suffolk and Wiltshire it was Michaelmas.⁴²

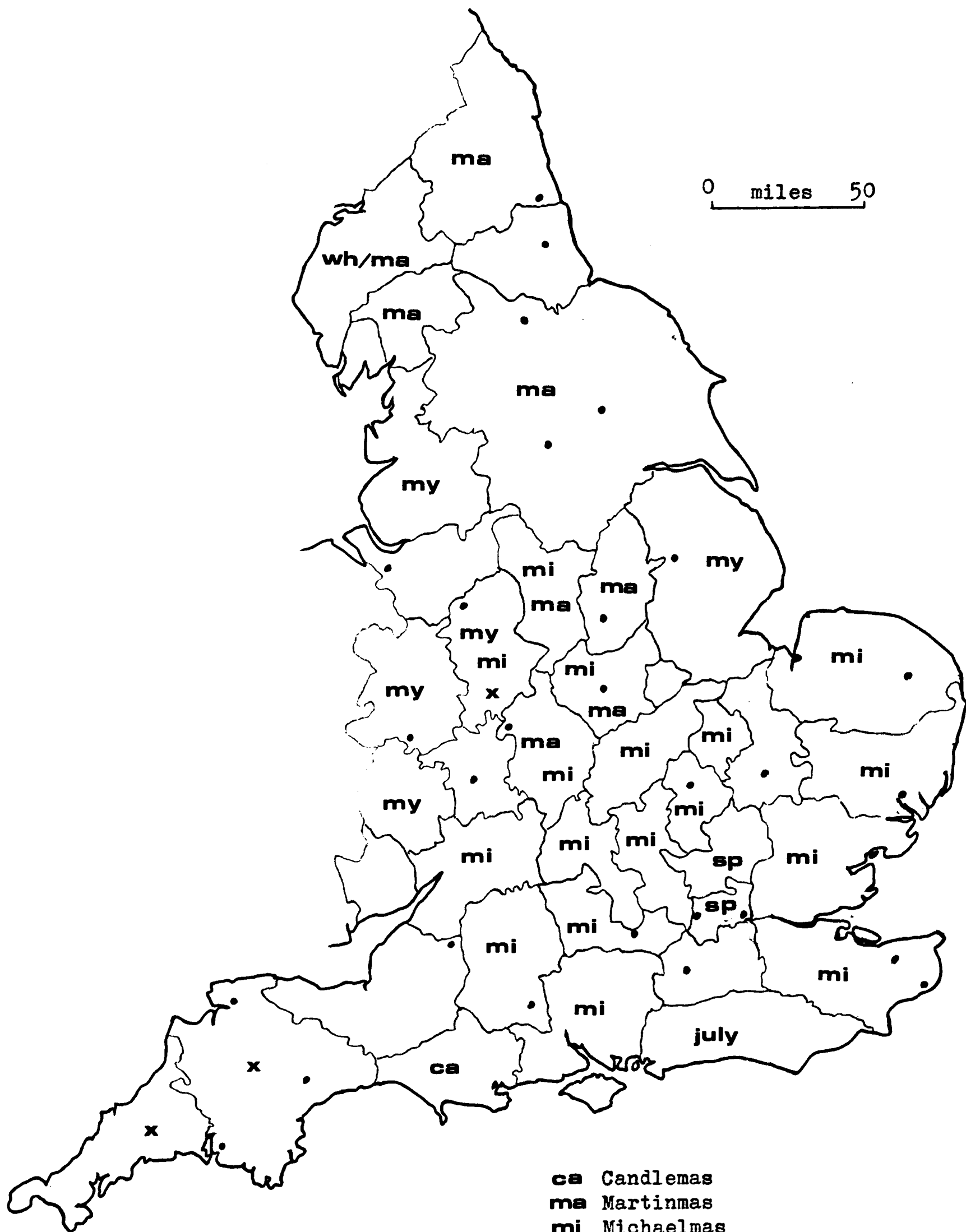
Figure 6.8 shows the timings of hiring fairs in different counties, based on evidence from the Appendix to Kussmaul's *Servants in Husbandry* and from *British Calendar Customs*.⁴³ The popular peak marriage weeks shown in Table 5.C.2 (and on Figure 5.C.12) can be linked with these festivals.

Table 6.8 Peak Marriage Weeks and Related Feasts

Week	Dates	Related Feasts
6	5-11 February	Candlemas (2nd February)
16	16-22 April	Easter? (movable)
18	30 April-6 May	May Day (1st May)
22	28 May-3 June	Whitsun? (movable)
40	1-7 October	Michaelmas (29th September)
46	12-18 November	Martinmas (11th November)
52	24-31 December	Christmas (25th December)

It can be seen that in many cases there is a correlation between the timing of the hiring fair and the peak marriage week in the early eighteenth century, though the evidence of hiring fairs is mostly from a later period. The relationship between hiring fairs and marriages was at its most developed in the early eighteenth century. In the earlier periods the peaks were more varied and diffused. There is in addition less evidence about hiring fairs in the earlier period, and they may have been at different times. For example, according to Kussmaul's evidence, hiring fairs in Essex in the 1570s were held in March, particularly 8th March, but at Michaelmas in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁴

FIGURE 6.8 DISTRIBUTION OF HIRING FAIRS



Compare with Figure 5.C.12

- ca** Candlemas
- ma** Martinmas
- mi** Michaelmas
- my** May Day
- sp** September
- wh** Whit
- x** Christmas

Apprentices

At an earlier stage in the research it seemed that the Christmas marriage peaks were largely confined to towns. Might a similar explanation lay behind this concentration of marriage, but one specifically related to towns? The equivalents of farm servants in towns, both in age and terms of employment, might be apprentices and domestic servants. Did they generally change employment at Christmas?

To try and answer this, I looked at the Registers of Apprentices for Kingston, Oxford, Leicester, Great Yarmouth and Southampton, and for the London Stationers Company.⁴⁵

Under the Statute of Artificers of 1563 apprentices were to be bound for at least seven years which was not to expire until they reached the age of 24. Nearly all bindings were for complete numbers of years, so in a great majority of cases, the date from which the apprenticeship ran would be the date it ended. Apprenticeships often commenced on Quarter Days:

Table 6.9 Apprenticeships commencing on Quarter Days, %

Register	Period	Lady Day 25 March	Midsummer 24 June	Michaelmas 29 Sept	Christmas 25 Dec
Yarm	1&2	8	12	15	8
King 1	1&2	18	17	16	9
Sou 1	2	24	13	15	6
Sou 2	3	16	10	13	6
King 2	3	15	8	12	4
Oxf	4	15	4	7	0
Leic	4	11	8	13	1
Stat 1	2	8	9	9	5
Stat 2	3	1	2	2	0.3
Stat 3	4	0	0	0	0

There was no clear predominating day, in contrast to the situation with farm servants (compare with Table 6.7), and there does seem to be a decline in the use of Quarter Days over time. The figures for the London Stationers may be misleading, due to their administrative procedure.⁴⁶

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King 2	3	15	8	12	4
Oxf	4	15	4	7	0
Leic	4	11	8	13	1
Stat 1	2	8	9	9	5
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Although the effect of the Quarter Days can be seen on the monthly distribution of apprenticeship commencements (see Table 6.10), they are clearly more evenly spread throughout the year than farm servants' contracts.

Table 6.10 Monthly distribution of Apprenticeship Commencements, Percentages

Register	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
Yarm	4	9	12	5	8	14	3	5	17	2	11	9
King 1	3	4	20	3	10	20	3	6	16	-	5	11
Sou 1	3	5	27	2	4	17	3	2	17	2	6	12
Sou 2	3	8	21	6	5	16	3	4	14	5	7	8
King 2	6	5	20	8	8	12	3	6	16	2	6	8
Oxf	5	5	22	9	16	8	4	4	11	5	7	4
Leic	6	7	15	4	14	12	3	6	16	4	7	7
Stat 1	5	4	14	5	10	16	6	5	13	4	5	11
Stat 2	3	6	9	6	9	12	9	11	10	8	8	9
Stat 3	1	10	10	8	7	13	8	12	6	10	7	7

Young men leaving apprenticeship and marrying therefore did not cause the Christmas/New Year surge in marriages. In fact, Christmas was the least popular of the Quarter Days, and became uncommon.

It could be argued that apprenticeship would not have the same effect on urban marriage seasonality as farm servants did on rural seasonality. It seems likely that apprentices did not go straight into marriage as did many farm servants (42 per cent of those examined by Kussmaul).⁴⁷ Apprenticeship did not give the same opportunities for saving capital as did service. Rappaport found that in sixteenth century London, apprentices served for two to three years as journeymen, earning wages, before marrying. Earle also implies a delay between apprenticeship and marriage in late seventeenth/early eighteenth century London.⁴⁸ Also, apprenticeship seems to have been a declining institution. In London the number of bindings fell between 1600 and 1700 and the proportion of apprentices in London's population is said to have fallen from 13.6-17 per cent to 4-4.8 per cent.⁴⁹ Given the high drop out rate and the length of apprenticeship, only a small proportion would have completed their apprenticeship in any one year.

This would have limited their impact on marriage seasonality, even had they gone straight into marriage.

Domestic Servants

A closer equivalent to farm servants in towns might therefore be domestic servants. Like service in husbandry, domestic service was wage earning, and a life cycle phase, a means for young single people to earn a living prior to marriage.

It seems that many domestic servants, in London at least, were hired on the basis of a month's notice. In 1727 Defoe urged that instead servants be hired for a fixed period of time, with the contract being recorded before a JP and enforceable in law. This would bring them into line with farm servants, except that no period of service was specified. The following year Defoe returned to the attack, urging annual hirings.⁵⁰

However there were some servants who were already hired on an annual basis. Under the 1692 Act, one way of acquiring a 'settlement' in a parish, and thus a right to poor relief, was to have been hired in that parish for a year, and to have served that year. This potential cost to the parish evidently discouraged many employers from annual hirings, and it may have suited servants to have the freedom to leave at will. Despite this some servants were hired on an annual basis, possibly at the lower end of the social scale. Kent's study of female annually hired domestic servants in St Martin in the Field between 1750-60 found that over 85 per cent 'were hired by artisans, tradespeople and retailers of various kinds'.⁵¹ Unfortunately, the proportion of annually hired servants among all domestic servants is uncertain.

I looked at the same source as Kent, settlement examinations for St Martin in the Field, to see if there was a normal time for annual contracts to begin and/or end.⁵² The dating given in the entries is approximate, as the following typical entry shows:

Mary Greene aged 45 saith she is Destitute of any Lodging saith she never was married nor ever Bound apprentice rented ten pounds by the year or paid any Parish Taxes that in the year 1741 She was hired Servant to one Mr G.... a China Shop the Corner of Lancaster Court in the Strand in the parish for the space of two years and half at five pound pr ann. Dyet and Lodging. Quitted the same about 4 years ago and never was a yearly hired servant since.

I extracted details of 81 cases of yearly hired (or covenant) servants (60 settlement examinations and 21 bastardy examinations) where the length of time since the employment ended is given in months, or a specific time of year is given. The employments ended in the following months:

Table 6.11 Monthly Distribution of the End of Annual Hirings St Martin in the Field 1745-48

	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
N	3	8	6	7	4	7	6	5	10	6	8	11
%	4	10	7	9	5	9	7	6	12	7	10	13

The distribution is fairly even, with a slight bunching at the end of the year. There seems no evidence that there was a normal time of year for yearly hired servants to be contracted or to leave service. There were no hiring or statute fairs in London, for example; servants were acquired by personal contacts, through advertising in newspapers, the so-called statute halls, or agencies. There were employment agencies for servants, the so-called registry offices, in London by the 1680s and later in the provinces (for example Birmingham).⁵³

The situation may have been different in the provinces, where it seems servants could be found at hiring fairs, though these were said to be in decline in the eighteenth century. Some towns may have had their own hiring fairs: York apparently had a hiring fair at Martinmas throughout this period, and in the later middle ages this seems to have been the customary time for entering and leaving service.⁵⁴ Figure 6.15 shows that York had a distinct marriage peak at Martinmas.

However, evidence suggests that servants left or were dismissed at all times of the year, and that annual contracts became increasingly unpopular with both parties from the later sixteenth century.⁵⁵

It seems unlikely that domestic servants had the same effect on urban marriage seasonality as did farm servants on the rural patterns. There may have been no regular time for leaving service, and this seems reasonable, as the duties of a domestic servant would be fairly constant throughout the year. On the other hand, domestic servants were more likely to go straight to marriage than were apprentices. It is difficult to tell from settlement examinations if female domestic servants married straight from service, as once a woman married any claim to settlement was based on her husband's, so it was his history that was related. A few entries are relevant, like Sarah Clarke who was a yearly hired servant for three years 'from whence this Examinant was married' and Elizabeth Waite who quit her annual hiring 'at the time of her said marriage'. Earle says of London working women between 1695 and 1715 that domestic service was their usual first occupation, which they left after several years to marry or enter a different occupation.⁵⁶

Many domestic servants were female, and it may have been the nature of the groom's occupation which determined the timing of marriages. Kussmaul noted the difficulty she had in using marriage seasonality to locate women's work when its seasonality differed from that of the men.⁵⁷ This may be because men, being usually better paid, had more to lose by marrying at the wrong time.

Gillis suggests for a later period that marriages in London 'tended to bunch at the end of the Season, in mid summer, when earnings were highest, and servants normally left their places'.⁵⁸ Presumably, insofar as this applied to the period of this study, it would particularly affect servants of the upper classes who left London after the Season, not those of tradespeople who would still need their only servant.

Gillis also reports 'another bulge at Christmas, the other major moment of prosperity in the proletarian year'.⁵⁹

Christmas Marriages

Christmas may have been a time of increased prosperity generally, with wages being paid and perhaps Christmas boxes being paid or gifts given. Pepys records that in the early hours of Christmas Day 1667

home round the City and stopped and dropped money at five or six places, which I was the willinger to do, it being Christmas day.

He seems to have made a habit of paying his bills at this time of year, as he states at the end of 1668 'then in the evening home, being the last day of the year, to endeavour to pay all bills and servants' wages etc'.⁶⁰ Reference was made earlier to Newcastle keelmen receiving 'binding money' at Christmas, though they were then seasonally unemployed.⁶¹

Such factors may lie behind the Christmas marriage peaks in western counties such as Devon, Cornwall and Cheshire. There is evidence of Christmas hiring fairs in the south west and Kussmaul notes that eighteenth century settlement examinations for north Staffordshire, Cheshire and Lancashire show Christmas hirings of farm servants.⁶² She makes no comment about Christmas hirings, perhaps because the Christmas marriage peaks are rendered invisible by the analysis of seasonality by months. Christmas hirings do not seem to be related to the agricultural year in the same way as were May Day, Michaelmas and Martinmas hirings, except that Christmas fell during the 'dead' season of the farming year so it was convenient to make changes at this time.⁶³

Christmas was one of the major holiday periods of the year, along with Easter and Whitsun. Under the reformed church calendar issued in 1561, the major concentrations of holy days were 25-28th December (together with 1st January), Easter Sunday to Tuesday, and Whit Sunday to Tuesday.⁶⁴ School holidays were also, apparently, at these times.⁶⁵

Kussmaul noted that in the nineteenth century the marriages of industrial workers were concentrated into the Christmas and Easter holidays.⁶⁶ This was also noted by the Registrar General, who commented in 1866 that 'among the working classes the festivals of Whitsuntide and Christmas .. exert some influence' on marriage seasons, and again in 1883

the most popular days for marriage in England appear to be Christmas Day, Easter Monday and Whit Monday, with all the days preceding and following them ...⁶⁷

The Christmas marriage peak in the early eighteenth century is perhaps evidence that this trend began earlier than Kussmaul thought.

Easter and Whitsun Marriages

**Table 6.12 Easter, Whitsun and Christmas Marriages
St James Duke's Place, 1680-1690 (Nos)**

	1680	1681	1682	1683	1684	1685	1686	1688	1689	1690	T	Av
<i>Easter week</i>												
S	16	11	13	15	10	5	7	22	24	13	136	13.6
M	12	11	10	16	9	13	9	18	14	16	127	12.7
T	34	16	19	28	30	11	20	12	37	18	225	22.5
W	1	7	2	7	5	2	2	2	4	5	37	3.7
T	12	14	15	7	9	29	21	16	16	12	151	15.1
F	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	12	1.2
S	1	2	3	2	8	2	1	2	5	1	27	2.7
All												71.5
<i>Whitsun week</i>												
S	14	22	4	11	11	7	9	12	14	17	121	12.1
M	17	16	13	8	8	11	3	10	9	8	103	10.3
T	13	11	13	19	19	15	19	12	11	14	146	14.6
W	3	2	1	3	4	1	2	3	1	7	27	2.7
T	7	15	15	2	14	5	14	9	8	9	98	9.8
F	1	6	4	6	1	1	1	4	2	1	27	2.7
S	3	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	1	1	10	1.0
All												53.2
<i>Christmas/New Year</i>												
24	3	0	12	2	4	7	2	3	3	3	39	3.9
25	3	8	8	10	7	7	9	5	6	13	76	7.6
26	4	12	21	3	1	7	13	4	21	3	89	8.9
27	11	10	7	13	6	12	9	20	4	4	96	9.6
28	6	2	4	1	3	2	6	4	2	1	31	3.1
29	3	16	2	1	4	15	6	3	11	3	64	6.4
30	21	1	0	6	9	1	9	2	4	15	68	6.8
31	1	0	11	2	4	8	3	0	4	4	37	3.7
1	6	12	13	15	22	9	14	18	17	?	126	14.0
All (9 days)												64.0
24-31 December (8 days)												50.0
24-30 December (7 days)												46.3

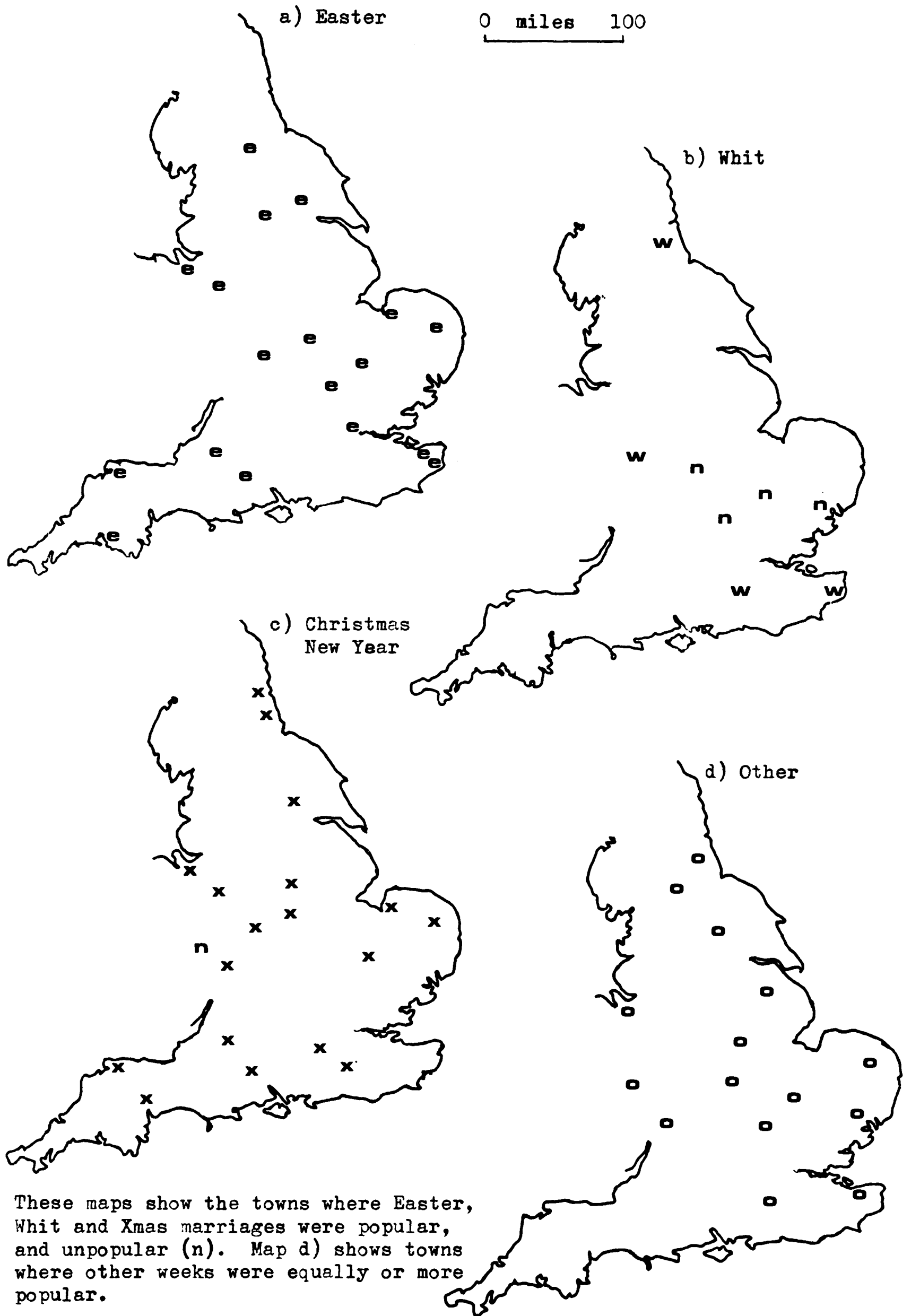
It is difficult to assess from the seasonality graphs the popularity of Easter and Whitsun marriages, because they are movable feasts and their effect is spread over several weeks. Table 6.12 shows such marriages in St James Duke's Place, a clandestine marriage centre, chosen because of its large number of events. The marriage seasonality graph is shown on Figure 5.C.21.

In St James Duke's Place the most popular three week period centred on week 15 (9th to 15th April), while the most popular calendar week was actually the last week of the year. But Table 6.12 shows that by far the most popular day for weddings was Easter Tuesday, followed by Easter Thursday, Whit Tuesday, New Years Day and Easter Sunday. Christmas Day lost out because it fell on different days of the week, and some days were more popular than others for weddings.⁶⁸ Easter week and Whitsun week were in fact more popular than Christmas week.

I have not been able to analyse the urban parishes so precisely, as only weekly totals were recorded. However as an approximation, I have calculated, for the early eighteenth century, indices aggregating all the weeks which contained Easter Sunday, and those which contained Whit Sunday. This will probably understate Easter and Whitsun marriages as in some years popular marriage days in the ensuing days will fall into the following week. I have also recalculated Christmas week as 24-30th December rather than 24-31st December adjusted to seven days. Table 6.13 shows these indices, as well as the previously calculated 'peak weeks' shown on Table 5.C.4. The highest index for each town is in bold print.

Figure 6.9 shows the distribution of the sample towns where the various holiday weeks were popular. The popularity of Easter and Christmas in towns was widespread. Whitsun's appeal was limited but widely dispersed, while there was a patch in central eastern England where Whitsun appears to have been unpopular. The towns where times other than Easter, Whitsun and Christmas were the most popular (usually spring or autumn) were concentrated in the east.

FIGURE 6.9 DISTRIBUTION OF EASTER, WHIT AND CHRISTMAS MARRIAGES IN SAMPLE TOWNS IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



These maps show the towns where Easter, Whit and Xmas marriages were popular, and unpopular (n). Map d) shows towns where other weeks were equally or more popular.

Table 6.13 Easter, Whitsun and Christmas Marriages
Sample Towns, early eighteenth century

	Easter Index	Whitsun Index	Xmas Index	Peak Week Index	Week
BAR	186	176	249	238	52
BAT	223	138	262	250	52
BED	213	82	176	232	40
BIR	291	185	301	282	52
CAM	204	60	181	295	37
CAN	189	138	153	318	40
CHE	197	129	217	217	26/39
DOV	189	182	296	295	52
DUR	150	193	187	253	18
EXE	130	134	186	186	52
GUI	133	190	209	286	5
IPS	129	64	161	284	40
KIN	222	178	235	228	52
LEE	231	161	172	166	52
LEI	209	111	209	209	41
LIN	150	156	101	256	18
LUD	131	137	81	305	18
NEWL	199	129	234	480	1
NEWT	141	143	191	181	52
NOR	245	136	211	320	40
NOT	158	131	194	321	38
PLY	182	157	178	170	52
REA	159	167	270	271	52
RIC	184	105	145	277	45/46
SAL	229	179	219	201	52
WOR	156	92	198	198	43
YOR	190	148	196	254	46
LON	192	139	145	152	5/6
<i>ALL</i>	<i>195</i>	<i>147</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>189</i>	<i>52</i>

Overall although Christmas remains the most popular week, Easter is very close, and perhaps could be regarded as equally popular. Whitsun is also fairly popular for marriages. This is despite the fact that all three fall within the so-called 'prohibited' periods. Clearly the motivations for marriage at these times considerably outweighed any feelings of disapproval.

Prohibited Periods

That the 'prohibited' periods still had some effect is evidenced by the continuing reluctance to marry in Lent.

Marriage licences enabled certain restrictions to be evaded, including, at a cost, marriage in the 'prohibited' period.⁶⁹ It is interesting, therefore, to find that the demand for licences also observed the Lenten 'prohibited' period, as shown on Figure 6.10 (compared to the urban and rural samples). The avoidance of Lent seems to have been deep rooted. A legal commentator noted in 1729 that

Marriages are prohibited in Lent, and on Fasting-days because the mirth attending them is not suitable to the Humiliation and Devotion of those Times.⁷⁰

This referred particularly to the ecclesiastical period of Lent, which was shorter than the 'prohibited' period: the forty days between Ash Wednesday and the Saturday before Easter.⁷¹ Figure 6.11 shows the pattern that would result if marriages were spread evenly outside the period between Ash Wednesday and Holy Saturday. The resulting dip is shorter and sharper than the full Lenten trough in Figure 5.C.1. In both the urban and rural seasonality patterns shown in Figures 5.C.8 and 6.12, the Lenten dip of low marriages approximated to this shortened period even in the late sixteenth century and it became even more abbreviated after the Restoration.

The lingering effects of the 'Advent' prohibition can be seen in the dips before and after the Christmas/New Year marriage peak; and the reduction in marriages around week 21 (21-27 May) represents the remains of the 'Rogation' period. In all cases the effectiveness of the 'prohibited' periods is greater in the rural areas than in the sample towns.

Caffyn concluded from his study of the effectiveness of the 'prohibited' periods in the Mid-Sussex Weald (using monthly data) that they were decreasingly observed up to the mid-seventeenth century, and were subsequently disregarded, except for a distinct avoidance of Lent [i.e. Ash Wednesday to Holy Saturday]. He attributes this to the religious significance of Lent, the tradition or superstition against Lent marriages and Lent's 'the sombre and joyless mood'.⁷² This latter reason may be behind the apparent dip in baptisms around week 11 in early eighteenth century towns (Figure 5.A.2(b)).

FIGURE 6.10 SEASONALITY OF MARRIAGE ALLEGATIONS

- (a) M2
- (b) M3 urban
- (c) M3 rural
- (d) M4

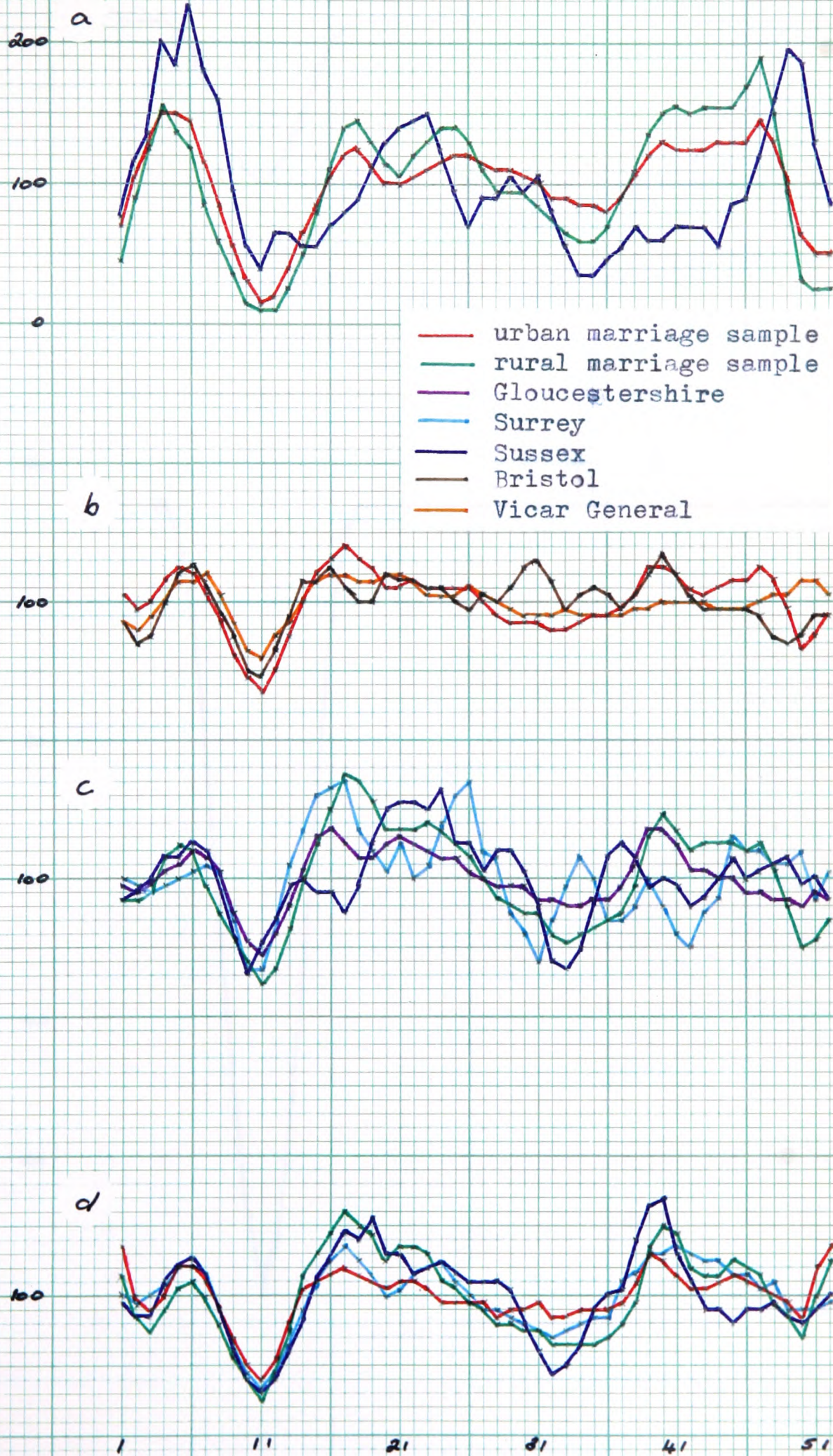


FIGURE 6.11 LENTEN 'PROHIBITED PERIOD'

- 1560-99
- 1600-39
- 1660-99
- 1712-51

200

100

0

120

100

80

60

40

20

0

1

11

21

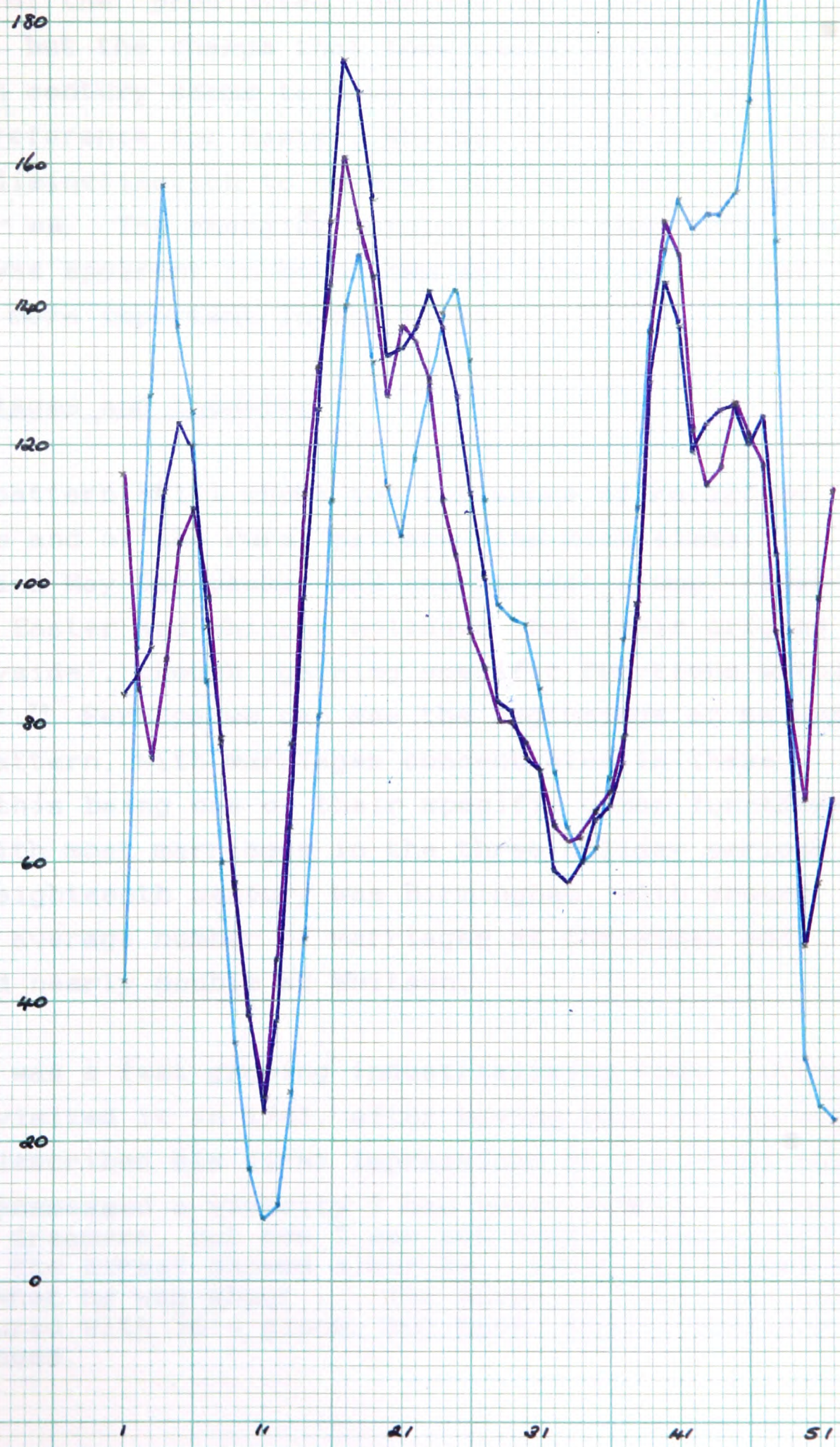
31

41

51

FIGURE 6.12 RURAL WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES

M2
M3
M4



Though Caffyn seems correct about an accelerating disregard of the 'prohibited' seasons, the *weekly* seasonality patterns do not support the proposition that the 'prohibited' periods were 'little observed' after the mid-seventeenth century.

