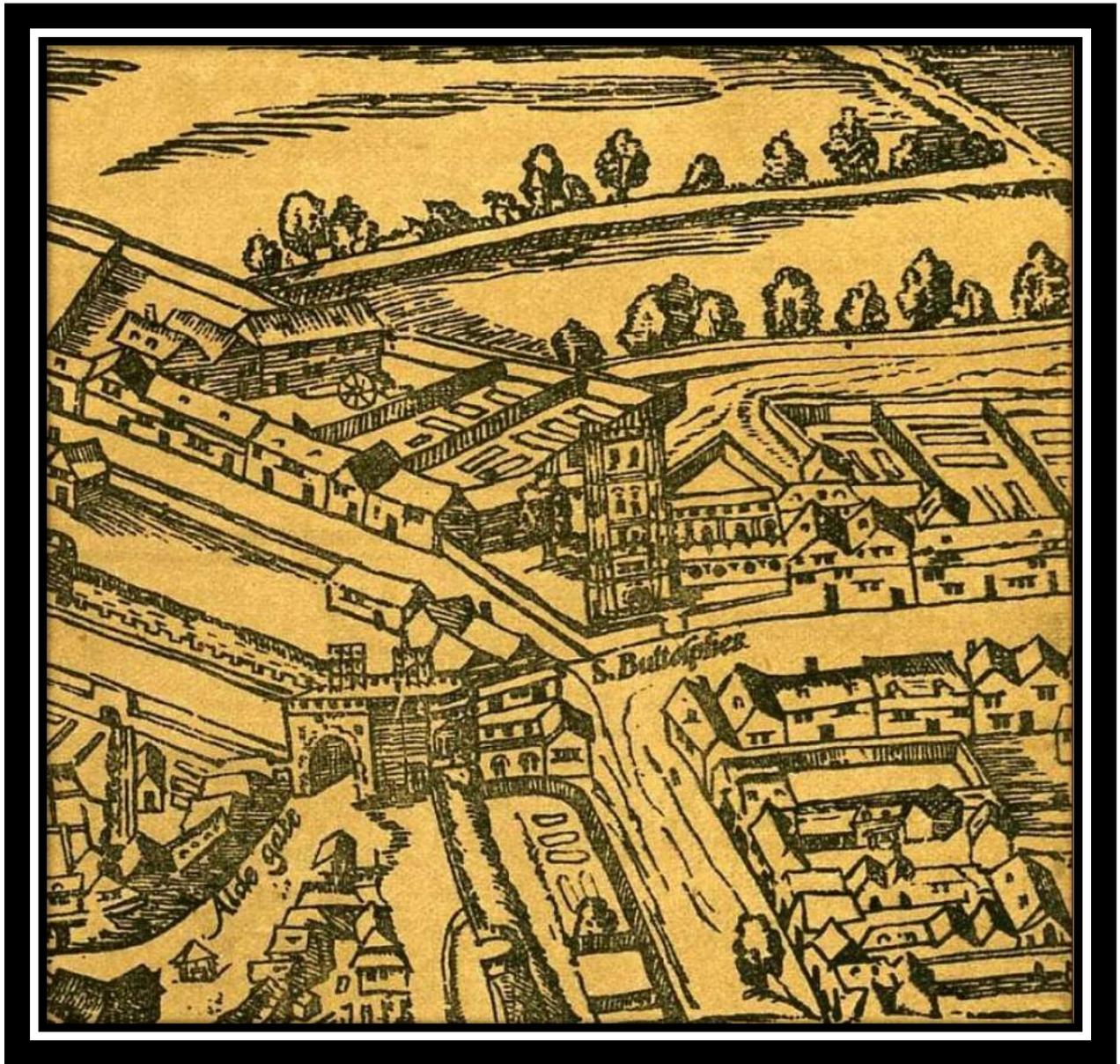


**'Being no parishioner with us':
responses to social and demographic change in
St. Botolph's without Aldgate, London, 1583-1600.**



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Abbreviations

PCMs Parish Clerks Memorandum Books 1583 – 1600

PCM/1 1583/84/86/87

PCM/2 1588/89/90/91/92

PCM/3 1590/91

PCM/4 1593/94

PCM/5 1594/95/96/98/99/1600

PCM/6 1596/97

PCM/7 1597/98

Full dates given in Appendix 1. References throughout will use these abbreviations and the date given in the PCMs, this being the easiest way to find the original in either the transcriptions or the original manuscripts.

CWA Churchwardens Account Books 1586 – 1691

LMA London Metropolitan Archives

IHR Institute of Historical Research

*** 1 *****Introduction**

The twelfth of February 1586/87 was a routine Sunday in the parish of St Botolph without Aldgate. Mr Heaze, the minister, read a homily concerning repentance and five couples had their marriage banns called. Two marriages were celebrated: one of John Marcomm of the neighbouring London parish of All Hallows to Ann Rogeres from Royston, Hertfordshire; the other of Edward Beale to Katheryne Horslye, both parishioners of St Botolph. Six babies were christened, the children of a farrier, a sailor, a carpenter, a printer, a cobbler and of a gentleman Freemason of London. A 20 year old French gentleman, Jacus Luilier, was buried near the north door of the church, to the tolling of bells and with the best coffin cloth.¹ We know the names of these people, sometimes their ages, occupations, where they lived and other details because the Parish Clerk, Thomas Harridance, kept a daily diary of parish affairs during his time at St Botolph. Most of what came to be known as his Parish Clerk's Memorandum Books (PCMs), covering the eighteen years from 1583 to 1600, have survived the intervening 400 years and present an unusually rich source for the examination of everyday life in suburban London towards the end of Elizabeth I's reign.²

The entry for 12 February 1586/87 describes the Frenchman as 'being no parishioner', a phrase frequently used by Harridance. The survival of his memorandum books and in particular his use of this description is the inspiration for this dissertation. What did he intend to convey by this phrase? Who was a parishioner and who was not and why did it matter? I will use a detailed analysis of the content and language of the PCMs to consider whether the rapid social and demographic changes in the parish exerted pressure on its authorities and resources. Did the parish need to restrict its support to parishioners and exclude non-parishioners wherever possible?

¹ See Figure 1.1: PCM /1, 12 February 1586 and Appendix Doc.1

² Parish Clerk's Memorandum Books, PCMs / 1 - 7.

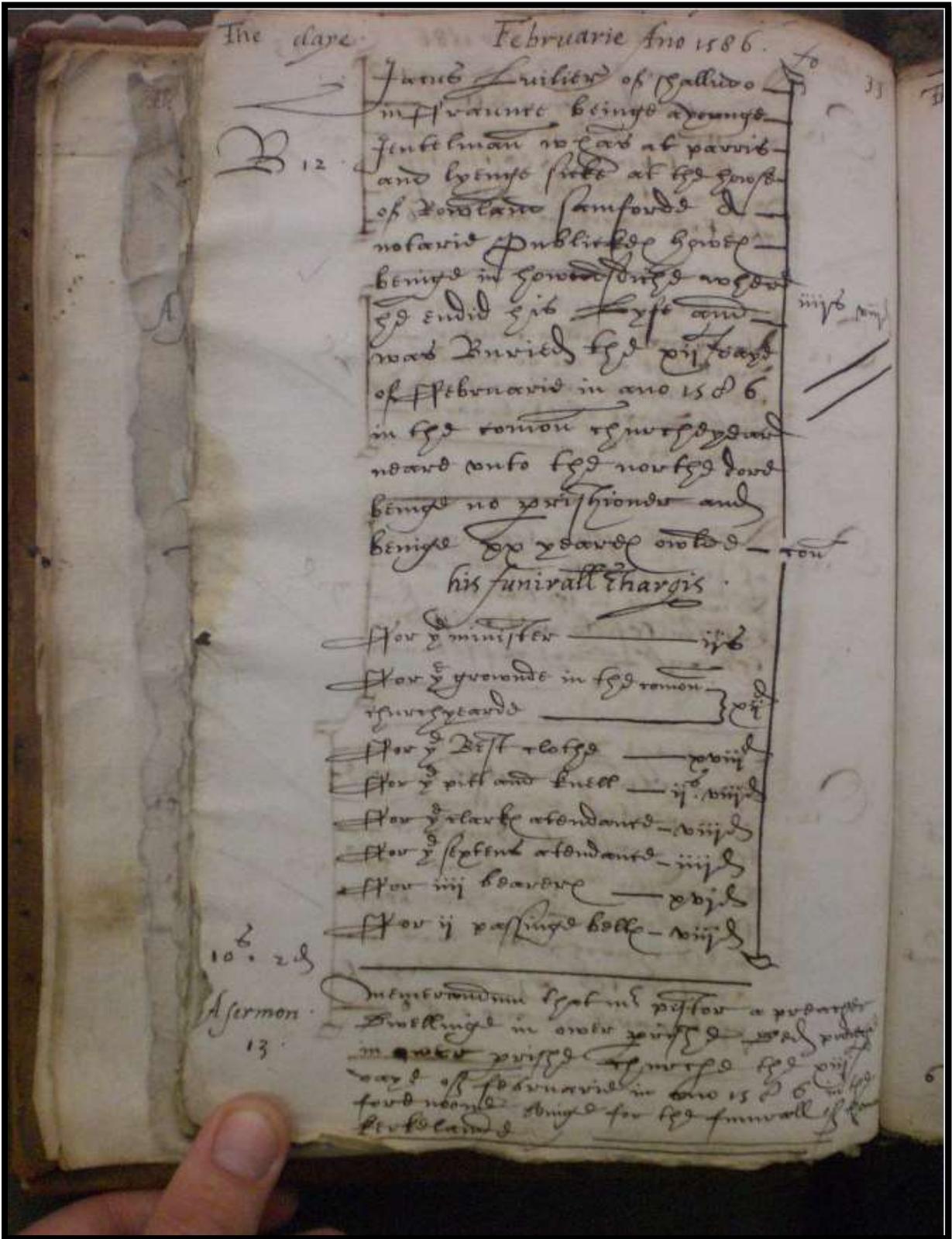


Figure 1.1 Original entries for 12 February 1586/7

The eight volumes of PCMs have recently been transcribed in digitised form by the Institute for Historical Research (IHR) facilitating the reading and interrogation of content and language. Although long known to historians this source can now provide both qualitative and quantitative evidence of one parish's responses to rapid urban growth. Harridance's daily records coincide with a new and growing concern for record keeping. With over 300 entries each year they form a detailed, semi-personal account of much more than the legally required recording of christenings, marriages and burials.

London was growing fast, especially in its eastern suburbs. Immigrants from elsewhere in England, Wales and abroad arrived seeking accommodation and work. Fields and gardens were being built on and open, green spaces were being lost. Contemporaries were well aware of these changes. John Stow wrote regretfully in 1603 of 'pleasant fields . . . which is nowe within few yeares made a continuall building throughout.'³ Finlay has calculated that 'the population of the capital increased from c.70,000 to c.400,000 between 1550 and 1650', and that during this century an eighth of the English population must have had personal experience of life in London.⁴ As the death rate was much greater than the birth rate, and many immigrants did not make London their permanent home, the population of early modern London could not reproduce itself, let alone grow, without continuous high levels of immigration. Graunt's contemporary estimate that London accommodated about 6,000 immigrants a year in the early 17th century seems to be fairly accurate.⁵ Historians have discussed possible inflation and deflation of the available figures and appropriate methods of demographic analysis. Vanessa Harding concludes that 'it does not appear we can do better than to offer an estimate', but what is clear is that London was 'beginning to experience an enormous increase in the inflow of migrants.'⁶ Most adults in London therefore were either first or second

³ J. Stow, *A Survey of London, Reprinted from the text of 1603* (London, 1912), p.116. See Appendix Document 3.

⁴ R. Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: the demography of London 1580 -1650* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 9.

⁵ J. Graunt, 'Natural and political observations made upon the bills of mortality', quoted in Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*, p.1.

⁶ V. Harding, 'The population of London, 1550 -1700: a review of the published evidence', *The London Journal*, 15(1990), pp. 111-128.

generation immigrants, from other parts of Britain and the near continent.⁷ Apprentices arrived to learn a craft, the unskilled poor sought work. Foreign refugees, returning seamen, injured or discharged soldiers, merchants, travellers all hoped to find health, wealth or opportunity in the capital. London was full of people from somewhere else. Were these the people Harridance called 'no parishioner with us'?

Many historians have debated how the metropolis was able to deal with this unprecedented flood of strangers. It was not welcome to the authorities. The government responded in 1572 with legislation to punish vagabonds.⁸ In 1580 a Royal proclamation banned the building of houses on new foundations and the presence of 'inmates' or lodgers in the households of Londoners, because of 'their potential contribution to a growing un-governability of the multitudes.'⁹ Livery Companies similarly expressed concerns about the impact of surplus labour on business and employment.¹⁰ Both City and Crown were anxious about possible disorder, even riot, given the numbers of 'masterless men' moving into London. However, new regulations had little effect in stabilising the population and London continued to grow, especially outside the City, in the less tightly controlled suburbs.

My dissertation will consider whether the PCMs reflect the concern to maintain law and order in the way in which non-parishioners are described and treated. Did attitudes and responses at a local parish level vary from those of City and Crown? The latter years of the reign of Elizabeth I, from 1570 to 1601, witnessed numerous attempts to reduce unemployment, restrict immigrant numbers and limit assistance to those genuinely disadvantaged. These measures, however, were slow to be implemented, possibly due to the lack of a single local administrative structure to deliver them. Instead the old established parish authorities, like St Botolph without Aldgate, were charged with their implementation.

⁷ Finlay, *Population and metropolis*, p.15.

⁸ 'An Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds and for relief of the Poor; 1572', quoted in A.L. Beier, *The problem of the poor in Tudor and early Stuart England* (London, 1983), p. 40.

⁹ W. Baer, 'Housing for the lesser sort in Stuart London', *The London Journal*, 33 (2008), p.76.

¹⁰ J. Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham, 2012), pp.15,16.

St Botolph is both typical and atypical, growing fast like the rest of London, but on the periphery where the impact was particularly stark. The northern part of the parish, Portsoken, was coterminous with the extramural ward of the City of London, and had its own elected Alderman and members of the City's Court of Common Council. The southern end of the parish, East Smithfield, was part of the county of Middlesex, formerly land owned by Holy Trinity Priory, and post-reformation by the Crown. Being outside the authority of the City it soon became an area where immigrants settled. In the 1580s much of the parish was still open land, used for horticulture and recreation, but still identifiably rural. Twenty years later, however, it was largely covered with buildings, many of which were sub-divided to accommodate newly arrived residents. It therefore forms an unusual and interesting subject of study at an unusual and interesting time.