Observance of the 'prohibited' periods may have been decreasing, but the change that took place in the mid-seventeenth century seems to have been as much the result of a positive preference for Easter, Whitsun and Christmas weddings as due to disinclination to observe outmoded 'prohibited' periods *per se*. The emerging popularity of these 'holiday' marriages was apparent in both town and country, but was relatively more important in the towns.

Urban Marriages and Industry

The urban pattern still shows the influence of religious constraints and of the rural pattern: the Michaelmas, Martinmas and May Day peaks, and the harvest slump. Even the Christmas, Easter and Whitsun holidays 'had their origins in the countryside', though 'gaining specific functions within urban life'.⁷³ Perhaps we can see the beginnings of an urban marriage pattern, with marriages concentrated in these holidays, this being one of their specific urban functions. The town with most marriages in the three holiday periods in the early eighteenth century was Birmingham, with around treble the average number of marriages at Christmas and Easter, and nearly double at Whitsun.

Birmingham was a fast growing industrialising town. Hutton, who first visited it in 1741, after having been an apprentice in Derby, described his first impressions of its inhabitants:

They possessed a vivacity I had never beheld. I had been among dreamers, but now I saw men awake. Their very step along the street showed alacrity. Every man seemed to know what he was about ... The faces of other men seemed tinctured with idle gloom; but here, with a pleasing alertness.

A later observer said

These folks never have a minute to themselves. They work as if they must get rich in the evening and die the next day ... One only sees busy people and faces brown with smoke. One hears nothing but the sound of hammers and the whistle of steam escaping from the boilers.⁷⁴

Birmingham had a reputation for hard working inhabitants.⁷⁵

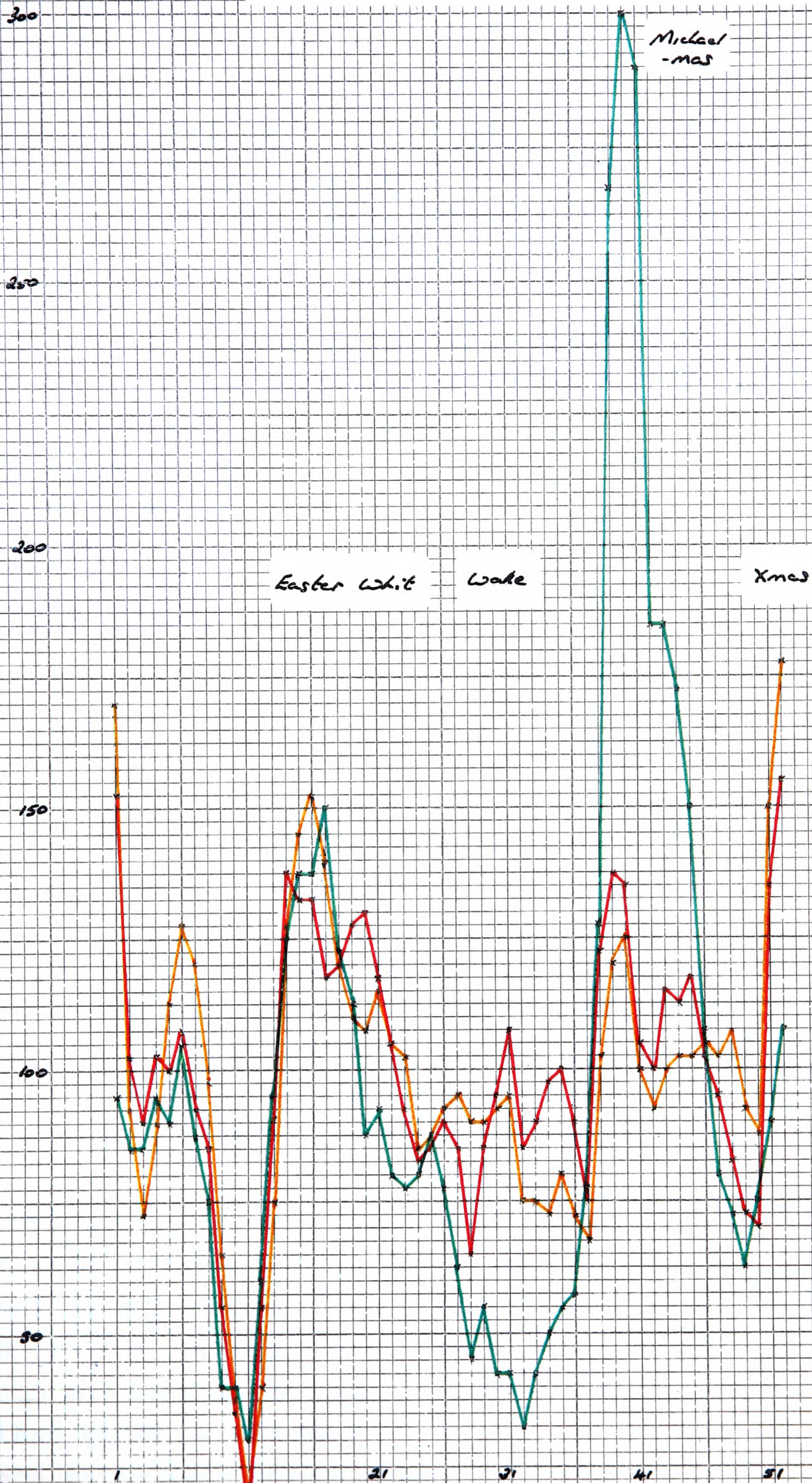
Birmingham's marriage seasonality pattern in the early eighteenth century is shown on Figure 6.13, compared with the rural Warwickshire pattern. There were still clearly rural elements in Birmingham's pattern - the summer slump and the Michaelmas peak. However, both were slight compared to the rural equivalents. It may be significant that one of Birmingham's fairs was held at Michaelmas (the other was at Ascensiontide, ten days before Whitsun). The small summer peak around week 31 coincides with Birmingham's wake, which began on the Sunday nearest to the 25th July.⁷⁶ (The actual indices for week 30, 23-29 July, were 135 for St Martin and 117 for St Philip). St Philip, the newly formed parish up the hill, did not have its own wake until 1751. Just as Birmingham's marriage days were becoming concentrated on Sundays and Mondays (their weekend) so marriages were becoming concentrated in the holiday periods.⁷⁷

Remarriage

If there were the beginnings of a concentration of marriages into holidays, this accompanied a trend towards decreasing seasonality in towns. The evidence from Tables 5.A.1, 5.A.3 and 5.A.4 for baptisms, and Tables 5.C.3, 5.C.5 and 5.C.8 for marriages, indicates that the timing of marriages and baptisms in towns was invariably less seasonal than in the countryside, and that it was becoming even less seasonal over time. One explanation may be that work was more regular in towns and the work discipline stronger. However there is another factor which may be involved in the seasonality of marriage, and that is the rates of remarriage.

FIGURE 6.13 BIRMINGHAM WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M4

— St Martin
— St Philip
— rural Warwickshire



It was the influence of young adults marrying for the first time, in the rite of passage between service and independence as a householder, which largely determined the rural marriage seasonality patterns. The factors determining the timing of second marriages, at a different stage in the life cycle, may well have been different and probably less bunched.⁷⁸ If there were greater numbers of remarriages in towns than in the countryside, this could depress marriage seasonality in the towns.

It is difficult to establish the proportions of first marriages to other marriages, as registers do not usually record marital status, and marriage allegations, which usually do, are socially selective. It may also be that the widowed preferred to marry by licence to avoid the publicity of banns, making the marriage allegations even less representative.

W&S suggest, on slender evidence, that remarriage declined from about 30 per cent of partners in the mid-sixteenth century to 11 per cent in the mid-nineteenth century. They further suggest that the high proportion in the earlier period was attributable to crisis mortality.⁷⁹ If this was the case, it would seem likely that, as towns were more affected by crisis mortality, they would have more remarriages.

Table 6.14 shows data on marital status on marriage from parish registers and licences.⁸⁰ The case of Ipswich seems to confirm a decline in remarriages over time, with about half of marriages involving a widowed partner in the 1660s compared with a quarter to a third in the early eighteenth century.

The proportion of widowers might be more significant from the point of view of seasonality, if it was the occupation of the groom that determined the timing of marriage. This proportion seems to decline from about half or third to about a quarter. In Ipswich and London the proportions of remarriage seem higher than those put forward by W&S, which may suggest that remarriage rates were indeed higher in towns.

Table 6.14 Marital Status on Marriage, percentages

Registers	Period	% of Marriages				% of Partners		
		S/S	S/W	W/S	W/W	WM	WF	W
<i>Ipswich</i>								
St Mary Elm	1660-67	45	5	18	32	50	37	43
St Matthew	1660-66	52	15	8	24	32	39	36
St Matthew	1679-89	60	8	17	15	32	23	28
St Lawrence	1720-49	65	9	15	11	26	20	23
St Mary Elm	1720-49	73	7	15	6	21	13	17
St Nicholas	1720-49	64	7	19	10	29	17	23
St Matthew	1727-49	70	9	11	10	21	19	21
<i>Shadwell</i>								
St Paul	1701-10	65	20	4	11	15	31	23
<i>Clandestine</i>								
Duke's Place	1680-83	61	14	12	13	26	27	26
Duke's Place	1698-1700	61	18	11	10	21	28	25
Mayfair Chapel	1729-31	58	17	8	17	23	34	29
Licences								
London	1598-1619	55	19	10	16	26	35	30
Vicar General	1688-89	66	11	13	10	23	21	22
Surrey	1675-92	68	9	12	11	22	20	21
Surrey	1724-49	75	9	11	6	17	15	16

S/S=Bachelor/Spinster S/W=Bachelor/Widow W/S=Widower/Spinster
W/W=Widower/Widow WM=Widowers WF=Widows W=Widowed

On the other hand, it appears that life cycle first marriages outside rural areas did not have the same effect on marriage seasonality as it did in rural areas, because the young people did not leave service or apprenticeship in such a bunched way. Thus a high proportion of remarriages would not have had such a significant impact on seasonality in towns as it might have done in rural areas.

Working Rhythms In Towns

The lack of marked bunching in the exits from domestic service and apprenticeship (Tables 6.9-6.11) and in the unemployment patterns of tradesmen (Figure 6.4) might suggest that working patterns were less seasonal in towns. This is not to say that agricultural seasonality had no effect on towns. In 1623 a visitor who found Winchester 'like a body without a soul.. I walked from the one end of it to the other, and saw not thirty people of all sorts' thought 'it may be they were all at harvest work'. Even in Birmingham, nail making was said to be disrupted by the harvest and ploughing.⁶¹

The townsman returning to his native village for the harvest was a not uncommon sight in late sixteenth and seventeenth century Kent.⁸² This was reflected in the decline in marriages and baptisms in towns at harvest time, though this slump is not so deep in towns as in rural areas. The returning harvest workers may have contributed to the Michaelmas and Martinmas marriage peaks in some towns.

Some trades were seasonal - those dependent on the harvest such as brewing or milling or on the weather such as shipping or those using water power. Some towns had their own seasons: Cambridge with its university terms, county towns with their assizes, Bath with its social season. These had implications for the dependent service trades. It may be that the flatter marriage patterns (and baptismal patterns) in towns reflected both more regular working patterns and a greater variety of occupations with different seasonal patterns.

London Marriage Seasonality in the Early Eighteenth Century

In London it was said in 1747 that house painters were idle at least four or five months in the year. Their work begins in April or May, and continues till the return of the company to town in winter, when many of them are out of business.

Tailors on the other hand had a dead season while the 'Company' were out of town, 'out of business three or four months of the year'.⁸³

**Table 6.15 London Marriages in the Early Eighteenth Century
Weekly MADs**

	MAD
Intra-mural	10.8
St Botolph Bishopgate	15.3
City	11.2
St James Clerkenwell	14.1
St Martin in the Field	16.0
St George Hanover Square	23.2
Mayfair Chapel	8.0
Fleet	9.1
Quakers	17.3
Rural Middlesex	22.3

As Table 6.15 shows, overall London marriage seasonality was low, and was lower in the city than in the suburbs, where vulnerability to seasonal unemployment among its poorer inhabitants might have been greater. Marriage seasonality was actually greatest in the wealthy parish of Hanover Square, perhaps due to the departure of the wealthy in the summer and the consequent poverty among the dependent service industries.

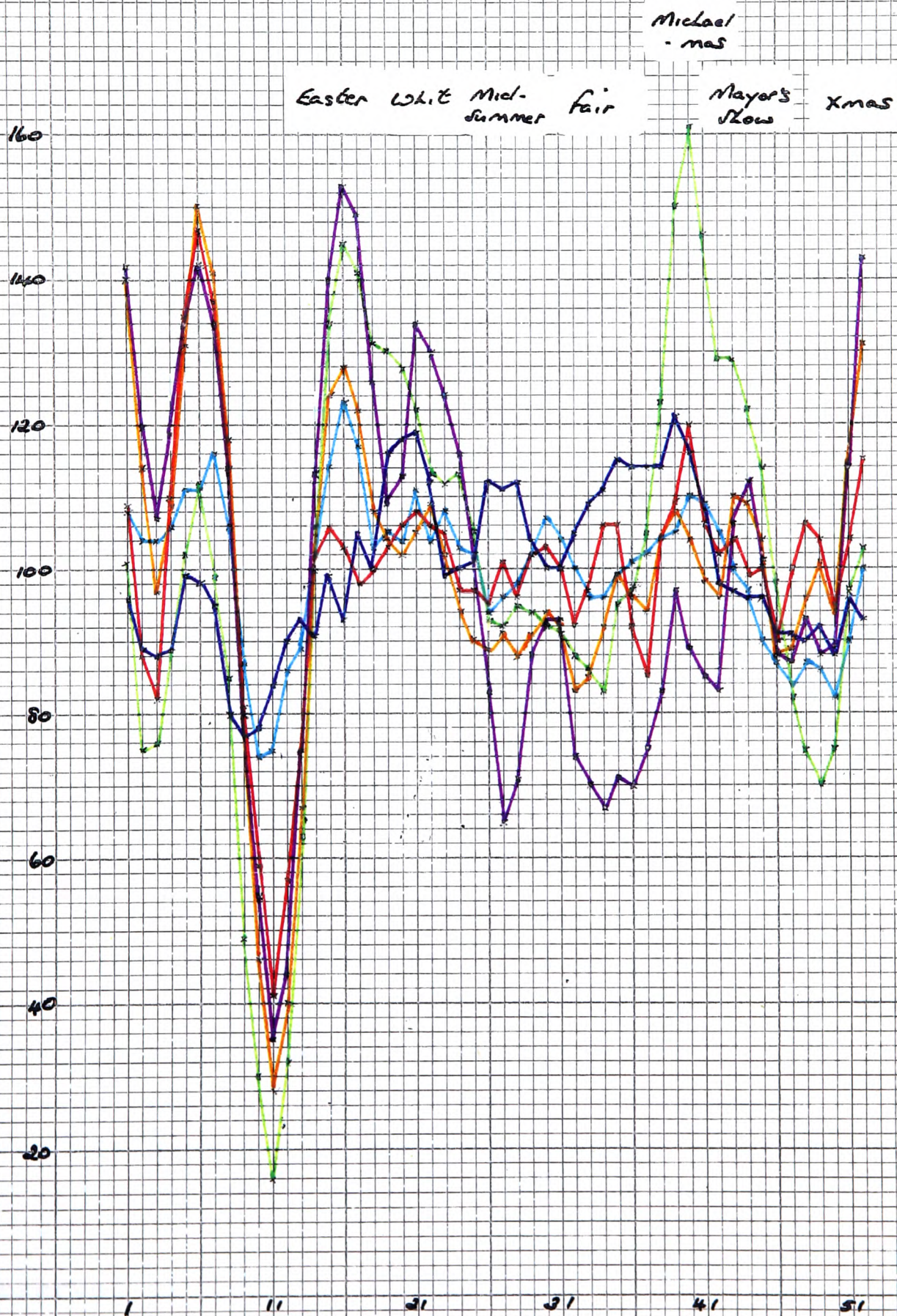
Seasonality was least among the mainly working classes who married clandestinely in the Fleet and Mayfair Chapel. Unlike the residents of Hanover Square, those who went to marry in the Fleet were likely to marry in the summer (Figure 6.14). This perhaps reflects the leisure period (or period of under- or unemployment) among many workers and domestic servants while the elite were spending the summer in their country residences. There was a small peak in the marriage seasonality in the city around the time of St Bartholmew's Fair (week 34), and in the later seventeenth century this was in fact the most popular week overall for London weddings. Certainly the Fleet marriage seasonality pattern does not reflect any involvement with the harvest, despite the reported participation of Londoners in harvesting, particularly the hop harvest.⁶⁴ Fleet marriages declined sharply after the harvest, perhaps when the 'Company' returned to London.

January/February Marriages

The puzzling feature of the London marriage pattern is the popularity of marriages around week 6 (late January and early February). The simple explanation is that it represents a brief 'window of opportunity' between the Advent and Lent 'prohibited' periods. Yet it persisted when the 'prohibited' periods were declining in effectiveness, and when Christmas and New Year were increasingly used for marriages. Kussmaul commented on the popularity of January and February for marriage in Cheshire, Lancashire and north Stafford (and nowhere else), and she attributes it tentatively to 'recusancy and local Carnival culture'.⁶⁵

FIGURE 6.14 LONDON WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M4

- London
- Hanover Square
- Mayfair
- rural Middlesex
- suburbs
- Fleet



The weakness of this explanation is that it underestimates the extent of January/ February marriages because her source (monthly totals) obscures the peak which overlaps both months. Figures 5.C.4-5.C.6 and 5.C.8 show that it was quite widespread especially before the mid-seventeenth century. The Catholic explanation would seem an unlikely one for early eighteenth century London.

This marriage peak may be linked to Candlemas (2nd February), which marked the Purification of Mary, forty days after Christ's birth. It was sometimes regarded as the final stage of the Christmas festivities.⁸⁶ Candlemas was Dorchester's hiring fair, and marriages at this time in rural areas may be related to early lambing.⁸⁷ The following day (3rd February) was the feast day of St Blaise, the patron saint of textile workers, which was celebrated by holidays and processions in textile towns such as Guildford, York and Norwich.⁸⁸

Fairs and Urban Marriage Seasonality

Figures 6.15 to 6.17 show the marriage seasonality patterns in Yorkshire, East Anglian and other towns in the early eighteenth century; and the timing of possible leisure or holiday periods which may have affected that seasonality. The colours of the 'holidays' on the labels match the colours of the relevant graph

York had a winter 'season' which seems to have developed in the early eighteenth century and which depended on visitors. In Leeds, cultural activities developed later. They catered for the resident elite, who were able to patronise them throughout the year.⁸⁹ This may have some bearing on the greater seasonality of York's marriage pattern compared to that of Leeds, despite its being a higher status town. York's high Martinmas peak has already been noted. Richmond, being a small market town, shows a more rural type of pattern.⁹⁰

Defoe observed of Norwich in the 1720s:

FIGURE 6.15 YORKSHIRE TOWNS WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M4

— York
 — Richmond
 — Leeds

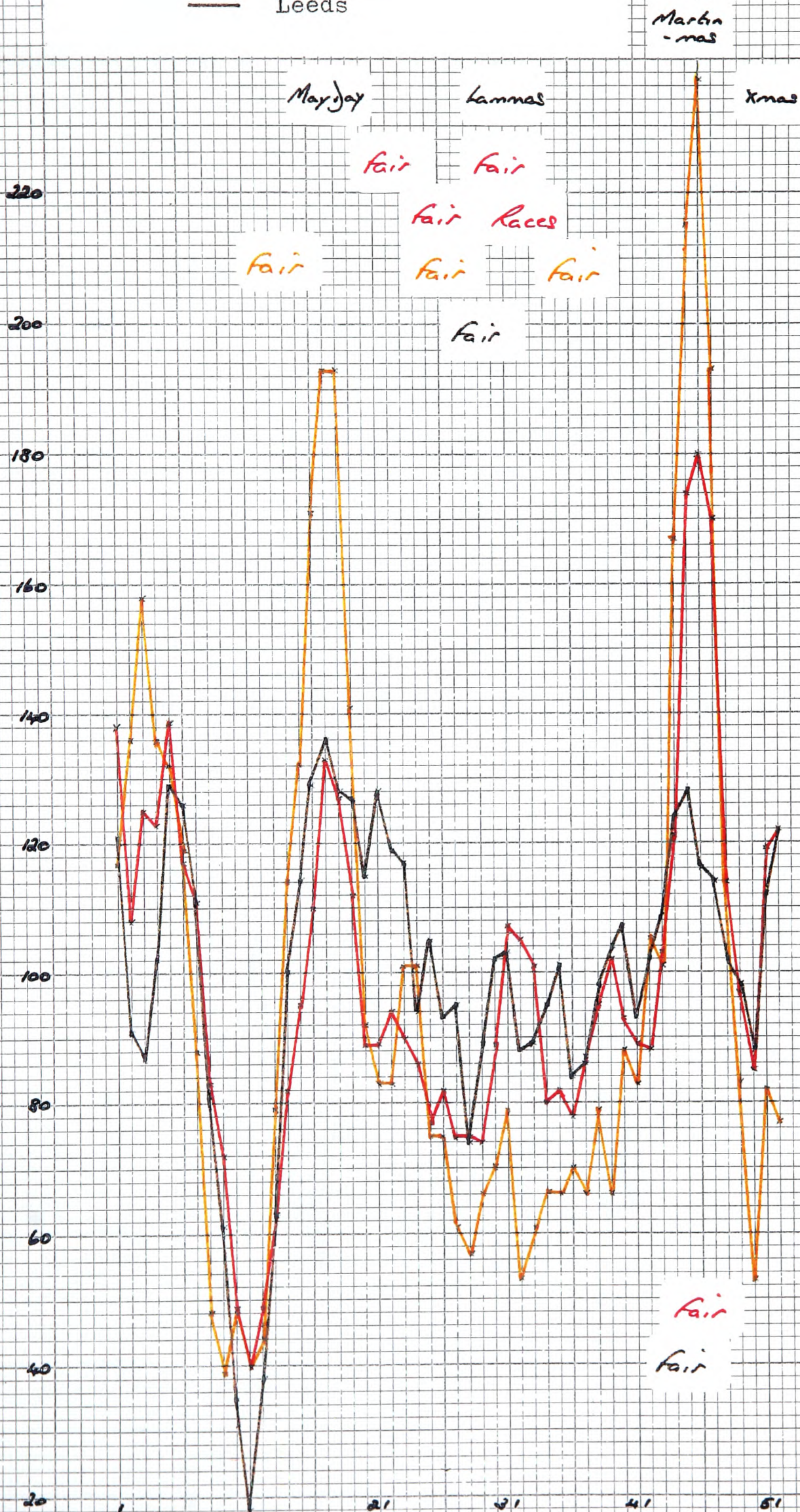


FIGURE 6.16 EAST ANGLIAN TOWNS
WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES - M4

- Norwich
- Kings Lynn
- Cambridge
- Ipswich

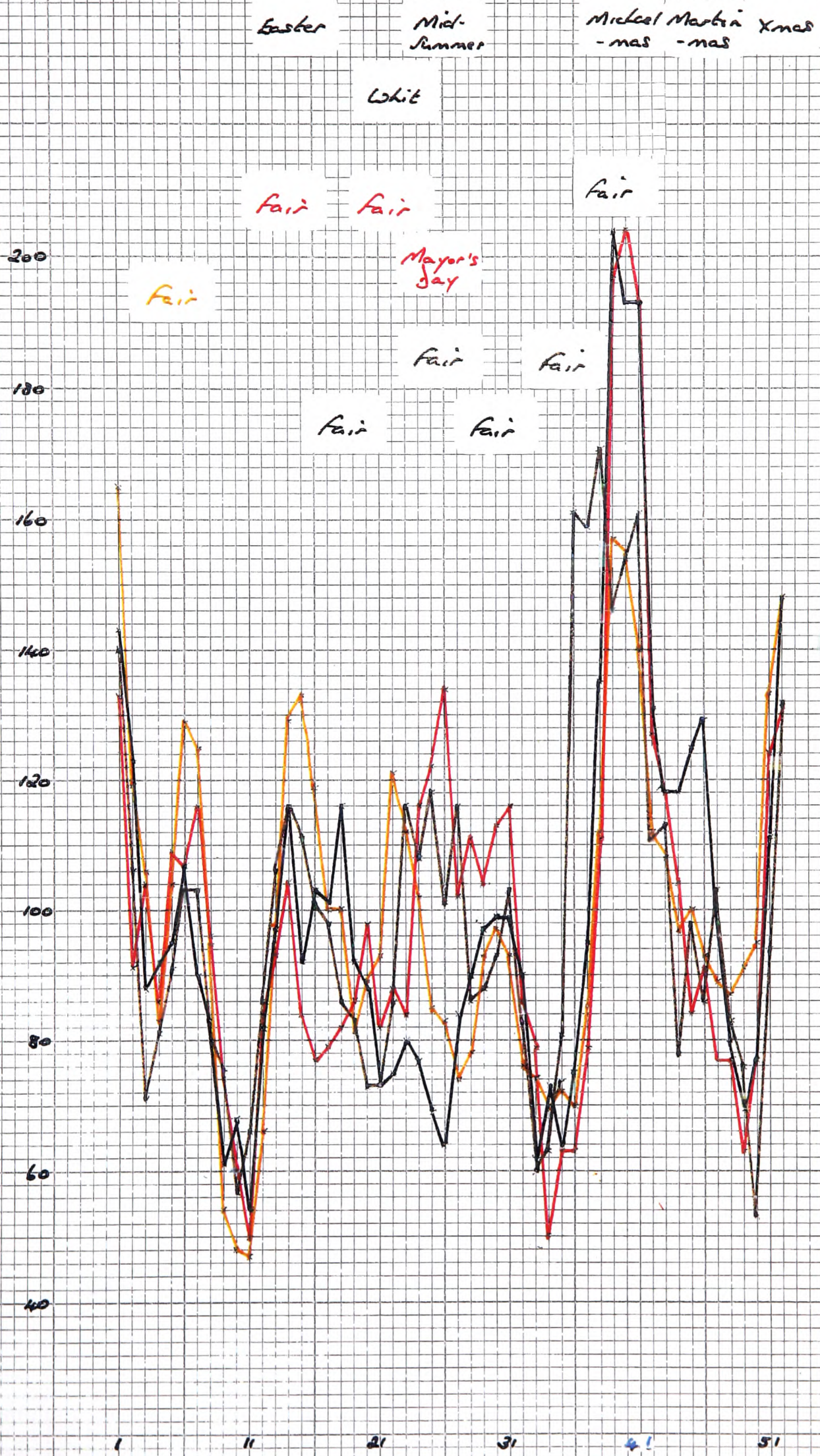
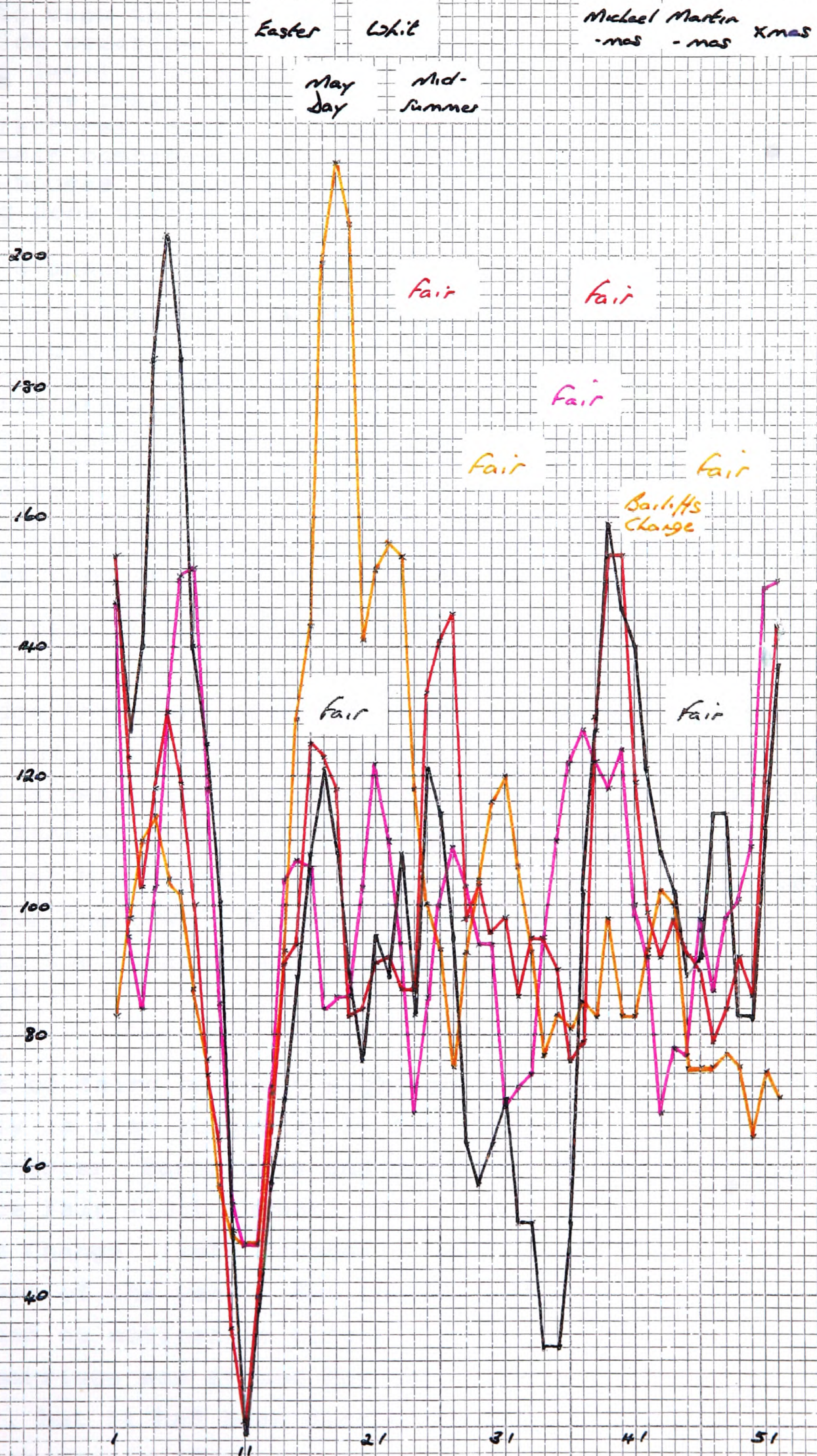


FIGURE 6.17 WEEKLY MARRIAGE INDICES IN OTHER TOWNS - M4

- Chester
- Barnstaple
- Ludlow
- Guildford



If a stranger was only to ride thro' or view the city of Norwich for a day, he would have much more reason to think there was a town without inhabitants, than there is really to say so of Ipswich; but on the contrary, if he was to view the city, either on a Sabbath-day, or an any publick occasion, he would wonder where all the people could dwell, the multitude is so great: But the case is this; the inhabitants being all busie at their manufactures, dwell in their garrets at their looms, and in their combing-shops, ... twisting shops, and other work-houses; almost all the work they are employ'd in, being done within doors.⁹¹

The Mayor's annual inauguration seems to have been one of these public occasions. It was described earlier by Fiennes:

they new washe and plaister their houses within and without which they strike out in squares like free stone; all the streete in which this major [mayor] elects house is very exact in beautifying themselves and hanging up flaggs the coullours of their Companyes and dress up pageants and there are playes and all sorts of shows that day, in little what is done at the Lord Major of London show; then they have a great feast with fine flaggs and scenes hung out, musick and danceing ..⁹²

There is a peak in marriages at this time in Norwich.

In Cambridge there are marriage peaks at the times of the Midsummer and Stourbridge Fairs, the latter being one of the country's largest fair, attracting people from all over the country. Another fair with a wide pull was Nottingham's Goose Fair, held at Michaelmas (see Figure 5.C.19(d)). It probably accounts for the town's Michaelmas peak in marriages, in contrast to the rural county's preference for Martinmas marriages.⁹³

The effect of fairs on early eighteenth century marriage seasonality is also suggested by the graphs for Kings Lynn, Ipswich, Chester, Barnstaple and Guildford.⁹⁴ In Ludlow the St Laurence Fair (10th August) had a small impact, as did 'Bailiff's Change' (28th October), described as the major social event of the year. But the St Katherine Fair in November had no noticeable effect, and by far the most popular time for marriage was around May Day. There had formerly been a May Fair, but it had been discontinued.⁹⁵ Shropshire was a May marrying county (Figure 6.9).

This emphasises that marriage seasonality in towns was still influenced by the rural calendar. This was most apparent in the smaller towns like Richmond, Ludlow and Guildford. It may also be that marriage peaks at the time of these occasions, which attracted people from outside the towns, (such as Stourbridge Fair in Cambridge) may reflect not just leisure periods for the native townsmen, but also an influx of visitors choosing to marry at that time. This reasoning may account for the often significant number of marriages at the time of the county's rural marriage peak - farm servants who came to town to marry.

Significantly in those urban parishes ('marriage shops'), all in cathedral towns, where there were extremely high numbers of marriages, perhaps caused by country people choosing to marry by licence away from their home parishes, there were greater concentrations of marriages at the rural peak times than is the case in other parishes in the town.⁹⁶ (See Figure 6.18).

Despite this, the underlying trend was to decreasing seasonality in towns.

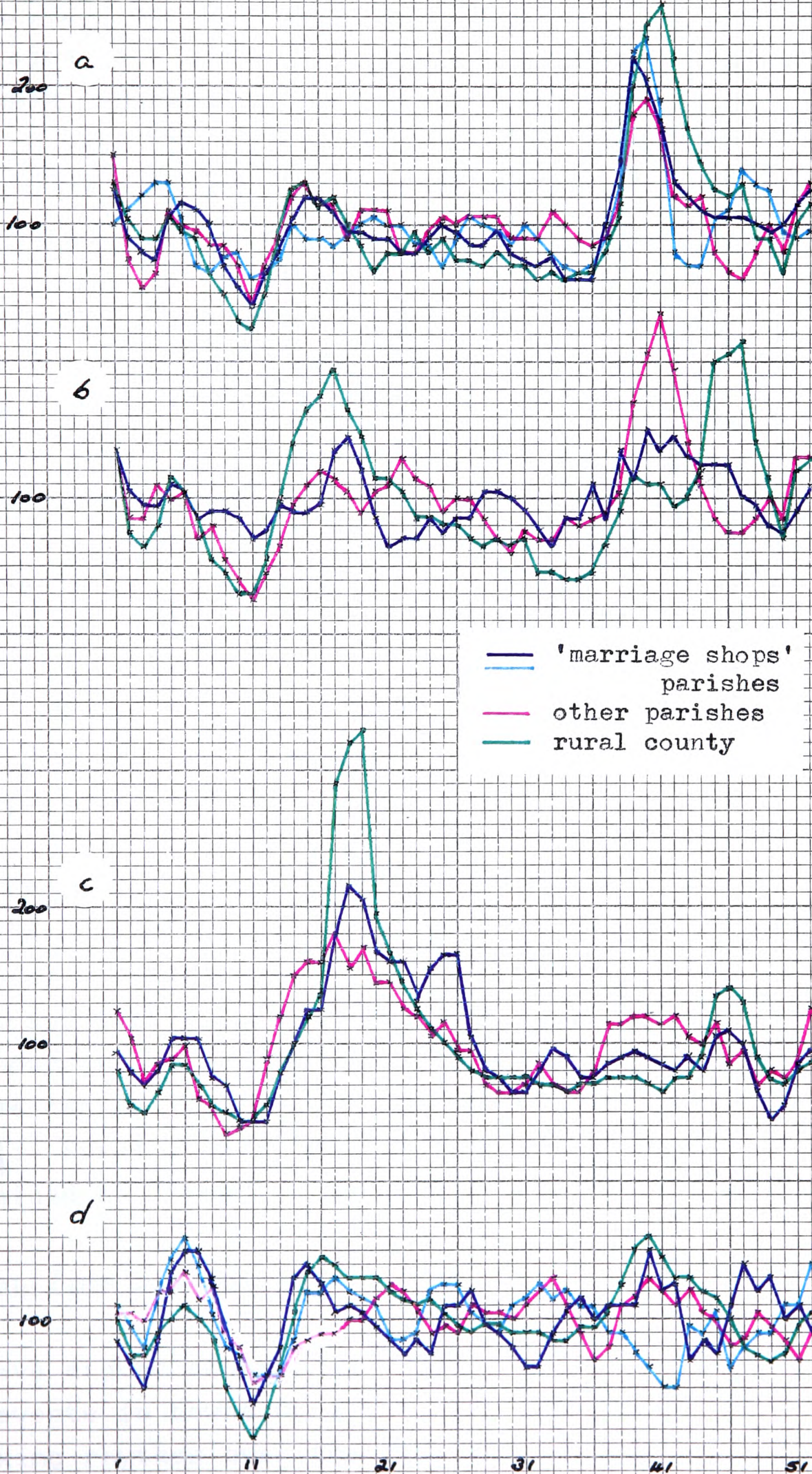
The Working Week

It is suggested that the lower seasonality in towns was due to more regular working patterns. Not only did working rhythms vary less from one season of the year to another, but also, it is contended, from day to day over the week.

Harrison has argued that it was in towns that the regular working week developed. Evidence on work patterns is hard to come by, but from a study of the timing of crowd occurrences in Bristol between 1790 and 1835 he concluded that they occurred 'within a structured, respected and constraining working week'. It was a week rather differently constructed to our own, with a 'weekend' consisting of 'a working Saturday, domestic Sunday and recreational Monday'.⁹⁷

FIGURE 6.18 'MARRIAGE SHOPS'
WEEKLY INDICES - M4

- (a) Carterbury
- (b) Leicester
- (c) Lincoln
- (d) London



On the assumption that weddings would occur on leisure days, or when work was slack, Jeremy Boulton attempted to trace the shape of the working week in three large suburban London parishes in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He found no evidence of a regular working week. Marriages took place in significant numbers in the middle of the week, suggesting irregular working patterns. The regular working week in towns must, therefore, be an eighteenth century development, reflecting the evolution of a more ordered and regulated urban lifestyle.⁹⁸

Marriage was supposed to take place between 8 am and noon, which would rule out weddings in lunch breaks or after work (times when Harrison found crowd activity took place).⁹⁹ So if marriage does reflect leisure time, it should reflect *leisure days*. Figure 6.19 shows the distribution of weddings over the week in six populous urban parishes from the late sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century. (The graphs show percentages, from Sunday through to Saturday). It seems that on the whole, the distribution over the week became more regular over time, with Sunday or Monday becoming the most popular day. There was less variety between towns in the early eighteenth century.

In London in the early eighteenth century (Figure 6.20) similar characteristics can be seen in most registers sampled.¹⁰⁰ The flattest patterns were in the clandestine centres, particularly the Fleet. (The canonical restrictions on hours would not have been observed in these centres). These can be compared to the rural patterns shown on Figure 6.21. Rural Sussex (Bolney & Cowfold) in particular still retained an irregular pattern in the early eighteenth century.

Urban Time Disciplines

I have argued above that underlying the decreasing seasonality of events in towns were the more regular, and regulated, working rhythms over the year and through the week.

FIGURE 6.19 URBAN MARRIAGE DAYS

- (a) Barnstaple
- (b) Kings Lynn
- (c) Leeds
- (d) Ludlow
- (e) Plymouth
- (f) Salisbury

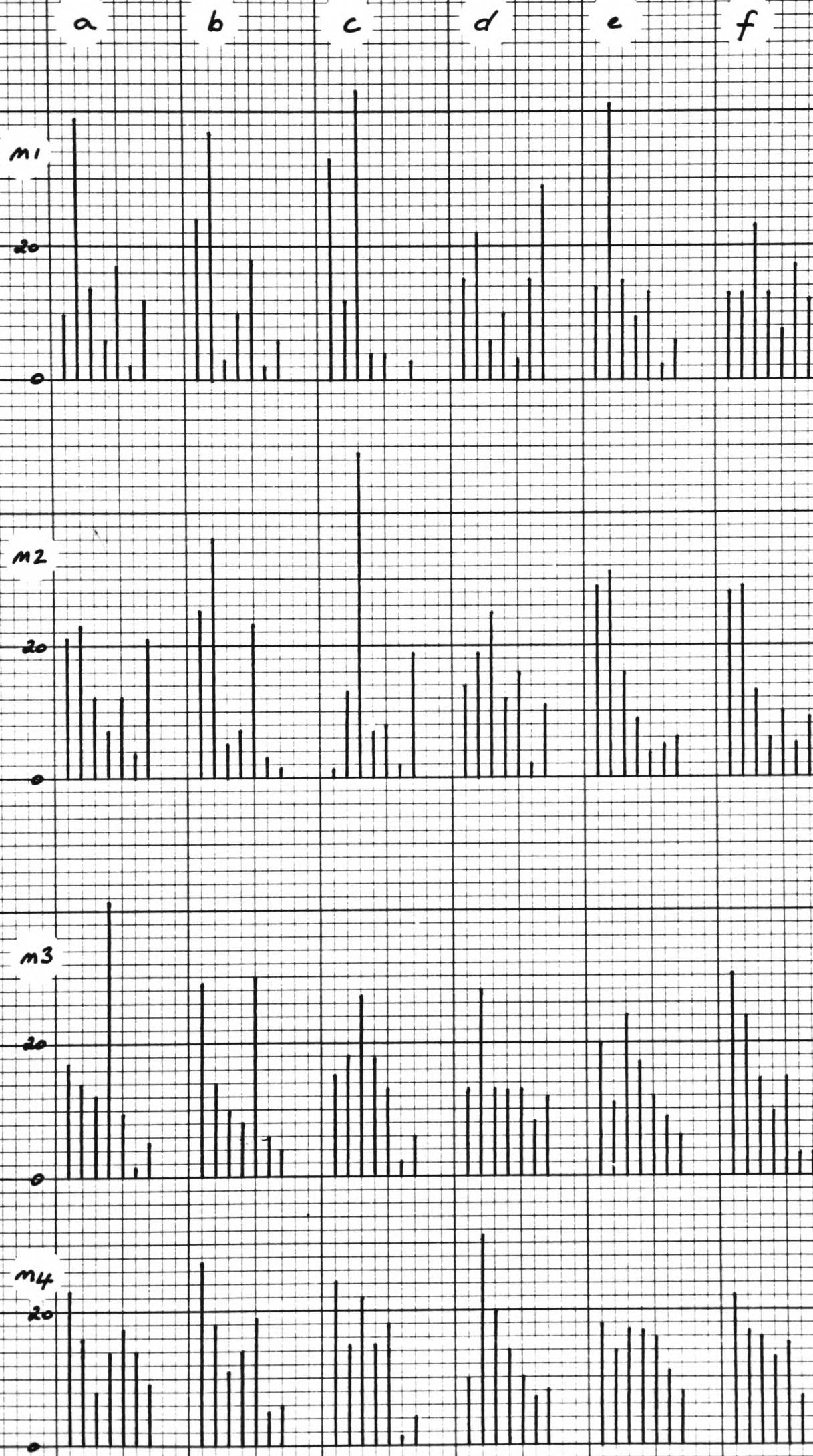


FIGURE 6.20 LONDON MARRIAGE DAYS

- (a) SBB
- (b) SJC
- (c) SMIF
- (d) Duke's Place
- (e) Quakers
- (f) Hanover Square
- (g) Mayfair
- (h) Fleet

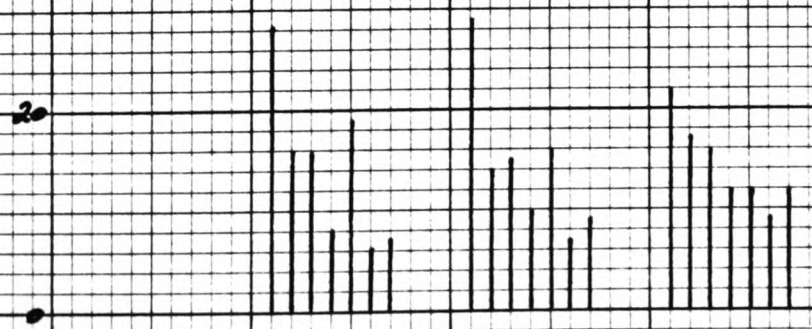
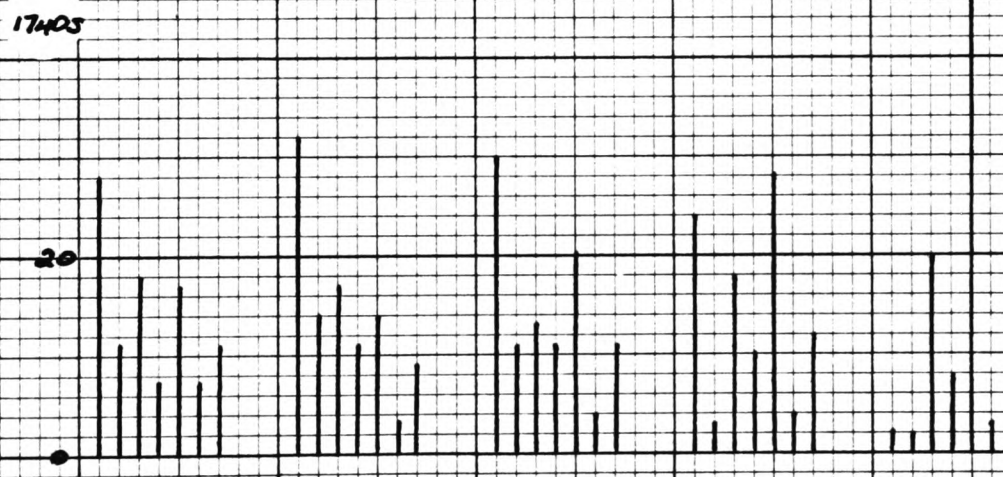
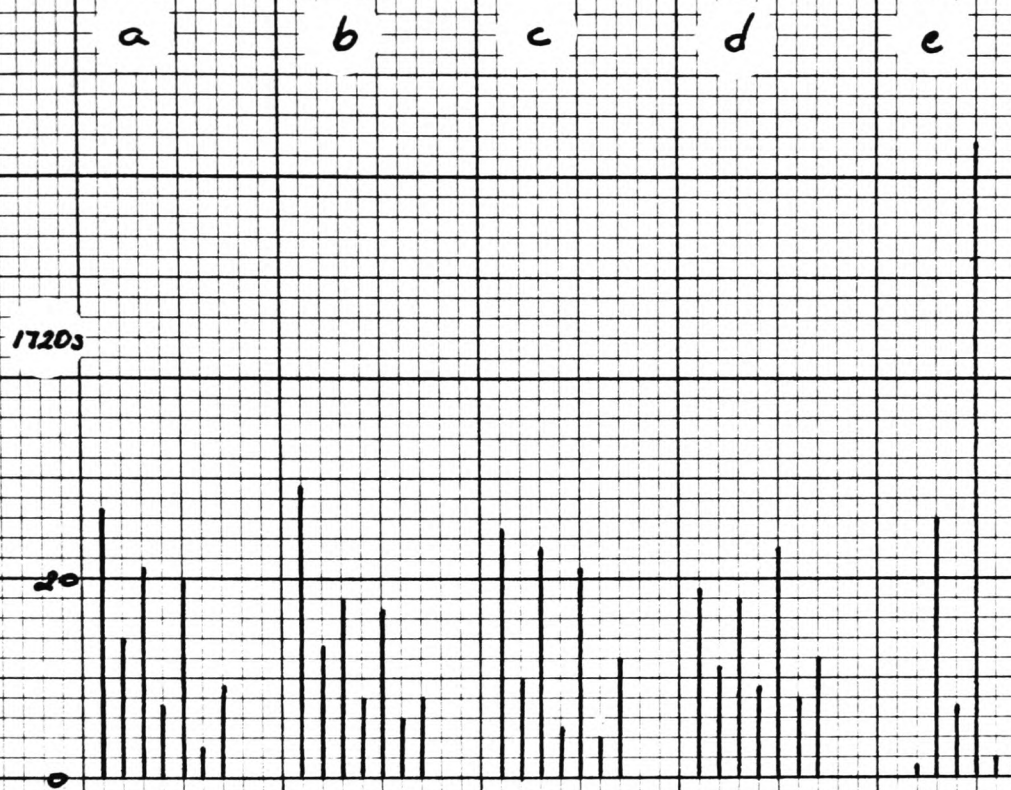
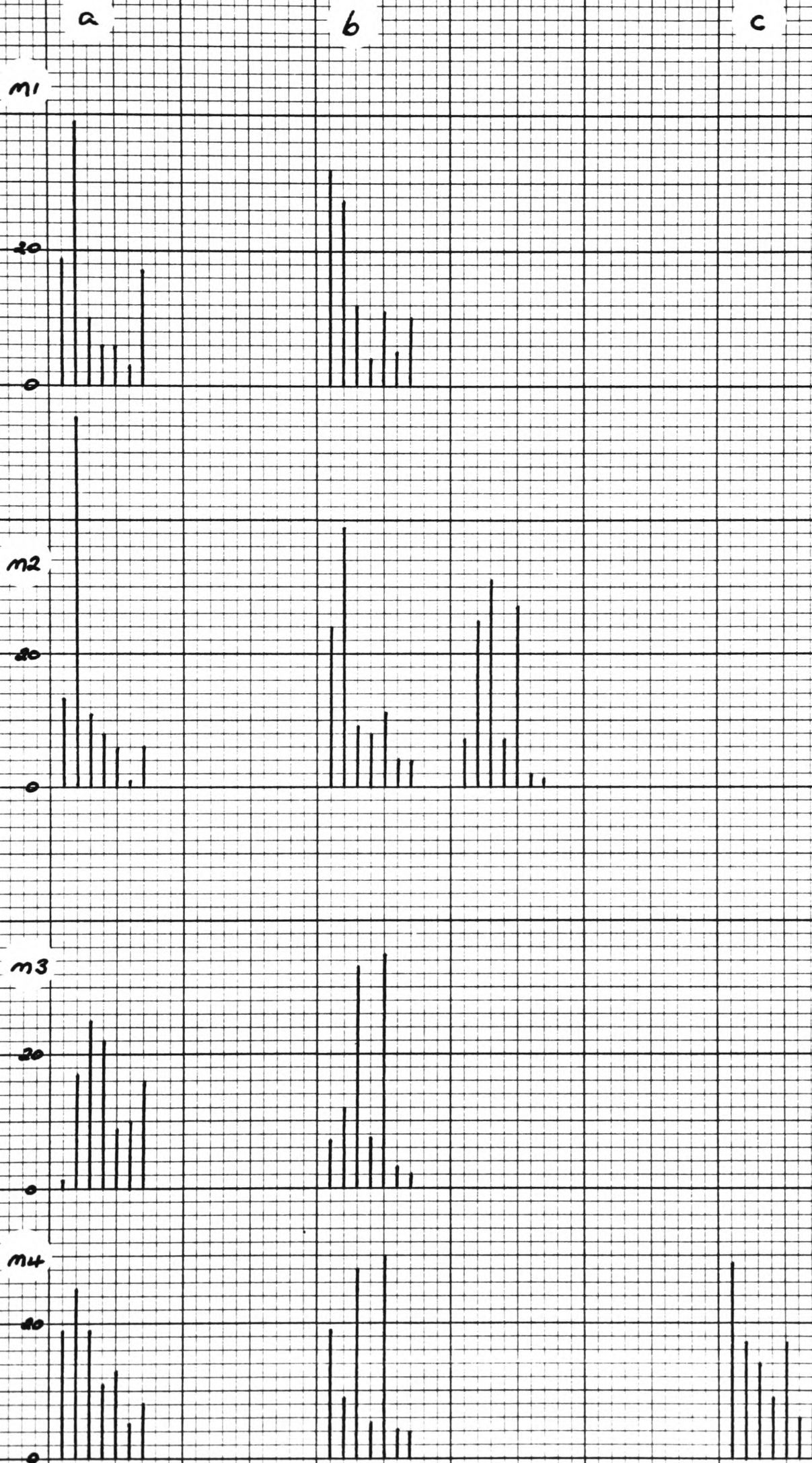


FIGURE 6.21 RURAL MARRIAGE DAYS

- (a) Colyton
- (b) Bolney & Cowfold
- (c) Peak Forest



This engendered a changing attitude to time. Even in the fifteenth century a writer noted, 'in cities and towns men rule them by the clock'.¹⁰¹ Penelope Corfield refers to the towns' consciousness of measured time, and the proliferation of public and private timepieces in the eighteenth century.¹⁰²

Thomas suggests that in early modern England time was generally measured with no greater precision than the quarter hour. Most workers measured time by the task rather than by the clock.¹⁰³ It has been implied that it was the spread of factories that introduced a new attitude to time, and that necessitated more accurate timekeeping.¹⁰⁴ But Landes saw the process as one of diffusion to the countryside from the towns, since 'timekeeping was a characteristically urban concern'. The complexity of urban living necessitated a greater awareness of time. The agricultural worker could measure time by the sun and church bells, but the townsman needed greater precision to co-ordinate the use of urban space.¹⁰⁵ The social events, the markets, mails and coach services ran to timetables. As Harrison put it 'It was this urban routine far more than factory work regimes that marked the move away from rural time-disciplines'.¹⁰⁶

Thomas found an imprecise attitude to dating similar to that towards time of day, with people fixing dates by reference to seasons, or 'red letter days' such as holidays or saints' days.¹⁰⁷ Cressy gives examples of people using feast names to identify days or seasons; it was a conventional system accepted and understood by most people, even Puritans (who rejected saints' days).¹⁰⁸ All his examples predate the 1650s.

There is some evidence that this changed, at least in towns. In the early registers, apprenticeship terms often ran 'from the feast of the birth of our Lord God nexte' or 'from the feast of seynt michael tharchangel last' or similar. This usage seems to have declined after the Restoration.

In Kingston the proportion of entries using feast names fell from 82 per cent to 25 per cent, and from 73 per cent to 32 per cent in Southampton; in Leicester in 1720-49 the proportion was 22 per cent. The names which remained widely in use were the Quarter Days: (Lady Day, Midsummer, Michaelmas, Christmas) and others like Candlemas, May Day and Martinmas.

These changes may reflect scribal influences, but there is a corresponding decrease in the use of feast *days* as well as feast *names*. Table 6.9 showed the decline in the use of Quarter Days as commencement days for apprenticeships. Table 6.16 shows the changing use of other commonly occurring feast days - the first three columns being pre-Restoration, the middle two post-Restoration to the early eighteenth century, and the last two covering the period 1720-49.

It will be seen that days at the beginning of the month were well used. One wonders if it was the coincidence of being a feast day and being the beginning of a new month that made some of these feast days (such as St Peter's day and All Saints day) so popular or appropriate for the beginning of apprenticeship terms. The feast of St Peter was not an official holy day.

Table 6.16 Apprenticeships commencing on Feast Days, %

Date	Feast	Yarm King		Sou King		Oxf	Leic	
		1	1	2	2			
1/1	New Years Day	2	2	2	-	2	1	2
2/2	Candlemas	6	3	2	3	2	-	4
1/5	May Day	4	7	1	0	2	10	8
29/5	Royal Oak Day	0	0	0	-	0	2	1
25/7	St James	2	2	1	0	-	-	-
1/8	St Peter	1	1	0	0	1	1	3
24/8	St Bartholomew	2	4	1	-	2	1	-
1/11	All Saints	3	4	3	-	1	1	-
5/11	Powder Treason	0	0	-	0	1	2	1
11/11	Martinmas	3	0	-	0	-	-	2
30/11	St Andrew	2	1	1	-	1	-	-
21/12	St Thomas	-	1	6	6	1	2	3
all 1st of months		13	17	8	6	11	17	18

There were regional variations in the use of feast days, such as the popularity of Martinmas in Leicester (a Martinmas marrying county). Two new popular dates emerged in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (though never given names in the records): 29th May, which commemorated the Restoration, and 5th November, Gunpowder Treason Day, when the 'Protestant' nation was delivered from 'Papist' conspiracy. In all, the special days seem to reflect the development of a new 'calendar', described by Cressy as combining 'God's calendar, the king's calendar and the calendar of the Protestant nation'.¹⁰⁹

These examples are drawn from urban settings. It seems likely that feasts rather than dates continued to be used more in the countryside. An observer stated in 1716

For all Persons (especially ordinary labouring Men of the Country) don't keep their Accounts of Time by the Names of the Calendar Months; but some reckon from the Seasons of the Year, as Spring and Fall, &c., others from the Seasons of Husbandry, as the different Seed-times or Harvest-Times; and others by County-Wakes and Fairs, .. If none were to be admitted for Witnesses, but such as speak to particular Days in this or that Month, [a] great part of the labouring people in the Countries would be rendered incapable of providing the Truth.¹¹⁰

The agricultural calendar was traditionally interlinked with the church calendar.¹¹¹ In the mid-seventeenth century, the Yorkshire farmer Henry Best

knew that lambs conceived at Michaelmas would be born before Candlemas; that the ploughing should be over by Andrewmas; that ewes should go to tup at St Luke; that servants were hired at Martinmas; and that hay fields should not be grazed for more than a fortnight after Lady Day.¹¹²

By contrast, in towns there were daily and weekly routines, as well as the seasonal rhythms. Few towns were as sophisticated as Bath, but the spa town illustrates the complexities of urban life, as described by a contemporary:

... the amusements of the day are generally begun with bathing ... The hours for bathing are commonly between six and nine ... The amusement of bathing is immediately succeeded by a general assembly of people at the pump room ... From the pump room the ladies, from time to time withdraw to a female coffee house, and from thence return to their lodgings to breakfast. The gentlemen withdraw to their coffee-houses, to read the papers, or converse ... People of fashion make public breakfasts at the assembly houses to which they invite their acquaintances, and they sometimes order private concerts ... When noon approaches and church (if any please to go there) is done, some of the company appear on the parade, or other public walks where they continue to chat .. till they have formed parties for the play, cards or dancing for the evening. Another part of the company divert themselves with reading in the booksellers' shops or are generally seen taking the air and exercise, some on horseback, some in coaches ... After dinner [served usually between 2 and 3 p.m.] is over, and evening prayers ended, the company meet for a second time in the pumphouse. From this they retire to the walks, and from thence to drink tea at the assembly houses, and the rest of the evenings are concluded either with balls, plays or visits.¹¹³

There were weekly routine too. In 1764, *The New Bath Guide* tells us,

the balls (during the Seasons) are twice a week viz. Tuesday and Fridays; except in Lent, and then they are Mondays and Thursday; and the company assemble at one of the Rooms every night. Mr Simpson's nights are Tuesday, Thursdays, and Saturdays; and Mr Wiltshire's are Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays; they have Sundays alternately. [The Orchard Street theatre] perform (during the Seasons) four times each week, viz. Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.¹¹⁴

The growing complexity and organisation of urban life, as illustrated by eighteenth-century Bath, demanded a much greater consciousness of time. The participants had to develop a greater control over the passage of time; on the other hand, time had an increasing control over their lives, enforcing routines and regularising work and leisure patterns. The beginnings of these developments can perhaps be seen in the seasonality patterns of urban marriages and baptisms, in the levelling out of the variations from one season to another and in the indications of a concentration of events into the holidays of Christmas, Whitsun and Easter.

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14. Landers & Mouzas, 'Burial Seasonality in London', p. 62
15. Landers & Mouzas, 'Burial Seasonality in London', pp 64-6
16. Landers, 'Age Patterns of Mortality', pp. 48-51
17. G. Clark, 'The Population of London children at Nurse, 1540-1750', *Social History of Medicine* 3 (1990), pp. 147-8
18. W&S p. 296-8

19. Epidemics excluded (identified by high numbers of burials compared to other years, and high numbers of burials in the summer and/or autumn):
 Canterbury: 1564/5 1574/5 1582/3 1609 1625 1665/6;
 Newcastle: 1587 1589 1596 1622/4 1665
 Norwich: 1579 1584 1603 1625 1666
 Ipswich: 1579 1585/6 1604/5 1614/5 1631 1638/9 1665/6
 Kings Lynn: 1572/3 1575 1665
20. See Table 7.1.
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- 43.Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry*, Appendix 4, pp 150-163; Wright & Lones, *British Calendar Customs*, Vol II, pp. 241-3 & Vol III pp. 85-98, 164, 156 & 271.
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Periods covered and the sizes of the samples are:

Great Yarmouth (Yarm)	1563-1639	397
Kingston (King 1)	1563-1650	689

Southampton (Sou 1)	1610-39	313
Southampton (Sou 2)	1660-99	159
Kingston (King 2)	1660-1713	722
Oxford (Oxf)	1720-49	945
Leicester (Leic)	1720-49	1633
London Stationers (Stat 1)	1606-29	538
London Stationers (Stat 2)	1660-89	699
London Stationers (Stat 3)	1720-49	508

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For other examples of Pepys paying his bills see entries for 30/12/1664 (Vol. 5 p. 358) and 31/12/1666 (Vol. 7 p. 425)
- 61.See footnote 29
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- 63.In the Lake District and Shropshire it was apparently tradition for farm work (except essential tending to livestock) to be suspended over Christmas: *Wright & Lones, British Calendar Customs, Vol III, p. 272*
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76. D. A. Reid, 'Interpreting the Festival Calendar: Wakes and Fairs as Carnivals' in R. D. Storch (ed), *Popular Culture and Custom in Nineteenth Century England* (1982), pp. 127 & 133.
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78. See Kussmaul, *General View*, pp. 40-2
79. W&S, pp. 258-9
80. London licences taken from V. Brodsky, 'Widows in Late Elizabethan London: Remarriage, Economic Opportunity and Family Orientations' in L. Bonfield, R. M. Smith & K. Wrightson (eds), *The World We Have Gained* (1986), p. 129; Shadwell and Duke's Place taken from J. Boulton, 'London widowhood revisited: the decline of female remarriage in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries', *Continuity and Change* 5 (1990), pp. 331-2
81. J. Patten, *English Towns 1500-1700* (1978), pp. 33 & 40
82. P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640' in P. Clark & P. Slack (eds), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (1972), p. 137 see also p. 147; P. Clark, 'Migrants in the city: the process of social adaptation in English towns 1500-1800', in P. Clark & D. Souden (eds), *Migration & Society in Early Modern England* (1987), p. 272

- 83.M.D. George, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century* (1925), p. 263; See Harrison, 'Time, Work and Crowds', p. 141-2
- 84.Clark & Souden, *Migration & Society*, pp. 33-4 & 242
- 85.Kussmaul, *General View*, pp. 43-44
- 86.G. Long, *The Folklore Calendar* (1930), pp. 350, 352-4; C. Hole, *A Dictionary of British Folk Customs* (1978), pp. 57-8; Wright & Lones, *British Calendar Customs*, Vol II, pp. 119-120
- 87.Candlemas was also a customary day for commencing and ending tenancies and settling accounts in Dorset and the northwestern counties: Wright & Lones, *British Calendar Customs*, Vol II, pp. 121 & 129.
- 88.Hole, *Dictionary of Folk Customs*, pp. 264-6; Wright & Lones, *British Calendar Customs*, Vol II, p. 130-136
- 89.R.J. Looney, 'Cultural life in the provinces: Leeds and York. 1720-1820' in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine & J.M. Rosenheim (eds), *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone* (1989), p. 499 & 503
- 90.D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (1979), pp. 181-2; R. Fieldhouse & B. Jennings, *A History of Richmond and Swaledale* (1978), p. 169
- 91.D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6), (Everyman edn.) p. i.63
- 92.C. Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (1983 edn.), p. 179; see also P. Corfield, 'A Provincial Capital in the late seventeenth century', in P. Clark & P. Slack (eds), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (1972), pp. 254-6
- 93.G.K. Horridge & J. Janaway, *Cambridge: A Short History* (1987), pp. 29 & 39; D. Gray, *Nottingham: settlement to city* (1953), p. 26
- 94.P. Richards, *King's Lynn* (1990), p. 51; M. Reed, 'Economic structure & change in seventeenth century Ipswich' in P. Clark (ed), *Country towns in pre-industrial England* (1981), p. 124; A.M. Kennett (ed), *Georgian Chester: Aspects of Chester's history from 1660 to 1837 ..* (1987), p.15; L. Lamplugh, *Barnstaple Town on the Taw* (1983), p. 15 & 80; M. Alexander, *Guildford: A Short History* (1986), p. 37
- 95.D. Lloyd & P. Klein, *Ludlow: A Historic Town in Words and Pictures* (1984), p. 43 & 86
- 96.In Canterbury the 'marriage shop' parishes were St Alphage and St George; in Leicester, St Nicholas; in Lincoln, St Margaret in the Close; and in London, St Antholin Budge

Row and St Matthew Friday Street.