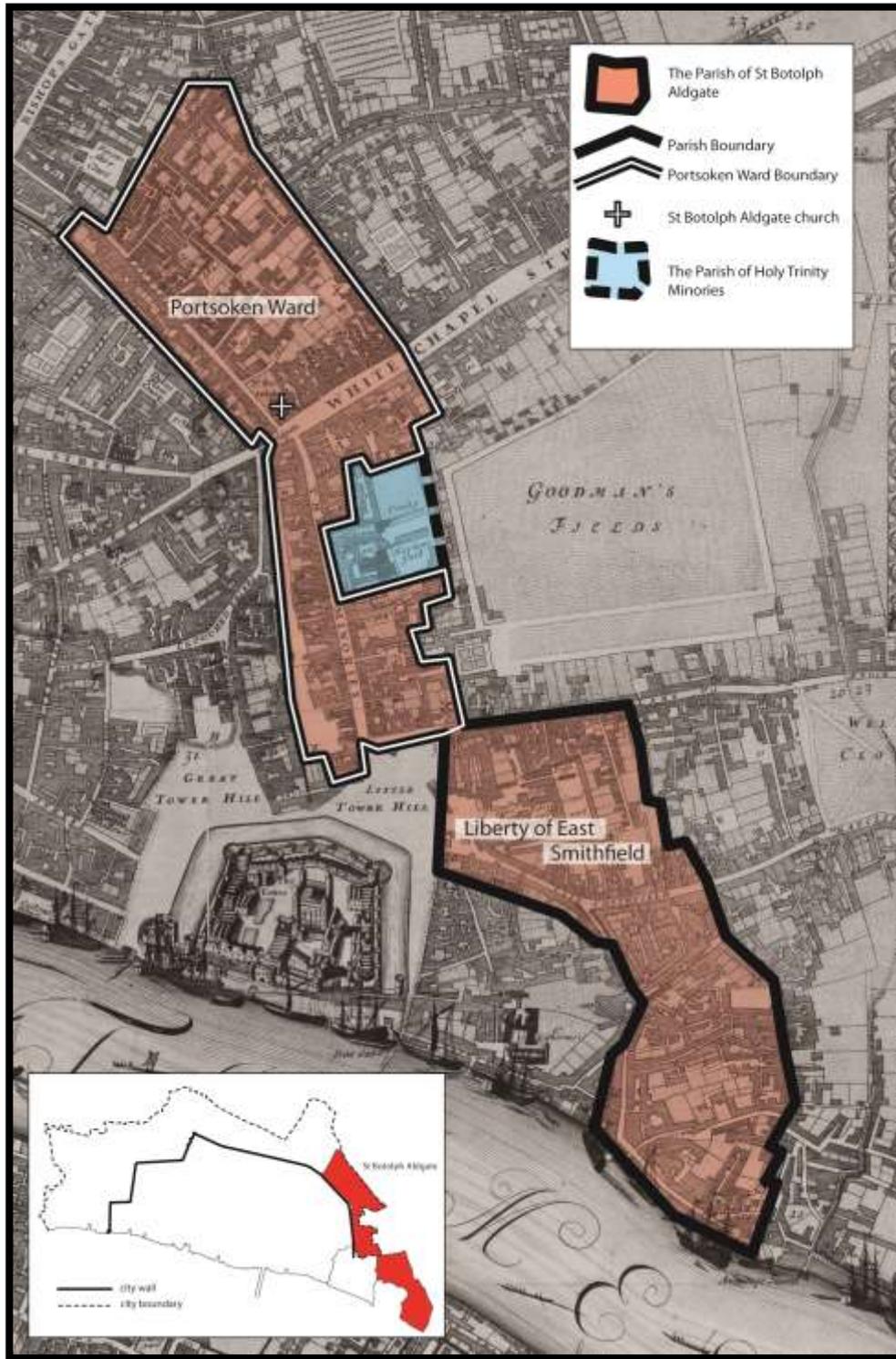
Until the late 1980s much of the history of early modern London, as Valerie Pearl noted, 'placed an overriding emphasis on crisis, conflict and social polarisation'.¹¹ Since then studies have provided a more nuanced picture, suggesting that, although there were major challenges, at least an acceptable level of stability was maintained. The 1590s are recognised as being particularly difficult, encompassing a major plague epidemic in 1593 and several years of bad weather leading to national food shortages and rising prices.¹² Many immigrants would have arrived hoping London could provide better sustenance than their places of origin, only to find this was not so. The severity of these problems is the subject of some disagreement, but studies published in the 1980s and 1990s were 'much more reluctant to apply the term "crisis" to the 1590s.'¹³ Contemporary authorities perhaps could not envisage the network of agencies spanning different levels of society which were able to hold together the potentially divergent elements and maintain a degree of social order.

¹¹ V. Pearl, 'Change and stability in seventeenth-century London', *The London Journal*, 5 (1979), p.3.

¹² S. Rappaport, 'Social structure and mobility in sixteenth century London: Part 2', *The London Journal*, 10 (1984), p. 128.

¹³ I. Archer, *The pursuit of stability, social relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 11.

Figure 1.2 The parish of St Botolph without Aldgate



Boulton's seminal book *Neighbourhood and Society* describes this layered structure of parish and 'community' life in Southwark, a similar suburban parish to St Botolph, in the seventeenth century. He suggests that 'the informal social institutions of neighbourhood life were bolstered and underpinned by a surprisingly pervasive parochial administration,' and the 'paramount importance' of neighbourly contacts acted as social glue as Southwark grew and changed.¹⁴ Rappaport's *Worlds within worlds; structures of life in sixteenth century London* focuses on the ability of the London Livery Companies to ameliorate the effects of uncontrolled growth and provide a route of social mobility for apprentice migrants. Whilst recognising that the 'problems (London) faced were formidable . . . its institutions functioned well and never even approached the chaos which looms so large in some accounts.'¹⁵ Rappaport concludes that 'to describe (London) as a chaotic place is to fail to see the complex and organised society which thrived beneath its institutional substructure.'¹⁶ Archer's *The pursuit of stability; social relations in Elizabethan London* re-emphasises the seriousness of the problems which London faced and questions Rappaport's focus on stability and the willingness of the powerful to respond to demands from the wider society. Like Rappaport, Archer relies heavily on the Livery Company archives and notes the extent to which economic, demographic and social changes in London were mitigated by the solidarity of this urban elite. However, alongside this he describes the parish as 'an important unit of social identity'. Here the elite came into close contact with their less fortunate neighbours, through holding office as Vestrymen, from whom the less fortunate could expect to receive assistance in times of need.¹⁷ Selwood's recent book *Diversity and difference in early modern London* considers civic attitudes towards immigrants and their children and Londoners' responses to the arrival of 'aliens' and 'strangers'. Although seen by the authorities as a serious threat, many newcomers were quickly absorbed into London life and even held high office. Selwood comments that 'early modern Londoners practiced a distinctly metropolitan version of Englishness, one that emerged from daily

¹⁴ J. Boulton, *Neighbourhood and society: a London suburb in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, 1987), p.293.

¹⁵ S. Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds; structures of life in sixteenth century London* (Cambridge, 1989), p.19.

¹⁶ Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds*, p.384.

¹⁷ Archer, *The pursuit of stability*, pp. 92-98.

life with enough elasticity to structure responses to a wide range of groups.¹⁸ Marjorie McIntosh's analysis of *Poor Relief in England 1350 – 1600* is not restricted to London, but describes how parish structures adapted originally medieval beliefs and behaviours to provide ongoing support and assistance to those in need. The Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1598 and 1601, she believes, 'made relatively minor modifications to existing practices'.¹⁹ A. L. Beier's *The problem of the poor in Tudor and early Stuart England* concludes that emerging legislation limiting vagrancy and begging 'protected [the elite] from a host of disorders that might otherwise have threatened their social supremacy'.²⁰

The overall picture of late 16th century London is, then, less bleak than was once thought, but still often lacks an answer to the question 'What did it all feel like to live in London at this time?'²¹ Many academic studies of this period are dependent on the records produced by those in authority and use the same descriptive categories and labels as did their authors. Legislation throughout the 16th century conflated 'vagrancy' and 'begging' with 'idleness' and made a stark distinction between the impotent poor, who deserved help, and sturdy beggars who did not.²² As legislation required parishes to assume increasing responsibility for these problems I intend to ask how Harridance's PCMs document these issues, setting the analysis in the context of work by other historians.

The detailed information provided to a common format in the PCMs is closer to a chronicle or diary than to formal parish records, although as Alan Macfarlane has warned even such records are always incomplete. Fascinating as the PCMs are, 'the topics which never occur in (them) are far more numerous than those which do.' Recognising their limitations, such as the probable biases of the author, the minor gaps in their chronology and our ignorance of the motivation for their production,

¹⁸ Selwood, *Diversity*, p.194.

¹⁹ M. McIntosh, *Poor relief in England 1350 – 1600* (Cambridge, 2012), p.295.

²⁰ Beier, *The problem of the poor*, p.36.

²¹ S. Hindle, 'A sense of place? Becoming and belonging in the rural parish, 1550-1650' in A. Shepard and P. Withington eds. *Communities in early modern England*, (Manchester, 2000), p.110.

²² '1536 Act for the punishment of sturdy vagabonds and beggars' and '1572 Act for the punishment of vagabonds and for the relief of the poor and impotent'. See Hindle, *The problem of the poor*, p.39, 40.

I have restricted myself to what MacFarlane calls 'a very partial picture of some very delimited areas of the past.'²³

I intend, therefore, to seek some answers to the following questions:

- What kind of a place was St Botolph's parish as described by the Parish Clerk?
- How was the increasingly diverse population of the parish described?
- Who was considered a parishioner, who was not and how did this affect how the parish responded to their needs? Were non-parishioners seen as a problem and excluded from some parish services?
- How important was the parish's peripheral status and demographic complexity?

I approached these questions from the perspectives of cultural or anthropological history, keeping as close to the original sources as possible. Although it is obviously impossible to know exactly what intentions motivated these descriptions of past events, retaining the categories and format of the original records will, I believe, anchor the analysis to the original time and place. I will, therefore, retain Harridance's use of the 'Old Style' Julian calendar throughout, with each new numbered year commencing on 25 March, and reference events by date, year and volume of the PCMs. This will facilitate access to the transcriptions and/or original manuscripts or online searches through Rescript and associated digital tools.²⁴ Similarly I have maintained the original spelling of names to simplify the identification of individuals through searches of the Excel transcriptions. I hope that by keeping close to Harridance's original language my analysis will also reflect the meanings he intended. Where possible I have used quantitative analysis to examine comprehensively the entries relating to specific subjects in specific years, thus demonstrating patterns and generating questions that might not be evident without the help of digital methods.²⁵ This was made easier by simple coding of the

²³ A. Macfarlane, *Reconstructing historical communities* (Cambridge, 1977), p.205.

²⁴ See < <http://rescript.org/> > [accessed 4 March 2014].

²⁵ I am grateful to Prof. Julian Hoppit's lecture 'Quantitative Analysis for Historians', School of Advanced Study, London University: 15 January, 2014.

transcriptions and entering them onto an Excel spreadsheet of events for each year.²⁶ Where appropriate they were then converted to graphs and charts which describe concisely a greater range of information than could be covered textually. Presented in this way the data also provides some indication of changing patterns over the 18 year period, although given the nature of the source this can only be indicative.

Year	No. of months covered	Burials	NPs	%age	Christenings	NPs	%age	Weddings	NPs	%age	Churchings	NPs	%age
1583	3	35	0		53	0		16	5	31.0	47	0	
1584	9	124	8	6.5	102	0		70	28	40.0	113	0	
1585													
1586	4	86	16	18.0	37	2	5.0	18	3	16.6	45	4	8.8
1587	10	237	37	15.6	142	10	7.0	67	19	28.3	148	5	3.3
1588	9	132	19	14.0	134	9	5.9	77	12	15.6	121	4	3.3
1589	12	152	25	9.9	207	12	5.7	118	27	22.8	218	2	1.5
1590	12	217	29	16.4	224	15	7.5	110	35	31.8	215	5	2.3
1591	12	238	36	15.7	179	12	6.7	100	35	35.0	189	3	1.6
1592	9	292	23	12.0	122	4	0	86	21	24.4	118	0	0
1593	6	430	32	7.6	75	1	0	105	13	12.4	69	1	1.4
1594	12	216	29	10.5	239	7	2.9	110	22	20.0	234	3	1.7
1595	12	187	15	8.0	181	6	3.3	98	29	29.6	181	5	2.7
1596	12	257	33	12.8	200	5	2.5	94	29	30.8	185	1	0.5
1597	12	355	31	8.7	177	8	4.5	83	17	20.5	171	5	2.9
1598	12	221	20	9.8	191	6	3.1	96	19	19.8	200	0	0
1599	12	267	13	7.0	231	9	4.3	89	24	26.9	235	2	0.8
1600	4	30	4		36	1		23	7	30.4	44	0	0
TOTALS		3476	370		2530	107		1344	345		2533	40	

Table 1.1 Total recorded burials, christenings, weddings and churchings, 1583 -1600

Harridance’s use of language can similarly be interrogated by searching the transcription spreadsheets. Both the gaps in the record and variability in 16th century spellings and descriptive terms, make complete accuracy impossible, so any quantitative analysis needs to be approached with caution. Relying too heavily on quantitative analysis would anyway devalue the literary quality of the full text. I therefore also kept detailed written notes of each year’s entries.

²⁶ Example spreadsheet Appendix Document 4.

To provide the context for my analysis, Chapter 2 will describe the parish of St. Botolph's in the late 16th century, the role of Thomas Harridance, the Parish Clerk, and the unusual nature of his Memorandum Books. Chapter 3 considers briefly the ways diversity and difference were described in the PCMs and the extent to which the descriptions used suggest some individuals were subject to exclusion or discrimination. In Chapter 4 I will discuss in detail how the PCMs describe the parish treatment of outsiders and migrants, those Harridance often calls 'non-parishioners'. The conclusion attempts to pull together some of these strands.

* 2 *

St Botolph without Aldgate



Figure 2.1 Engraving of St Botolph's church, before 1739 demolition.

In 1580 the parish of St Botolph without Aldgate had a peripheral, liminal position, being neither an integral part of the City of London, nor of the surrounding countryside. Estimates of the parish population are necessarily rough. The 1548 London and Middlesex Chantry certificate gives a figure of 1,130 communicants, which suggests a total population of about 2,000.²⁷ By 1580 this figure

²⁷ *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548*: London Record Society 16, (1980), pp. 1-60. < <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=64523> > [accessed: 11 June 2013].

would have more than doubled and by 1590 have risen again to something like 7,000.²⁸ This rapid growth necessitated a significant increase in the provision of housing, parish administration, social welfare and other public services.

The parish covers about 80 acres with its church, dedicated appropriately to St. Botolph, the patron saint of travellers, standing just outside the Aldgate. It is a long thin parish, large for early modern London, stretching from north of Aldgate down to the river at St. Katherine's Dock. Despite the juridical complexities associated with its split between Portsoken Ward and East Smithfield the parish operated as a single administrative unit, with Vestrymen from both 'ends' responsible for its management. Contemporary printed maps showed drawings of buildings and topographical features on a street plan, a so-called 'picture map'. For London in the 1560s they reveal the relative sparsity of the built-up area outside the walls, but by 1580 the expansion, as described by Stow, with the loss of fields and gardens to new housing and workshops is also evident. The PCMs reflect this, commenting in February 1586/87 on 'newe Howses Bilt by one Arthur More'²⁹

Parish boundaries were confirmed symbolically and practically each year on Ascension Day when the Alderman's deputy, Churchwardens, sidesmen, 'dyvers others antient men' accompanied by local children, undertook the annual perambulation.³⁰ This important ritual reinforced in everyone's minds the geographical limits of the parish, the extent of the population for which it had some responsibility and the area from which many resources would come. Even this regular event was affected by the growth of the built environment. In 1587, the perambulation went well,

untill they did com to the gardens neare Hownsdich where in two placis, they were Fayne to pull Downe the pales in the gardens No man gaynesaying them but they did go thorough the Same According to Auncient Customm,³¹

then in 1599 when the curate & parishioners demanded their way

²⁸'Life in the suburbs' <<http://www.history.ac.uk/projects/research/life-in-the-suburbs>> [accessed 9 January 2013].

²⁹ 2 February 1586, PCM/1.

³⁰ 25 May 1598, PCM/7.

³¹ 5 May 1597, PCM/6.

thorough Edward Beckes grownd according to owld & antient custom, the Said Curat and parishioners weare withstood by the Said Edward Beck and His wyfe, who Said to His wyfe Let us rather dye to gither this day Rather then the parishioners Shall Have a way thorough any part of our grownd.³²

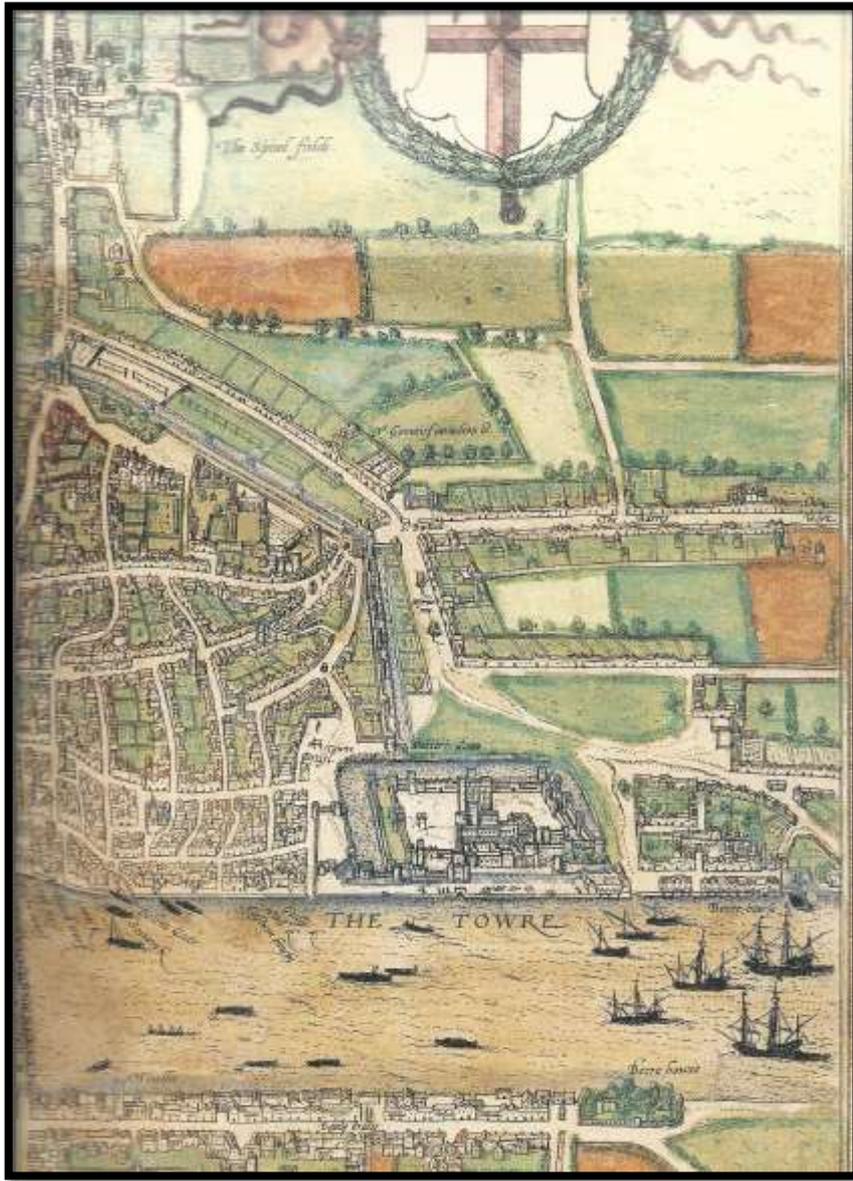


Figure 2.2 Detail of Braun and Hogenberg's 1572 map of London showing the parish.