97. Harrison, 'Time, Work and Crowds', p. 166
98. Boulton, 'Economy of Time?', pp. 29 & 33
99. Harrison, 'Time, Work and Crowds', p. 160
100. The concentration of Quaker marriages on Thursdays may have been for administrative reasons. Because of the irregular nature of their ceremonies from a legal point of view, Quaker practice required a large number of witnesses. Thus Quaker marriages generally took place during the regular midweek meeting (presumably this was normally Thursday) (See D J Steel, *National Index of Parish Registers Vol 2: Sources for Non-conformist Genealogy and Family History*, 1973, p. 656)
101. K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971), p. 744
102. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns*, p 86
103. Thomas, 'Numeracy in Early Modern England', p. 128
104. G.J. Whitrow, *Time in History* (1988), p. 160; D.S. Landes, *Revolution in Time* (1983), p. 227-30
105. Landes, *Revolution in Time*, p. 227; D.S. Landes, 'Debate: The Ordering of the Urban Environment: Time, Work and the Occurrence of Crowds 1790-1835', *Past and Present*, 116, 1987, p 194
106. Harrison, 'Time, Work and Crowds'. p. 141
107. Thomas, 'Numeracy in Early Modern England', pp. 122-3
108. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, p. 14
109. Cressy, *Bonfires & Bells*, p. xii
110. Thomas, 'Numeracy in Early Modern England', p. 123
111. Cressy, *Bonfires & Bells*, p. 15
112. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 738
113. Goldsmith's *Life of Nash* (1762), quoted in J. Barrett, 'Spas and Seaside Resorts, 1660-1780', in J. Stevenson et al, *The Rise of the New Urban Society*, Open University Urban History Course (1977), p. 52-3
114. Extracts from *The New Bath Guide*, from P. Clark & P. Morgan, *Towns and Townspeople 1500-1780: A Document Collection*, Open University English Urban History Course (1977), p. 11

CHAPTER SEVEN URBAN/RURAL TRANSITION - DISCUSSION

Having discussed various aspects of the timing of baptisms, marriages and burials in towns, I want now to focus on one of the questions underlying this study: that of the possible role of seasonality in establishing the distinctiveness of urban life and in examining the transition between town and country. In this chapter I will look at a number of possible approaches to these questions.

Initially, the similarity between the urban and rural baptismal and marriage seasonality patterns suggests that these will be difficult questions to tackle. Burial seasonality, however, has more potential.

Urban Burial Seasonality

As Figure 5.B.2 shows, the urban and rural burial seasonality patterns differed in the late sixteenth to late seventeenth century, when the urban burial seasonality pattern had a late summer/autumn peak. This was a persistent feature of urban seasonality, particularly associated with larger and more complex towns, and with smaller towns in the south east. (See Table 7.1)

This late summer/autumn peak burial peak was largely attributable to plague, and possibly also to gastric diseases, due to the overcrowded and insanitary conditions in towns, as discussed in Chapter 6.

The late summer/autumn burial peak can be regarded as distinctly urban in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, it was not, at the level of individual parishes or communities, an exclusively urban characteristic. Neither was it common to all towns. Concentration and density of population were clearly important factors in contributing to the summer/autumn burial peak, but they were not the only factors: others might include geographical location (near a large town or major thoroughfare), or just chance.

Table 7.1 Burial Seasonality by Size Category of Town;
later sixteenth to later seventeenth centuries

	BI	B2	B3		
	JFMAMJJASOND	JFMAMJJASOND	JFMAMJJASOND		
LON	-----+**+-	-----*** --	LON	-----**++-	
Large					
EXE	----+-----**+-	++-*+-----+*+	EXE	+-----++-+-	
NEWT	-----+**+*	----+-----*+--	NEWT	++++-----+--+	
NOR	-----+**+-	-----**+-	NOR	---+-----**+-	
YOR	+ -+---++-----	----+---+**-----	YOR	++++-----+---+	
Medium Large					
CAM	+*-----+*--	---+ +-----+--+	CAM	++-----+*+---	
CAN	--- +--+*++--	-+---+---+++--	CAN	+ ---++-++++-	
CHE	-++*-----+---	+---+-----++	CHE	+++++-----++	
IPS	+-----+**+-	+++-----+++-	IPS	---+---+---++-	
PLY	++---+---+--+	- -+---+---+---	PLY	++++-----+---	
SAL	-----+*+--	-----++++---	SAL	- -----++++	
WOR	-+***+---+-----	++++*-----+---	WOR	*++++-----+---	
Medium Small					
BAR	++*+---+--- --	+++++ -----	BIR	+++++ ---+---	
DOV	+-----+**++	++-----+++	DOV	-----+++++---	
DUR	*---+---+---+---	+*---+---+---+---	DUR	-***+----- --	
KIN	-----*+---+	++-+---+---+++	KIN	---+---+---+---	
LEE	+*++-----+---	+++++-----++	LEE	+*+-----+---	
LEI	- ++++---+--- --	+++-----+++--	LEI	+---+---+---+---	
LIN	-+---+---+---+---	+++++---+---+---	LIN	+++++---+---+---	
NOT	+++ +---+---+---	+++ ---+---+---	NOT	+*+++---+---+---	
REA	+*+---+---+---+---	+*+---+---+---+---	REA	-+---+---+*+ ---	
Small					
BAT	-- -+++++---	---+*---+---+---	BAR	+++++ ---+---	
BED	+-*-----	+**---+---+---	BAT	*+++---+---+---	
BIR	-+---+---+---++	-+---+---+---++	BED	+*---+---+---+---	
GUI	-+++---+---+---	-+---+---+---++	GUI	+--- ++++---+---	
LUD	+++++---+---+---	+++++---+---+---	LUD	+++++---+---+---	
NEWL	+**+---+---+---	+---+*+++---+---	NEWL	+*+++ ---+---	
RIC	+---+---+---+---	+++---+---+---	RIC	+***-----	
UXB	-+---+---+---+---	-----***+-	UXB	+---+++---+---	
Rural					
		ABI	-*+++++-----	ABI	++*+*--- -+---
		ALD	-+---+---+---+---	ALD	-+---+---+---+---
		BIS	*+++*+---+---+---	BIS	+*+++++-----
		BRO	**+*+---+---+---	BRO	+++++-----
		CAR	+**+ ---+---	CAR	++ +---+*---
		COL	+**+---+---+---	COL	-+*+*-----+---
		CUC	+***+---+---+---	CUC	+***+-----
		GRE	*+++---+---+---	GRE	+*+++*+-----
		HAD	*+++---+---+---	HAD	-+---+---+---
		HAM	**++---+---+---	HAM	+++++---+---
		HAR	**+++++-----*	HAR	**+**+-----
		KIL	+*+++---+---+---	KIL	+*++ ---+---
		SED	+**+---+---+---	SED	+---+*+-----*+---
		WED	**++---+---+---	WED	+*+++---+---
		WHI	**+++---+---+---	WHI	+++++-----
		WIN	-**++++---+---	WIN	-+++++---+---

- Index under 100

+ Index over 100

* Index over 124

Furthermore, by the eighteenth century this distinction had gone. As was the case with baptisms and marriages, there was no clearly identifiable difference between the urban and rural patterns.

Autumn Baptisms

It has been suggested that an autumn peak in baptisms was similarly an indication of urban seasonality. Based on Dyer's work on baptisms between 1580 and 1620, Wilson identified an urban baptismal cycle 'with two almost equal peaks (in about March and October)' and a rural cycle with a 'single major peak' in March. This urban pattern was visible in market towns, larger towns such as Bristol and York, and most strongly in London. Wilson himself found from the Bills of Mortality for 1754-62 that intra-mural London showed Dyer's urban cycle 'but in an even more marked form: that is, the October peak is now greater in size than the March peak'. In the more suburban parts of London (extra-mural city parishes, out-parishes and Westminster) he found a 'rural' cycle, but with a weak 'amplitude'. He attributed the phasing of the cycle to migration into the capital, and the low amplitude to the dilution of the 'rural' cycle by the 'urban' cycle.¹

Wilson raises the question of whether the 'cycle' of baptisms could be regarded as a means of identifying urban from rural, and whether the size of the October peak could be a measure of urbanity.

Unfortunately, as Figure 5.A.2 demonstrated, this autumn baptismal peak was not exclusively urban. Indeed, even Dyer found a small rural peak at this time, which he attributed to an increase in conceptions at Christmas.² The urban cycle appears to have 'twin peaks' mainly because of a depressed spring peak rather than an enlarged autumn peak. This is reinforced by the data displayed in Table 7.2. The rural parishes and the towns all tend to have spring peaks, but the rural parishes are far more likely to have indices over 124.

Table 7.2 Baptismal Seasonality In Towns (By Size) and Rural Sample: seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

C2		C3		C4	
JFMAMJJASOND		JFMAMJJASOND		JFMAMJJASOND	
LON	+++-----+--+	LON	+++++-----+--	LON	+++-----+ -
Large				Large	
EXE	++*-----+++-	EXE	+++++-----++--	BIR	+++++-----+--
NEWT	++---+---+++++	NEWT	+++-- ---+++++	EXE	+++++---+---*-
NOR	++-+-----+---	NOR	+++---+--- + -	NEWT	-+---+---+---+--
YOR	+++++-----++--	YOR	+--+---+-----+--	NOR	+++++---+---++
Medium Large				Medium Large	
CAM	+++++-----+--+	CAM	+++++-----+--+	YOR	+++++---+---+ -
CAN	+++-----+---	CAN	*+++++-----+--	Medium Large	
CHE	+++++-----+---	CHE	-++ +---+---+--	CHE	---+---+---+--
IPS	+++-----+---	IPS	-+++-----+--	IPS	-+ - ---+---+--
PLY	-+-----+++++	PLY	+---+---+---+--	LEE	+++++-----+--
SAL	+++++-----+---	SAL	+++++-----+--	NOT	+++++-----+--
WOR	+++-----+---	WOR	*++-----+---	PLY	+---+---+---+--
Medium Small				Medium Small	
BAR	+++++-----+--	BIR	+++++---+---+--	WOR	+++-----+---
DOV	+++++-----+ -	DOV	-+ +--- +--	BAT	+++-----+---
DUR	+++-- - -+---	DUR	+*++---+---+--	CAM	+++++-----+--
KIN	+--- ---+---+--	KIN	+++++---+---+--	CAN	+---+---+---+--
LEE	+++++-----+--	LEE	+++++-----+--	DUR	*+---+---+--
LEI	+++-----+---	LEI	+++++---+---+--	KIN	+++++-----+--
LIN	+++++-----+ -	LIN	-+++++-----+--	LEI	+++---+---+--
NOT	*+*+-----+--	NOT	+*+-----+--	LIN	+---+---+---+--
REA	++ -+---+---+--	REA	+*+-----+--	REA	+*+-----+--
Small				Small	
BAT	+*++-----+--	BAR	++-+ ---+---+ -	BAR	-+++---+---+--
BED	+++++-----+--	BAT	+++++-----+--	BED	++*+---+---+--
BIR	+*++-----+--	BED	*++---+---+--	DOV	+++---+---+--
GUI	++*-----+*--	GUI	+++++---+---+--	GUI	+++++---+---+--
LUD	+++++-----+--	LUD	+++++-----+--	LUD	+++---+---+--
NEWL	-+*+---+---+--	NEWL	---+---+---+--	NEWL	+++++-----+--
RIC	+++++---+---+--	RIC	*+---+---+--	RIC	-+---+---+--
UXB	+*++-----+--	UXB	*++ ---+---+--	UXB	+ ---+---+--
Rural				Rural	
ABI	-**+-----+--	ABI	-***+---+---+--	ABI	+***+-----+--
ALD	+*+++-----+--	ALD	+---+*+---+---+--	ALD	+ **+---+---+--
BIS	+***-----+---	BIS	+*+---+---+--	BIS	++* ---+---+--
BRO	-+*---+---+--	BRO	+++++-----+--	BRO	+++++-----+--
CAR	+*+-----+---	CAR	-*+---+---+--	CAR	+++++-----+--
COL	+*+-----+---	COL	+*+-----+--	COL	-*+---+---+--
CUC	+*+-----+--	CUC	-***-----+--	CUC	+---+*+---+---
GRE	+*+-----+---	GRE	*+---+---+--	GRE	++*+-----+--
HAD	+*+-----+---	HAD	+++++-----+--	HAD	*---*+---+---
HAM	+*+-----+---	HAM	+++++---+---+--	HAM	+++++---+---+--
HAR	**+-----+--	HAR	-**+---+---+--	HAR	+++*+-----+--
KIL	+*+-----+--	KIL	+++++---+---+--	KIL	+---+*+-----+--
SED	-+*+-----+--	SED	+*+-----+--	SED	-*+---+---+--
WED	+*+-----+---	WED	++*+---+---+--	WED	+*+-----+--
WHI	+*+-----+---	WHI	+++*---+---+--	WHI	+++*+-----+--
WIN	-+*+-----+---	WIN	+---+---+*+---	WIN	+++*+-----+--

- Index under 100

+ Index over 100

* Index over 124

For the period covered by this study, at least, this possible means of distinguishing between urban and rural patterns can be discounted. However, the larger peaks of the rural parishes point the way forward.

Measures of Seasonality

The real distinction between urban and rural baptismal or marriage seasonality, and burial seasonality by the early eighteenth century, lay not in the shape of the patterns, but in the *flatter* patterns in towns. This I have argued in Chapter 6 may be attributable to the more regular and/or less uniform working and leisure rhythms in towns.

Concentrating on this aspect, is it possible to pinpoint a stage at which rural seasonality becomes urban?

Tables 7.3 to 7.5 rank the sample towns and rural parishes/counties by weekly MAD. The rural samples are shown in italics for clarity and MADs based on small samples (under 600) are asterisked.

From these tables it is clear that the towns tended to be less seasonal than the rural parishes, even taking into account the potential problem of small samples. But there was always overlap, and there was no clear cut-off point. The overlap was least for baptisms, and one could perhaps draw an arbitrary line, above which was largely rural and below which was largely urban. That could be a MAD of about 14 in the early seventeenth century, about 13 in the later seventeenth century, and about 11 or 12 in the early eighteenth century.

If there was a dividing line between urban and rural baptismal seasonality, it was clearly not constant, but varied over time. Partly this was due to a decline in the degree of seasonal variation generally, but it seems that this decline was greater in towns. This is perhaps evidence of a growing disparity between town and country life.

**Table 7.3 Urban/Rural Rankings by Measures of Seasonality:
Baptisms, Weekly MAD**

Place	C2 MAD	Place	C3 MAD	Place	C4 MAD
BIS	25.1	BED	21.7 *	HAD	33.8
HAD	20.3	ABI	21.4	ABI	19.2
HAM	19.7	BIS	18.9	BED	18.9 *
NEWL	19.2	HAR	18.9	ALD	16.9
HAR	18.4	HAD	18.7	CUC	16.7
WIN	18.4	CUC	18.5	COL	16.1
GRE	17.8	WIN	16.7 *	GRE	15.9
WED	17.4	WED	16.1	BIS	14.6
WHI	17.0	RIC	15.4	WIN	14.3
COL	16.8	UXB	15.4	HAR	14.3
CUC	16.5	ALD	14.7	EXE	13.8
GUI	16.2	REA	14.5	HAM	13.5
ABI	16.0	GRE	13.9	WED	13.3
BRO	15.8	BRO	13.7	CAR	12.9
KIL	15.7	LIN	13.6	KIL	12.8
CAR	14.5	SED	13.5	WHI	12.8
BED	14.5 *	COL	13.3	SAL	12.2
ALD	13.8	HAM	13.2	SED	11.6
BIR	13.6	BAT	12.6	BRO	11.0
EXE	13.2	EXE	12.0	LUD	10.9
UXB	12.9	CAR	12.0	UXB	10.8
BAT	12.8	WOR	11.9	NOT	10.6
CAN	12.7	GUI	11.7	WOR	10.2
LIN	12.6	LUD	11.6	DUR	9.4
NOT	12.4	KIL	11.5	REA	9.0
LEI	12.2	WHI	10.7	LEI	8.9
WOR	12.1	NOR	10.5	CAM	8.7
NOR	12.0	NOT	10.4	RIC	8.7
SED	11.8	NEWL	10.4	NEWL	8.5
IPS	11.6	IPS	10.3	CHE	8.3
DUR	10.9	BIR	9.7	LEE	8.3
CHE	10.5	CAM	9.7	IPS	8.2
LUD	10.4	CAN	9.6	GUI	8.1
SAL	10.1	DUR	9.2	LIN	8.1
CAM	9.9	SAL	8.2	KIN	7.9
REA	9.7	CHE	8.0	BAT	7.9
RIC	9.1	LEI	7.9	NOR	7.8
YOR	8.9	NEWT	7.7	CAN	7.6
KIN	8.5	BAR	7.6	DOV	7.5
NEWT	8.1	LEE	7.0	BIR	7.1
BAR	8.0	KIN	6.7	YOR	6.6
LEE	8.0	YOR	6.0	PLY	6.1
LON	7.4	PLY	5.2	BAR	6.0
PLY	6.3	LON	4.9	LON	4.7
				NEWT	3.1

* Sample size under 600

Table 7.4 Urban/Rural Rankings by Measures of Seasonality:
Burials, Weekly MAD

Place	B2 MAD	Place	B3 MAD	Place	B4 MAD
LON	36.4	HAR	26.0	GRE	23.8
BED	27.0 *	CUC	24.9	CUC	23.1
ABI	24.9 *	ABI	23.1 *	BED	22.3 *
UXB	24.6	GRE	20.7	HAM	20.2
NOR	24.3	WIN	20.4 *	RIC	18.6
WHI	24.3	RIC	20.0	COL	16.6
BRO	23.6 *	COL	17.6	ABI	16.3
HAR	22.9	BIS	17.1	WED	16.2
CUC	21.9	NEWL	16.5	HAD	16.1
WED	21.1	NOR	16.4	NEWT	16.0
HAM	21.0	SED	16.2	WHI	15.7
NEWL	20.3 *	DUR	15.6	DUR	15.6
COL	18.8	CAR	15.3	YOR	15.5
BIS	18.5	WHI	14.6	KIL	15.4
GRE	18.4	BRO	13.6	BAR	14.9
EXE	17.3	BED	13.4 *	GUI	14.7
KIL	16.8	WOR	12.9	HAR	14.6
REA	16.7	KIL	12.6	BRO	14.4
WIN	16.5 *	UXB	12.4	BIS	14.2
YOR	16.4	WED	12.2	WIN	14.1
SED	16.0	HAD	12.2	ALD	13.4
CAR	15.1	NOT	11.7	WOR	13.1
HAD	15.1	ALD	11.7	NEWL	13.1
LIN	14.5	LIN	11.3	BAT	12.5
WOR	14.3	HAM	10.9	LEE	12.5
BAR	14.1	GUI	10.6	SED	12.4
BAT	13.8	CHE	10.5	EXE	12.2
ALD	12.7	LON	10.2	CAM	11.2
CHE	12.6	LEE	10.0	PLY	10.7
BIR	12.1	CAN	9.7	CHE	10.3
NEWT	11.7	EXE	9.7	NOT	10.3
IPS	11.5	REA	9.5	UXB	10.1
LUD	10.9	CAM	9.4	KIN	9.5
CAN	10.6	IPS	9.4	DOV	9.3
GUI	10.6	LUD	9.3	IPS	9.2
DUR	10.4	NEWT	9.1	SAL	9.1
SAL	10.4	SAL	9.0	CAR	8.8
LEE	9.7	BAT	8.9	LIN	8.4
LEI	9.3	BAR	8.8	LEI	8.0
NOT	9.1	YOR	8.5	LON	7.2
KIN	7.4	LEI	8.2	LUD	6.8
PLY	7.4	PLY	8.1	CAN	6.8
RIC	7.3	KIN	7.7	BIR	6.6
CAM	6.6	BIR	7.0	NOR	6.1
				REA	5.9

* Sample size under 600

Table 7.5 Urban/Rural Rankings by Measures of Seasonality:
Marriages, Weekly MAD

Place	M2 MAD	Place	M3 MAD	Place	M4 MAD
WARW	54.6 *	DURH	56.4	NORT	70.1
LINC	52.7	SUSS	56.0 *	SUSS	51.5 *
DURH	52.5	LINC	50.7	DURH	43.8
CORN	48.3	BAT	44.5 *	WARW	41.9
NOTT	48.2	WARW	43.7 *	LINC	40.4
WORC	45.3 *	SUFF	40.2	SUFF	38.3
BIR	45.2 *	RIC	39.0 *	RIC	37.6 *
BAT	44.9 *	WORC	38.6 *	LEIC	36.8
WILT	43.7	NEWT	36.3 *	WORC	36.4
DUR	42.9	NOTT	36.0	KENT	33.4
DORS	42.9	LIN	34.5 *	GUI	31.6 *
RIC	41.9	GUI	34.1 *	NEWL	29.7 *
BED	41.9 *	CORN	32.6	CUMB	27.6
SUFF	39.9	BED	31.8 *	NOTT	26.7
LEI	39.4 *	LEE	31.7	LIN	26.4
DEVN	38.8	DORS	31.1	LUD	26.4
NOT	38.2	LUD	31.0	DUR	26.4
KENT	38.2	EXE	30.9 *	REA	25.9
LUD	37.8 *	DUR	30.1	BED	25.7
SUSS	37.2	KENT	29.3	DOV	24.8
NEWT	37.0	DEVN	28.7	IPS	23.9
CAM	34.2	WOR	27.5	NOR	23.4
YOR	34.2	REA	27.4 *	CORN	23.4
WOR	33.3 *	LEI	27.1 *	DORS	23.4
PLY	32.9	WILT	27.1	WILT	23.0
DER	32.6	NOR	26.6 *	MIDD	22.3
MIDD	32.1	CAM	26.2	CHES	22.2
REA	32.0 *	NEWL	25.3 *	CAM	21.8
LEE	31.2	BAR	25.0 *	YOR	21.8
BAR	30.1	MIDD	24.5	CHE	21.5
CAN	29.4	DER	23.9 *	BAT	21.1
UXB	28.4 *	YOR	23.7	BIR	20.7
NOR	28.1 *	SAL	23.6	KIN	20.7
IPS	27.6 *	BIR	23.4 *	DEVN	20.4
LIN	26.8	CAN	22.5	LEI	19.8
EXE	26.1 *	CHE	21.4	BAR	19.4
SAL	24.8	NOT	21.4	CAN	18.4
GUI	23.8 *	CHES	20.3	NEWT	18.3
CHE	22.8	IPS	19.7	LEE	17.6
KIN	19.6	KIN	17.6	DERB	17.6
LON	17.9	LON	15.7	NOT	17.1
		PLY	12.3	SAL	16.7
				EXE	15.4
				WOR	15.0
				DER	13.0
				PLY	12.6
				LON	11.2

* Sample size below 600

The situation is rather different for burials. Firstly, the element of choice involved in baptisms is lacking in the seasonal timing of burial. Secondly, there was, until the eighteenth century, a distinctive urban pattern. In its most extreme form, as in early seventeenth century London, it was very seasonal. On the other hand, a mixture of the urban and rural type seasonality patterns could produce an artificially 'flat' aggregate pattern, as is the case with the overall urban patterns in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century the shape of the urban and rural patterns were similar. The urban pattern had become *more* seasonal than it had been in the later seventeenth century, but was still *less* seasonal than the rural pattern. However, it is more difficult to identify a dividing line; perhaps a MAD of around 14 or 15.

With marriages the overlap between towns and rural counties was greater, but the rural counties were always the most seasonal and towns the least. Arbitrary borderlines could be drawn at a MAD of about 40 in the early seventeenth century, about 31 to 32 in the later seventeenth century, and around 26 in the early eighteenth century. Again, it is clear that the border is relative rather than uniform over time. Despite the overlap between urban and rural sample, almost always a town was lower down the scale than its rural county. As the hinterland analyses demonstrate (Table 5.C.8), the larger towns were nearly always less seasonal than their hinterlands. This was also true with baptisms. (Table 5.A.4) One could then suggest that the size of a town might be crucial.

Table 7.6 shows the range of weekly MADs and the median MAD for each of the urban size categories compared to those of London and the rural sample, for baptisms and marriages. This Table demonstrates that there is always an overlap between the categories. London, however, invariably shows up as among the least seasonal (having the lowest values of MAD) while the rural sample generally has the highest medians and the highest absolute values of MAD, indicating that it is, as expected, the most seasonal.

Table 7.6 MADs for Urban Sample (by Size) and Rural Sample: seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

	C2			C3			C4		
	low	median	high	low	median	high	low	median	high
LON	7.4			4.9			4.7		
L	8.1	10.45	13.2	6.0	9.1	12.0	3.1	7.1	13.8
ML	6.3	10.5	12.7	5.2	9.6	11.9	6.1	8.3	10.6
MS	8.0	10.3	12.6	6.7	9.45	14.5	7.6	8.7	12.2
S	9.1	13.25	19.2	7.6	12.15	21.7	6.0	8.6	18.9
Rur	11.8	16.9	25.1	10.7	14.3	21.4	11.0	14.3	33.8

	M2			M3			M4		
	low	median	high	low	median	high	low	median	high
LON	17.9			15.7			11.2		
L	26.1	31.5	37.0	23.7	28.75	36.3	15.4	20.7	23.4
ML	22.8	29.4	34.2	12.3	22.5	27.5	12.6	17.35	23.9
MS	19.6	31.6	42.9	17.6	27.25	34.5	16.7	21.1	26.4
S	23.8	37.8	45.2	25.0	31.8	44.5	19.4	26.4	37.6
Rur	32.1	43.7	54.6	20.3	34.3	56.4	17.6	33.4	70.1

The distinction at the extremes is clear, but within the provincial towns there is much overlap between the size categories, and there is no clear continuum from large through to small. However, looking at the median values (except for baptisms in the early eighteenth century) and at the highest values of MAD within each category, there is usually a gap between the smallest towns and the other, larger towns.

Performing the same exercise with the provincial towns ranked by status rather than size (Table 7.7), the overlap between the groupings is even greater, and the local, low status towns cannot be differentiated from the provincial capitals and regional capitals in the same way that small towns can from larger towns. The same is also true when looking at the MADs for the regional groups and for the functional groups - no one grouping stands out. This suggests that it is population size which is the major influence on the degree of seasonality which a town experiences.

This is confirmed by the case of Lincoln, which, though a regional capital, had a relatively small and static population (only 4,500 in 1750). Its seasonality was akin to that of a small town, and its marriage pattern was highly influenced by the rural pattern.

Table 7.7 MADs for Urban Sample (by Rank) and Rural Sample: seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries

	C2			C3			C4		
	low	median	high	low	median	high	low	median	high
LON	7.4			4.9			4.7		
I	8.1	10.5	13.2	6.0	8.0	12.0	3.1	7.8	13.8
II	8.5	11.85	16.2	6.7	10.35	21.7	6.1	8.5	18.9
III	6.3	10.95	19.2	5.2	10.05	15.4	6.0	8.5	10.8
Rur	11.8	16.9	25.1	10.7	14.3	21.4	11.0	14.3	33.8

	M2			M3			M4		
	low	median	high	low	median	high	low	median	high
LON	17.9			15.7			11.2		
I	22.8	28.1	37.0	21.4	26.6	36.3	15.4	21.5	23.4
II	19.6	32.65	42.9	17.6	27.25	34.5	12.6	20.9	31.6
III	28.4	32.9	45.2	12.3	28.5	44.5	19.4	27.25	37.6
Rur	32.1	43.7	54.6	20.3	34.3	56.4	17.6	33.4	70.1

Emergent Towns

Another way to examine the boundary between urban and rural might be to look at the so-called 'new' towns, to see how their seasonality patterns changed as they became more urban. None actually started from a rural base, but towns like Birmingham and Bath were small in the sixteenth century, and Birmingham grew to be very large by eighteenth century standards. Figure 7.1 shows the changing baptismal, marriage and burial patterns in Birmingham. The burial pattern actually had a small late summer surge, which is typically urban, in the late sixteenth century, but by the early eighteenth century it had disappeared (as it had from most towns at this time).

FIGURE 7.1 BIRMINGHAM WEEKLY INDICES

- (a) Baptisms
- (b) marriages
- (c) burials



It is difficult to isolate any move from rural to urban baptismal and marriage patterns, as there was no real difference in the shape of the urban and rural patterns. The change that can be identified in Birmingham is a levelling of the patterns. They became less erratic and less seasonal. This is confirmed by Table 7.8, where the MADs of three 'new' towns (Bath, Plymouth and Birmingham) are compared to the median MADs of the urban and rural samples.

Table 7.8 Weekly MADs of New Towns, Baptisms and Marriages

	Rural Median	BAT	PLY	BIR	Urban Median
C2	16.9	12.8	6.3	13.6	11.25
C3	14.3	12.6	5.2	9.7	10.0
C4	14.3	7.9	6.1	7.1	8.3
M2	43.7	44.9	32.9	45.2	32.0
M3	34.3	44.5	12.3	23.4	26.6
M4	33.4	21.1	12.6	20.7	21.3

In Birmingham the MAD moves to the same or less than the urban median value in the mid-seventeenth century, when the town moved from the 'small' size category. In Bath the shift came later, at the turn of the eighteenth century, when it too moved from 'small' to 'medium small'. Plymouth has consistently urban values, and was throughout a 'medium large' town, despite being a 'new' town.

This confirms the impression, discussed in the previous section, that it was size that was the significant factor in urban seasonality. Table 7.9 shows approximate population sizes of the three 'new towns', with those periods with 'urban' seasonality shown in bold print.

Table 7.9 Approximate populations of New Towns

	BAT	PLY	BIR
1620-40	1000	7000	2- 4000
1660-90	1-2000	7- 8000	5- 8000
1720-50	4-9000	9-14000	11-23000

This suggests that the population borderline between 'rural' and 'urban' seasonality was somewhere between 2,000 and 4,000. (Plymouth's population was approximately 4,000 in 1550). The boundary between the 'small' and 'medium small' categories in this study varied over time with the general increase in the size of towns: about 2000 people in 1600 to about 3000 in the 1660s and about 4500 in 1750. Except for baptisms in the early eighteenth century, the median values of the 'small' towns (Table 7.6) are close to the approximate borderline MADs deduced from Tables 7.3-7.5.

The small towns would seem to be in a transitional status between the high seasonality of rural parishes and the low seasonality of the larger towns. It would seem that these small towns were less differentiated from their surrounding countryside and were still strongly influenced by traditional rhythms and habits. It was only when the population grew beyond a certain point that they were able to loosen the ties that bound them and to begin to develop their own, less marked seasonal rhythms of life.

Urban Decline or Urban Renaissance?

If the degree of seasonality can be taken as an indication of the success of a town, it can perhaps be used to investigate the theory of 'urban decline'. The baptismal MADs seem the most sensitive measure. Table 7.10 shows the baptismal MADs of the urban sample over the period of the study. MADs which have increased by more than about half a point are highlighted. This approach cannot help on the question of decline in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it can examine change in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The stories of some of the towns may elucidate the findings of the Table. Bath, for example, was suffering from the decline of its medieval textile industry in the early seventeenth century, prior to recovery based on its new role as a spa.⁹

Table 7.10 Weekly Baptismal MADs of Sample Towns

	C1	C2	C3	C4
BAR	9.2	8.0	7.6	6.0
BAT	9.6	12.8	12.6	7.9
BED	15.5	14.5	21.7	18.9
BIR	13.5	13.6	9.7	7.1
CAM	10.4	9.9	9.7	8.7
CAN	11.6	12.7	9.6	7.6
CHE	9.8	10.5	8.0	8.3
DUR	11.4	10.9	9.2	9.4
EXE	11.1	13.2	12.0	13.8
GUI	12.9	16.2	11.7	8.1
IPS	10.8	11.6	10.3	8.2
KIN	9.0	8.5	6.7	7.9
LEE	10.8	8.0	7.0	8.3
LEI	10.9	12.2	7.9	8.9
LIN	10.4	12.6	13.6	8.1
LUD	11.3	10.4	11.6	10.9
NEWL	13.0	19.2	10.4	8.5
NEWT	10.2	8.1	7.7	3.1
NOR	17.1	12.0	10.5	7.8
NOT	11.2	12.4	10.4	10.6
PLY	9.6	6.3	5.2	6.1
REA	16.9	9.7	14.5	9.0
RIC	8.2	9.1	15.4	8.7
SAL	7.8	10.1	8.2	12.2
UXB	11.8	12.9	15.2	10.8
WOR	13.4	12.1	11.9	10.2
YOR	6.9	8.9	6.0	6.6
LON	7.0	7.4	4.9	4.7
URBAN	6.1	7.0	5.5	4.1

Increased MADs are highlighted

Lincoln was a decayed county town until its slow recovery in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴ Ludlow, home of the Council of the Marches, suffered when it was abolished in 1689, but sustained itself as a market town and social centre, with a small specialised industry.⁵ In 1738 Kings Lynn was worried by 'the decay of trade' and was 'pestered by beggars'.⁶ Reading suffered from the trade depression of the 1620s, and the Civil War, and in the later seventeenth century was still in the process of transforming its economy. By the early eighteenth century it was 'a very large and wealthy town'.⁷

It seems that there was sometimes a link between reports of economic problems and an increase in baptismal seasonality. Overall there was an increase in baptismal urban seasonality between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and half the sample towns shared this increase. This accords with the Clark/Slack thesis that the 'urban crisis' continued into the seventeenth century, with recovery only coming in the later seventeenth century. ⁸

Urban baptismal seasonality decreased overall from the early seventeenth century, and this experience was shared by most towns. This could be interpreted as evidence of urban recovery, if not a renaissance. The towns most often cited by Borsay as leaders of the urban renaissance after 1660 were York and Bath.⁹ Among the most successful towns of the period in terms of population size and growth were Norwich, Newcastle and Birmingham. All these towns, along with London, had low and declining (or static) seasonality.