³² 17 May 1599, PCM/5.



Fig 2.3 Detail of Faithorne & Newcourt's 1658 map of London showing the parish.

Local authority boundaries still create controversy over responsibilities to pay taxes, repair roads, provide social services and bury people. In this period they also determined financial responsibility for the poor and the sick and disabled. The homeless, beggars, orphan children, vagrants, maimed soldiers and plague victims all figure in Harridance's 18 years of descriptions, but not everyone was needy. Many London citizens, liverymen, craftsmen and merchants also lived in the parish and served it as officials and benefactors. One such, Alexander Horden, Esquire, Clerk of the Green Cloth, was a senior finance officer to Edward VI, Mary and Queen Elizabeth. He lived in East Smithfield until

1596 and both he and his wife were buried at St. Botolph's.³³ So the parish was home to all kinds - the poor, the middling sort and the wealthy - including immigrants from across Britain and the world. Harridance often documents their origins, such as 'Henrie Williamson a tailor being a Dutch man' or 'Thomas Langthorne dwelling in Wellingborowghe in northhamton sheere'³⁴. Several from further afield are described as 'blackamore' or 'negar'.³⁵ However, large scale immigration was accompanied by mass emigration too. Young men arriving for apprenticeships or to seek work often returned home, servants were temporarily employed, and foreign merchants moved in and out of London. Although the parish served this mixed population throughout the period, the mobility of many inhabitants must have meant that some never became well integrated into parish life, as illustrated by the fact that only 1,000 people took communion in Easter week 1598, out of a total population of approximately 8,000.

The parish Vestry provided both lay and ecclesiastical services to this growing population. Their responsibilities increased over this period, including what we would now call town planning and development, highways and drainage maintenance, keeping the peace, the provision of various social services and poor relief, as well as the management of parish properties. As Merritt notes 'much of the Vestries' dealings concerned civil matters that were not business of the church.'³⁶ Housing was a particular challenge. In 1584 Mr Dove was questioned 'abowte his newe byldinge neare unto the poores Landes'.³⁷ In 1588 the Vestrymen, concerned about public health, issued fourteen orders including that William Brooke was to cease tanning activities in his garden and 'william Leeke, Thomas Pilkinton and robert Tomkins Showld make a privie Betwixt them three to

³³ 29 January 1596, PCM/6. See Appendix Document 4.

³⁴ 7 July and 16 March 1592, PCM/ 2.

³⁵ 27 August 1587, PCM/1.

³⁶ J. Merritt, 'Contested legitimacy and the ambiguous rise of vestries in early modern London', *The Historical Journal*, 54 (2011), p.42.

³⁷ 29 September 1584, PCM/1.

This may be Robert Dow, resident and benefactor of the parish. See Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.urls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/66929>> [accessed 19 March 2014]

Serve there Howses'.³⁸ Other debates covered rights of way, encroachments of buildings into public spaces, road paving, fences and public nuisances of various kinds.

The Vestry met regularly, and frequently, when parish issues, such a new church roof or a property disagreement, required it. In most years nine or ten meetings were held and in some years considerably more.³⁹ The PCMs describe the business of these meetings; the regular appointment of new parish officers, mediation between contesting parishioners, managing building work and legacies. Alongside these local government functions were liturgical responsibilities. The parish was solidly Protestant with three or four sermons delivered every week, in addition to the continuous pattern of christenings, marriages, churchings, burials and charitable collections and distributions. This busy church timetable indicates, as Kumin has suggested, 'no very clear distinction between secular and ecclesiastical activities.'⁴⁰

The PCMs and their author

The role of the parish clerk was to maintain church records and support the parish priest. He was usually responsible for attending and recording christenings, marriages and burials and also for taking the minutes of Vestry meetings. The post had survived the Reformation and retained a number of religious duties, such as contributing to services of worship, leading the responses to prayers and, if necessary, officiating in place of the priest when he was not available, a relic of the Catholic recognition that Clerks were holders of minor orders.⁴¹

On 18 March 1583/84 Mr. Thomas Harridance was appointed clerk at St. Botolph 'for the tearme of his lyfe', at a wage of four pounds a year.⁴² He was a citizen and member of the Ironmongers' Company. Although an educated man he was not an elected Vestryman, but a parish administrator,

³⁸ 12 December 1588, PCM/1.

³⁹ PCM/6. Also see Appendix Document 11.

⁴⁰ B. Kumin, 'The English Parish in a European perspective' in K. French, G. Gibbs, et al. eds., *The parish in English life*, (Manchester, 1997), p. 23.

⁴¹ P.H. Ditchfield, *The Parish Clerk*, <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13363/13363-h/13363-h.htm>> pp.19, 79 [accessed 20 May 2014].

⁴² 18 March 1583, PCM/1.

paid for his services. He and his family were long term residents of the parish. In 1586, when his four year old son was buried in the churchyard, they lived 'in mortimares Rentas beinge neare unto the towne Ditche in the waye that goethe towards the miniris.'⁴³ Several of his children were born and buried in the parish and at least one seems to have remained there after his parents' deaths in 1601 and 1603.⁴⁴

Harridance kept his Memorandum Books during his whole period in office, although they were not officially required. As no earlier books survive for St. Botolph's, it may be that he initiated the practice which was continued by his successors until 1625. Parish Memorandum Books are rare elsewhere. Although Clerks often kept rough notes for later inclusion in the Parish Registers they were not usually transcribed into separate books as at St. Botolph's and never over such a long consecutive period. Harridance's PCMs fill seven volumes, each numbered year running from 25 March to 24 March. There are some gaps in the record. Those for 1583 and 1584 need to be combined to cover 12 consecutive months, that for 1585 is missing, 1586 covers only December to March, in 1587 two months are missing and in 1588 there is a gap from September to December. The PCM for 1592 stops in December and that for 1593, a year when two of Harridance's children died of the plague, does not start until September and his final year, 1600, covers only March to June.⁴⁵ However, eleven years are complete and a further 32 months are covered in the partial years. The reasons for these gaps are not known and some may be due to the non-survival of PCMs rather than a failure to produce them. The uniformity of the manuscript and the style of the illumination strongly suggest that they, along with the parish registers, were transcribed in the 1590s when the Churchwardens Accounts (CWA) record that a scribe was employed and an additional

⁴³ 18 February 1586, PCM/1.

⁴⁴ W. McMurray, *Notes on parish clerks taken from the court minutes and admission registers (both destroyed in 1940) of the Parish Clerks' Company, and from various other sources*. LMA: CLC/478/MS03705

⁴⁵ See Appendix Document 1 for complete list.

payment made to Thomas Harridance, for transcribing.⁴⁶ For significant events, like the beginning of a new book or the burial of a minister, the text is illuminated.⁴⁷

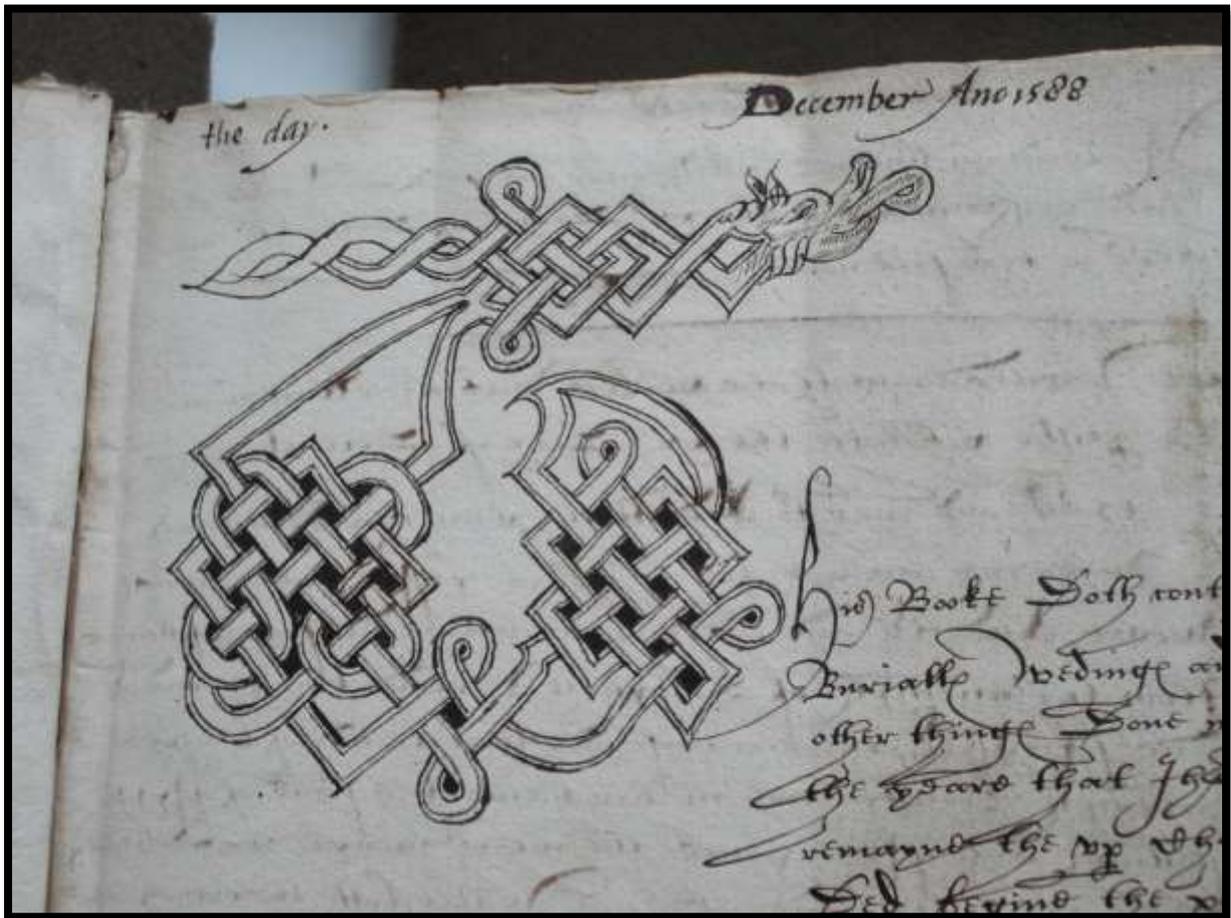


Figure 2.4 Illumination in 1588 PCM Book.

Throughout, despite the depredations of the plague or the pressures of his complex responsibilities, Harridance maintains an almost daily record of parish activities.

The PCMs do not gloss over the problems and challenges that the parish authorities faced. They record unsatisfactory preachers and ministers, abnormal births, deaths from misadventure or violence, excommunications, collections and distributions of charity to the poor and disabled as well as licenced collections to aid sudden calamities in other parts of the country and the world. The routine format of the entries was preserved no matter what was happening locally, nationally and internationally. Celebrations for the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots and the defeat of the

⁴⁶ Church Wardens Accounts (CWA), 1599.

⁴⁷ 15 December 1588, PCM/2.

Spanish Armada are included, but briefly and in much less detail than many of the more mundane local happenings.

Where other of St Botolph Aldgate's records survive, such as the Parish Registers, Churchwardens Accounts (CWAs), Parish Apprenticeship Indentures and Bonds of Indemnity concerning parish poor children, they were all kept for a specific, administrative purposes and/or because they were legally required. The PCMs on the other hand are one man's account of the happenings relevant to the responsibilities of the parish authorities. There are reasons to consider that despite their informal status the records are reliable. There is a common format with three columns, one recording the date, one describing the event, and a third with additional information such as the charges made or the cause of death. (See Figure 2.5). The christenings, weddings and burials recorded in the PCMs match those listed in the formal parish registers, but with additional personal details. As Harridance was responsible for both the PCMs and the parish records this match may not be surprising, but does suggest that accuracy was important to him. His PCMs are perhaps best seen as semi-personal, rather than private documents, written so they could be read by others, and sometimes, as he himself notes, being useful to higher authorities.⁴⁸ The PCMs are not a diary, although they have some characteristics in common with journals surviving from this period and conform to the stylistic and intellectual conventions of the time. Their aim seems to be, as Mark Knights has suggested, 'to keep an account of providence or God's ordering of the world and of individual lives'.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ 12 December 1591, PCM/.2.

⁴⁹ M. Knights, *Diaries of the Seventeenth Century*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/diaries_01.shtm> [accessed 15 December 2013]

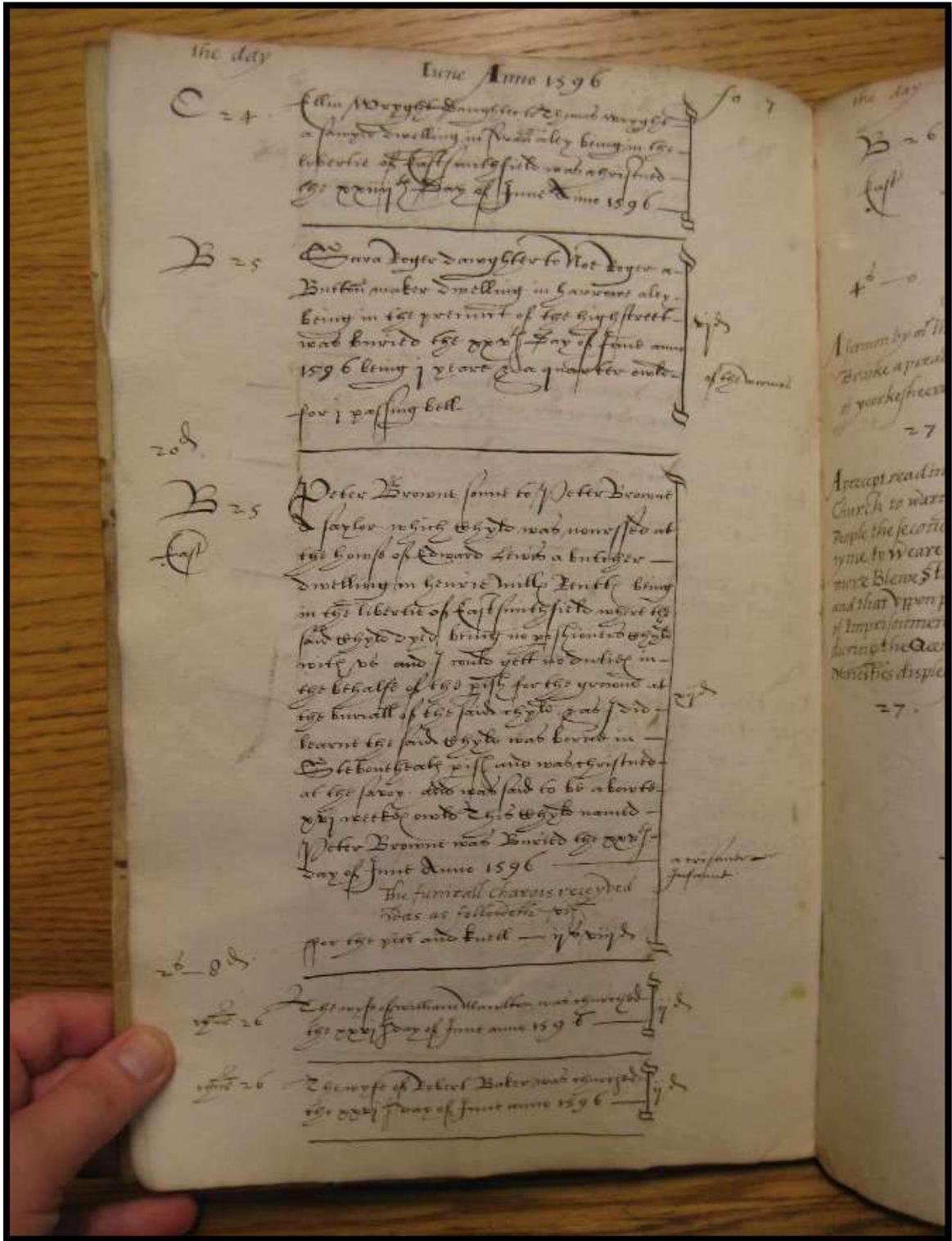


Figure 2.5 Regular three column page layout.