One does not want to pursue this point too far, as the source has its frailties and not too much should be deduced from small differences. However the picture is suggestive, and further research on individual towns might clarify it.

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CHAPTER EIGHT CONCLUSIONS

Finally, I would like to summarise the findings of this study: to look at the seasonality patterns found and some of their possible explanations and implications; to take an overview of the results and their significance to general questions about towns in the early modern period; to indicate possible future lines of research and to comment on seasonality as a tool.

Burial Seasonality

It is clear that the burial pattern reflects closely the seasonality of mortality, since burial nearly always followed within a few days of death. The rural burial pattern from the mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth centuries had a spring high and summer low. This pattern with deaths highest in late winter and spring suggests mortality caused by respiratory diseases. It is also similar to that of rural unemployment.

In towns as a whole, and in the larger, more complex towns in particular, deaths peaked in late summer and autumn, from the mid-sixteenth to late-seventeenth centuries. This was undoubtedly due largely to bubonic plague. These epidemics generally struck in the summer and autumn months, and became most virulent in the the poor and populous suburbs of large towns. The overcrowded, insanitary conditions in towns, combined with the warm summer weather, may have encouraged gastric diseases, further increasing summer/autumn urban burials.

By the early eighteenth century, the urban burial pattern (especially outside London) was very similar to the rural pattern, reflecting the disappearance of plague after the 1660s and possibly also improved living conditions in towns. This similarity between the urban and rural burial patterns does not mean that they shared the same mortality regimes - towns were still more dangerous places to live, with deaths exceeding births.

Baptismal Seasonality

The basic baptismal seasonality pattern was similar in both the urban and rural samples, and also similar to the rural burial pattern, with baptisms highest in spring and lowest in summer. Interpretation of the pattern is complicated by the interval between birth and baptism, and the variable length of pregnancy. Though the delay varied from place to place and increased over time, the evidence suggests that baptism took place within a few weeks of birth. Baptismal seasonality, therefore, reflects the seasonality of birth (though not as closely as burials mirror deaths), and at the same time birth seasonality echoes the seasonality of conceptions. It seems probable that the basic pattern is shaped by the seasonality of conception, and is broadly explicable in terms of work and leisure patterns and religious festivals. Sexual activity was at its greatest in the spring and summer months when religious holidays were concentrated (May Day through Whitsun to Midsummer), with another peak at Christmas. Conceptions were at their lowest at harvest time, when long hours and physical tiredness might curtail activity, and also during Lent, when self-restraint was encouraged and marriage discouraged.

But baptism was itself a social activity which had its own determinants. These probably account for the smaller variances in the baptismal pattern, notably the increase in Christmas *baptisms* (as opposed to Christmas *conceptions*, which were apparently declining). This feature, common to both urban and rural patterns, seems to be the result of baptisms being postponed or brought forward to the Christmas period, one of the major holidays of the year.

Marriage Seasonality

The marriage seasonality pattern was far more complex, being complicated by the so-called 'prohibited' periods when marriage was discouraged by the Church, and further obscured by the fact that two of these 'prohibited' periods were fixed to the date of Easter and varied from year to year.

The Lenten 'prohibition' (in effect the ecclesiastical period of Lent, though the 'prohibited' period was more prolonged) was the most effective, causing a slump in marriages centering on mid-March, though it diminished over time. The Rogation period, around Whitsun, being short (only three weeks) and migratory, had little effect on marriage seasonality. The Advent 'prohibition' accounted for the decline in marriages in December and early January, though after the mid-seventeenth century this was interrupted by a surge in marriages around Christmas and New Year (analogous with the baptismal peak.)

The rural pattern was further shaped by the routines of the agricultural year. Marriages were low in late summer and autumn, at harvest time, and the periods of peak marriages have been linked to the times of year when the young yearly hired farm servants renewed their annual 'contracts', changed employers (at hiring fairs) or left service to marry and set up their own households. This was in autumn in arable areas, after the harvest, and spring in pastoral areas, after lambing. They can be more closely pinned down by the hiring fairs - in southern England at Michaelmas (29th September), in the north at Martinmas (11th November) and in pastoral areas often May Day. This thesis, put forward by W&S and Kussmaul, holds good for many parts of England in the early eighteenth century, but in earlier periods the marriage peaks were more varied and diffuse. There were also features of the rural marriage seasonality pattern which do not fit into the Kussmaul view. There was the January/February marriage peak, no doubt in part the result of a concentration of marriages between the Advent and Lent 'prohibited' periods. It may also be linked to early lambing or to Candlemas (2nd February), which was Dorset's hiring fair. These were popular marriage months in Cheshire, Lancashire and north Staffordshire according to Kussmaul, who found no agricultural explanation. There was also the popularity of Christmas/New Year marriages after the mid-seventeenth century, which was most noticeable in western counties such as Devon, Cornwall and Cheshire.

This was no doubt linked to Christmas as a holiday period and possibly a time of increased prosperity, as well as a non-productive season in the agricultural year.

In towns the basic marriage seasonality pattern was similar to the rural. It shared the Lenten, Advent and harvest slumps, though they were less deep, and marriages peaked at the same times of year - January/February, spring and autumn, and, after 1660, Christmas and New Year. Partly this was the influence of the prevailing marriage pattern of the region, at times perhaps reinforced by country folk coming to town to marry. But there were other autonomous factors at work. Life cycle farm servants were a major influence in rural marriage seasonality. The urban equivalents - apprentices and domestic servants - left services more evenly throughout the year and did not have the same impact on seasonality. There seems to be some evidence of a trend (more developed in nineteenth century England) for urban workers to marry in the main holiday periods of the year i.e. Easter, Whitsun and Christmas, (masked by the varying dates of Easter and Whitsun) despite the fact that all three holidays were technically 'prohibited' for marriage. There is also evidence of increased marriages at the time of local festive days, such as St Bartholomew's Fair in London, Stourbridge Fair in Cambridge, Norwich's Mayor's Day and York's Races. Urban workers were also more likely to marry at the 'weekend' than during the working week.

Degree of Seasonality

In differentiating between urban and rural seasonality, the real distinction is found not in the shape of the seasonality patterns, but in the degree of seasonality; that is, how much the seasonality indices vary from one time of year to another. The towns had flatter patterns than the rural sample. Towns seem to have had more regular working rhythms, evidenced by the unemployment patterns of individual trades such as building workers and cordwainers, which were less seasonal than those of agricultural workers.

Another factor may be that towns had a mixture of trades which might have had different seasonal patterns, so that overall activity was more constant. Even the specialised towns which developed in the early eighteenth century, such as Bath and Leeds, had a substantial core of basic trades providing the necessities of life and professional services, while rural areas were dependent on one means of livelihood, which was inherently seasonal. The marriage patterns of the mainly artisan clients of the London clandestine marriage centres were the least seasonal of all the marriage patterns.

There is also some evidence that in towns, time had a more regular flow. In the country life had an uneven quality; the work varied with the seasons. The year was broken up by 'red letter' days: feast days, quarter days, hiring fairs, which were closely bound up with the ebb and flow of the agricultural calendar. In the industrial towns of the nineteenth century, holidays and wakes were important as relief from the working routines which varied little from day to day, week to week. The early eighteenth century town was perhaps in a transitional phase between the irregularity of rural life and the regularity of the industrial town. This is reflected in both the more regular seasonal patterns, and in the more regular working week indicated by the days chosen for marriage.

Over the period of this study, the measures of seasonality decreased in value, in both urban and rural samples. In towns this is evidence of the continuing tendency within towns to more regular working patterns. If this regularisation was a feature of urban life, then the growth in the size and number of towns, and the growth in the numbers of people (absolute and proportionate) living in towns, would intensify this trend. This growing influence of towns in national life may account for the decreasing seasonality of the rural patterns. It is noticeable that marriage seasonality, and to some extent baptismal seasonality, was low in rural Middlesex, in close proximity to London, suggesting the effect of urbanisation on a rural hinterland.

The Urban/Rural Transition

It is clear that the overall urban seasonality patterns were flatter than the rural patterns. However, when looking at the level of individual parishes, there was no clear demarcation between the two. But tentative conclusions can be drawn. It seems that it was the size of a town that was significant. Small towns seem to occupy a transitional position between rural and urban seasonality. Once a town's population had exceeded a certain size seasonality became 'urban'. Beyond that point, further growth did not necessarily mean that the degree of seasonality decreased further.

The population size at which urban seasonality became established was somewhere between 2,000 and 4,500. The exact point may have varied from region to region. The hinterland analyses show that while the degree of seasonality varied from town to town, the town was usually less seasonal than its rural hinterland. It may also have changed over the period of the study.

Urban Decline and Urban Renaissance

The controversy about the urban crisis has centred firstly on whether it existed and secondly, among believers, its timing. Palliser and Phythian-Adams, and others, have concentrated on late-medieval towns, with recovery underway by the later sixteenth century. Clark and Slack saw population growth in the late sixteenth century intensifying the problems, with the 'crisis' at its height in the early seventeenth century.

The evidence of this study, that urban baptisms became more seasonal in the early seventeenth century, implies that towns were more 'rural' in this period. This could lend some support to the Clark/Slack view that towns were experiencing difficulties in the early seventeenth century, though there could be other explanations, and the mechanism linking 'crisis' and increasing baptismal seasonality is not clear.

If increasing seasonality in towns is linked to urban 'crisis', then recovery could be said to be under way in the later seventeenth century, though some individual towns continued to have difficulties. This recovery would accord with the Clark/Slack view, and also lend some support to Borsay's 'urban renaissance'. The fact that it was not universal would not discredit Borsay's thesis; he admitted that some towns were more successful than others.¹ Further evidence of the 'renaissance' comes from the possible improvement in living conditions suggested by the disappearance of excess summer/ autumn burials (except in London) and perhaps from the growing influence of urban rhythms on rural life implied by the decreasing rural measures of seasonality.

Future research

Since there is little scope for extending the study backwards in time, because of the lack of source material before the introduction of parish registers, there remain two main areas for further development.

The first would be to test and refine the results of this study by going over the same ground, but with different material. A fruitful approach might be to look more closely at regional networks of towns and their hinterlands. It may be that the blurring of the boundaries between urban and rural seasonality patterns was a result of regional differences. Analysis on a smaller scale might clarify the relationship between different sizes and types of towns.

The second is to continue beyond 1750, to compare the seasonality of the industrial towns of the nineteenth century with the rural patterns and to see how far the rural patterns were influenced by the accelerating urbanisation of the country. The change of the calendar in 1752 might affect the shape of the weekly patterns and inhibit comparisons, but the measures of seasonality should still be comparable.

The work of W&S suggests that rural seasonality continued to decrease at least to 1834, in the cases of marriages and baptisms, though even by the early nineteenth century they still had not caught up with the urban sample of the early eighteenth century.² Did the urban MADs continue to fall? Or did the concentration of marriages among the working classes into the Christmas, Whitsun and Easter holidays (the rudiments of which are discernible in urban marriage patterns in the early eighteenth century, and which was commented on by the Registrar General in 1866 and 1883) cause an increase in marriage seasonality? Did the Hardwicke Act of 1754, which suppressed clandestine marriages, have any effect on the seasonality pattern?

Seasonality as a tool

Seasonality is an important source, since, unlike most sources for the period, it is based on records of the behaviour of all sections of society, from the lowest to the elite. It is true that as time passes, parish registers may have lost an increasing number of people through Dissent, but this seems not to have been a serious problem in the period up to 1750. In any case, their loss does not invalidate the findings of this study in the same way that it would in calculating population size or vital rates from parish register (as W&S attempted to do). Their inclusion in the aggregate data would have introduced a further variable which might have confused interpretation. This study has concentrated on the Anglican majority, and has compared like groups in town and country, and over time.

The three events have different merits. Burial seasonality, being closely allied to the seasonality of death, is useful in considering environmental and health factors. On the other hand, its overall pattern shows least variation over time, both in shape and variability, even after 1750 judging by monthly seasonality.³ Also, the pattern was shared by the overwhelming majority of W&S's parishes.⁴ After 1700 there was little difference between the urban and rural patterns.

It is difficult to isolate the different components making up an overall pattern, unless causes of death are known.

Landers' work on burial seasonality in London from the Bills of Mortality shows the value of this approach.⁵

Baptismal seasonality is more responsive than burials to changes in behaviour in both the timing of conception and the timing of baptisms. However, it is difficult to separate the two elements, which makes interpretation problematic.

Marriage seasonality is also a sensitive measure, but without these further complications. In this study it has been the most interesting and useful of the three events because of the greater variations from place to place and over time.

This study has used weekly seasonality, unlike most previous studies which have used monthly seasonality. Despite the extra work it entails, I think it is preferable for the additional details it reveals. Admittedly with burial seasonality, in practice, it has added little to the overall picture, but with baptismal and marriage seasonality it discloses short-term variances in the patterns which can be obscured in the monthly graphs, such as the Christmas/New Year baptismal peak. Weekly seasonality is of particular advantage with marriage seasonality, where there can be abrupt changes in the frequency of marriages from one week to another. Weekly analysis also allows a more sensitive measure of the degree of seasonality since 52 values can be taken into account rather than just twelve. All in all, weekly seasonality has the potential to add the details which the monthly patterns obscure.

This study has shown that seasonality, though casting only an indirect light on mid-sixteenth to mid-eighteenth century society, can help to throw illumination on shadowy areas.

References

- 1.P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (1989), p. 311
- 2.W&S pp. 287, 294 & 300
- 3.See E.A. Wrigley & R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (1981), p. 293
- 4.Ibid p. 295
- 5.J. Landers & A. Mouzas, 'Burial Seasonality and Causes of Death in London 1670-1819', *Population Studies* 42 (1988)

APPENDIX 1 SAMPLE

This Appendix lists all the parishes used in this study of seasonality, giving for each the years for which events have been extracted, and the number of events extracted. Where applicable, the abbreviated name in Tables and Appendices is shown in brackets after the parish name. Map references, where applicable (for hinterland marriage samples) are shown in square brackets. The sources are indicated by the numbers in bold which refer to the Bibliography.

URBAN SAMPLE

	Bapt (C)		Marr (M)		Bur (B)	
LONDON All Hallows Bread Street (LON:AHBS)						62
1560-89	327	1560-89	162	1560-89	313	
1600-29	475	1600-29	138	1600-29	460	
1660-89	362	1660-89	29	1660-89	562	
1720-49	259	1720-49	149	1720-49	308	
LONDON St Antholin Budge Row (LON:SABR)						87
1560-89	471	1560-89	198	1560-89	407	
1600-29	538	1600-29	217	1600-29	535	
1660-89	365	1660-89	83	1660-89	498	
1720-49	281	1720-49	483	1720-49	248	
LONDON St Dionis Backchurch (LON:SDB)						84
1560-89	517	1560-89	261	1560-89	805	
1600-29	649	1600-29	293	1600-29	832	
1660-89	656	1660-89	189	1660-89	959	
1720-49	589	1720-49	279	1720-49	920	
LONDON St Mary Aldermary (LON:SMA)						85
1560-89	503	1560-89	206	1560-89	583	
1600-29	716	1600-29	235	1600-29	757	
1660-89	523	1660-89	129	1660-89	930	
1720-49	399	1720-49	196	1720-49	647	
LONDON St Mary Somerset (LON:SMS)						63
1560-89	889	1560-89	333	1560-89	1304	
1600-29	1148	1600-29	523	1600-29	1654	
1660-89	840	1660-83, 96-9	251	1660-89	1327	
1720-49	810	1720-49	155	1720-49	1151	
LONDON St Matthew Friday Street (LON:SMFS)						61
1560-89	300	1560-89	112	1560-89	193	
1600-29	372	1600-29	123	1600-29	253	
1660-80, 82-90	313	1660-89	70	1660-89	479	
1720-49	176	1720-49	370	1720-49	279	
LONDON St Michael Cornhill (LON:SMC)						86
1560-89	877	1560-89	320	1560-89	1004	
1600-29	966	1600-29	273	1600-29	1092	
1660-89	656	1660-89	185	1660-89	900	
1720-49	423	1720-49	255	1720-49	667	

LONDON St Botolph Bishopgate (LON:SBB)					37, 121
1560-89	2335	1560-89	927	1560-89	4091
1600-29	5591	1600-29	1860	1600-29	10611
1661-4,66-91	9888	1660-4,66-90	807	1660-4,66-90	13525
1720-49	12262	1720-49	1641	1720-49	14567
LONDON St James Clerkenwell ^b (LON:SJC)					131
1561-79,81-92	1273	1560-89	2033	1561-78,81-92	2425
1600-29	4340	1600-29	720	1600-29	7368
1660-89	7061	1660-69,71-90	5493	1660-89	10663
1720-49	10039	1720-49	1562	1720-49	16517
LONDON St Martin in the Field ^b (LON:SMIF)					53, 136, 144
1560-73,75-7					
79-87,89-92	1949	1560-73,75-90	877	1560-2,64-90	2596
1600-29	6419	1600-29	1704	1600-29	8906
1661-4,66-81	21357	1660-89	1714	1660-79	31885
1730-49	17267	1720-49	5512	1730-49	25389
BARNSTAPLE St Peter (BAR:SP)					277
1560-81,84-91	2632	1560-89	651	1560-89	1635
1600-29	3392	1600-29	1045	1600-19,22-31	2471
1660-89	2687	1660-89	517	1660-89	2752
1720-49	2176	1720-49	1153	1720-49	2784
BATH St Michael (BAT:SM)					152
1571-99	360	1571-99	81	1570-99	281
1600-6,12-32					
34-5	489	1600-29	128	1600-9,12-28	448
1663-5,79-99					
436	1660-89	17	1661-5,79-83	648	
1717-28,31-5					
37-40,43-51	1413	1720-1,24-51	126	1716-9,24-34	1826
BATH St Peter & St Paul (BAT:SPP)					134
1570-99	572	1570-99	165	1570-99	506
1600-29	775	1600-29	219	1600-29	801
1660-89	1232	1660-89	197	1660-89	836
1720-35,37-50	1978	1720-35,37-50	1207	1720-35,37-50	1388
BEDFORD St Mary (BED:SM)					108
1562-91	383	1562-91	97	1562-91	262
1600-29	449	1600-29	124	1600-29	360
1662-91	415	1662-91	106	1662-91	353
1720-49	422	1720-49	221	1720-49	546
BEDFORD St Paul (BED:SP)					153
1568-77,79-88					
90-9					
1600-7,11,14-34					
1662-91					
1720-49					

BIRMINGHAM St Martin (BIR:SM)				22,	124,	129
		1560-76,79-80				
1560-76,79-91	1416	84-7,89-90,92-6	379	1560-76,79-91	870	
1605-18,20-31						
34-7	2506	1600-29	429	1600-29	1600	
		1660-76,82-7				
1666-83,86-89	2844	95-9	494	1660-79,82-91	3499	
1720-49	6986	1720-49	1783	1720-49	7561	
BIRMINGHAM St Philip ¹ (BIR:SP)						23
1720-49	6984	1720-49	2105	1720-49	7297	
CAMBRIDGE St Benedict (CAM:SBe)				7,	269,	301
		1560-9,77-8				
1560-89	281	82-99	133	1560-74,77-91	279	
1600-29	576	1600-29	190	1600-29	605	
1660-89	510	1660-89	216	1660-89	632	
1720-49	286	1720-31,34-51	136	1720-49	498	
CAMBRIDGE St Botolph (CAM:SBo)				8,	250	
1565-69,72-83						
85-97	439	1565-76,78-95	102	1565-9,72-96	337	
1600-1,4-31	514	1600-29	189	1600-29	628	
1660-89	605	1660-89	172	1660-89	748	
1720-49	541	1720-43,45-50	100	1720,22-50	708	
CAMBRIDGE St Edward (CAM:SE)				128,	210	
		1560-75,77-88				
1560-89	329	91-2	103	1560-89	225	
1600-29	575	1600-29	294	1600-29	553	
1660-89	500	1660-2,65-91	501	1660-84,87-91	489	
1720-49	576	1720-49	278	1720-49	841	
CAMBRIDGE St Mary the Great (CAM:SMG)				9,	302	
1560-89	575	1560-76,78-90	200	1560-89	357	
1600-29	894	1600-29	234	1600-29	629	
1660-89	746	1660-89	183	1660-89	865	
1720-49	580	1720-49	176	1720-49	799	
CANTERBURY St Alphage (CAN:SA)						95
1560-89	393	1560-89	176	1560-89	355	
1600-29	432	1600-29	195	1600-20,22-30	348	
1661-90	624	1664-93	533	1660-89	883	
1720-49	594	1720-49	831	1720-49	769	
CANTERBURY St Dunstan (CAN:SD)						96
1560-89	288	1560-89	146	1560-89	483	
1600-29	546	1600-29	211	1600-29	653	
1660-89	373	1660-89	91	1660-89	454	
1720-49	475	1720-49	172	1720-49	600	
CANTERBURY St George (CAN:SG)						97
1560-89	297	1560-89	149	1560-89	354	
1600-29	530	1600-29	208	1600-29	432	
1662-91	615	1662-91	301	1662-7,70-93	749	
1720-49	514	1720-49	591	1720-49	601	

CANTERBURY St Peter (CAN:SP)					98
1560-89	221	1561-90	77	1560-89	216
1600-29	273	1600-29	126	1600-29	316
1660-89	342	1660-89	116	1660-89	515
1720-49	466	1720-49	146	1720-49	572
CHESTER St John the Baptist (CHE:SJTJB)					24
1560-89	1232	1560-83,85-90	375	1561-3,65-91	976
		1600-3,5-10			
1600-2,5-31	1233	13-32	477	1600-3,6-31	1100
1660-89	1704	1660-89	407	1660-89	1534
1720-49	2208	1720-49	1088	1720-49	2333
CHESTER St Peter (CHE:SP)					25
1589-96	155	1560-82,92-94	154	1560-89	363
1609-11,16					
18-39	632	1609-18,27-39	213	1609,17-39	423
1660-89	804	1660-89	311	1660-89	709
1720-49	757	1720-49	211	1720-49	582
DOVER St Mary (DOV:SM)					146
				1560-3,65-85	
1560-4,67-91 *	1549	1560-89 *	407	93-5 *	1508
1600-3,5-9				1601-12	
11-32 *	2706	1600-29 *	751	15-32 *	2479
				1666-9,73-7	
1660-77,80-1		1663-5,67-77		79-81,83,85	
86-94,96 *	2417	80-1,84-97 *	507	87-94,96-9 *	1811
1721-50	3238	1721-3,5-50	775	1720-49	2501
DURHAM St Margaret (DUR:SM)					255
		1560-4,75-99	229		
		1600-29	193		
		1660-89	390		
		1720-49	411		
DURHAM St Mary South Bailey (DUR:SMSB)					116
1560-89	73	1560-89	43	1560-89	68
1600-29	81	1600-29	40	1600-29	54
1660-89	38	1660-89	34	1660-89	34
1720-49	27	1720-49	184	1720-49	55
DURHAM St Nicholas (DUR:SN)					72
1562-76,79-89					
91-4	881	1562-76,79-93	319	1562-76,79-93	721
1600-29	956	1600-29	379	1600-2,4-30	747
1660-89	1528	1660-89	313	1660-89	1485
1720-49	1675	1720-49	272	1720-49	1469
EXETER St Kerrian (EXE:SK)					26
1560-89	197	1560-89	38	1560-89	82
1600-29	187	1600-26,28-30	63	1600-29	109
1669-75,77-99	143	1670-99	50	1670-99	150
1720-49	114	1720-49	11	1720-49	188

EXETER St Mary Arches (EXE:SMA)				27	
1560,69,74-99	186	1560-88,91	53	1560-4,75-7	
1600-24,27-31	287	1600-5,8-31	95	81-3,86-99	102
1663-92	501	1662-79,82-93	111	1600-6,9-31	207
1720-49	252	1720-49	264	1664-93	361
				1720-49	342
EXETER St Paul (EXE:SPa)				272	
1563-86,92-7	288	1563-86,92-7	96	1563-80,82-6	
1600-29	399	1600-29	339	92-4,96-9	279
1665-85,97-99	516	1665-76,97-9	50	1600-29	397
1719-26,34-41		1719-27,33-41		1719-25,34-41	
47-51	441	47-51	237	47-51	453
EXETER St Petrock (EXE:SPe)				28	
1560-89	281	1560-89	92	1560-89	149
1600-29	304	1600-29	89	1600-29	221
1660-89	284	1660-89	144	1660-89	226
1720-49	117	1720-49	316	1720-49	252
GUILDFORD Holy Trinity (GUI:HT)				35	
1560-89	617	1560-89	174	1560-89	400
1600-8,10-30	626	1600-8,10-30	138	1600-8,10-30	529
1662-91	565	1660,62-90	229	1660,62-90	568
1720-49	580	1720-49	84	1720-49	706
GUILDFORD St Mary (GUI:SM)				36	
1560-89	676	1560-89	165	1560-89	413
1600-29	739	1600-29	216	1600-29	650
1660-89	748	1660-89	130	1660-89	811
1720-49	663	1720-49	190	1720-49	896
IPSWICH St Lawrence (IPS:SL)				48, 159	
1560-89	398	1560-89	67	1560-89	151
1600-29	423	1600-29	74	1600-29	226
1660-89	290	1660-89	47	1660-89	399
1720-49	246	1720-49	113	1720-49	239
IPSWICH St Mary Elms (IPS:SME)				49	
1560-89	266	1560-89	68	1560-89	214
1600-29	288	1600-29	56	1600-29	161
1663-92	347	1660-89	126	1663-89	391
1720-49	281	1720-49	134	1720-49	388
IPSWICH St Matthew (IPS:SM)				50	
1560-89	501	1560-89	159	1560-72,74-90	412
1600-29	588	1600-29	158	1600-29	329
1660-1,63-87					
89-91	721	1660-89	784	1663-92	820
1720-49	562	1720-49	316	1720-49	771
IPSWICH St Nicholas (IPS:SN)				51, 252	
1560-89	514			1560-89	343
		1601-4,6-9,11-12		1604,8-15,17	
1600-27,30-1	564	14-33	125	19-32,34-9	629
1660-80,82-90	545	1660-89	109	1660-89	562
1720-49	408	1720-49	246	1720-49	666

KINGS LYNN St Margaret (KIN:SM)					41
1560,62-90	2992	1560-89	932	1564,67-91	1250
1600-29	6161	1600-29	2017	1600-29	3119
1660-89	4043	1660-89	1275	1660-89	4773
1720-49	2617	1720-49	821	1720-49	3853
LEEDS St John ² (LEE:SJ)					139, 253
1720-49	321	1720-49	52	1720-49	1954
LEEDS St Peter (LEE:SP)					139
		1573-6,79-81			
1574-99	5040	84-90,94-9	1199	1573-99	4689
1600-29	9465	1600-29	2334	1600-29	8345
1660-89	9169	1660-89	2355	1660-89	12259
1720-49	10128	1720-49	5040	1720-49	9181
LEICESTER St Martin (LEI:SM)					39
1560-89	1171	1560-89	321	1560-5,67-88,92	859
1600-29	1190	1600-29	408	1600-29	1182
1663-92	1555	1660-1,63-90	398	1660-89	1484
1720-49	1738	1720-49	605	1720-49	2145
LEICESTER St Nicholas (LEI:SN)					40
1560-89	57	1560-89	11	1566-95	45
1600-29	296	1600-29	80	1600-29	268
1660-89	300	1660-89	26	1660-81,84-91	278
1720-49	486	1720-49	519	1720-49	513
LINCOLN St Margaret in the Close (LIN:SMIC)					111
1560-89	230	1560-89	91	1560-89	181
1600-29	232	1600-29	120	1600-29	260
1660-85,98-9	94	1660-85,98-99	92	1660-85,98-99	158
1720-49	174	1720-49	551	1720-49	174
LINCOLN St Martin (LIN:SM)					12, 110
1560,62-90	458	1560-89	102	1560-89	458
1600-2,5-31	510	1600-29	211	1600-7,38-9	166
1665-94	655	1660-89	186	1660-89	650
1720-49	918	1720-49	276	1720-49	961
LINCOLN St Michael on the Mount (LIN:SMOM)					13, 110
1568-97	226	1562-91	141	1568-97	355
1600-8,15-35	235	1600-29	136	1600-8,15-35	243
1660-83,87-8				1663-83,87-8	
92-8	216	1660-89	29	92-8	257
1720-49	317	1742-51	14	1720-49	322
LINCOLN St Peter at Arches (LIN:SPAA)					14, 110
1561-90	191	1562-91	174	1561-5,73-97	156
				1600-5,7-11	
1600-29	245	1600-29	109	13-31	259
1660-88,90	293	1660-89	112	1680-99	232
1720-49	348	1720-49	124	1720-49	357

LINCOLN St Peter at Gowts (LIN:SPAG)				105, 110	
1567-96	297	1560-89	82	1567-96	294
1600-29	298	1600-29	87	1600-29	252
1660-89	205	1660-89	60	1660-89	261
1720-49	251	1720-49	45	1720-49	278
LUDLOW St Lawrence (LUD:SL)				262	
1560-69,71-90	2114	1560-89	610	1561-8,70-92	2044
1600-29	2392	1600-1,4-31	599	1600-29	2557
1662-91	2040	1662-91	900	1662-91	2041
1720-49	2198	1720-49	838	1720-49	2253
NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME St Giles (NEWL:SG)				57, 275	
1564-93	687	1564-6,68-94	211	1564-93	540
1600-3,5-16,20		1600-3,5-31		1600-3,5-8,	
29-31,34-9	660	34-9	48	10-20,31,34-9	374
1662-91	1400	1660-89	297	1660-89	1243
1720-49	2610	1720-47,50-1	446	1720-49	2350
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE All Saints (NEWT:AS)				43, 162	
1720-49	10250	1720-49	3346	1720-49	8936
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE St Nicholas (NEWT:SN)				44, 295	
1560-7,72-93	1368	1575-99	418	1575-99	1307
1600-29	1857	1600-29	655	1600-29	1980
1660-89	2798	1660-89	482	1660-89	3527
1720-49	2866	1720-49	1043	1720-49	4512
NORWICH St George at Tombland (NOR:SGT)				15, 125, 133	
1560-89	245	1560-89	98	1560-89	187
1600-29	323	1600-29	86	1600-29	226
1660-89	464	1660-89	160	1663-92	572
1720-49	549	1720-49	377	1720-49	663
NORWICH St Giles (NOR:SG)				16, 126	
1560-89	193	1560-89	97	1560-89	276
1600-29	465	1600-29	114	1600-29	451
1660-89	730	1660-89	246	1660-89	695
1720-49	861	1720-49	205	1720-49	1206
NORWICH St Simon and St Jude (NOR:SSJ)				42, 127	
1563-92	200	1560-89	54	1560-89	114
1600-7,10-31	203	1600-6,8-30	86	1600-29	164
1660-89	323	1660-89	83	1660-89	364
1720-49	324	1720-49	185	1720-49	393
NOTTINGHAM St Nicholas ⁹ (NOT:SN)				47, 248	
1566-71,74-97	576	1562-91	187	1563-92	614
1600-29	711	1600-29	240	1600-17,22-33	614
1683-89	331	1683-89	108	1683-89	274
1720-49	1681	1720-49	1583	1720-49	2191
NOTTINGHAM St Peter (NOT:SP)				47a, 247	
1573-99	763	1573-99	277	1573-99	684
1600-29	1019	1600-29	526	1600-29	822
1660-89	2117	1660-89	747	1660-89	2324
1720-49	1704	1720-49	967	1720-49	2210