The strength of the PCMs as an historical source lies partly in the length of their consecutive entries, partly in the fact that they are the work of one author, and partly in the fact that they were not required by a higher authority for some specific purpose. As semi-personal documents it is probable that they do not simply reflect the views of the Vestry, City or Crown, but are Harridance's own perceptions of the parish. He certainly includes some personal comments, such as 'this is my godchild', and a signed prayer for forgiveness, 'be merciful unto my sinne for it is great.'⁵⁰

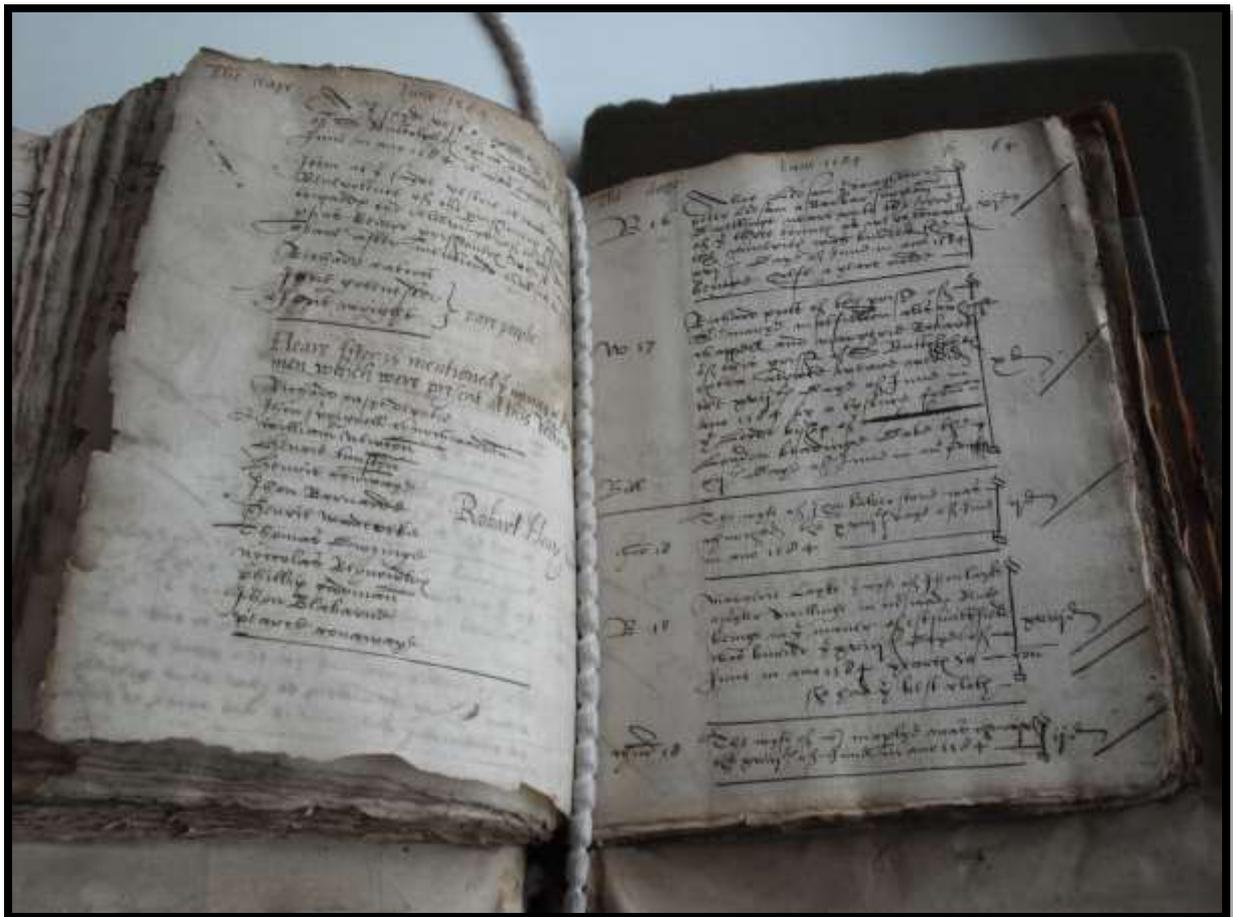


Figure 2.6 Entries for June 1584.

⁵⁰ 20 March 1589 and 10 December 1590, PCM/2.

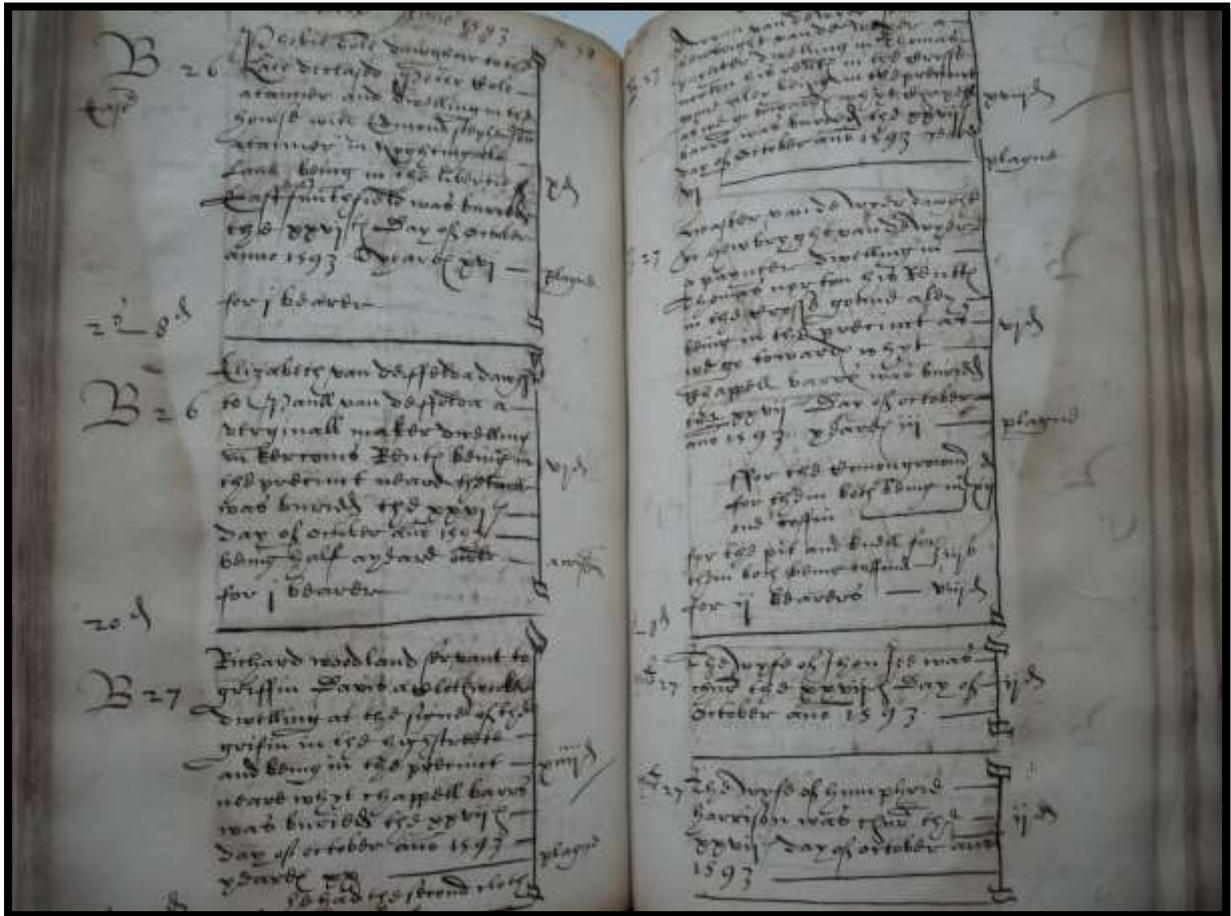


Figure 2.7 Entries for June 1593.

Over the centuries the books have been rebound, although one remains in what looks like an original calfskin binding. Some have detailed indexes at the end, Volume 6 states 'Heareafter is Mentioned a table whereby you may easily fynd out certayne Matters entered in this Booke'. Harridance appears to have been an early prototype of a conscientious local government officer. He adopted an objective, non-judgemental tone, was consistently precise in his extremely detailed accounts, admitting when necessary that he does not know a date or name or place of residence. His books thus display a personal commitment to many, many hours of careful work.

The growth of the parish population can be traced in the PCM entries. Christenings increased from 134 a year in 1588/89 to 230 in 1599/1600, over the same period the numbers of marriage banns rose from 218 to 354, suggesting an increase in parishioners' weddings from about 76 in 1588/89 to 151 in 1599/1600. Burial numbers are not accurate indicators of population changes, being seriously



Fig 2.8 Binding of 1597 PCM.

affected by periodic epidemics. However, the secular trend does appear to be upwards, from about 150 annually in the 1580s to at least 250 in the 1590s, with peaks such as 430 in seven months of the plague year of 1593/4. Throughout the 18 years the church was busy almost every day servicing people from all levels of society, from citizens and liverymen to labourers and the unemployed.

This mobile, diverse population lived within the parish boundaries, but were they all therefore 'parishioners'? The next chapter will examine Harridance's descriptions of them to see whether he, and perhaps also his contemporaries, had a clear definition of who was and who was not a parishioner.

* 3 *

Labelling diversity, inclusion and exclusion.

Without wanting to dig too deeply into a Foucaudian analysis of Harridance's PCMs it may be apposite to note that, as Ian Archer reminds readers, 'it is people's perception of their situation rather than the relativities in which historians so often deal, that matters'.⁵¹ Historians sometimes assume that the London authorities' official concern with controlling and managing outsiders, especially in the rapidly growing suburbs, was reflected in the ways such people were viewed by their neighbours. Archer recognises that the apparent failure of measures to control vagrants were at least partially because 'the fears of the elite were exaggerated',⁵² but also perhaps that suburban parishes were slow off the mark in their efforts at regulation. This suggests that the administrative systems were lax, although an alternative explanation could be that at the parish level the issues were not seen to be so threatening. Rappaport reminds readers that documented details of problems and challenges may 'figure for their singularity' rather than because they are representative.⁵³ It is certainly true that even if the contemporary perception is disproved by later analysis, it was the perception that informed behaviours and relationships at the time and these of course may not have been the same at all levels of society.

As Withington and Shepard note, 'Many words of conceptual importance have contemporary (today) significations which bear little relation to their respective inferences in the past'.⁵⁴ With this in mind I will ask what, if anything, can we learn from the ways Harridance refers to the people he describes? Are labels such as 'stranger', 'vagrant', 'alien', 'inmate' or 'foreigner' used consistently to distinguish who was accepted and included and who was excluded from parish services? Does he make a clear distinction between 'parishioners' and 'non-parishioners'? Both national and City

⁵¹ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p.14.

⁵² Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p.225.

⁵³ Rappaport, *Worlds within worlds*, p17.

⁵⁴ W. Shepard and P. Withington, *Communities in early modern England* (Manchester,2000), p. 1.

authorities assumed that the unemployed, foreigners and poor people needed to be managed and controlled and, where necessary, excluded from London's economic and social life. The City Livery Companies sought legal support for their exclusive rights and to prevent 'strangers' from setting up businesses in London,⁵⁵ and Acts of Parliament in the 1570s and 1590s legislated against 'vagabonds' and other non-productive persons. These concerns were based on the perception that these 'masterless men', without obvious means of earning a living, might well resort to criminal acts if not contained. Beier considers 'there was something like a state of war between the City authorities and the suburban vagrant.'⁵⁶ Poverty, if not accompanied by impotence, was often equated with marginality. As Hindle puts it, 'the poor were made all too well aware of their place as strangers and subordinates',⁵⁷ and parishes were increasingly expected to be responsible for finding, monitoring and controlling the poor and displaced, and labelling those who were entitled to help and those who were not. Aliens from abroad, who might take work from the entrepreneurs of England, also needed to be watched. Any unattached strangers could form a challenge to social order and stability.

Beier, writing on responses to poverty, suggests three 'spurs to action'. One was undoubtedly the concern that unattached people might become criminals, but another was the growing belief that society could grow into an integrated, well-functioning organism, 'a body commonwealth' with mutually dependent parts, if it were properly managed. Authorities must help maintain order by assisting those who were, through no fault of their own, unable to fend for themselves, and the able-bodied lower orders must commit themselves to productive work. Allied to this was the developing humanist belief that all men were capable of being improved by education, training and the protestant religion into fully functioning members of society. The unemployed should be found work and destitute children trained and reintegrated.⁵⁸ McIntosh also reflects that the provision of

⁵⁵ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p.137.

⁵⁶ A.L.Beier, *Masterless men; the vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640*, (London, 1985) p.43.

⁵⁷ Hindle, 'A sense of place?' p.109.

⁵⁸ Beier, *The problem of the poor*, p.11.

assistance by, amongst others, the parish authorities was 'shaped not only by ideological constructions of poverty and charity, but also by personal sympathy for suffering people and concern about order and authority.'⁵⁹ We might reasonably assume that these attempts to label and control in order to maintain social order would be reflected in the PCMs, documenting as they do the responses of a suburban parish 'on the edge', both geographically and socially.

Harridance's use of language is, I will argue, suggestive. Over the 18 years he describes individuals as 'strangers', 'vagrants', 'inmates' and 'no parishioner'. However, most are not used frequently. 'Stranger' is used on average less than twice a year, with a maximum of five times in 1595/96. 'Vagrant', in all its forms, is used 16 times over the 18 years, again with a maximum of five in 1597/98. 'Alien' is never used, and 'foreigner' once. 'Inmates' are only mentioned three times and one of these is in relation to a meeting of Aldermen to discuss new regulations on identifying them.⁶⁰ References to begging, 'going a gooding', only occur four times. The description 'no parishioner' often with the addition of 'with us' is, contrastingly, used many times every year, 291 times in all, with a maximum of 56 times in 1587/88 and 36 times in the six months of PCMs for the plague year 1593. The phrase is sometimes accompanied by other labels. A 'stranger' is normally described as 'no parishioner', but a 'vagrant' is usually not.

So what can be learnt from the way that Harridance uses these terms in the PCMs?

'Stranger' is used to refer to people from abroad; Dutch, Flemish or 'born in the land of . . .', and also for sailors who have died on-board and are brought for burial at St. Botolph. Two 'Merchant Strangers' were fathers of non-parishioner children, one couple of 'strangers' were married, three 'strangers' were served communion and made the appropriate payments. Most interestingly 'vagrant', commonly spelt 'vagarant', is used 16 times but only in seven years, with five cases each in 1587/88 and 1597/98, but otherwise only once or twice. However, nine of the 16 occasions fall in

⁵⁹ McIntosh, *Poor Relief*, p. 295.

⁶⁰ 4 March 1587, PCM/1.

the years 1596 – 1599, when social conditions were at their worst due to bad harvests and consequent increased food prices. 'Vagarant' seems to be Harridance's preferred description of a homeless person, often one who had died in a public place; the street, a yard, the churchyard or occasionally the parish 'cadge' or lock-up. He does not use it, as Audrey Eccles suggests many authorities did at the time, as a synonym for unemployed.⁶¹ Frequently vagrants' names, ages and origins are not known and Harridance gives instead a detailed description of their clothing and appearance, such as the burial of 'A young man vagarant or Having no abyding place being in a lether dublet, a black Freese Jurkin, and a payer of Russed gaskens, who dyed in the Streete before the dore of Josephe Hayes a braseyer'.⁶² When their origins were known this could be as far away as Bristol, or as close as Whitechapel. Frequently 'vagrants' were very distressed and physically or mentally ill, but only sometimes are they described as 'being no parishioner'. Whenever a local person offers assistance to a vagrant Harridance notes this, as in,

Julian Cooper a Single woman who being vagarant & going a gooding was taken in to the Howse of Margaret Langford a widow dwelling in M^r Beares Rentes⁶³

or A young Struipling being vagarant whose name was not knowne He dyed in the Street before M^r william Hitchmowgh His dore being in the libertie of East Smithfield and was at the Request of the said william Hitchmowgh Buried the xixth day of March anno 1596'.⁶⁴

It is clear from these and other entries that concern for the homeless was widespread in the parish and this supports Beier's view that good Christians were expected to be charitable towards those in need, wherever they came from.⁶⁵

The state authorities suspected vagrants of thieving and begging and many were punished. Yet in the PCMs only five people were described as 'going a gooding'. Three of the five were men, two

⁶¹ A. Eccles, *Vagrancy in law and practice under the old poor law* (Farnham, 2012) p.1. See Appendix Document 6.

⁶² 4 February 1597, PCM/7. See also Appendix Document 7.

⁶³ 3 April 1598, PCM PCM/7.

⁶⁴ 19 March 1596, PCM/6.

⁶⁵ Beier, *Masterless men*, p.76.

described as old but living in the parish and previously having occupations, and one as 'bestaft of his witte'.⁶⁶ The other two beggars were destitute women, one who died in a hay loft. The term 'no parishioner', which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, was not used in any of these cases. It was applied most frequently with other descriptors in relation to burials, weddings and christenings in the parish and seems largely to have been a marker related to users of these parish services.

Given what is known of the demography of London at this time, it seems unlikely that the few 'vagrants', 'strangers' and 'beggars' listed were the only ones resident in or passing through the parish. Harridance might have been ignoring the problems that they created in order to present the parish as an ordered and properly controlled place. Alternatively, perhaps the presence of such people was not perceived by the parish clerk as cause for serious concern. Maybe, as recent 21st century research has shown, residents of highly diverse communities are more likely to be tolerant of difference than are those who live in more homogeneous neighbourhoods.⁶⁷

Harridance's descriptions of the poor, ill, homeless and disaffected appear objective in the sense that they are never dismissive or prejudicial. Vagrants and beggars are not condemned or strangers stigmatised. His descriptions of people are simply descriptions, carefully ensuring that sufficient detail is provided to record what happened to whom, when and where. The language can even sound compassionate to a 21st century ear and very far from derogatory, as in

A young striplingwho dyed as was said in a haylofte he was a vagarant so that we could nether from whence he was nor what was his name he was buried the xxth day of Januarie ano 1594 he had the second cloth and ij bearers for whome the sexten had vjd apece.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ 10 November 1592, PCM/2.

⁶⁷ K. Schmid, A. Al Ramiah et al. 'Neighborhood Ethnic Diversity and Trust: The Role of Intergroup Contact and Perceived Threat', *Psychological Science*, 25(2014), pp. 665-674.

⁶⁸ 20 January 1594, PCM/5.

Despite this apparent lack of discrimination towards outsiders, the numbers of people from elsewhere arriving and settling, at least temporarily, must have placed serious demands on the parish. I will now turn to an examination of how the PCMs record the formal parish response and consider whether attempts were made to exclude non-parishioners from its services.

* 4 *

Were non-parishioners accepted in the parish?

During Elizabeth's reign, as Michael Berlin has documented, parishes were changing both in form and function.⁶⁹ It may be appropriate, therefore, to consider briefly what was meant by 'the Parish' and by the term 'parishioner'. As described above the geographical area of the parish was confirmed each year when the parish boundary was walked on Ascension Day 'accordinge to the owld accustomed manner'.⁷⁰ Harridance reinforces this by frequently providing precise locations of residence, as in 'A Cobler Dwellinge in a smale Howse neare a garden in Jeames Morly his Rente' being in the libertie of Eastsmithfield'.⁷¹ This precision may itself be a way of defining a parishioner as someone who lived in a known position within the parish; it certainly enables the reader to produce a mental, or indeed an actual, map of the parish.⁷² The geographical boundaries of the parish were thus, both formally and informally described. Its social composition was more complex with recent migrants and longstanding residents living in adjacent streets. This mixed residential pattern was similar to that mapped in Southwark in the 1620s by Boulton⁷³ and contrasts with more obvious status divisions in some of the rural parishes described by Hindle.⁷⁴ As central government began to impose more rigorous responsibilities on parishes, knowing who was and who was not a parishioner possibly became more important as those paying parish rates would expect them to be spent on valid parish needs. One cannot, however, simply assume that residence within parish boundaries defined who was and who was not 'a parishioner'. Some PCM entries can be read to indicate other defining criteria. In 1590 a man was charged by the Vestry for not paying his duties, despite

⁶⁹ M. Berlin, 'Reordering rituals', in P. Griffiths and M. Jenner, eds., *Londinopolis. Essays in the cultural and social history of early modern London* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 47 – 66.

⁷⁰ 28 May 1590, PCM/2.

⁷¹ 5 May 1590, PCM/2.

⁷² As has been done by the IHR.

⁷³ Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, p.175.

⁷⁴ Hindle, *A sense of place?* p.97.

he would acknowledg this ou' Church to be the p[ar]'ishe church where vnt[o] his howse doth belong and wheare he hathe vsed to have his children Baptized and also for that he had his servant buried at the sayd church he was therefore of Dewtie to pay the accostumed dewties vnto the clarke.⁷⁵

Again in Jan 1599/1600 a 'Chyld was axcepted as a p[ar]ishioners Chyld for that the father of the said Chyld did pay both scott and lott with us in the precinct of hownsdich as a p[ar]ishioner '. So paying taxes and burying or baptising household members in the parish were other ways to determine membership.

Parishes had existed at least since Anglo-Saxon times but contemporary documents defining their membership do not seem to survive. O'Day comments that although the parish was 'for ordinary men and women, the most important and immediate [unit within the Church] . . . it is also the unit for which least documentation survives.'⁷⁶ Today Anglican parishes welcome anyone who wants to belong, making membership dependent on personal commitment.⁷⁷ In contrast the Catholic Church asserts that ' "Joining a parish" is a concept foreign to the canonical system. You become a member of a parish by virtue of where you live.'⁷⁸ Perhaps sixteenth century beliefs and practice were similarly variable. In rural areas the geographical and social boundaries of the parish may have been coterminous; I am not however persuaded that they were in St. Botolph's, nor probably in most other suburban London parishes. The reasons for this assertion I hope will become clear.

In support of this view I will examine the PCMs references to non-parishioners in two contexts. Firstly, what access did they have to liturgical rites, (christenings, marriages, churchings, burials and communions) and, secondly, to what extent did the parish Vestry discuss concerns related to non-

⁷⁵ 12 December 1590, PCM/3.

⁷⁶ R. O'Day, *The Routledge companion to the Tudor age* (Abingdon, 2010), p.115.

⁷⁷ St Edmundsbury Diocesan Handbook;

<<http://www.stedmundsbury.anglican.org/index.cfm?page=governance.content&cmid=186>> [accessed 4 January 2014].

⁷⁸ Fr. John Zuhlsdorf *QUAERITUR: Does registering in a parish mean anything?*

<<http://wdtprs.com/blog/2013/06/quaeritur-does-registering-in-a-parish-mean-anything/>> [accessed 4 January 2014].

parishioners? The numerous references to non-parishioners, in all kinds of contexts, will form the bulk of sources for my analysis. I will not be examining in detail other more formal records, though references will be made to the churchwarden's accounts when appropriate.

Although civic duties increased, parishes remained solely responsible for the performance and recording of rituals at key life events. The PCMs record christenings, weddings and burials, women's churchings after childbirth and the calling of marriage banns. Monthly records also give the numbers taking communion. I will use my analysis of this data to explore to what extent non-parishioners received the same services as their parishioner neighbours. Where necessary I have chosen one year for intensive analysis, where numbers are smaller I have aggregated across the whole period. This quantitative analysis is not, however, intended to empirically prove a preconceived hypothesis, but rather to illustrate my argument.

Non-parishioners are named on average in about 25 burials, 25 weddings, nine christenings and three churchings each year, and a small number of non-parishioners took communion. For full annual totals see Table 1.1 and Fig. 4.1.

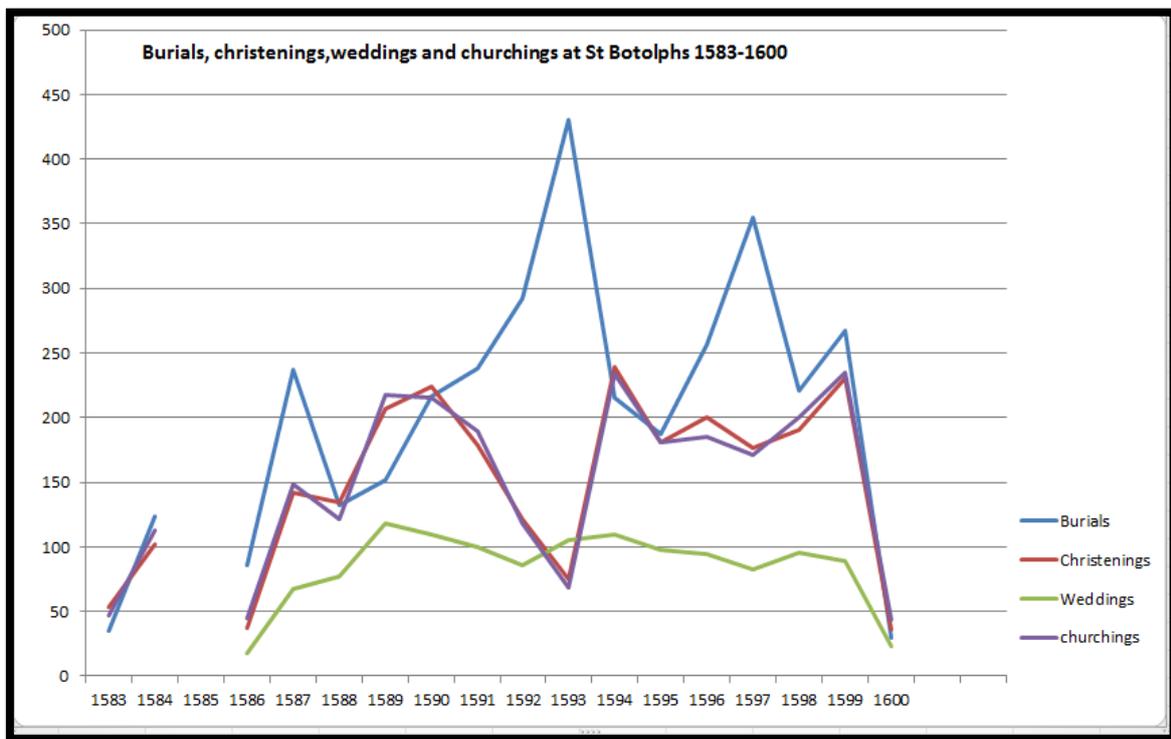


Figure 4.1 Composite graph, 1583 – 1600

Burials

In the 16th century, as today, everyone who died in an Anglican parish had the right to be buried there with the approval of the minister.⁷⁹ At St Botolph, as elsewhere, burials took place soon after death and varied in formality and complexity dependent on wealth and preference. The most elaborate funerals included the ringing of bells before, during and after the ceremony, a sermon from the minister, the use of 'the best' burial cloth, attendance of the clerk, sexton and bearers and internment in a coffin in a high status position in the churchyard or even inside the church. These could be expensive affairs. In 1589, when citizen and mercer Anthony Dowfield died, his funeral expenses, including burial in the church near the south choir door, came to 35s 3d.⁸⁰ Simpler funerals for adult householders cost seven or eight shillings. Those for children or poorer residents were performed without these complex rites, the body being wrapped in a cloth and buried in the churchyard, and cost as little as 6d for babies or 2s for adults, although the parish waived even these low fees if the family were very poor.⁸¹

Between 13 and 37 burials each year were of non-parishioners, between 7% and 16% of all burials. This variation depended on fluctuating mortality levels. The majority of those who died in the parish were buried there. Infrequently bodies were buried elsewhere, but the parish nevertheless received fees 'acordinge to the order of ower church duties in Manner as yf he had bene Buried in ower church'.⁸² The bodies of wealthy residents might, however, be moved some distance. In 1588/89 Sir William Winter's body was taken to Gloucestershire for burial, but St Botolph's tolled the bells and received payment of 24s 10d for services 'not used'.⁸³

⁷⁹ D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death* (Oxford, 1999), p.456.

⁸⁰ 23 October 1589, PCM/2.

⁸¹ 24 November 1598, PCM/7.

⁸² 15 August 1589, PCM/2.

⁸³ 10 March 1588, PCM/.2.

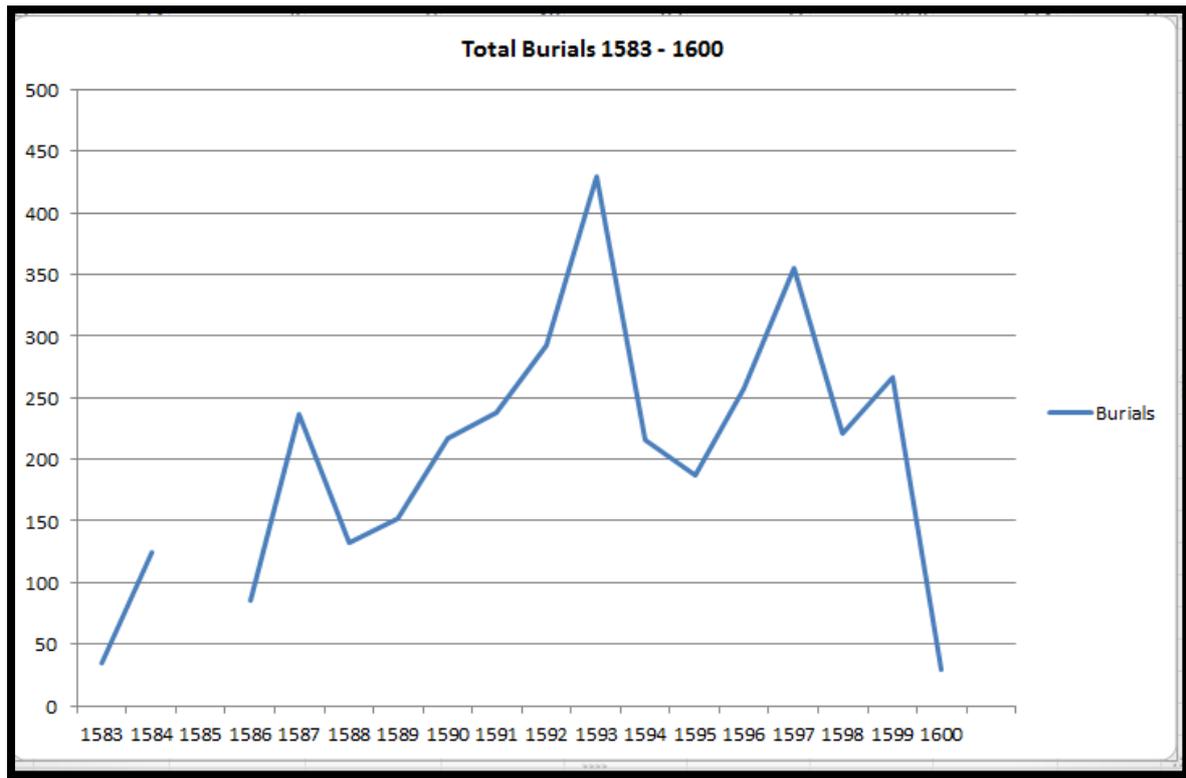


Figure 4.2 Total recorded burials.

There is not space here to present a detailed analysis of all 3500 burials recorded in the PCMs. I have chosen instead to use the records of the 10 months of year 1587/88 to illustrate the patterns evident throughout. This was a year when morbidity was relatively normal for the period, there being no epidemics affecting death rates, but a large number of non-parishioners were buried. The high number of 37 non-parishioners, representing 15.6% of all the 237 burials in the 10 months for which we have records, provide more detailed entries than any other full year. Life in suburban London in 1587/88 was difficult. Although not recorded as exceptional, a charitable collection at the church in July refers to 'this hard year',⁸⁴ and a number of vagrants are mentioned. Burials of non-parishioners included residents from neighbouring east London parishes, Whitechapel and West Ham, and of a man executed at Wapping for piracy, but also a citizen goldsmith from the City.⁸⁵ However, these were certainly outnumbered by the 13 burials of non-parishioners from overseas. Most of these were seamen who, following arrival at the East Smithfield wharves had later died in

⁸⁴ 9 July 1587, PCM/1.

⁸⁵ 5 May, 7 June, 30 August, 7 October 1587, PCM/1.

the houses of parish residents. All came from the Low Countries and five are described as 'strangers', but none are listed as 'alien' or 'foreign'. However, other deceased foreigners were not even described as non-parishioners. On 19 August, Gartwright Van der Steane, the wife of one of the Queens musicians was buried, and on 27 August a black servant was buried and the best cloth used.⁸⁶ In neither case were they described as non-parishioners.