PLYMOUTH Charles ^a (PLY:C)				20
1720-49	2774	1720-49	1377	3441
PLYMOUTH St Andrews (PLY:SA)				21, 29, 52, 101
1582-88,90-9	3212	1582-88,90-9	1330	3011
1600-28,30	7413	1600-28,30	2924	8405
1660-89	4202	1660-89	1823	6757
1714-43	2998	1714-43	1985	4679
PLYMOUTH St George Stonehouse ^b (PLY:SGS)				163
1720-49	502	1720-49	257	530
READING St Mary (REA:SM)				99
1560-2,65-72				
74-82,84-93	676	1560-89	217	526
1600-29	1545	1600-29	378	1083
1660-89	1552	1660-89	439	1588
1720-49	1935	1720-49	656	2672
RICHMOND St Mary (RIC:SM)				164, 279
1560-7,70-91	1837	1560-73,77-92	592	1469
		1600-23,25-6		
1600-26,28-30	2152	28-31	699	1877
				1660-70,78,81
1660-70,78		1660-70,78		84-7,89-90
81-90,92-9	1345	81-90,92-9	381	1255
1720-49	1445	1720-49	396	1443
SALISBURY St Edmund (SAL:SE)				55, 259, 260
1561-4,67-82				1560-79,82-3
88-97	2205	1560-83,88-93	993	2859
1600-3,5-30	2225	1600-3,6-31	991	2572
1660-89	2371	1660-89	527	2511
1720-49	2206	1720-49	1003	3282
SALISBURY St Thomas (SAL:ST)				56, 220
1571-97	1994	1571-97	610	1559
1600-29	2084	1600-29	872	1848
1660-5,67-90	2333	1660-5,67-90	370	1620
1720-49	1600	1720-49	568	1214
UXBRIDGE St Margaret (UXB:SM)				33, 212
1560-89	900	1561-70,72	81	635
1600,2-30	1204	1600,2-29	262	1131
				1661-70,76-80
1663-92	959	1660-89	26	995
1720-49	1358	1720-42	66	1491
WORCESTER St Helen (WOR:SH)				281
1560-69,72-91	622	1562-91	162	465
1600-29	1151	1600-14,34-9	146	834
1660-89	986	1663-94	471	945
1720-49	1042	1720-49	697	1075

WORCESTER St Michael in Bedwardine (WOR:SM)					81
1570-99	408	1570-99	137	1567-9,73-99	370
				1600-2,4,5	
1600-29	377	1600-29	83	7-31	315
1660-89	393	1661-90	474	1661-90	499
1720-49	289	1720-49	437	1720-49	558
YORK All Saints Pavement (YOR:ASP)					1, 109
1560-89	307	1560-89	82	1560-89	199
1600-29	537	1600-29	167	1600-29	607
1660-89	733	1660-89	85	1660-89	865
1720-49	883	1720-49	157	1720-49	914
YORK St Crux (YOR:SC)					2, 93, 267
1560-89	465	1560-89	173	1560-89	375
1600-29	631	1600-29	245	1600-29	641
1660-89	715	1660-89	170	1660-89	829
1720-49	563	1720-49	235	1720-49	666
YORK St Denys Walmgate (YOR:SDG)					3
1560-75,82-95	353	1560-75,82-95	103	1560-75,82-95	371
1600-19,21-30	347	1600-19,21-30	112	1600-19,21-30	482
1660-89	488	1660-89	187	1660-89	615
1720-49	487	1720-49	204	1720-49	483
YORK St Martin Coney Street (YOR:SMCS)					4, 92
1560-89	350	1560-89	121	1560-89	290
1600-29	342	1600-29	186	1600-29	416
1660-89	507	1660-89	172	1660-89	567
1720-49	356	1720-49	180	1720-49	460
YORK St Michael le Belfrey (YOR:SMLB)					5, 90
1566-95	1099	1569-95	392	1566-95	988
1600-2,5-31	1355	1600-29	641	1600-1,4-31	1228
1660-2,64-90	1384	1660-89	209	1660-89	1610
1720-49	1313	1720-49	414	1720-49	1426
YORK St Olave (YOR:SO)					6, 122
1560-89	422	1560-89	178	1560-89	394
1601-3,5-15		1601-3,5-15		1601-3,5-15	
17-32	614	17-32	179	17-32	585
1661-84,88-93	435	1661-84,88-93	202	1661-84,88-93	619
1720-49	495	1720-49	434	1720-49	751
DERBY All Saints ^b (DER:AS)					240
		1560-1,64-76			
		82-96	294		
		1600-29	319		
		1660-89	165		
		1720-49	426		
DERBY St Alkmund ^b (DER:SA)					235
		1560-89	62		
		1600-29	118		
		1660-89	37		
		1720-49	721		

DERBY St Michael	^b (DER:SM)		236
	1560-89	3	
	1600-29	43	
	1660-89	40	
	1720-49	456	
DERBY St Peter	^b (DER:SP)		237
	1561-70, 73-75		
	83-99	117	
	1600-4, 7-31	91	
	1661-90	280	
	1720-49	305	
DERBY St Werburgh	^b (DER:SW)		241
	1560-89	52	
	1600-29	115	
	1660-89	61	
	1720-49	640	

1 Formed in the 1720s from Birmingham St Martin parish

2 Within Leeds St Peter parish, consecrated 1634

3 Amalgamated with Nottingham St Peter 1642-82 (the church was destroyed in the Civil War)

4 Formed in 1650s from Plymouth St Andrew parish

a Monthly totals and indices only

b Not included in aggregates

HINTERLAND SAMPLES - BAPTISMS AND BURIALS

	Bapt (C)	Bur (B)	
LONDON			
Finchley (FIN)			30
1600-3,6-24		1600-2,5,7-9	
26-32	770	11-24,26-34	683
1660-72,75-91	672	1660-72,75-7	410
1720-49	781	1720-49	1391
Harrow (HARR)			251, 282
1603-32	1270	1600-29	840
1662-88,90-2	573	1661-76,79-92	1286
1720-49	1410	1720-49	2003
Hayes (HAY)			303
1600-29	598	1601-29,31	407
1662-91	474	1662-91	506
1720-49	591	1720-49	627
Isleworth (ISL)			161
1604-14,16,18		1600-18,20-5	
20-47	847	27-31	1315
1663-92	1710	1664-71,74-90	
1712-4,16-21		94-89	2323
25,28,30-4		1713-5,17-21	
36-9,41-3		24,26-43	
46-8,51	1560	45-7	2507
Shepperton (SHE)			148
1661-8,70-91	294	1661,63-8	
1720-49	435	70-92	231
		1720-49	434
South Mimms (MIM)			31
1600-29	968	1600-29	831
1663-92	745	1667-80,83	
1720-2,25-51	1089	85-99	516
		1719-22,26-51	1248
Stoke Newington (STO)			32
1600-29	294	1600-29	428
1660-89	295	1660-89	641
1720-49	422	1720-5,27-50	958
Sunbury (SUN)			32a
1600-25,27-30	332	1600-29	200
1660-89	387	1662-91	432
1720-49	882	1720-49	843
Twickenham (TWI)			167
1600-29	643	1600-29	615
1660-78,83-93	1307	1661-90	1262
1720-49	1953	1720-49	2331

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

Boldon (BOL)					154
1600-29	301	1600-29	213		
1660-87,90-1	434	1660-89	326		
1720-49	403	1720-49	342		
Chester-le-Street (CHE)					156
1600-29	1723	1600-10,12-30	976		
1660-1,63-70					
73-92	3395	1660-4,74-77	369		
1720-49	5131	1719-23,27-51	3936		
Durham St Oswald (DUR:SO)					8
1600-29	901	1600-29	911		
1660-89	1037	1660-89	1268		
1720-49	1215	1720-49	1679		
Houghton-le-Spring (HOU)					10
1600-15,17-21					
24-32	1413	1600-9,11-30	1007		
1660-89	2242	1661-87,89-91	1593		
1720-49	4229	1720-31,33-50	3481		
Ryton (RYT)					60, 165
1600,1,3,5-9		1600-3,5-9			
16,25,28,29		12-20,24-9			
33,34,37,39	973	31-6	1166		
1660-3,73-5		1660,3,4,68-76			
78-99	2770	79-96	1742		
1720-49	3873	1720-49	3954		
Washington (WASH)					168
1660-89	542	1660-89	450		
1720-49	910	1720-49	716		
Whickham (WHIC)					258, 298
1600-19,27-33		1600-9,11-9			
36-8	2224	27-37	1974		
1660-89	2695	1660,68-96	2715		
1720-4,26-34					
36-51	4218	1720-49	4291		
Whitburn (WHIT)					299
1612-39	343	1600-29	275		
1660-89	382	1660-89	288		
1720-49	444	1720-49	412		
Witton Gilbert (WITT)					169
1600-29	225	1600-29	157		
1660-89	347	1660-89	287		
1720-49	395	1720-49	312		

EXETER

Bishop Teignton (BIS)					45
1600-29	348	1600-29	236		
1660-89	446	1660-3,67-88			
1720-49	459	91-4	400		
		1720-49	455		
Bovey Tracey (BOV)					46
1600-29	1002	1600-29	794		
1661-73,75-91	1482	1661-70,73-92	1248		
1712-36	851	1712-37	1019		
Exminster (EXM)					149
1600-29	416	1600-29	523		
1661-90	298	1661-90	403		
1720-49	381	1720-49	564		
Kenn (KEN)					100
1600-29	525	1600-20,22-30	420		
1661-70,73,74					
77-9,81-95	444	1662-71,89-99	331		
1720-49	523	1720-49	653		
Lustleigh (LUS)					135a
1608,11,13,18		1608,11,13,18			
20,24,31-9	111	20,24,31-9	73		
1660-89	331	1660-89	291		
1720-49	218	1720-49	196		
North Bovey (NOR)					58
1600-29	311	1600-25,27-30	219		
1660-5,67-72					
74-7,80-90		1660,62-4,66-89			
95-7	335	95-6	310		
1720-49	312	1720-49	260		
Topsham (TOP)					274
1601-21,26					
29-36	1048	1601-16,26-39	693		
1660-82,85-91	1750	1660-89	1368		
1720-49	1630	1720-36,38-50	1903		
Widecombe (WID)					283
1600-10,14,25					
27-9,35-9	454	1600-10,12-30	545		
1662-78,82-5		1660-77,82-92			
89-97	665	98	597		
1720-49	669	1720-49	509		

LEEDS CHAPELRIES

253

Armley	1726-49, 50-1	1390	1726-47, 50-1	976
Beeston	1721-50	657	1721-50	437
Bramley	1724-51	750	1724-46, 48-51	470
Chapel Allerton	1725-51	508	1725-51	428
Farnley	1725-32, 34-51	234	1725-32, 34-51	140
Headingley	1732-51	262	1732-51	202
Holbeck	1720-49	1257	1720-49	1096
Hunslet	1724-51	1712	1724-51	1793

HINTERLAND SAMPLES - MARRIAGES

[The numbers in square brackets refer to maps in Appendix 2]

MIDDLESEX (MIDD)

Acton [7]						211
1603-32	128	1662-88,96-8	53	1720-49	80	
Cowley [29]						212
1600-29	28	1660-99	21	1720-49	129	
Ealing [8]						120
1600-29	284	1660-8,75-95	236	1720-49	237	
Edmonton [5]						118
1600-29	500	1665-94	235	1720-49	310	
Enfield [9]						117
1601-30	601	1660-89	309	1720-49	272	
Feltham [26]						214
		1660-99	31	1720-49	46	
Finchley [6]					30,	119
1600-24,26-30	183			1720-49	88	
Great Stanmore [12]						117
1600-29	45	1660-89	47	1720-49	43	
Greenford [16]						211
1600-29	59	1660-89	22	1720-49	24	
Hampton [24]						213
		1660-74,87-99	119	1722-51	155	
Hanwell [19]						211
1600-29	35	1660-89	29	1720-49	161	
Hanworth [25]						214
				1732-51	34	
Harefield [27]						117
1600-29	89	1660-81	553	1720-49	99	
Harlington [18]						211
1600-22,24-30	52			1720-49	43	
Harrow [13]						251, 282
		1660-76,89				
1600-29	252	96-9	126	1720-49	210	
Hayes [17]					212,	303
1600-29	133	1662-91	84	1720-49	75	
Heston [20]						211
1600-12,18-34	199	1660-82,85-91	71	1720-49	49	
Hillingdon [28]						212
1600-29	201	1660-89	106	1713-42	318	
Hounslow [20]						214
				1720-49	20	
Isleworth [21]						161
1600-8,10-16		1660-78,82-5				
19-26,29-33	354	88-91,95,98	158			
Monken Hadley [10]						119
1620-39	44	1660-89	447	1715-19,22-46	43	
New Brentford [19]						214
1618-39	110	1667-96	64	1720-49	48	
Northolt [15]						212
1600-29	60	1660-89	39	1720-49	41	
Pinner [14]						214
		1660-81,83-6				
		96-9	56	1720-49	42	

MIDDLESEX continued

Shepperton [32]					148
	1662-95	47	1720-49	67	
South Mimms [11]					31
1600-29	219	1663-92	87	1720-49	88
Stanwell [33]					214
	1660-90	56	1720-49	71	
Stoke Newington [3]					32
1600-29	157	1660-89	181	1720-49	205
Sunbury [31]					32a, 214
1600-29	71	1660-89	68	1720-49	114
Teddington [23]					213
1600-18, 24-34	28	1660-81, 84-91	285	1720-49	123
Tottenham [4]					143
1600-29	309	1667-96	95	1720-49	215
Twickenham [22]					167, 213
1600-29	169	1661-90	110	1727-51	93
West Drayton [30]					212
1600-29	60	1660-89	32	1720-2, 24-50	31

NORTHUMBERLAND (NORT)

Alnham [9]					147
			1720-49	63	
Bothal [4]					284
			1720-35, 37-47		
			49-51	153	
Chatton [12]					285
			1720-49	213	
Corbridge [1]					173
			1720-49	253	
Edlingham [7]					288
			1720-49	145	
Eglingham [8]					289
			1720-49	281	
Halton [1]					174
			1720-49	74	
Hebburn [4]					290
			1720-49	131	
Ilderton [11]					130
			1727-51	102	
Ingram [10]					291
			1717-19, 23-45		
			48-51	85	
Lesbury [5]					175
			1715-23, 28-31		
			33-7, 40-51	127	
Long Houghton [6]					292
			1720-49	123	
Meldon [3]					293
			1727-51	10	
Whalton [2]					297
			1720-49	95	

COUNTY DURHAM (DURH)

Barnard Castle [18]						151
1620-39	261	1660-89	308	1720-49	535	
Bishop Middleham [20]						172
1600-29	95	1660-89	121	1720-49	145	
Boldon [5]						154
1600-22,24-30	91	1660-89	89	1720-49	95	
Brancepeth [9]						155
1600-29	352	1660-84,95-9	189	1720-49	295	
Castle Eden [3]						256
				1720-49	22	
Chester-le-Street [3]						156
1600-10						
12-29,31	454	1660-3,74-7	112	1719-22,26-51	1220	
Coniscliffe [20]						286
1600-29	73	1660-89	54	1720-49	77	
Dalton-le-Dale [12]						112
		1660-89	47	1720-48,51	84	
Durham St Oswald [8]						123
1600-29	210	1660-89	270	1720-49	410	
Easington [13]						157
1600-29	204	1660-89	172	1720-49	209	
Houghton-le-Spring [10]						159
1602-31	383	1660-87,89-90	436	1720-31,33-50	1127	
Middleton St George [21]						294
1617-39	41	1660-89	43	1720-49	38	
Ryton [1]					60,	165
1600-1,4-10						
14-20	267	1670-99	379	1720-49	1092	
Seaham [11]						176
		1660-89	82	1720-49	52	
Sedgefield [17]						166
1600-29	264	1660-89	239	1720-49	346	
Stanhope [15]						296
1614-39	238	1663-85,94-99	328	1720-49	410	
Washington [4]						168
		1660-89	126	1720-49	243	
Whickham [2]					258,	298
1600-20,26-9						
32,33,36-8	581	1668-97	562	1720-49	925	
Whitburn [6]						299
1600-29	107	1660-89	107	1720-49	135	
Winston [19]						107
1600-12,15-30						
32-9	41	1660-89	40	1720-49	53	
Witton Gilbert [7]						169
1600-8,10-30	59	1660-89	97	1720-49	68	

DEVON (DEVN)

Bishop Teignton [4]						45
1600-29	102	1660-87,92-3	103	1720-49	134	
Bovey Tracey [5]						46
		1661-5,67-70				
1600-29	274	72-92	381	1712-37	290	
Branscombe [11]						271
1600-29	87	1660-89	71	1720-49	111	

DEVON continued

Colyton [12]						264
1600-29	433	1660-89	125	1720-49	230	
Countisbury [23]				1720-49	23	177
Exminster [2]						149
1600-29	195	1660-89	86	1720-49	161	
Halberton [15]						113
		1660-72,78,83				
1613-14,16-39	328	85,96	115	1720-49	279	
Hartland [16]						104
1600-29	270	1660-89	302	1720-49	255	
Hemyock [13]						265
		1660-89	118	1720-49	167	
Ipplepen [9]						177
		1674,77-99	104	1720-49	130	
Kenn [3]						100
1600-29	164	1662-70,95-9	60	1720-49	177	
Lustleigh [6]						135a
1600-29	94	1660-89	79	1720-49	61	
Martinhoe [20]						177
				1720-4,27-51	18	
North Bovey [7]						58
		1660-72,74-6				
1600-29	97	78-90	90	1720-49	96	
Ottery St Mary [10]						273
1602-31	567			1720-49	523	
Parkham [17]						103
		1667-82,84-97	100	1720-49	97	
Parracombe [19]						266
				1720-49	73	
Topsham [1]						274
1601-21,26						
29-36	272	1660-89	271	1720-49	519	
Trentishoe [18]						177
				1720-49	35	
Uffculme [14]						177
1600-2,4-9						
13-15,20-37	252	1660-88,97	292	1720-49	565	
Widecombe [8]						283
1600-29	205	1660-77,82-93	167	1720-49	144	

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (NOTT)

Annesley [33]						190
1600-11,13-30	35	1660-89	27	1720-49	44	
Arnold [14]						201
1600-29	47	1660-70,72-90	87	1720-49	134	
Attenborough [3]						208
1600-29	110	1660-84,86-90	59	1720-49	75	
Averham [111]						194
1600-29	70	1660-89	40	1720-30,33-51	51	
Balderton [119]						186
1600-29	133	1660-89	64	1720-49	62	
Barnby [118]						186
1600-29	44	1660-89	25	1720-49	49	

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE continued

Barton in Fabis [30]					188
1600-29	53	1660-89	19	1720-49	51
Basford [11]					208
1600-29	70	1660-89	55	1720-49	83
Beeston [2]					208
1600-9,14-33	80	1660-89	79	1720-49	109
Bilborough [8]					208
1600-29	25			1720-49	15
Bingham [58]					242
1600-29	150	1660-89	84	1720-49	130
Bleasby [49]					193
1600-29	64	1660-89	57	1720-49	43
Blidworth [37]					195
1600-29	39	1660-89	47	1714-31,40-51	88
Bramcote [5]					208
1600-29	34	1667-96	14	1720-49	46
Broughton Sulney [67]					243
1600-29	42	1660-89	20	1720-49	52
Bulwell [12]					190
		1660-89	73	1720-49	106
Bunny [71]					190
1600-29	98	1660-89	65	1720-49	74
Burton Joyce [18]					191
1600-29	57	1660-89	58	1720-49	71
Calverton [40]					192
1600-29	89	1660-72,96-9	72	1720-49	94
Car Colston [55]					242
1600-29	56	1660-89	19	1722-51	28
Caunton [92]					194
				1720-49	59
Clifton [29]					188
1600-29	59	1660-89	53	1720-49	68
Coddington [117]					186
		1677-90	30	1720-49	16
Colston Bassett [64]					243
1600-29	66	1660-89	36	1720-49	52
Colwick [20]					191
1600-29	22	1660-89	81	1720-37,39-50	49
Costock [72]					222
1600-29	18	1660-89	17	1720-49	30
Cotgrave [22]					243
1600-29	69	1660-89	68	1720-49	90
Cotham [104]					104
1610-39	16	1660-89	44		
Cropwell Bishop [60]					243
1600-29	56	1660-89	25	1720-49	31
East Bridgeford [53]					242
1615-39	52	1660-89	50	1720-49	53
East Leake [75]					222
1600-29	19	1660-89	26	1720-49	46
East Stoke [96]					186
1600-29	91	1660-89	76	1720-49	54
Eastwood [31]					200
				1720-49	62
Edingley [42]					195
1600-29	77	1667-86,88-97	43	1720-49	34

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE continued

Elston [98]						186
1600-29	19	1660-87,89,90	32	1720-49	67	
Elston Chapel [97]						186
1600-29	26	1660-89	16	1720-49	16	
Elton [108]						242
1600-29	30	1660-82	25	1720-49	21	
Epperstone [41]						192
1600-29	54	1660-89	58	1720-49	65	
Farndon [110]						186
1600-29	60	1660-79	130	1720-49	122	
Farnsfield [38]						195
1600-16,20-30						
33-4	58	1662-91	54	1720-49	50	
Flintham [51]						242
				1712-7,21-3		
		1660-89	57	36-51	52	
Gedling [15]						191
1600-29	125	1660-89	178	1720-49	156	
Gonalstone [46]						192
1600-13,19-22						
24-7,31-5						
37-9	47	1668-89,91-9	40	1720-49	30	
Gotham [80]						222
1600-29	78	1660-89	61	1720-49	132	
Granby [62]						242
				1722-51	51	
Greasley [32]						189
1601-30	171	1660-83,85-90	105	1720-49	248	
Halam [43]						195
1600-29	55	1660-89	47	1720-49	47	
Halloughton [44]						193
				1720-49	31	
Hawkesworth [101]						242
1600-29	44	1660-89	44	1720-49	31	
Hawton [109]						187
1604-33	48	1660-89	57	1720-49	43	
Hickling [66]						243
		1660-89	50	1720-49	73	
Hockerton [90]						194
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Holme Pierrepont [23]						243
1600-25,27-30	36	1660-89	61	1720-49	83	
Hoveringham [48]						192
				1720-49	32	
Hucknall Torkard [34]						190
		1660-89	28	1720-4,26-50	47	
Kelham [112]						194
		1664-93	72	1720-49	78	
Keyworth [69]						188
		1660-89	20	1720-49	46	
Kilvington [106]						187
1600-29	25	1660-89	12	1720-49	27	

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Kirby in Ashfield [84]						200
1620-39	24	1660-89	55	1720-49	89	
Kirklington [89]						195
1600-29	79			1720-49	32	
Kneeton [52]						242
1600-29	31	1660-89	17	1712-51	12	
Lambley [16]						192
1600-29	37	1661, 64-94	54	1720-49	35	
Langar [63]						190
1600-29	92	1660-89	31	1720-49	48	
Lenton [1]						208
1613-39	143	1660-89	116	1720-49	158	
Linby [35]						66
				1720-49	58	
Loudham [47]						191
1600-29	145	1660-89	124	1720-49	134	
Mansfield ^b [C]						202
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Mansfield Woodhouse [88]						201
		1660-89	150	1720-49	167	
Maplebeck [91]						194
		1680-99	10	1720-49	19	
Morton [50]						193
		1660-89	59	1720-49	24	
Newark ^b [D]						187
1600-17, 21-32	653	1660-89	485	1720-49	877	
Normanton le Soar [76]						222
1600-29	29	1660-89	18	1720-49	29	
North Muskham [114]						194
				1720-49	108	
Nuthall [13]						189
				1720-4, 6, 7		
		1660-89	59	29-51	76	
Orston [107]						242
1600-29	76			1720-49	73	
Oxton [39]						192
1600-29	112	1660-89	70	1720-49	88	
Papplewick [36]						66
		1661-90	74	1720-49	77	
Plumtree [26]						194
1600-29	73	1660-89	60	1720-33, 35-50	75	
Radcliffe [21]						243
		1660-89	85	1720-49	48	
Radford [7]						190
1600-5, 7-30	74	1660-89	95	1720-49	133	
Ratcliffe on Soar [81]						188
		1666-95	6	1720-49	10	
Rempstone [73]						222
1600-29	51	1660-89	48	1720-49	62	
Rollestone [94]						194
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Screveton [56]					242
		1660-89	24	1720-49	39
Selston [83]					200
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Shelford [54]					243
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Shelton [103]					187
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Sibthorpe [100]					187
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Skegby [87]					200
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Sneinton [19]					191
		1660-89	72	1713-19,28-51	153
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Southwell ^b [B]					193
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1600-22,27-33	363	1660-89	378	43-51	360
Stanford le Soar [74]					222
		1660-89	52	1720-49	28
Stapleford [4]					189
		1660-89	19	1720-49	45
Staunton [105]					187
		1662-85,87-92	30	1720-49	29
Strelley [9]					189
		1665-79,85-99	65	1720-49	53
Sutton Bonington St Anne [77]					222
1600-29	21			1720-49	16
Sutton Bonington St Michael [78]					222
1600-29	78	1660-89	20	1720-49	88
Sutton in Ashfield [85]					200
1600-29	108	1660-89	45	1720-49	188
Syerstone [99]					187
1600-29	24			1720-49	14
Teversall [86]					200
1600-2,5-31	52	1678-99	23	1720-49	34
Thoroton [102]					242
1600-29	13	1660-89	29	1720-49	14
Thorpe [95]					187
				1720-49	15
Thrumpton [82]					188
		1680-99	10	1720-49	13
Thurgarton [45]					192
				1720-49	63
Tollerton [25]					243
1600-7,9-30	43	1660-89	16	1720-49	26
Trowell [10]					189
1600-29	52	1660-89	39	1720-49	84
Tythby [59]					243
1600-29	68	1660-85	31		

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Upton [93]					193
1600-29	105	1660-89	44	1720-49	54
West Bridgeford [24]					188
1600-29	103	1660-89	73	1720-49	87
West Leake [79]					222
1618-39	33	1660-89	50	1720-49	45
Whatton [61]					242
		1662-91	111	1720-49	134
Widmerpool [68]					222
1600-29	33			1720-49	34
Wilford [27]					188
		1660-89	124	1720-49	88
Winthorpe [116]					187
				1720-47, 49-50	73
Wollaton [6]					189
1600-29	78	1660-89	58	1720-49	77
Woodbrough [17]					192
1600-29	69	1660-89	32	1720-49	37
Wysall [70]					188
		1660-89	12	1720-41, 43-50	39

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		1660-5, 67-80			
1600-29	224	82-91	137	1720-49	71
Anderby [60]					106
1600-29	57	1660-89	49	1720-49	75
Auborn [9]					181
1600-29	58	1663-80, 88-99	44	1720-49	23
Barrowby [31]					65
1600-29	77	1660-89	64	1720-49	61
Bassingham [17]					206
1600-29	118	1660-88, 90	80	1720-49	60
Beesby [45]					207
				1715-28, 33	
1600-29	47	1660-6, 68-90	32	34, 36-43	30
Bilsby [47]					106
1600-1, 3-30	118	1660-89	160	1720-49	79
Boothby Graffoe [18]					185
		1664, 65, 67-70			
1600-18, 20-8		72, 74-89			
30-1	56	91, 93-8	46	1720-49	20
Boultham [5]					185
		1663, 65, 67-9			
1600-29	39	71-6, 78-96	128	1720-49	91
Bracebridge [6]					185
1600-3, 6-31	52	1663-92	42	1720-49	48
Carlton-le-Moorland [16]					206
1600-5, 7-30	67	1660-89	67	1720-49	46
Claypole [21]					184
1600-29	98	1660-89	73	1720-49	86

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Cowbitt [36]					216
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		70-6, 78-81			
1600-28, 30	139	83-94	89	1720-31, 33-50	113
Cumberworth [49]					106
1600-29	33	1660-89	26		
Denton [29]					65
1600-15, 17-30	117	1660-89	56	1720-49	77
Doddington [2]					206
1600-29	41	1660-89	37	1720-49	41
Eagle [11]					206
1600-12, 18-34	78	1660-89	56	1720-49	29
East Allington [26]					108
1600-29	40	1660-89	17	1720-49	12
Farlesthorpe [48]					106
1600-29	34	1660-89	46	1720-49	24
Fleet [39]					180
		1660-89	92	1720-49	202
Great Gonerby [32]					65
1600-29	120	1660-89	89	1720-49	97
Hannah [43]					207
1600-29	35			1720-49	11
Harlaxton [30]					65
1600-29	67	1660-89	43	1720-49	43
Harmston [8]					185
1600-29	87	1660-89	72	1720-49	63
Hogsthorpe [55]					106
		1660-1, 63, 65			
1600-29	120	66-92	48	1720-49	48
Huttoft [61]					69
1600-5, 7-28					
30-1	147	1660-89	55	1720-49	31
Ingoldmells [57]					106
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Long Bennington [24]					184
1600-21, 23-30	255	1660-89	143	1720-49	376
Mablethorpe [64]					69
1600-29	65	1660-89	46	1720-49	23
Maltby [42]					207
		1660, 63-76			
1600-29	46	78-85, 87-93	33	1720-49	62
Markby [44]					207
1600-29	21	1660-89	17	1720-49	10
Moulton [38]					216
		1660-5, 69-76			
1600-11, 14-31	270	78-81, 83-94	227	1720-49	334
Mumby [58]					69
1600-29	114	1660-89	68	1720-49	134
Mumby Chapel [59]					69
1600-29	30				

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Navenby [19]					185
		1662-3,65			
1600-28,30	86	68-74,76-95	68	1720-49	67
North Searle [10]					181
1600-29	59	1660-89	53	1720-49	97
Norton Disney [14]					181
1600-29	47	1660,2-30	28	1720-49	36
Pinchbeck [35]					180
1600-29	468	1660-89	547	1720-49	651
Rigsby [51]					207
		1661-90	10	1713-42	63
Saleby [46]					207
1600-13,15					
17-31	69	1660-89	48	1720-49	46
Sedgebrook [27]					180
1600-29	95	1660-89	35	1720-49	45
Skellingthorpe [1]					206
1600-29	74	1660-89	24	1720-49	19
Somerby [33]					65
		1663-72,75-88		1720-7,9-40	
1600-29	46	90,92-6	39	42-51	77
South Hykeham [4]					181
1600-29	87	1660-89	35	1720-49	33
Spalding ^b [B]					215
1600-29	571	1660-89	556	1720-49	904
Stapleford [15]					206
1600-29	47	1660-89	11	1720-49	19
Strubby [41]					207
1600-29	85	1660-78,80-90	44	1720-49	31
Stubton [22]					184
1600-7,9-30	53	1660-1,4-91	22	1720-49	22
Surfleet [34]					181
1600-29	151	1663-92	131	1720-49	135
Sutton le Marsh [62]					207
		1661-80,82-3			
1600-22,24-30	48	85-92	14	1720-49	14
Swinderby [12]					181
1600-29	46	1660-73,75-90	77	1720-49	51
Thorpe on the Hill [3]					206
1600-29	27	1660-89	38	1720-49	16
Thurlby [13]					181
1600-29	43	1670-99	18	1720-49	17
Trusthorpe [63]					69
1600-29	73	1662-91	35	1720-49	64
Waddington [7]					185
1600-29	110	1663-66,69-94	102	1720-40,42-50	75
Well [52]					106
		1660-78,82-92	27	1720-49	201
Wellingore [20]					185
		1660-89	54	1720-46,48-50	86
West Allington [25]					180
1600-29	37	1660-89	15	1720-49	18
Westborough [23]					184
1600-29	99	1660-89	128	1720-32,34-50	84

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		1661-2, 64, 67, 70				
1600-28, 30	118	73-6, 78-98	160	1720-49	96	
Willoughby [54]						69
		1660, 63-70				
1600-29	134	72-85, 87-93	71	1720-49	170	
Withern [40]						69
1600-29	95	1660-88, 90	119	1720-49	53	
Woolsthorpe [28]						65
1600-29	65	1660-89	25	1720-49	55	
WILTSHIRE (WILT)						
Allington [9]						227
		1660-89	15	1720-49	16	
Alton Barnes [29]						229
1600-29	11	1660-75-77-90	14	1720-49	12	
Beechingstoke [31]						231
1600-29	28	1660-89	46	1720-49	41	
Boscombe [8]						227
				1720-49	16	
Boyton [23]						234
1600-29	63	1660-89	20	1720-49	33	
Bratton [35]						234
1600-29	67	1660-3, 5-30	57	1720-49	57	
Britford [1]						227
1600-29	116	1660-88, 90	83	1720-48, 50	126	
Charlton [16]						230
				1712-41	14	
Chirton [18]						229
1600-29	46	1660-89	44	1720-49	65	
Cholderton [14]						230
		1660-89	13	1720-49	15	
Collingbourne Ducis [15]						234
		1660-89	34	1720-49	50	
Devizes ^b [B]						233
1600-29	279	1660-89	174	1720-49	459	
Durrington [12]						226
1600-29	85	1660-89	69	1720-49	58	
East Knoyle [26]						227
1600-29	83	1660-89	40	1720-49	80	
Fuggleston & Bemerton [2]						234
1609-20, 22-32	65	1660-91	70	1720-49	182	
Heytesbury [21]						232
				1714-20, 30-51	156	
Huish [28]						230
				1720-49	21	
Idmiston [7]						231
1600-29	73	1660-89	60	1720-49	105	
Kingston Deverill [36]						225
				1720-49	45	
Knook [22]						232
				1720-49	22	
Laverstock [4]						232
				1727-51	73	