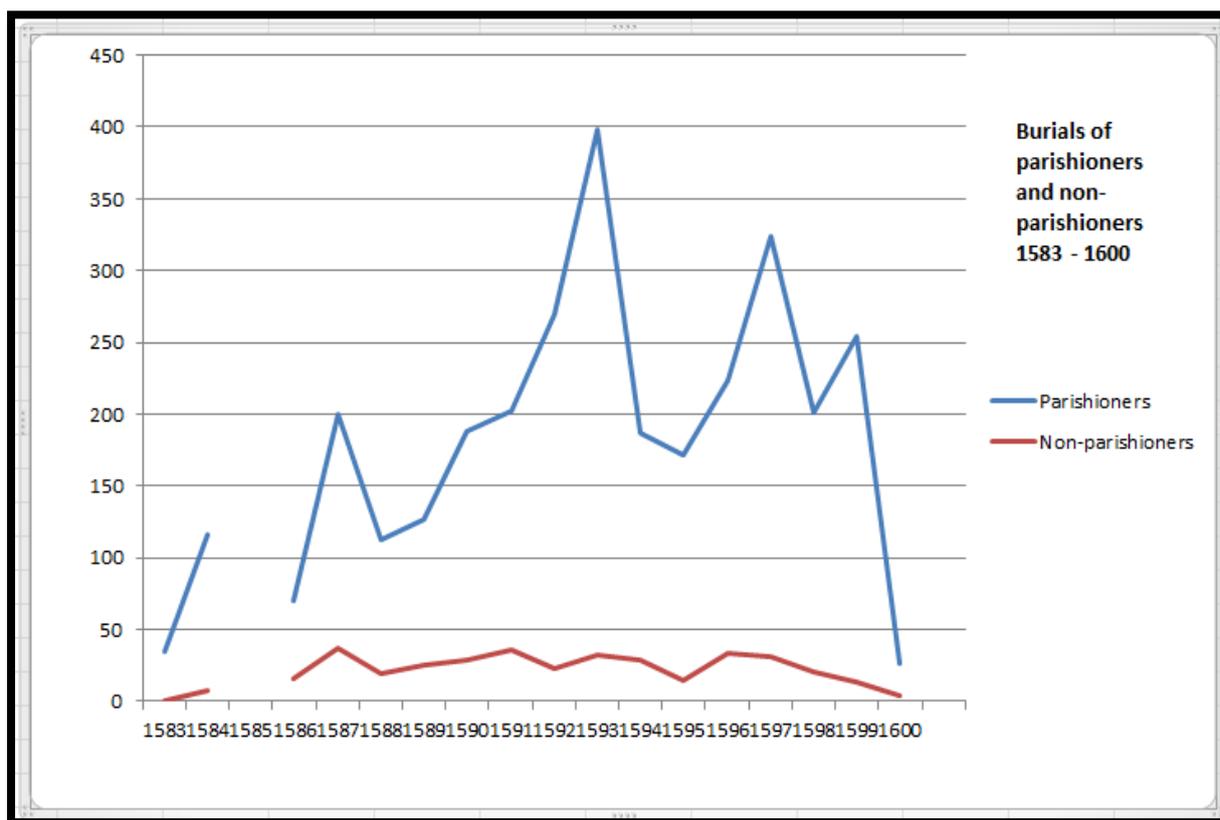


Figure 4.3 Comparison of parishioner and non-parishioner burials.

As in every year, the burials of children outnumber those of adults, and 16 of the 37 non-parishioner burials in 1587/88 were of new-born or stillborn babies and children. Some of these were being nursed in the parish, others were the children of non-parishioner parents. One non-parishioner child was also described as a 'vagrant' despite being only two years old.⁸⁷

The funeral rituals for these non-parishioners were as varied as those for the parishioners buried near them. Charges are not consistently listed and vary depending on the ceremonial elements

⁸⁶ 19 & 27 August 1587, PCM/1.

⁸⁷ 19 May 1587, PCM/1.

included. When given, the charge in the right-hand column may be that payable to the parish rather than for the clergy or additional services, such as bell-ringing. Itemised charges for each element are listed in the central column and sometimes aggregated in the left-hand column. This makes accurate comparison difficult. Although it might be expected that non-parishioners would be charged more even for the basic services, this was not so. Fees charged for the minister, clerk, sexton, bearers and the passing bell are the same for parishioners and non-parishioners.⁸⁸ Charges for the use of burial cloths and the tolling of the bells do vary, and where it is possible to make direct comparisons seem to be double for non-parishioners. However, only the well-to-do would usually require these elaborations. In most cases no charges were made for vagrant's burials, recorded as 'nihill'. For infant deaths the basic charge was between 2d and 6d for both parishioners and non-parishioners, with additions for other ceremonial elements.

The location of internments also varied. Almost all graves were located in the 'common churchyard', but wealthier deceased might be allocated more prestigious locations in the 'south churchyard' or the church itself. However, these distinctions did not apply only to parishioners. The Dutch woman, Gartwright Van der Steane, referred to above, was buried 'in the Northe Alye of the Churche under the Stone that hathe an Axe graven upon it'.⁸⁹ Burial locations depended on status and wealth, but not apparently on distinctions of insiders and outsiders.

Similar patterns are recorded throughout all years, with no evidence of exclusion of poor and destitute outsiders.⁹⁰ On the 20 May 1592 a poor non-parishioner recently returned from military service was buried and although 'we had nothinge for his burial and y[e]t he had the best cloth'.⁹¹ In 1595 a woman died in the lockup at Whitechapel after giving birth to a stillborn child. The child was

⁸⁸ See Appendix Document 8.

⁸⁹ 19 August 1587, PCM/1.

⁹⁰ 26 June 1597, PCM/6; 6 May 1591, PCM/3; 14 December 1595, PCM/5.

⁹¹ 20 May 1592, PCM/2.

buried at Whitechapel, but the authorities there denied the woman's right to a decent burial so it was agreed she should be buried at St Botolph's.⁹²

Some variation might be expected in 1593/94, when a plague epidemic hit the parish. The PCMs only cover September to March, but in those seven months 33 of the total of 430 burials are of non-parishioners. However, the records contain all the usual details, suggesting the importance given to maintaining proper ceremonials at such times of psychological stress. On 19 September there were nine burials, three of non-parishioners. One non-parishioner was buried in the church, the other two were children buried in coffins, with bells tolled.⁹³ Charges remained the same as before the plague and due to the large number of burials in that year created a healthy income stream for the parish, as recorded in the CWAs.⁹⁴

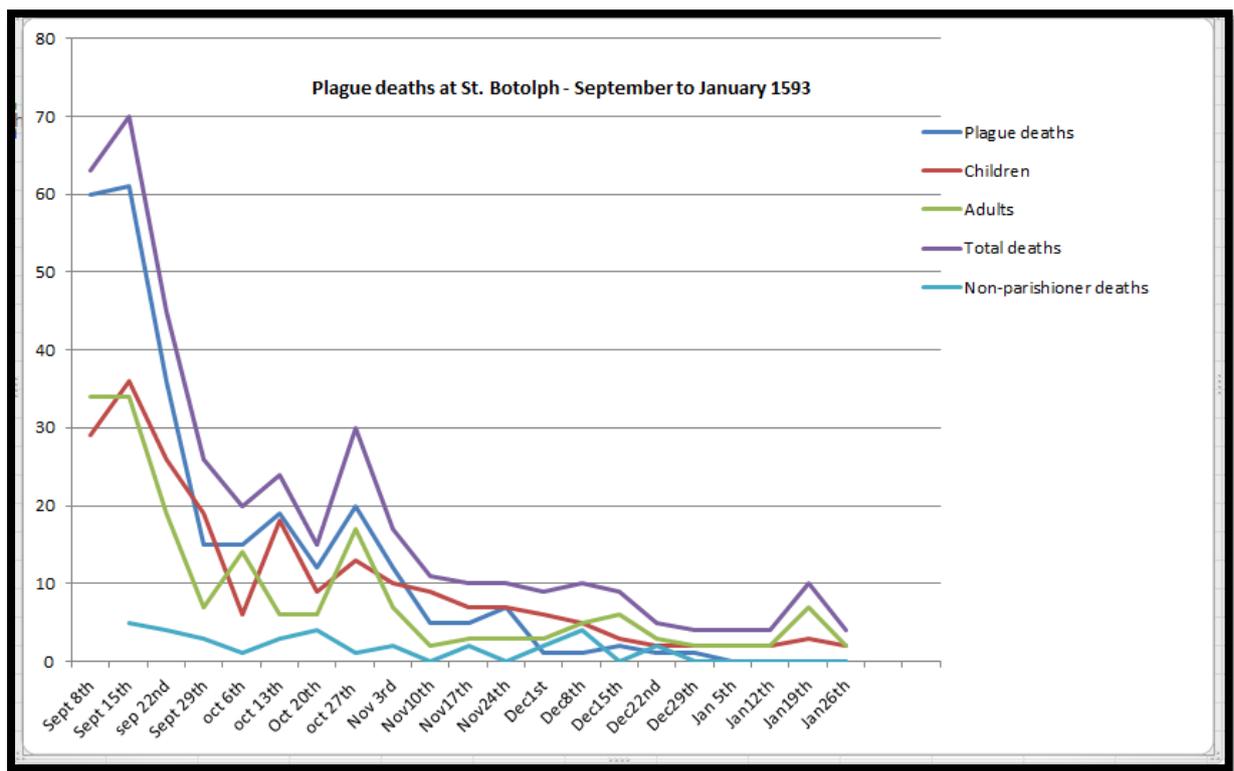


Figure 4.4 Plague deaths, September – January, 1593/94

⁹² 14 December 1595, PCM/5.

⁹³ 19 September 1593, PCM/4.

⁹⁴ CWA, 1593/94.

Until 1595 nothing suggests that non-parishioners buried at St Botolph's were treated significantly differently from their parishioner neighbours. Then, in 1595, when space in the churchyard was becoming scarce, the Vestry confirmed double fees were to be charged for non-parishioners wishing to be buried in the south churchyard or in a coffin,⁹⁵ and in 1599, having spent money on the construction of a new burial vault, they determined that

all such p[ar]ishioners young or owld which shalbe Buried in the Newe Vault shall pay to the use of the p[ar]ishe for the sayd grownd Tenn Shillings, And all suche as be no p[ar]ishioners shall pay for the said grownd in the said Vault duple Chardgis.⁹⁶

In both cases, however, these increases targeted the wealthy as only they would be seeking burial in these locations. The PCMs continue to record non-parishioners being charged the same as parishioners for the more basic provision.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, it is possible that further research into seventeenth century records might confirm that attitudes were changing. If so, more restrictive policies could be a response to increased immigration and/or poverty as legislation required parishes to take more financial responsibility for the poor without providing additional resources.

Christenings

Although not specified by Anglican liturgy, the vast majority of baptisms took place soon after birth, even in the house or on the same day as the birth if the child were weak. The PCMs record 2530 baptisms in all, 107 of non-parishioners. The parishioners entries include simply the child's name, its father's name, his occupation and address and, until 1588, a charge of 2d. Thereafter no charge is recorded. For non-parishioners additional information is given, including the mother's name, where necessary her marital status and other details of parental origins. The precise place of the birth is recorded, as baptism will confer responsibility on the parish for the future welfare of the child

⁹⁵ 14 December 1595, PCM/5. Full text in Appendix Document 8.

⁹⁶ 13 December 1599, PCM/5.

⁹⁷ See 6, 7 & 8 February 1599, PCM/5.

should it become destitute. The PCMs also frequently record the taking of bonds to relieve the parish of future responsibility for the child.⁹⁸ Until 1588 the charge recorded for non-parishioner baptisms is 4d, double the parishioner rate. Non-parishioner's baptisms are uncommon, however, varying from one or two a year to a maximum of 12, representing between 3% and 7% of all christenings. They reduce markedly after the plague year of 1593, stabilising at between 3% and 4% for the rest of the period. As the numbers are not large I will draw examples from across the study period.

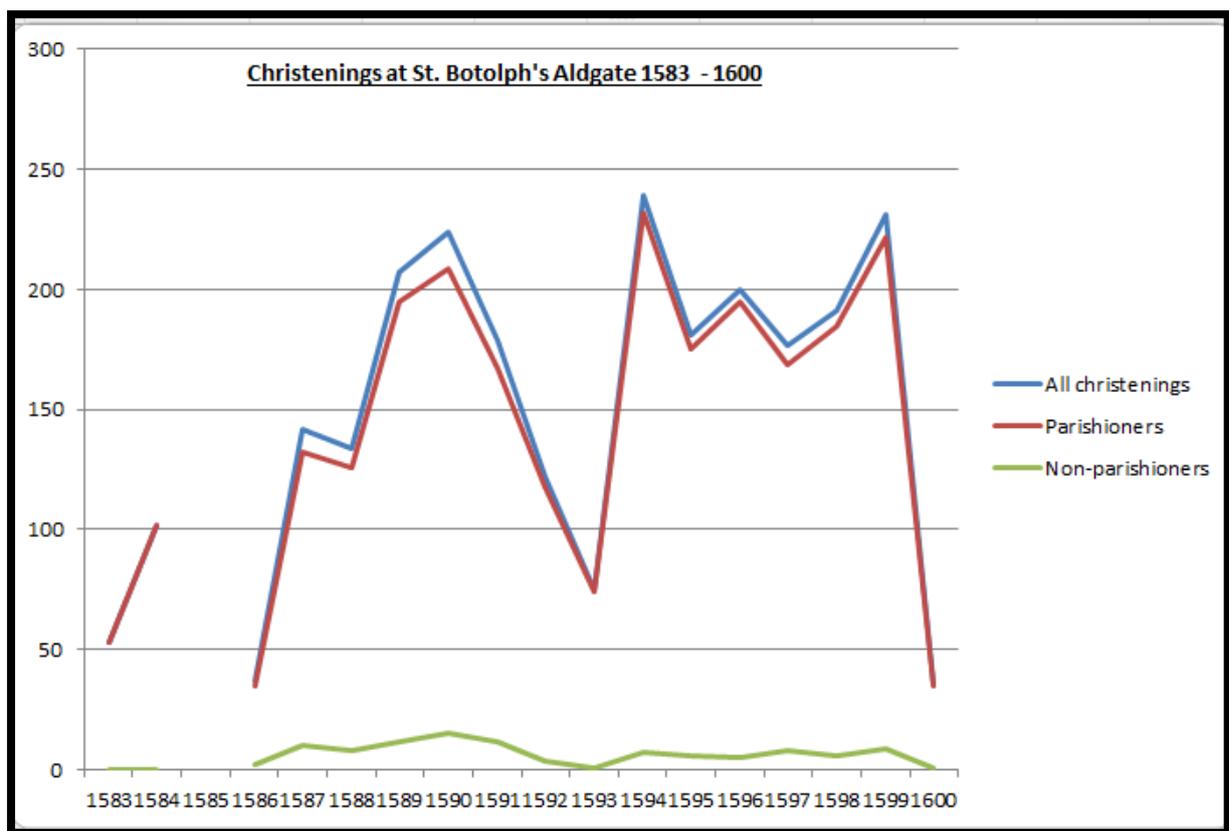


Figure 4.5 Comparison of parishioner and non-parishioner christenings.

The bonds, taken from the father, other family members, friends or employers are frequently referred to in the literature as 'illegitimacy' or 'bastardy' bonds. St. Botolph received bonds for many non-parishioner children, but they were not confined to those born illegitimately. The money

⁹⁸ See Appendix Document 10.

promised is only recorded for wealthy men, being usually £20, but non-specific sureties were sought for children of non-parishioners at all levels of society.

Until 1597 the bonds were usually handed to the Churchwardens or the Constable and then on to the Alderman's deputy or the Alderman, after this date they were deposited in 'the chest in the Vestrie'.⁹⁹ Formal bonds were foregone in some cases when the father, or someone in his stead, 'g[ave] worde to' the authorities that he would be financially responsible for the child. I have counted these as if they were formal bonds. Until 1592 about half of the non-parishioner christenings were covered by bonds, thereafter almost all were. Those standing as surety could be relatives of the child, the named landlord of the house where the birth took place or, for more high status individuals, fellow Citizens and Liverymen of London. On one occasion no bonds were taken for the child of a merchant from Coventry 'for that the father was well known.'¹⁰⁰ However, it became normal to require bonds from non-parishioners after responsibilities for children born within parish boundaries were formalised by legislation. This suggests that the labelling of christenings as 'non-parishioner' had an important financial rationale, although the parish retained some flexibility about how the regulations were interpreted.