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Marden [17]					229
			1720-49	18	
Market Lavington [20]					231
	1673-99	109	1720-49	172	
Marlborough St Mary ^b [C]					226
1603-32	268	297	1712-14, 40-51	214	
Marlborough St Peter ^b [C]					226
1612-39	257	180	1720-49	244	
Mere [38]					225
1600-29	367	210	1720-49	413	
Milston [13]					227
1600-12, 14-30	28		1712-39	74	
Newton Tony [10]					227
1600-29	50	20	1720-49	37	
Patney [32]					229
1600-29	33	15	1720-49	33	
Pershute [27]					228
1600-14, 18-27					
29-33	176	179	1720-49	299	
Rollestone [11]					229
	1660-89	16			
Sherrington [24]					234
			1720-49	22	
Southbroom [34]					229
1600-7, 9-30	128	86	1720-49	119	
Stert [33]					228
1600-29	26	27	1720-49	25	
Stockton [25]					227
1600-29	64	20	1720-49	44	
Stratford sub Castle [3]					260
	1660-89	32	1719-31, 33-43 45-7, 49-51	50	
Urchfont [19]					228
1600-29	209	212	1720-49	200	
West Knoyle [37]					232
			1720-49	18	
Whiteparish [5]					233
1605-16					
18-28, 31-7	157	126	1720-49	109	
Winterslow [6]					229
1600-29	63	70	1720-49	73	
Woodbrough [30]					231
1600-29	31	38	1720-49	40	
LEEDS CHAPELRIES					253
Armley			1726-47, 50-1	92	
Beeston			1721-50	97	
Bramley			1724-51	20	
Chapel Allerton			1725-51	53	
Headingley			1732-51	43	
Holbeck			1720-49	22	
Hunslet			1724-51	25	

b Not included in aggregates

RURAL SAMPLES - BAPTISMS AND BURIALS

	Bapt (C)		Bur (B)		
ABINGER Surrey (ABI)					
Abinger					150
	1600-29	235	1600-29	125	
	1660-89	282	1660-89	259	
	1720-49	485	1720-49	373	
Effingham					34. 158
	1600-29	277	1600-29	173	
	1660-89	236	1660-89	185	
	1720-49	271	1720-49	251	
Oakwood					150
	1728-49	128	1720-49	64	
Wotton					150
	1600-29	233	1600-29	144	
	1660-85, 90-3	178	1660-87, 89-90	154	
	1720-49	226	1720-49	178	
ALDENHAM Herts (ALD)					
Aldenham					76, 77
	1600-29	1029	1600-29	812	
			1660-78, 82-5		
			87-8, 93		
	1660-89	771	95, 97-9	939	
	1720-49	955	1720-49	1022	
BISHOP CANNINGS Wilts (BIS)					
Bishop Cannings					171
	1600-1, 4, 7-9		1600-1, 4, 7-9		
	13-36	736	13-21, 23-37	411	
	1661-71, 73-85				
	88, 92-4, 96-7	792	1660-89	596	
	1720-49	897	1720-49	687	
All Cannings					170
	1600-29	504	1600-29	281	
	1664-80	308	1660-85	262	
	1719-23, 27-51	488	1720-25, 28-51	349	
Etchilhampton					170
	1661-90	135	1660-89	106	
	1720-49	128	1720-49	75	
BROSELEY Shrops (BRO)					
Broseley					137
	1600-6, 9-31	612	1600-6, 9-31	398	
	1660-89	1779	1660-89	1204	
	1721-50	2076	1721-50	2076	
CARTMEL Lancs (CAR)					
Cartmel					74, 83, 102
	1600-29	2176	1600-29	1904	
	1661-90	1920	1661-90	2024	
	1720-49	1983	1720-49	1682	

CUCKFIELD Sussex (CUC)					
Cuckfield				54, 254, 268	
	1600-29	1326	1600-29	1108	
	1661-90	874	1660-89	791	
	1720-48,50	897	1717-44,47,51	628	
Cowfold					115
	1600-29	383	1600-29	331	
	1660-89	279	1660-89	274	
	1720-49	392	1720-49	249	
Bolney					132
	1600-29	277	1600-29	241	
	1663-92	341	1660-89	301	
	1720-49	336	1720-49	262	
GREYSTOKE Cumb (GRE)					
Greystoke					141
	1600-6,8-19		1600-6,8-19		
	22-9,32-4	1299	22-9,32-4	1206	
	1662-91	797	1662-91	898	
	1720-49	664	1720-49	636	
Watermillock					142
	1603-32	484	1603-32	338	
	1679-99	185	1679-99	140	
	1720-49	255	1720-49	213	
Matterdale					75
	1664-93	238	1664-93	172	
HADDENHAM Camb (HAD)					
Haddenham					10, 138
	1600-29	1436	1600-29	983	
	1660-2,66		1660-2,65-7		
	70-94,97,98	1189	70-86,96-9	1196	
	1720-49	1058	1720-49	1170	
HAMPSTHWAITE Yorks (HAM)					
Hampsthwaite					89
	1605,10-37,39	1021	1605,10-37,39	678	
	1660-89	951	1660-89	965	
	1720-49	1219	1720-49	957	
HARTLAND Devon (HAR)					
Hartland					104
	1600-29	1100	1600-29	785	
	1663-92	853	1660-89	833	
	1720-49	921	1720-49	863	
KILDWICK Yorks (KIL)					
Kildwick					78
	1600-29	2418	1600-29	1885	
	1660-89	2442	1660-89	2247	
	1720-49	2296	1720-49	1676	
ST COLOMB MAJOR Cornwall (COL)					
St Colomb Major					135
	1600-29	1245	1600-29	1044	
	1661-90	1206	1660-89	1164	
	1720-49	1201	1720-49	1095	

SEDGEFIELD Co Durham (SED)				
Sedgefield				166
1600-29	1147	1600-29	845	
1660-89	1085	1660-3,66-91	951	
1720-49	1397	1720-49	1234	
Bishop Middleham				172
1600-29	416	1600-29	277	
1660-89	406	1660-89	317	
1720-49	521	1720-49	383	
WEDMORE Somerset (WED)				
Wedmore				278
1600-29	1470	1600-29	1412	
1661-90	1164	1660-89	1578	
1720-3,25-6		1720-3,25-6		
28-51	1110	28-51	1044	
WHITTINGTON Shropshire (WHI)				
Whittington				261
1600-29	951	1600-29	768	
		1660,62-8,70		
1662-8,70,72		72,74,79,80		
74,91-9	597	82-8,91-9	775	
1720-49	1145	1720-49	1091	
Selattyn				79
1600-29	627	1600-29	416	
1660-89	626	1660-89	674	
1720-49	529	1720-49	529	
WING Bucks (WIN)				
Wing				300
1600-29	437	1600-29	350	
1660-84,89-93	464	1660-73,75-90	495	
1720-49	677	1720-49	580	
Aston Abbots				73
1600-29	165	1600-29	94	
1660-89	123	1660-9,71-90	102	
1720-49	251	1720-49	180	

RURAL SAMPLES - MARRIAGES

CHESHIRE (CHES)

Alderley					88
	1660-89	231	1720-49	222	
Copesthorpe					88
			1722-51	25	
Chelford					88
			1720-49	58	
Christleton					204
			1720-49	171	
Disley					204
	1660-89	76	1712-38	47	
Gawsworth					204
			1720-49	161	
Lymm					204
	1660-73, 76-89				
	91, 93	125	1720-49	185	
Marple					204
			1720-49	208	
Marton					88
			1720-3, 26-51	51	
Pott Shrigley					88
			1720-49	26	
Poynton					88
			1724-51	86	
Prestbury				197,	198
	1660-89	1086	1720-49	2438	
Siddington					88
			1723-51	43	
Taxal					204
	1660-85, 88-91	152	1720-49	93	

CORNWALL (CORN)

Creed					257
			1660-74, 76-90	102	1720-49
					172
East Newlyn					246
1600-17, 20-31	161	1660-89	106	1720-49	130
Gerrans					257
1600-29	151	1660-89	133	1720-49	137
Perranzabulo					246
			1720-5, 27		
			29-51	323	
Philleigh					257
			1720-49	76	
Ruanlanyhorpe					257
			1720-5, 27-50	77	
St Clement					257
1600-29	88	1660-89	79	1720-49	133
St Colomb Minor					245
1600-29	197	1660-89	188	1722-51	124
St Crantock					246
	1660-89	79	1720-49	76	
St Cubert					246
			1720-49	50	

CORNWALL continued

St Ervan					246
		1674-99	73	1720-42, 44-50	74
St Eval					246
				1720-49	47
St Issey					245
		1660-3, 65-8			
1600-17, 32-9	101	71-92	138	1720-49	107
St Ives ^b					245
		1660-89	236	1720-49	231
St Just in Roseland					257
		1660-83, 85-8			
1606-35	130	90-1	130	1720-49	170
St Mawgan					246
				1720-49	96
St Mawgan in Meneage					245
1600-29	106			1720-49	145
St Michael Penkivel					257
1600-29	35			1720-49	40

CUMBERLAND (CUMB)

Crosby on Eden					224
				1720-49	63
Gosforth					224
				1720-36, 38-50	160
Harrington					224
				1720-49	81
Moresby					223
				1720-49	212
Stanwix					224
				1720-49	204
Workington					223
				1720-49	259

DORSET (DORS)

Beaminster					217, 218
1603-8, 10					
13-15, 17-21		1670-3, 75, 80		1720-9, 31-3	
23-27, 33-6	230	83, 84, 86-99	63	35-51	294
Bradpole					217
				1720-49	47
Broadwindsor					218
1600-1, 4-8, 10		1660-70, 74, 75			
12, 13, 15-18		78, 79, 81-6			
21-24, 27-38	193	88-96	59	1720-49	136
Cattistock					217
				1720-2, 4-50	140
Cerne Abbas					218
		1660-89	36	1720-49	15
Chickerell					219
				1720-49	20
Dorchester ^b					219
1600-29	197	1660-89	92	1720-49	129
Frome Vauchurch					218
				1720-49	14

DORSET continued

Great Toller 1616-23, 25-39 Halstock [9]	109	1660-89	96	1720-49	25	218
Lyme Regis ^b		1665-94	166	1720-49	22	218
Mapperton				1720-49	327	217
Milton Abbas				1720-49	21	217
Netherbury		1660-89	63	1720-49	91	219
1600-20, 23-31 Powerstock	251	1660-83, 85-7 89, 98-9	142	1720-49	307	217
1600-29 Puddletown	229	1660-76, 78-90	62	1720-49	138	219
1600-15 Up Cerne	62	1660-89	57	1720-49	95	218
Wraxall				1720-49	32	218
				1720-1, 23-50	92	

KENT

Eynsford 1600-22, 25-31 Lamberhurst 1600-8, 11-25 29, 31-5	102	1660-89	42	1720-49	47	209
Newington 1600-29 Penshurst	121	1660-89	57	1720-49	49	209
Staplehurst 1600-29 Westerham 1600-29 West Farleigh 1600-29 Willesborough 1600, 2, 4-31 Wychling	161	1663-92	139	1720-5, 27-50	91	209
		1660-89	111	1720-49	100	209
	225	1660-89	126	1720-4, 26-50	123	178
	181			1720-49	162	209
	70	1660-89	70	1720-49	125	209
	124			1720-49	119	178
		1660-89	92	1720-49	95	178

LEICESTERSHIRE (LEIC)

Ashby Folville				1720-49	70	221
Ashby Parva				1720-49	21	183
Barkston				1720-49	41	182
Beeby				1720-6, 28-50	27	221
Bitteswell				1720-49	52	183

LEICESTERSHIRE continued

Branston						182
			1720-49		43	
Burrough on the Hill						183
			1720-49		24	
Catthorpe						183
			1720-49		24	
Croxton Kerrial						182
			1720-49		47	
Eastwell						221
			1720-49		20	
Eaton						182
			1724-51		23	
Frolesworth						221
			1720-49		40	
Gilmorton						183
			1720-49		50	
Grimston						221
			1720-49		35	
Harby						182
			1720-49		57	
Harston						182
			1720-49		21	
Hose						183
			1720-49		51	
Hungerton						221
			1720-49		53	
Knipton						182
			1720-49		47	
Leire						183
			1720-49		37	
Pickwell						183
			1720-49		26	
Queenborough						221
			1720-32, 35-50		74	
Ratcliffe on the Wreake						221
			1720-49		19	
Redmile						182
			1720-49		39	
Seagrove						221
			1721-50		65	
Sharnford						183
			1720-1, 23-50		60	
South Croxton						221
			1720-49		30	
Strathern						182
			1720-49		65	
Syston						221
			1720-49		127	
Wartnaby						221
			1720-49		15	
SUFFOLK (SUFF)						
Capel St Mary						196
1600-8, 10-30	52	1660-89	64	1720-49	73	

SUFFOLK continued

Combs						196
1600-29	109	1660-89	95	1720-49	133	
Dunwich						68
1600-7,12-32	158					
Exning						196
1600-29	139	1660-77,83-94	228	1720-49	131	
Fressingfield						68
1600-29	123	1662-91	119	1720-49	104	
Grundisburgh						68
		1660-89	51	1720-49	100	
Hoxne						67
1600-29	106	1660-89	205	1720-41,43-50	146	
Martlesham						196
		1660-3,65-83				
		85-91	125	1720-40,43-51	139	
Mendham						67
		1678-99	47	1720-49	198	
Metfield						67
1600-29	48	1660-89	16	1720-49	112	
Mickfield						68
1600-29	58	1660-89	43	1720-49	31	
Somerleyton						68
1600-26,28-30	49	1660-89	36	1720-49	47	
Syleham						67
1600-29	29	1660-89	30	1720-49	76	
Thrandeston						196
1600-13,15-30	56	1660-89	31	1720-49	203	
Weybread						68
				1720-49	97	
Withersdale						67
		1660-89	191	1720-49	47	
SUSSEX (SUSS)						
Ardingley						140
1600-16,18-30	70	1660-89	69	1720-49	63	
Bolney						132
1600-29	95	1660-75,77-90	121	1720-49	79	
Cowfold						115
1600-14,16-19						
21-31	128	1660-89	84	1720-49	51	
Cuckfield						54, 254
1600-29	341	1660-89	181	1720-49	215	
Edburton						280
1600-29	45	1660-89	45	1720-49	55	
Woodmancote						270
1600-4,6-30	69	1660-89	71	1720-49	57	
WARWICKSHIRE (WARW)						
Anstey						199
1600-29	20	1660-89	12	1720-49	39	
Atherstone						199
				1720-49	36	
Barton on the Heath						249
1600-29	17	1660-89	20	1720-49	29	

WARWICKSHIRE continued

Bishop Tachbrook						249
1600-14,16-30	57	1660-89	31	1720-38,40-50	71	
Bourton in Dunsmore						199
1600-29	25	1660-74,76-90	31	1720-49	43	
Butlers Marston						199
1600-29	22			1720-49	14	
Charlecote						249
1600-12,14-30	16			1720-49	35	
Ettington						199
		1660-89	24	1721-50	37	
Fenny Compton						199
				1719-31,33,35		
		1663-92	19	36,38-51	39	
Halford						249
1600-29	17					
Hatton						249
1600-29	82			1720-49	57	
Honington						199
1600-5,8-31	55			1720-49	38	
Idlicote						199
				1720-49	14	
Long Compton						199
				1720-49	61	
Priors Hardwick						199
				1720-49	69	
Snitterfield						249
1600-29	29	1660-89	20	1720-49	83	
Temple Grafton						199
1612-27,29-39	29					
Whitchurch						199
		1660-89	26	1720-49	82	

WORCESTERSHIRE (WORC)

Alderminster						203
				1720-30,32-50	20	
Birtsmorton						179
1600-29	38	1660-89	43	1720-49	42	
Bradley						203
		1660-89	49	1720-49	85	
Bushley						179
1600-29	70	1660-89	70	1720-49	27	
Churchill						179
1600-29	20			1720-49	14	
Church Lench						203
				1720-49	54	
Cleeve Prior						179
1600-29	31	1660-89	21	1720-49	62	
Eastham						179
1600-11,13-30	68	1660-89	62	1720-49	70	
Elmbridge						203
1600-29	25	1660-85,87-90	13	1720-49	32	
Frankley						179
1600-19,21-30	26	1660-89	25	1720-49	22	
Himbleton						179
				1720-49	54	

WORCESTERSHIRE continued

Huddington						179
				1720-49		25
Kempsey						203
				1720-49	156	
Kington						203
1600-29	32	1660-89	20	1720-49	22	
Little Comberton						179
1600-8,10-30	30	1660-7,69-90	18			
North & Middle Littleton						179
		1662-78,80-92	12	1720-49	29	
North Piddle						179
				1720-49	38	
Offenham						203
1600-29	59	1660-89	12	1720-49	12	
Rous Lench						203
1600-29	47	1660-89	26	1720-49	33	
Rushock						179
				1720-4,26-39		
		1662-91	21	41-51	65	
Shipston-on-Stour						203
1600-29	176			1720-49	138	
South Littleton						179
1600-29	32	1662-91	23	1720-49	23	
Tidmington						203
				1720-49	82	
Upton Snodbury						179
1600-29	26	1660-89	47	1720-49	29	
DERBY						
Alfreton						64
				1720-49	308	
Aston upon Trent						239
				1718-25,30-51	97	
Beighton						70
				1720-49	132	
Brailsford						244
				1720-49	140	
Breadsall						263
				1720-49	69	
Chaddesdon						236
				1720,22-50	43	
Chapel en le Frith						80
				1720-49	329	
Denby						71
				1720-2,24-50	37	
Dronfield						70
				1720-49	366	
Duffield						244
				1720-35,37-50	1040	
Elvaston						263
				1720-5,27-49,51	65	
Etwall						71
				1720-49	77	

DERBYSHIRE continued

Heanor			64
	1718-23, 25		
	29-51	56	
Horsley			238
	1720-49	163	
Ilkeston			238
	1720-47, 50-1	168	
Kirk Hallam			238
	1721-50	44	
Longford			71
	1716-24, 31-51	109	
Matlock			238
	1720-49	341	
Melbourne			239
	1720-49	135	
Morley			263
	1713-33, 43-51	68	
Morton			236
	1720-49	46	
Norton			236
	1720-49	185	
Parwich			239
	1720-49	50	
Pentrich			71
	1712-32, 42-6		
	48-51	110	
Repton			80
	1719-38, 40-9	128	
Sawley			263
	1720-49	157	
Shirland			71
	1720-49	98	
Smalley			263
	1720-49	36	
South Wingfield			71
	1720-49	570	
Stanton by Bridge			239
	1720-49	45	
Swarkeston			239
	1720-49	42	
West Hallam			236
	1720-49	112	
Weston on Trent			239
	1720-49	75	
Wilne			263
	1720-49	105	

b Not included in aggregates

OTHER MARRIAGES

Fleet			1742-46	8511	19
St George Hanover Square			1726-49	1613	82
St George's Chapel, Mayfair			1745-51	7409	59
St James Dukes Place					205
	1680-90	17192	1720-49	1025	
Peak Forest Chapel					143a
			1728-46, 48-51	1275	
London & Middx Quakers					17
	1660-89	1128	1720-49	685	
French Church Threadneedle Street					91, 145
1600-7, 9-39	955		1712-51	314	*
Strangers Church, Canterbury					131a
	1660-99	361	*		
Marriage Allegations:					
Bristol					309
	1661-71, 76-89	3198			
Gloucestershire					307
	1662-74, 76-97	8130			
Surrey					305
	1674-91	353	1726-49	3317	
Sussex					306, 308
1600-12	457	1662-70, 86-9	724	1720-49	3127
Vicar General					
	1661-3, 66-89	19022			304

OTHER BAPTISMS/BIRTHS AND DEATHS/BURIALS

	Bapt (C)	Bur (B)		
London and Middx Quakers				18
	1720-49	2260	*	
French Church Threadneedle Street				91, 145
	1600-29	3188		
	1660-89	4426		
	1720-49	4457		
Strangers Church Canterbury				131a
		1600-8, 23-9		
		31-4, 37-9	1233	a
		1670-90, 92-9	767	a

- a Monthly totals and indices only
- b Not included in aggregates
- c Births
- d Deaths

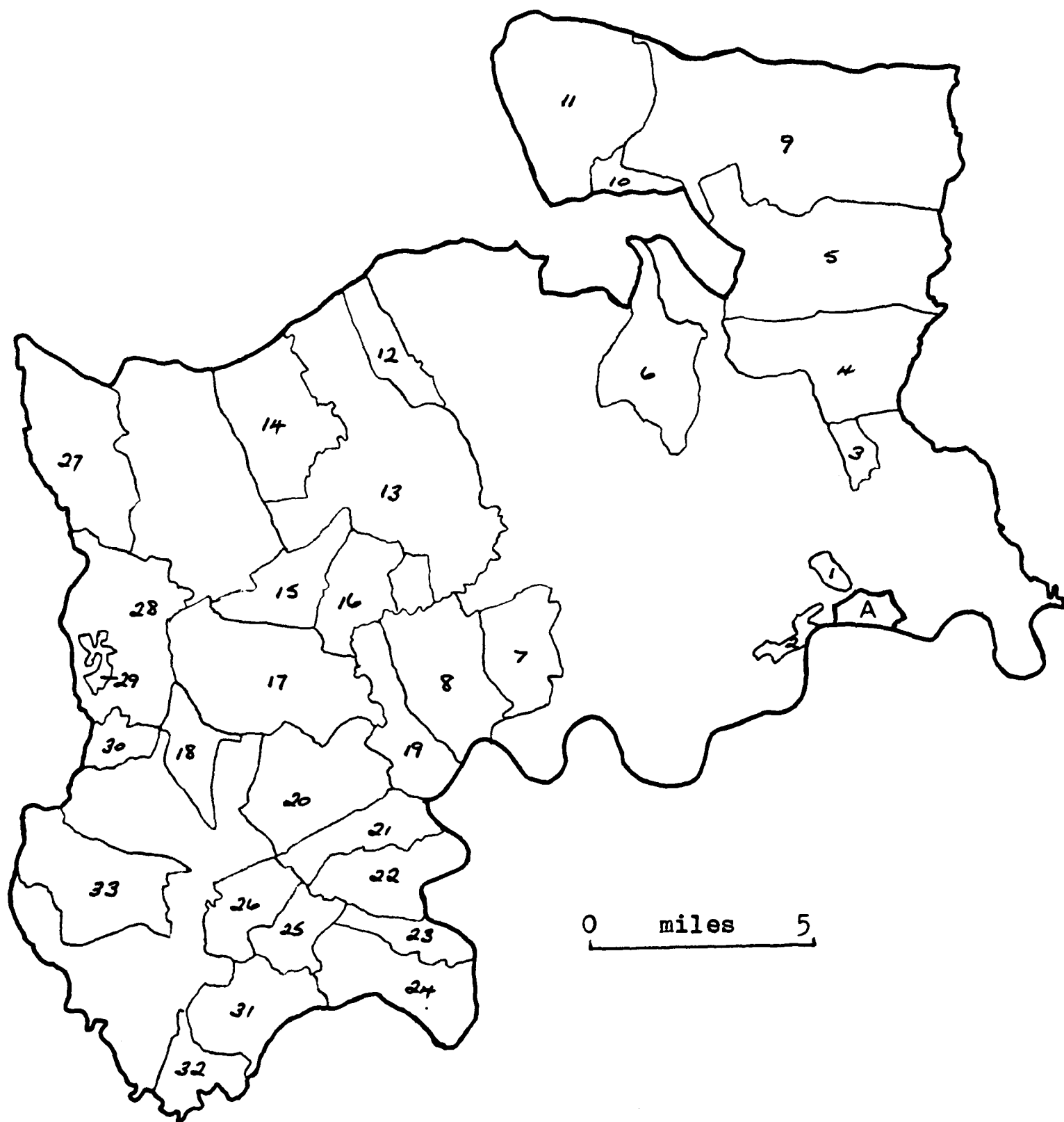
APPENDIX 2 MARRIAGE HINTERLAND COUNTY MAPS

FIGURE A2.1

a) Middlesex

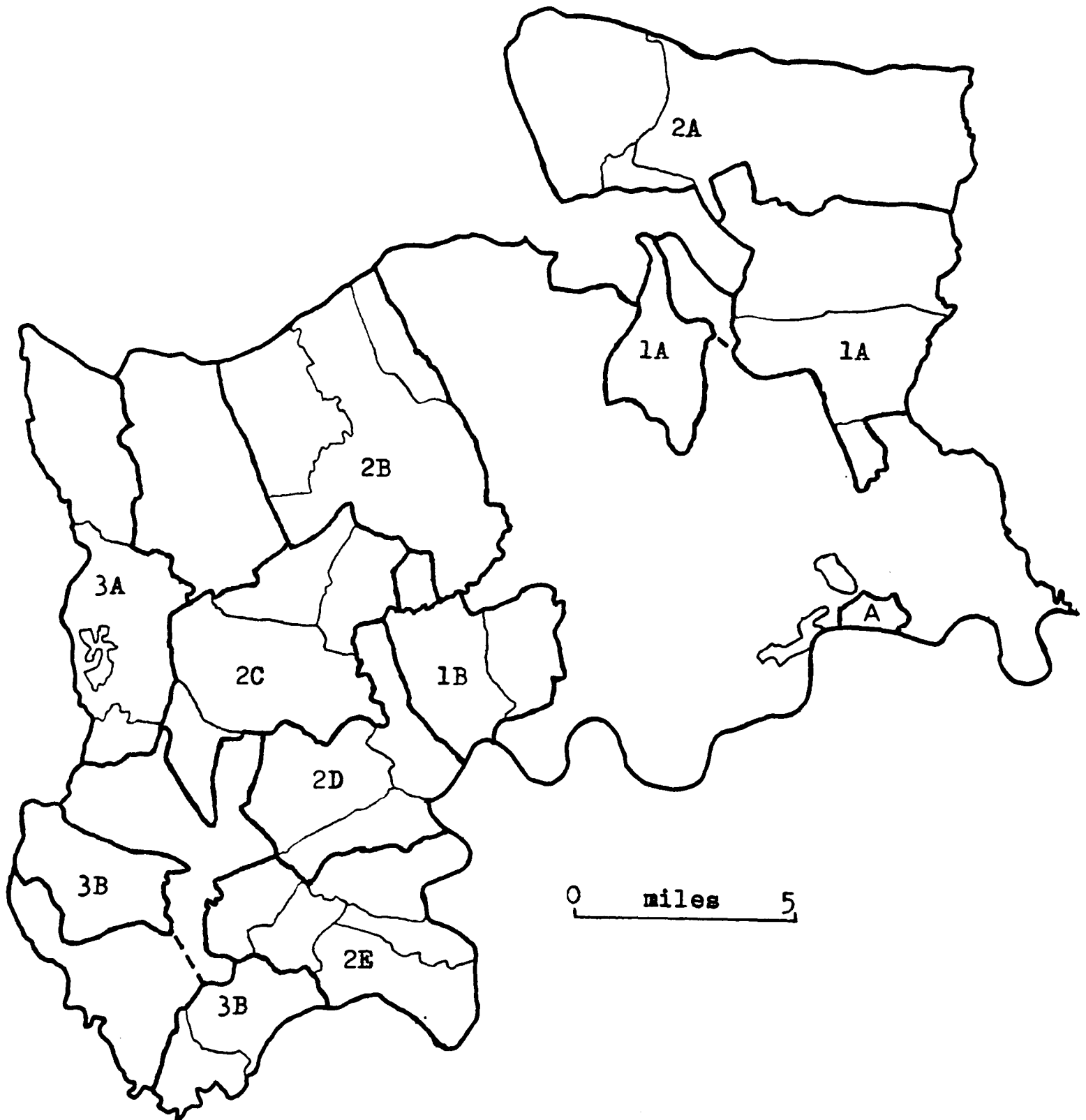
A. London

1. St James Clerkenwell
2. St Martin in the Field



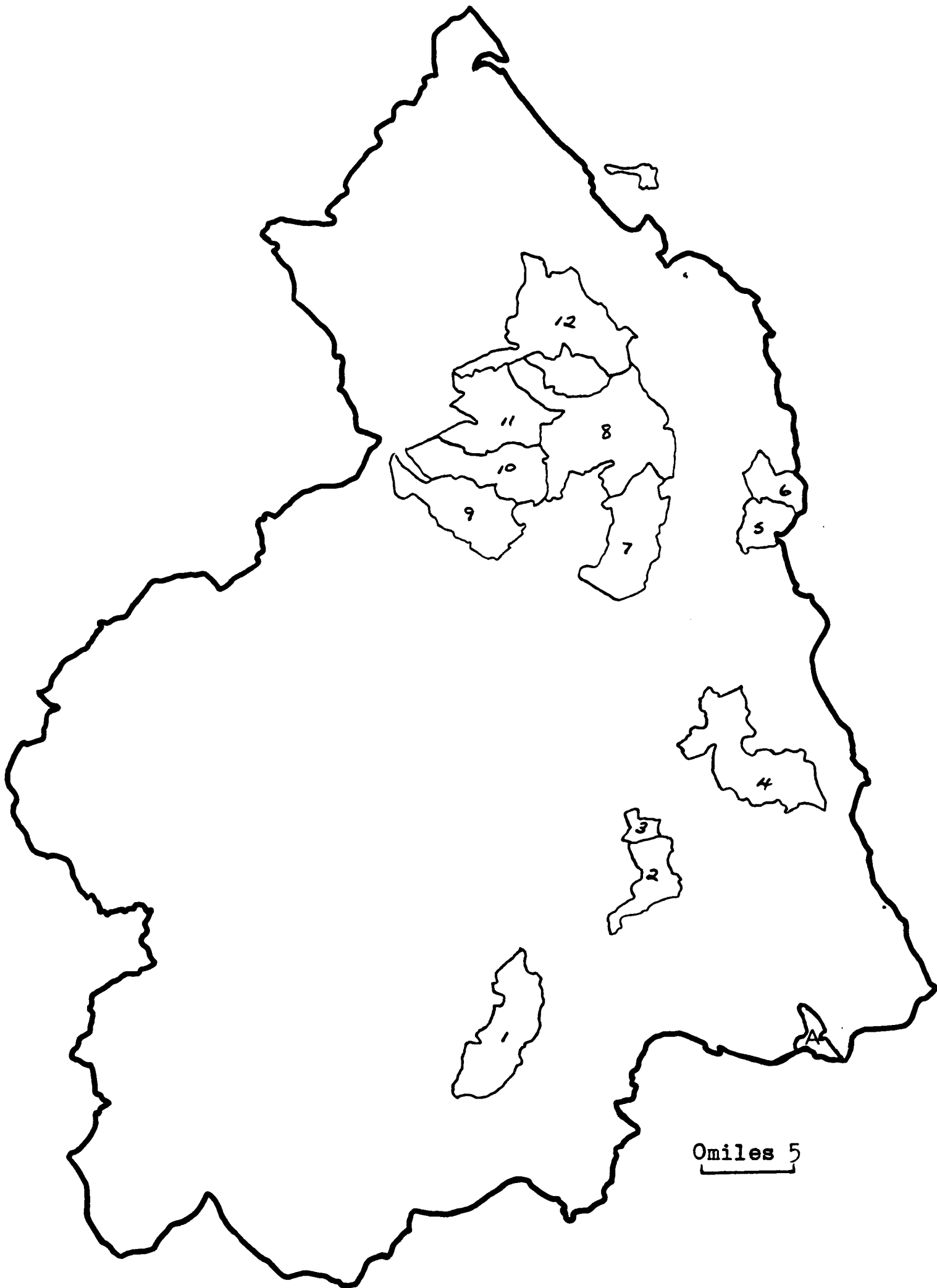
For key to sample parish numbers see Appendix 1