The numbers of illegitimate births is small, as elsewhere in London at the time. Of the 26 recorded in the PCMs, 18 are between the years of 1587 and 1591.¹⁰¹ About one third of these births had some connection with wealth or high status, being the children of gentlemen, or of their servants, or in one case the grandchild of a Privy Councillor.¹⁰² It is often in these cases that someone in authority is able to act as surety. At the other end of the social spectrum are the christenings of children born in the parish 'cadge' and in the street. Only six of these are described, and in most cases someone came forward to take responsibility for the child. This might be William Lawdian, the Bayley of East Smithfield, whose house was sometimes used to give shelter to those without lodging elsewhere,

⁹⁹ 5 March 1597, PCM/7.

¹⁰⁰ 26 December 1594, PCM/ 5.

¹⁰¹ Finlay, 'Population and Metropolis', p.149.

¹⁰² Identity determined by the transcriber of the PCMs in marginal note 25 January 1588, PCM/2

one child was adopted by a baker who had no daughter and a cobbler gave shelter to and stood surety for another mother and child.¹⁰³

The origins of non-parishioner fathers varied widely, individuals from Kent, Northamptonshire, Shrewsbury and Holland are named as well as those from elsewhere in London, but only six are described as 'strangers' or 'inmates'. Lone mother's origins were similarly recorded and they were not necessarily unmarried. One woman from Gloucestershire had come 'to london to seeke her Husband [and] was browght a bed sodenly'.¹⁰⁴ The recorded paternal occupations include a husbandman, vintners, cordwainers, Merchant Taylors, servants and sailors. Places of birth are mostly described as 'in the house of [a named individual]' but also 'dwelling at [an address]', which suggests more than an emergency maternity location. Maybe some non-parishioners were longer term residents of the parish, not passing migrants. Births regularly took place in widows' houses, where informal midwifery or nursing skills might be available. In the seventeenth-century the parish certainly paid poor widows for nursing services, but as there is no recurrence of widow's names in the PCMs we cannot be sure this was happening in the 1580s and 90s.¹⁰⁵

Although there were baptisms of non-parishioners' children about once a month in the years up to 1591, they decreased by about half after that. At a time when infant mortality was high new-born children needed to be christened quickly whether parishioner, non-parishioner, legitimate or illegitimate. This was certainly recognised and there is no evidence that non-parishioners were discriminated against. When it could be, a bond was obtained 'to Save the parishioneres harmles From Beinge charged wt the Sayde chylde'¹⁰⁶, but lack of resources did not exclude children from this important ritual. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that as the century waned so did parish flexibility.

¹⁰³ 9 January 1588, PCM/2; 9 May & 2 July 1590, PCM/2.

¹⁰⁴ 6 June 1591, PCM/3.

¹⁰⁵ M. Merry and P. Baker . 'The poore lost a good Frend and the parish a good Neighbour: the lives of the poor and their supporters in London's eastern suburb c.1583 – c.1679' in *London and Beyond: Essays in Honour of Derek Keene* (London, 2012), p.163.

¹⁰⁶ 17 April 1587, PCM/1.

Churchings

The churching of women took place about a month after a birth. Although it was a survival of pre-Reformation liturgy, the Anglican Church defined it as a service of thanksgiving, not purification. It was an almost daily occurrence at St Botolph's, as elsewhere.¹⁰⁷

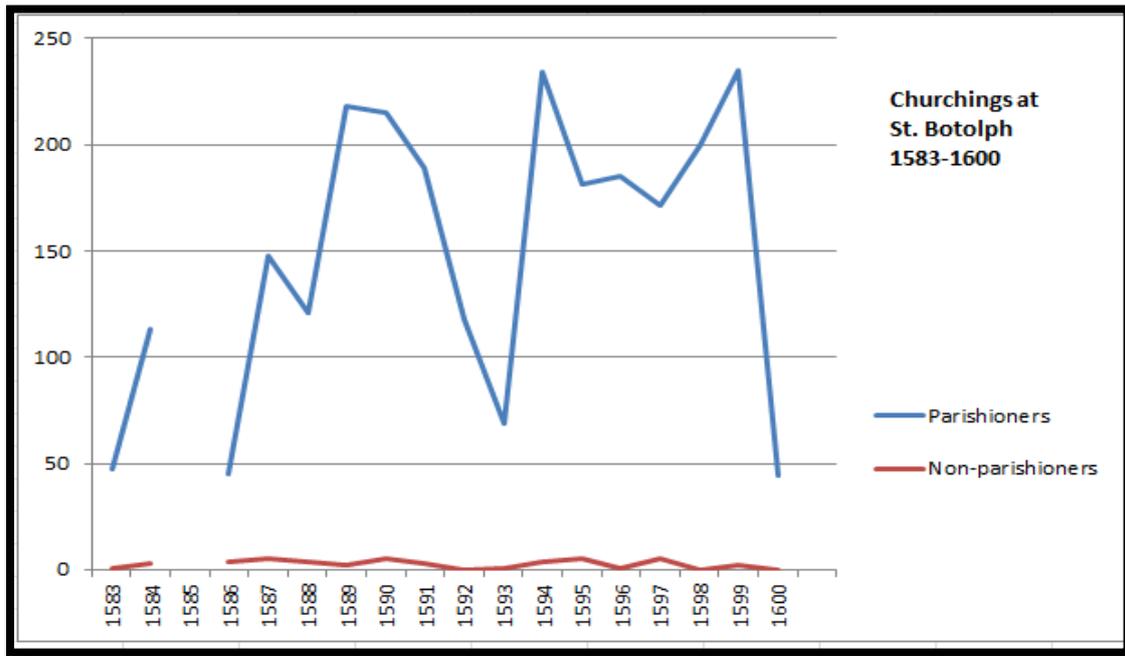


Figure 4.6 Comparison of parishioner and non-parishioner churchings.

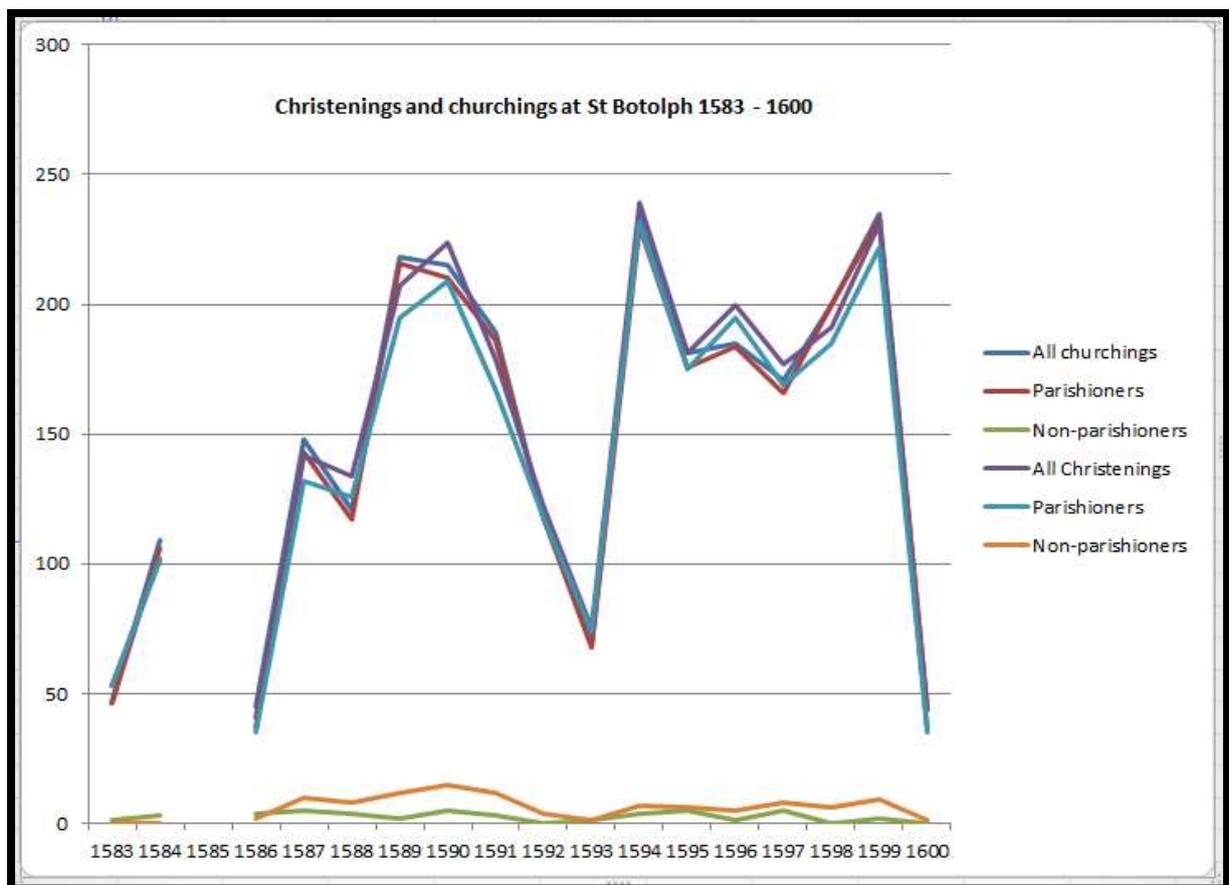
Although not mandatory it was a ceremony favoured by many women, giving them an unusually central place in a church ritual and occasion to celebrate with friends and families.¹⁰⁸ The churching records are brief and unvaried. Each woman is named, usually as 'the wife of', and the token charge noted of 2d for a parishioner and 4d for a non-parishioner. This was not a significant income generator for the parish. Further descriptors are only used where there is some doubt, such as 'the reputed wife of' or when the woman was not married, none are defined as 'stranger', 'foreigner' or 'inmate'. Apart from the higher charge, no distinction is made between parishioner and non-parishioner.

¹⁰⁷ D. Cressy, 'Purification, thanksgiving and the churching of women in post-Reformation England', *Past and Present*, 141 (1993), pp.125-127.

¹⁰⁸ S.C. Karant-Nunn, 'Churching: a women's rite?', in R.W. Scribner, and R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Problems in the historical anthropology of early modern Europe* (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 113, 122.

The PCMs record a total of 2533 churchings and 2536 christenings. Despite this apparent match not all the mothers who bore children in the parish were subsequently churched there. Only 40 churchings of non-parishioners occurred, in 12 of the 18 years of PCMs, the maximum being 5 in one year, against 107 non-parishioner christenings. Only 1.6% of churchings were to non-parishioners whereas 4.2% of christenings were. In 1590/91 15 non-parishioner babies were christened but only 5 non-parishioner women were churched. This must mean that women from St Botolph's who had given birth elsewhere returned to the parish for their churching and many new non-parishioner mothers similarly went home before churching. The wish to be churched in their home parish surrounded by friends and family at this time of personal celebration is, perhaps, unsurprising but does suggest that migration between parishes, even at critical points in the life cycle, was routine.

Figure 4.7 Comparison of christenings and churchings.



Marriages

Weddings are somewhat different for, at this time, it was common for Londoners to choose to be married outside their own parishes. Under canon law marriages should have been celebrated in the parish of either husband or wife, following the calling of banns on three Sundays or with the purchase of a licence which removed the need for banns. The 'licence' was issued by a reputable authority, such as the High Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Court of Faculties, or the Bishop of London. The purchase of a licence avoided the calling of banns and the associated public announcements. Boulton's analysis of 'private marryings' in the 17th century explains the practice in detail.¹⁰⁹ The reasons people chose to be married by licence are not entirely clear. Historians have suggested that they afforded greater privacy, outside one's home parish and outside the proscribed dates and times. Such marriages are sometimes termed 'clandestine' or 'illicit', although they still required planning and payment for the licence. Boulton uses both descriptions for 17th century marriages. However, Gill Newton comments that 'the negative connotations of 'clandestine' are misleading',¹¹⁰ and she makes a clear distinction between 'licenced' and the less legally approved 'clandestine' marriages. These required neither a licence nor advance warning and sometimes not even a church and were assumed to be suspect as a result. They were disallowed after Hardwicke's Act of 1753.

The PCMs contain examples of both 'licenced' and apparently 'unlicenced' marriages by both parishioners and non-parishioners. Harridance is scrupulous in distinguishing between who had and who did not have a proper licence to authorise their marriage. Unlike many later London marriage registers the PCMs record both the licence marriages of parishioners and of non-parishioners, as their parish of origin is usually given. However the phrase 'no parishioner' is not used, though sometimes one or other spouse is described as 'of this parish'. The graph at Fig 4.8 shows that

¹⁰⁹ J. Boulton, 'Itching after private marryings? Marriage customs in seventeenth-century London', *The London Journal*, 16(1991), pp.15-34.

¹¹⁰ G. Newton, 'Clandestine marriage in Early Modern London: when, where and why?', *Continuity and Change* 29 (2014), p.33.

parishioner and non-parishioner marriages, unlike christenings and burials, followed a similar profile from year to year.

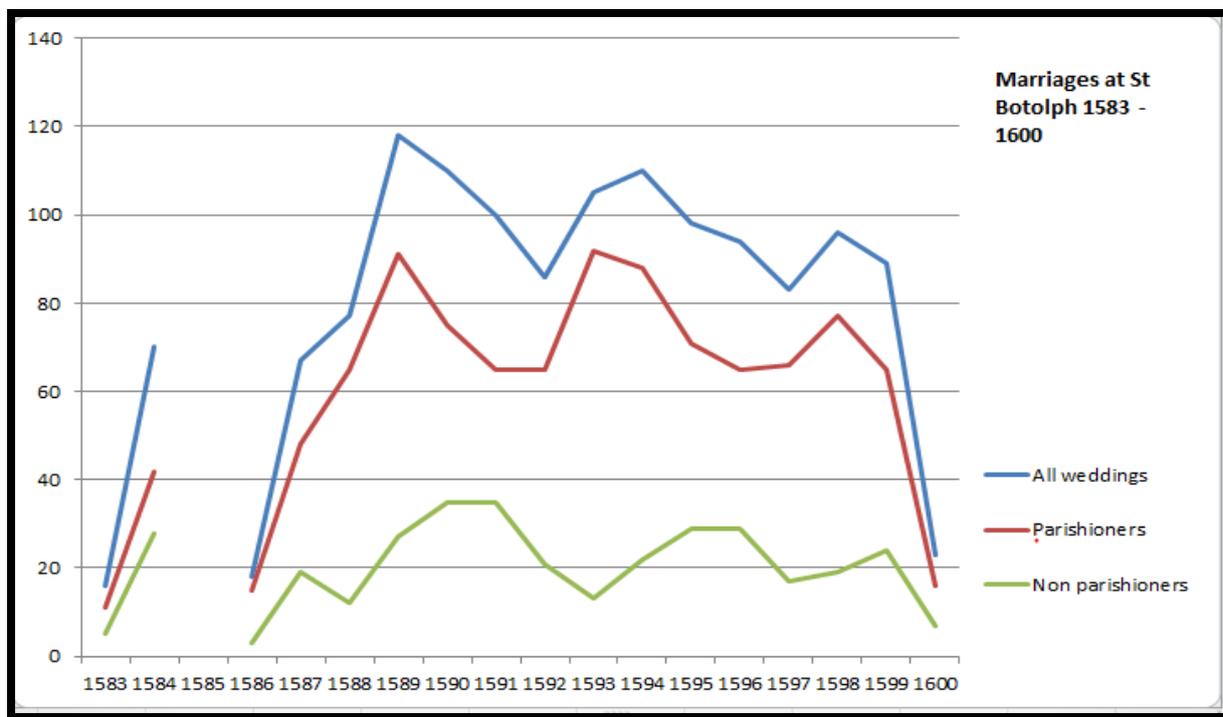


Figure 4.8 Comparison of parishioner and non-parishioner marriages.