Middlesex hinterland groupings



b) Northumberland

A. Newcastle-upon-Tyne

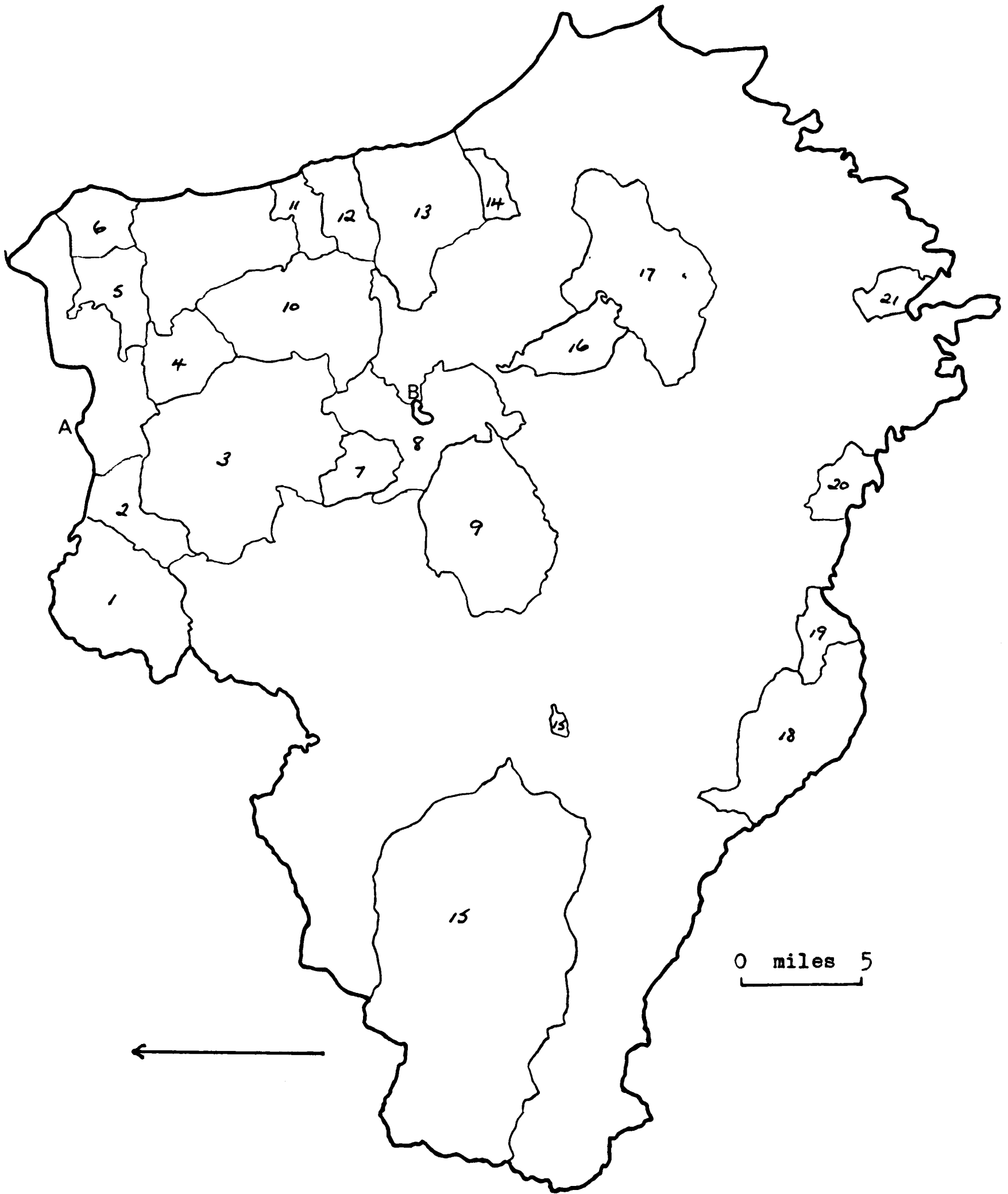


Northumberland hinterland groupings

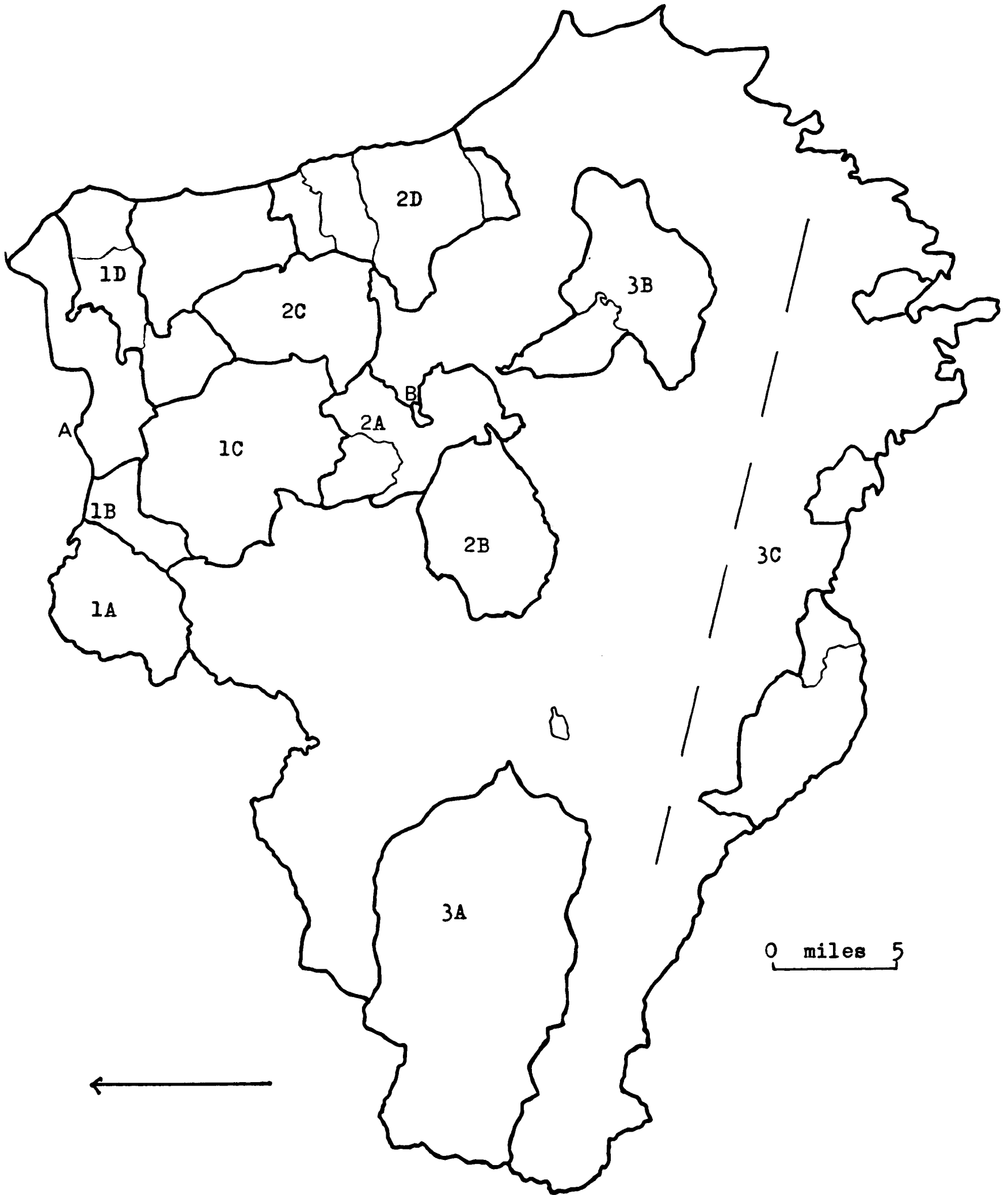


c) County Durham

- A. Newcastle-upon-Tyne
- B. Durham

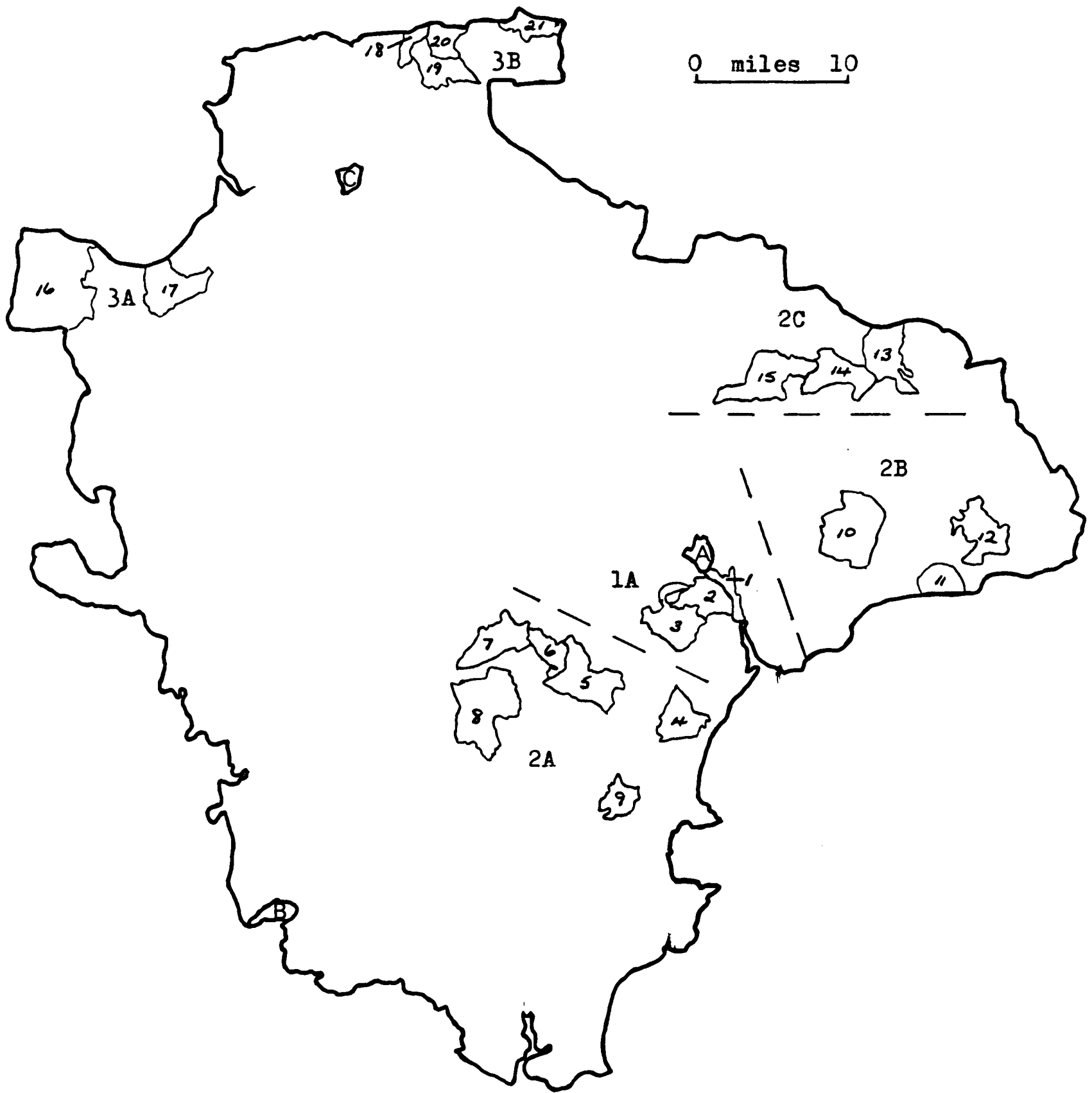


County Durham hinterland groupings



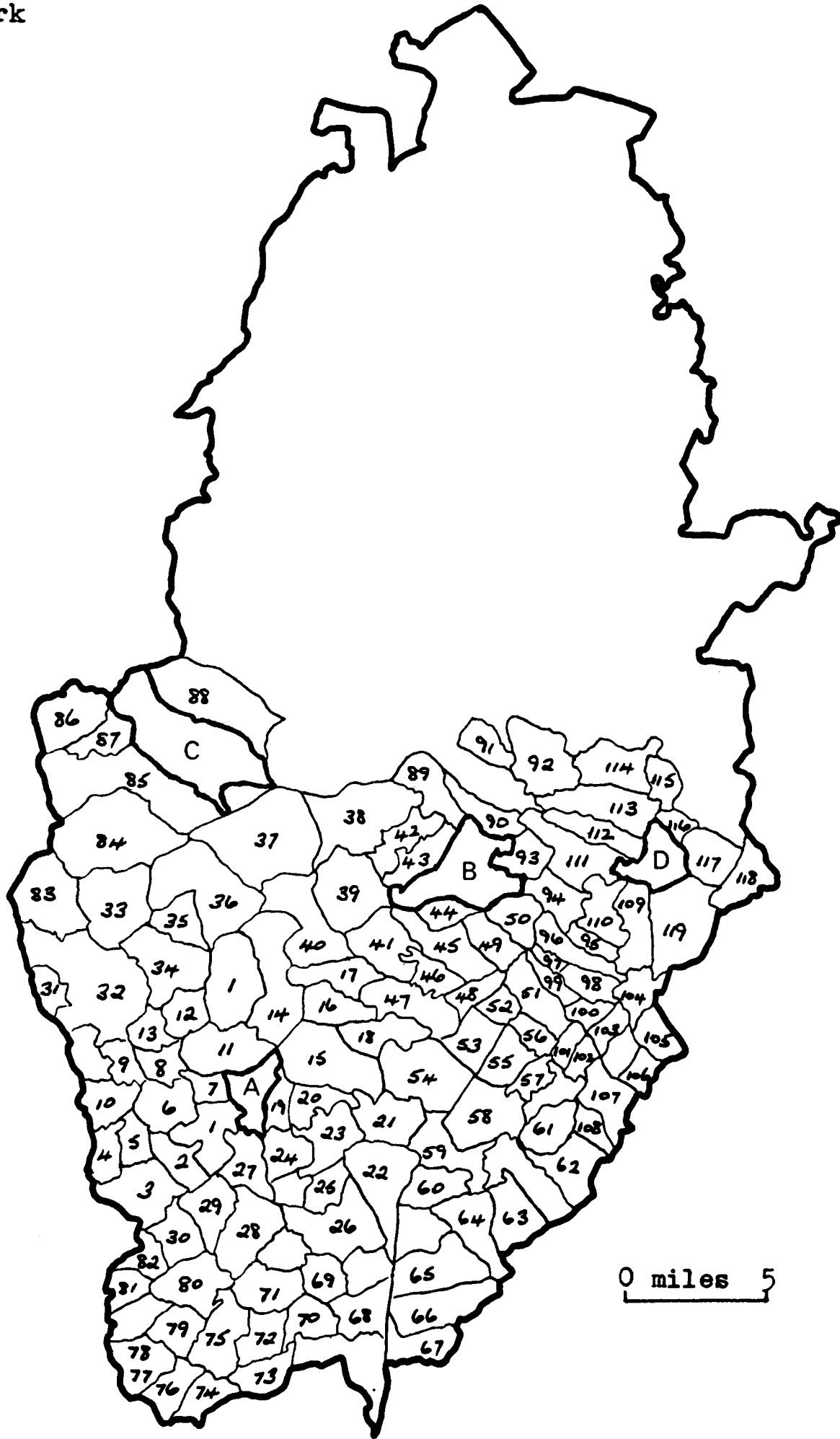
d) Devon

- A. Exeter
- B. Plymouth
- C. Barnstaple

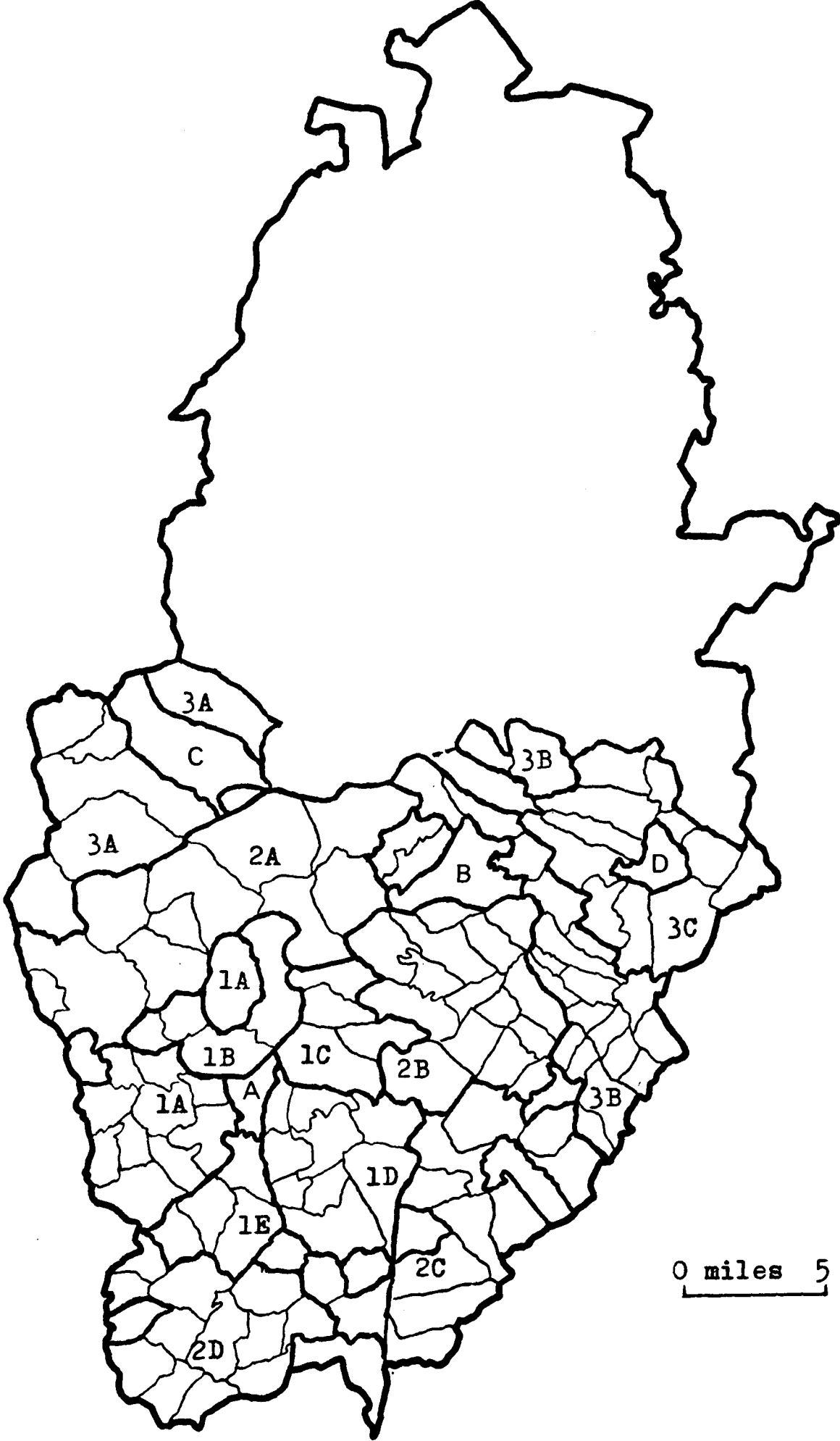


e) Nottinghamshire

- A. Nottingham
- B. Southwell
- C. Mansfield
- D. Newark



Nottinghamshire hinterland groupings

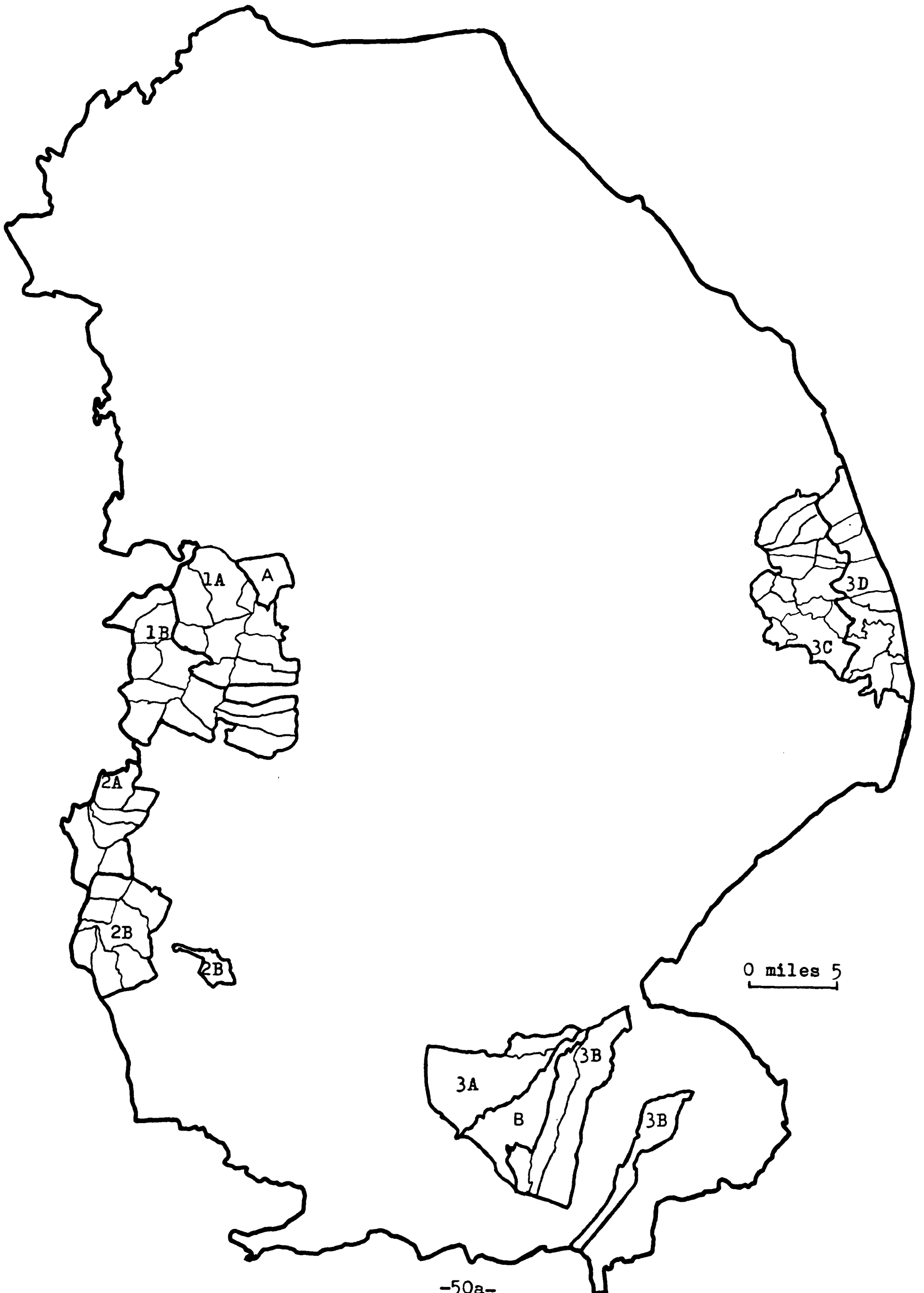


f) Lincolnshire

A. Lincoln
B. Spalding



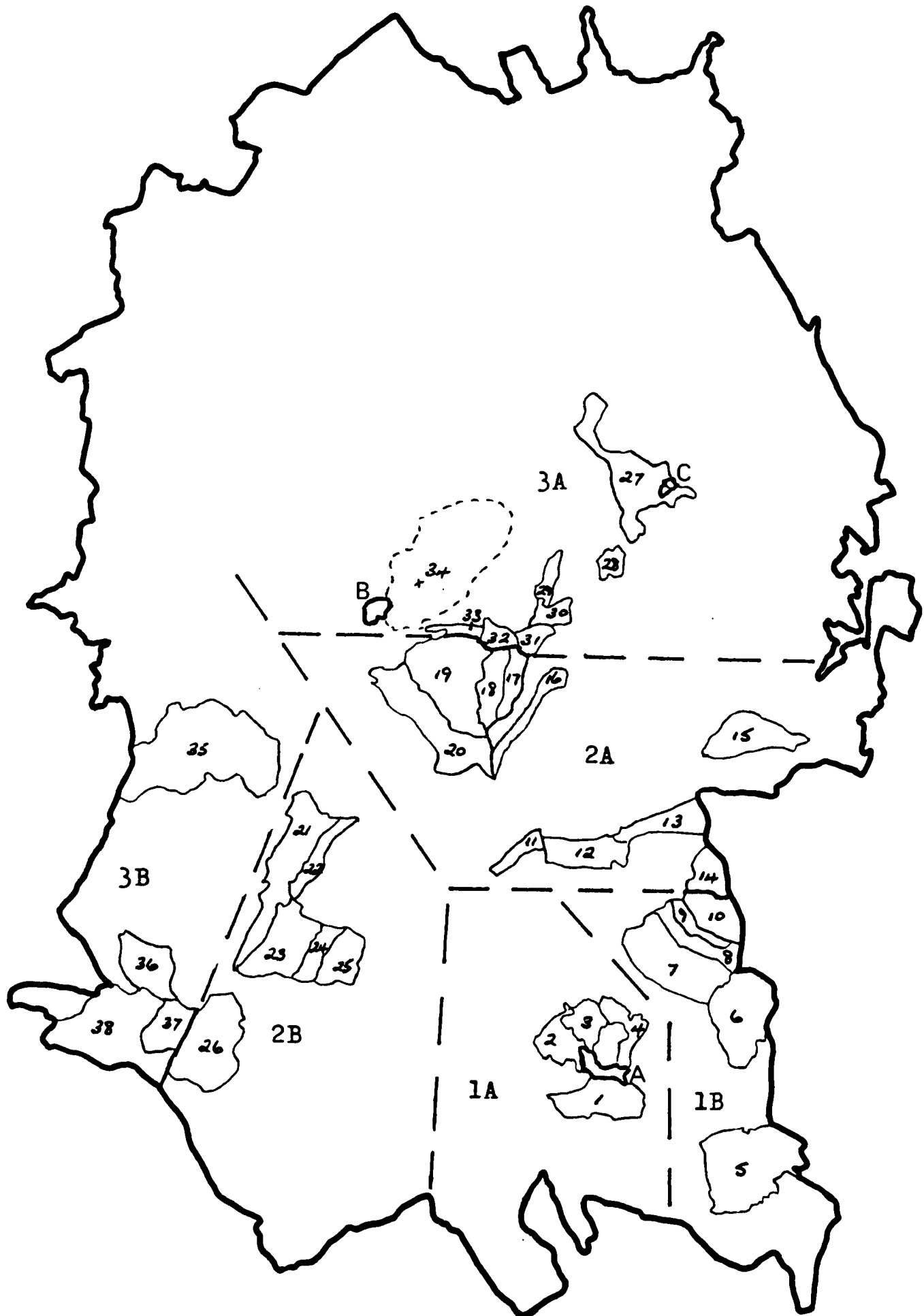
Lincolnshire hinterland groupings



g) Wiltshire

- A. Salisbury
- B. Devizes
- C. Marlborough

0 miles 5



APPENDIX 3

WEEKLY SEASONALITY - WEEK NUMBERS AND DATES

1	1st January to 7th January
2	8th January to 14th January
3	15th January to 21st January
4	22nd January to 28th January
5	29th January to 4th February
6	5th February to 11th February
7	12th February to 18th February
8	19th February to 25th February
9	26th February to 4th March
10	5th March to 11th March
11	12th March to 18th March
12	19th March to 25th March
13	26th March to 1st April
14	2nd April to 8th April
15	9th April to 15th April
16	16th April to 22nd April
17	23rd April to 29th April
18	30th April to 6th May
19	7th May to 13th May
20	14th May to 20th May
21	21st May to 27th May
22	28th May to 3rd June
23	4th June to 10th June
24	11th June to 17th June
25	18th June to 24th June
26	25th June to 1st July
27	2nd July to 8th July
28	9th July to 15th July
29	16th July to 22nd July
30	23rd July to 29th July
31	30th July to 5th August
32	6th August to 12th August
33	13th August to 19th August
34	20th August to 26th August
35	27th August to 2nd September
36	3rd September to 9th September
37	10th September to 16th September
38	17th September to 23rd September
39	24th September to 30th September
40	1st October to 7th October
41	8th October to 14th October
42	15th October to 21st October
43	22nd October to 28th October
44	29th October to 4th November
45	5th November to 11th November
46	12th November to 18th November
47	19th November to 25th November
48	26th November to 2nd December
49	3rd December to 9th December
50	10th December to 16th December
51	17th December to 23rd December
52	24th December to 31st December

APPENDIX 4 BIRTH/BAPTISM INTERVALS IN SAMPLE TOWNS

Parish	Period	N	% of bapt	Days within which				Mean No of Days
				25%	50%	75%	90%	
				of bapts	of bapts	complete		
Barnstaple								
St Peter	1655-59	435	92	11	15	19	24	16.4
Birmingham								
St Martin	1683,4,6	285	49*	9	14	18	24	14.2
Cambridge								
St Edward	1657-64	121	88	6	9	12	16	9.2
	1697-1706	208	84	10	14	18	22	14.0
St Mary	1720-25	120	94	21	25	29	43	28.2
	1733-37	101	91	10	28	33	51	27.5
	1745-49	60	94	22	30	38	86	41.5
St Michael	1696-1720	174	90	8	13	18	24	13.6
	1722-47	221	95	20	28	32	44	30.3
Canterbury								
St Peter	1646-51	56	93	0	0	2	7	1.8
Chester								
Holy Trinity ¹	1657-60	115	93	11	15	20	23	16.1
St John	1660-65	265	82	9	13	16	20	13.1
St Peter	1660-67	230	87	11	14	18	21	14.1
Durham								
St Mary	1656-90	22	45*	4	6	9	11	6.6
St Oswald	1696-1709	533	85	9	14	19	25	14.0
	1710-25	547	93	8	20	28	30	18.0
Exeter								
St Kerrian	1686-99	44	70*	4	9	14	17	13.75
Guildford								
St Mary	1655-56	45	88	5	9	10	12	7.6
Ipswich								
St Laurence	1672-89	179	91	3	8	13	17	8.3
	1720-25	36	86	8	13	17	22	13.2
	1737-38	18	56*	9	13	20	24	13.7
St Mary Elms	1654-58	30	56*	1	3	8	12	5.5
St Nicholas	1686-94	92	56*	6	12	16	29	13.7
	1695-1709	182	86	4	7	11	19	10.6
	1720-49	395	97	8	13	22	32	17.8
Kings Lynn								
St Margaret	1654-57	623	96	1	5	8	11	5.5
Leeds								
St Peter	1660-66	2328	97	5	8	11	15	8.7
	1745-49	1840	99	25	29	33	39	29.3
Leicester								
St Martin	1720-24	317	99	5	13	24	30	14.5
	1745-49	259	96	28	38	53	72	43.9
St Nicholas	1730-39	142	98	5	15	29	38	18.0
	1740-49	163	95	2	4	9	20	7.7
Lincoln								
St Martin	1677-83	92	72*	4	8	11	20	9.1
St Michael	1681-84	20	83	5	9	19	29	13.2
St Peter	1742-49	74	96	1	9	26	29	12.5
Newcastle under Lyme								
St Giles	1658-59	48	66*	9	13	16	19	13.6
Newcastle upon Tyne								
St John ²	1657-59	209	96	5	7	10	12	7.8
St Nicholas	1657-61	246	86	5	7	9	12	7.3

Parish	Period	N	% of bapt	Days within which				Mean No of Days
				25%	50%	75%	90%	
				of bapts	of bapts	complete		
Norwich								
St George	1664-89	141	32*	0	1	7	10	4.0
	1725-49	95	21*	5	13	19	28	16.1
St Giles	1744-49	157	93	3	6	12	26	14.4
St James ³	1696-1705	563	93	0	1	5	9	3.7
	1740-49	380	96	2	6	15	33	16.5
St Margaret	1697-1729	948	99	0	2	6	14	6.0
Nottingham								
St Peter	1660-62	207	94	8	11	15	18	11.9
Salisbury								
St Edmund	1654-62	311	61*	8	13	22	28	15.5
St Thomas	1657-59	125	88	6	14	19	24	13.0
Worcester								
St Helen	1655-59	111	69*	1	4	9	17	6.5
York								
Holy Trinity ⁴	1654-62	156	98	4	5	6	8	5.1
St Michael	1654-56	147	99	4	6	8	9	6.2
London								
St Botolph	1657-58	443	96	0	5	10	13	6.1
St Dionis	1694-1719	652	91	1	7	13	19	8.1
Backchurch	1720-49	559	95	6	13	20	25	13.5
St Mary	1654-65	252	81	0	6	11	15	6.7
Aldermary	1673-99	482	91	0	6	14	18	7.6
St Mary	1654-65	243	91	1	9	13	17	8.3
Woolnoth ⁵	1670-78	217	91	0	7	13	17	7.6
	1695-1714	390	77	0	5	12	19	7.3
	1720-49	344	88	6	14	21	26	13.9
St Michael	1675-85	205	94	0	8	14	18	8.3
le Quern ⁶	1688-1719	442	94	1	7	13	18	7.6
	1726-36	77	81	3	11	21	26	13.6
	1738-49	95	96	9	17	24	28	16.5
St Peter ⁷	1575-1604	716	96	3	5	8	9	5.9
St Olave	1646-65	232	91	1	7	12	15	7.0
Jewry ⁸	1671-85	130	78	0	6	12	18	7.4
St Thomas	1646-65	462	89	1	6	10	14	6.2
Apostle ⁹	1672-79	132	94	0	2	12	18	7.2
	1719-24	83	88	6	16	22	26	14.2
St Vedast	1647-65	525	95	1	6	11	14	6.8
Foster	1670-85	583	95	0	5	12	16	6.7
Lane ¹⁰	1688-1719	770	92	1	7	14	21	8.6
	1726-36	198	83	4	14	20	25	13.3
	1739-49	192	97	7	15	22	28	15.7
St James	1654-59	1013	89	1	4	9	13	5.7
Clerkenwell	1696-1700	177	91	1	7	14	20	8.9
	1735	356	98	8	16	24	27	16.0
	1745	241	97	8	14	22	26	15.5
St Martin in	1665	600	98	2	8	13	17	8.7
the Field	1675	1102	96	1	7	12	18	8.2
	1735	919	99	3	10	18	25	11.8
	1745	766	98	5	12	19	26	13.6
Mayfair Chapel	1740-43	437	97	5	12	18	24	12.3
French Church	1721-23	592	93	10	14	20	24	15.2
	1745-49	447	99	9	15	21	26	15.0

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