Over the ten years of complete records a quarter of all marriages at St Botolphs were by licence, the highest percentage being 32% in 1590/91 and the lowest 15% in 1588/89. This accords well with the percentages of licenced weddings calculated by Boulton for Stepney, a neighbouring suburban parish, early in the 17th century.¹¹¹ At St. Botolph's marriages of non-parishioners were mostly by licence, and over half of 'licenced' weddings included at least one non-parishioner. The numbers where both partners were non-parishioners is smaller, around 20 a year in the 1580s and early 1590s, but reducing to about 10 for the later 1590s. Where both partners were non-parishioners the majority came from other London parishes or adjacent counties. Where a marriage partner was from further afield they were usually marrying a parishioner. A very small number of foreigners, usually described as French or Dutch, were also married with a licence. The occupation or status of the

¹¹¹ Boulton, 'Itching after private marryings?', p.20.

groom is often given and these were not all wealthy men but included sailors and tanners as well as a goldsmith and various gentlemen. One marriage by licence was of two parishioners from St Botolph Bishopsgate, 'dwelling in Bedlym'.¹¹² However, the cost of a licence would exclude labouring men or the really poor. In 1594 Harridance records a marriage

by a lysence procured by mr Threlkeld our minester w[hi]ch Lysence I have not as yt seene but I ded see him take xiijs iiijd for a Lysence.¹¹³

Obviously 13s 4d would be well beyond the means of many and this was not the only occasion on which Mr Threlkeld seems to have taken matters into his own hands, and maybe the licence fee into his own pocket!¹¹⁴

Records of routine parishioner marriages usually contain just the names of the couple so it is not easy to compare them with the records of licenced marriages. My sample shows parishioner weddings were usually preceded by the calling of banns, although often not on three Sundays as was liturgically correct. The charge of 10d is recorded for all marriages, whether by banns or licence. This may be what Boulton calls 'parish fees'. He comments that a higher rate was often charged for licence weddings¹¹⁵ but this was certainly not the case at St Botolph's, where the 10d fee remains the same for all marriages throughout the 18 years of Harridance's PCMs.

Communion

The Anglican Church required attendance at Communion three times a year, which was probably rarely achieved. Most Anglicans would have attended at least at Easter time and attendance was monitored by the taking of communion tokens which the PCMs record at key points in the year. Although today the numbers seem large, over 600 attending on one day at Easter 1587, this does

¹¹² 13 June 1591, PCM/3.

¹¹³ 25 September 1594, PCM/4.

¹¹⁴ On 25 October ten shillings was charged for a marriage without a licence.

¹¹⁵ Boulton, 'Itching after private marryings?', p.17.

not represent the majority of the adult parish population. This confirms Boulton's calculations suggesting that only a proportion of those living in the parish were regular church attenders.¹¹⁶

Details of communicants are only given in exceptional circumstances, such as when communion was celebrated in a private house due to sickness¹¹⁷ or for high status communicants. Non-parishioners are very rarely mentioned and again, when they are, they are obviously exceptional. In 1588 'comunion Was ministred to xxiiij of Sr Henrye Cromwells Sowldyeres'¹¹⁸ and in 1599 'there was one named Mychaell Parkes a Straunger that did Receyve the Comunion & payd to me For His Offering ij^d'¹¹⁹

Occasional entries note how many communicants were without tokens, but it was certainly possible for non-parishioners to take communion, provided they paid the necessary small charge. No doubt most of these people were either of the middling sort and could pay, or were particularly committed believers who considered the rite a necessary part of their religious observance.

Vestry records

The PCMs include records of regular Vestry meetings, although these are probably Harridance's notes rather than formal minutes. However, as the years go by they become more and more like formal minutes, separating decisions by the prefix 'Item' or numbering issues 'Firstly', 'Secondly' etc. We might expect, therefore, that if the high levels of migration into the parish were causing concern this would be mentioned. In the 18 years and part-years recorded the Vestry met 167 times. In the 1580s about 8 or 9 meetings were held each year, this increased in the 1590s to 12 or 13 with, twice, a maximum of 17.¹²⁰ This is in marked contrast to the record of vestry meetings in neighbouring parishes, such as Stepney (Stebonheath), where between 1583 and 1600 the Vestry apparently met

¹¹⁶ J. Boulton, 'The limits of formal religion: the administration of Holy Communion in late Elizabethan and early Stuart London', *London Journal*, 10 (1984), pp. 135 – 154.

¹¹⁷ 12 January 1590, PCM/3.

¹¹⁸ 10 August 1588, PCM/1.

¹¹⁹ 29 April 1599, PCM/5.

¹²⁰ See Appendix Document 11.

only once or twice a year, and in some years not at all,¹²¹ and Hackney where the Vestry met up to four times a year.¹²² The Vestrymen of St Botolph were 'leading parishioners',¹²³ equal numbers drawn from both ends of the parish. Their numbers increased over the period and most seem to have been assiduous in their attendance, although occasionally meetings had to be abandoned because they were not quorate, and in 1597 fines were instituted for non-attendance or lateness.¹²⁴

The majority of the recorded discussions relate to parish property, loans and legacies, as the parish sought to generate funds to meet its obligations. The accounts of Churchwardens, Renterers, and Collectors were audited punctiliously every year, in September and December. The management of parish tenements and land is described, as are the numerous occasions when vestrymen lent money or assigned leases for property to one another. Disagreements between vestrymen are covered in detail and, on occasions when disputes became endemic, lawyers were consulted although matters were usually settled without recourse to law.¹²⁵

Two volumes of Churchwardens' Account Books (CWAs) survive supplementing the PCMs for this period. The accounts for 1596 use exactly the same words as the PCMs to describe a dispute about encroachment onto parish lands. The CWAs covering 1582 to 1585 provide some details of income from burials, including the charges for bells, cloths and wages for staff, but none for christenings or weddings. The majority of parish income, from the letting of property, interest on loans, and the regular income from burials, was used to provide support for the poor and needy in the parish, either directly or by buying more property to generate further income.

The Vestry records do not include itemised support to individual poor or destitute inhabitants. These may have been recorded elsewhere, perhaps in the Collectors Accounts, which do not survive.

However, the CWAs for 1583 to 1597 do record some payments, often separately for the lower and

¹²¹ G. Hill & W. Frere eds., *Memorials of Stepney Parish: vestry Minutes from 1579 to 1662* (Guildford, 1890).

¹²² Tudor Hackney, <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/tudorhackney/localhistory/lochlg.asp>> [accessed 20 March 2014].

¹²³ J. Maltby, *Prayerbook and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998), p.193.

¹²⁴ 29 June 1597, PCM/6.

¹²⁵ 28 August 1595, PCM/5.

upper ends of the parish. Where these involve welfare payments they are either generic, as 'payd unto sundrye poore of the eastsmithfielde' or unspecific as 'paid for the nursing of one child'¹²⁶ without further details. Most of the parish expenditures listed are for routine items such as building repairs, new church bells and smaller items such as keys and paper. However, the lack of surviving records of receipts for and payments from the poor box and poor rates does not mean that the parish was not active in this area. Nevertheless, there are no references anywhere in the PCMs to the need to allocate additional resources to alleviate social problems created by the influx of migrants.

Neither the CWAs nor the Vestry records make direct reference to non-parishioners. Income from legacies, parish rents and interest on loans is regularly dedicated to the relief of 'the poor', who are sometimes named. The audit of the accounts of the Collectors of the Poor in 1587/88 gives the amount 'payed owte to the poore of this ower parishe',¹²⁷ but in other cases beneficiaries are described as 'inhabitents of the whole parish',¹²⁸ or in the 1594/95 CWAs, 'dyvers and sondrie poore people'.¹²⁹ These phrases are regularly used, and might or might not have included non-parishioners.

Vestry meetings do refer to the regular payments made to the parish poor and pensioners, but unusual circumstances could elicit unusual responses. In 1591 the Collectors Accounts record that 6d was paid to Agnis Davis, 'a widow that ded lye in the striete neare the posterne pales by mr Conway',¹³⁰ and subsequently a further 8d was allocated for her burial. In the same account Mr Conway, the Alderman's Deputy, confirmed that he had paid out 2s 'w[i]ch he cowld not Remember to whome'. In 1597 the vestrymen of Portsoken Ward met to discuss how to pay for supporting the large number of poor children in the ward, but despite their talk of the 'good, godly and charitable work of relieving children' no decision was taken, due to the 'untowardness' of Mr Casye.¹³¹ This

¹²⁶ CWA, 1583 -1597, f.241. & f.246.

¹²⁷ 18 September 1587, PCM/1.

¹²⁸ 4 January 1589, PCM Vol.2.

¹²⁹ CWA 1594; Vestry Minute and Memoranda Book.

¹³⁰ 15 October 1591, PCM/3.

¹³¹ 12 August 1597, PCM/7.

was not the first time this individual had put a stop to Vestry business! Again the parish status of these children is not recorded, but we know from the burial records that services for destitute children were provided whether or not they were 'of the parish'. However, the emphasis on supporting local inhabitants is seen throughout the Vestry minutes, for example when the work to repair the church is described in detail and

it is ordered that Thomas wattes & Thomas Butler our Neyghbors Shall take So maney of others unto them, to begin to Repayer the Rooffes of the Church ¹³²

No doubt recruiting local labour was one way to minimise local unemployment.

Yet again there is no mention of 'vagrants', 'foreigners', 'strangers' or disorder in any of the Vestry records contained in the PCMs. If they are accurate and fairly complete it would seem the vestrymen spent most of their time discussing money and property, not with issues of social order or local problems created by the influx of outsiders into the parish. We can only surmise that this reflected their actual concerns.

Two further Vestry entries that offer minor insights into the possibility of exclusion from the parish are those relating to excommunications and the very occasional reference to Jesuits or recusants. On three occasions in 1599/1600 long lists of people under threat of excommunication, presumably for non-attendance at communion or failure to pay church duties, are included.¹³³ Between 24 and 48 people are named, often on more than one occasion, and sometimes again when they are received back into the church following penance. This suggests that the parish knew who should be obligated to contribute and to benefit from parish services, and that those local residents who did not conform might be excluded.

Practicing Catholics were, of course, considered to be rank outsiders and at Christmas 1599 a memorandum was read in the church requiring the parish to document the excommunication of

¹³² 3 July 1599, PCM/5.

¹³³ 6 May 1599, PCM/5.

'eather popishe or sectnarie recusantes' and report these to the Bishop.¹³⁴ It seems that increasingly, as the century ended, the parish became more rigorous in identifying and excluding those who did not conform to the liturgical regulations. However, these concerns were separate from any issues arising from the increase in the numbers or types of people moving into the parish, many of whom were probably welcomed as Protestants fleeing persecution in the Low Countries.

The PCMs describe a busy parish which was responding to the religious and lay needs of a wide variety of people, both parishioners and non-parishioners. The Vestry were working hard to ensure there were enough financial resources to fund all their responsibilities and to maintain as ordered an environment as possible for the growing population. Visitors could relatively easily access local services and should they be unable to support themselves could hope to find assistance from the parish, especially in times of sickness and death. It was only in relation to religious dissent that some disapproval was voiced and exclusion practiced.

¹³⁴ 23 December 1599, PCM/5

*** 5 *****Conclusion**

Throughout the 18 years of PCMs and the contemporaneous CWAs there is little to suggest that the growth of the population of St Botolph's was creating unmanageable problems for the parish. Liturgical rites were provided as required for non-parishioners even in difficult years when plague or other illnesses were rampant. Non-parishioners seem to have had a recognised position and were able, albeit with a little extra expense, to avail themselves of church ritual of all kinds. Only the wealthy were eventually targeted to pay significantly more for their graves and thus generate parish income. Few recent migrants would be affected. Christenings of non-parishioner children were routine, although many of their mothers moved away before requiring churching. In all these cases Thomas Harridance usually notes their status as 'no parishioner' or occasionally 'stranger'. 'Vagrant' is only applied to homeless people, and only those completely dependent on begging are so designated, both may or may not be parishioners. Marriages of non-parishioners were, as elsewhere at the time, a very normal feature of parish life.

What can this tell us about attitudes to diversity and change within the parish of St Botolph? Historians such as Boulton, Archer and Rappaport have demonstrated that although both Crown and City were very anxious about the influx of outsiders to London there were extant mechanisms for ensuring that social norms were upheld. The 1590s were typified by rapidly rising prices, poor harvests, plague and falling wages.¹³⁵ The residents of St Botolph's would have experienced all these difficulties, but as Archer reminds us, 'The perspective from which we view the statistical evidence for hardship affects our interpretation of it.' This dissertation has attempted to take the perspective of one local man who had a formal role recording one parish's responsibilities during this difficult time. The words and format he used to fill his books would, naturally, have been within the accepted

¹³⁵ Archer, *The pursuit of stability*, p.12.

parameters of the time. It may have seemed important to him to reflect a stable and smoothly functioning parish administration. Nevertheless, I would contend that the growth of population and poverty in St Botolph's does not seem to have, at any point, threatened the collapse of local administrative capabilities.

Harridance describes a parish with clear geographical boundaries, well recognised natural and built environments and property ownership patterns. He knew his neighbourhood and wrote specifically to inform others who knew it too, the many parishioners and non-parishioners who made use of parish services. It is obvious, however, that the parish boundaries were porous and did not define an exclusive group, in marked contrast to the more rigid City institutions and Livery Companies. Parishioners and non-parishioners shared much and far from constituting a problem many non-parishioners were welcomed and treated with dignity and kindness during illness, deprivation or at death. Those Finlay and Shearer have called London's 'floating population', passing through the parish, were included in the same way as the non-parishioners who chose to take up residence.¹³⁶ I have not been able to find any descriptions of difference which suggest some people were more worthy of inclusion than others. The only possible exception is where parishioners are breaking religious or moral rules or where Jesuits or Recusants are mentioned. Everyone else is described using words that might today suggest discrimination, such as 'negre', 'vagarant' or 'stranger', but which seem to reflect Harridance's concern to accurately identify each person rather than to denigrate them. This supports Beier's suggestion that early modern authorities were anxious to keep firm control over prevailing social problems whilst recognising that, given appropriate training, restraint and support everyone was capable of contributing to a well-functioning society. The PCMs seem to me to reflect a non-judgemental version of this view.

Immigration, diversity and the associated arrival of new ideas and innovations were essential to the economic health of early modern London. Without them the wealth of the whole country could

¹³⁶ R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and urban expansion' in A. Beier and R. Finlay, *London 1500 -1700: the making of the metropolis* (London, 1986), pp.37-59.

have been compromised, and this might have led to real instability and disorder. Jacob Selwood writes, 'these circumstances shaped day-to-day life in the city, and daily life shaped the way Londoners constructed difference';¹³⁷ an appropriate insight to apply to the PCMs. Further analysis of the myriad occupations noted by Harridance would illustrate the complexity of the economic life of the parish. The diverse socio-economic nature of London suburbs must have contributed massively to London's prosperity as well as sometimes to its potential instability.

The give and take between the Crown, the City and the constituent parish authorities which sustained order have been intensively documented and debated and in St Botolph the local government of the parish appears to have remained robust. As Selwood remarks, there is no real consensus about why or whether outsiders were a problem or even how individuals were defined as outsiders.¹³⁸ Harridance uses a variety of labels, his most popular and most appropriate, given his job as Parish Clerk, being 'no parishioner'. No doubt in the late 16th century, just as is the case today, there were a variety of ways in which individuals could identify themselves and be identified by others. These would inevitably vary with the context and prevailing power differentials between the labeller and the labelled. Thomas Harridance, as an assiduous official in a rapidly growing suburban parish, sought to respond to this diversity by describing what happened and to whom in the most precise terms available to him. He had the ability and authority to reflect in his records the differences in status, wealth, power, poverty, skills, origins, and charitable and criminal activities in the parish. He presents us with a picture of recognised and accepted diversity, a parish committed to efficient management of all its resources and thus able to respond effectively to the extraordinary social changes it was experiencing. Harridance's funeral was recorded by his successor with the short obituary, 'he was a very careful and industrious man in his place'.¹³⁹ He was a man who knew his neighbours, or was able to find out about them, and to include them all in his parish records. He does not describe an anonymous, anomic or excluding suburb on the edge of disorder. Many

¹³⁷ Selwood, *Diversity*, p.13.

¹³⁸ Selwood, *Diversity*, p.15.

¹³⁹ St Botolph Aldgate, Composite register, 1593 – 1599.

inhabitants of the parish must have had daily experience of the problems created by population growth, endemic disease and national and local economic difficulties. If there had been any instances of potential disorder or attempts to exclude incomers from the life of the parish Thomas Harridance would surely have documented them, as he did everything else, but they are not there. Despite the concerns of City and Crown which labelled outsiders as the source of many problems, St Botolph's parish boundaries and parish policies seem to have been flexible enough to accommodate the challenges they faced. Non-parishioners and new migrants were accommodated and included, as they have been in this part of London over the ensuing 400 years.

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Illustrations

Cover	Detail from Agas or Copperplate Map of London (ca.1558) LMA FH/A/16/031/044/001
Parish Map	Provided by the IHR
Engraving of St Botolph's church.	LMA, Main Print Collection, Catalogue number. q2320766
Braun and Hogenberg's Map	Commercially available reprint (2012) of original 1572 map of London
Faithorne and Newcourt's Map	<i>An Exact Delineation of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Suburbs Thereof...</i> [1658] by Richard Newcourt (surveyor) and William Faithorne, Sr. (engraver), from copy held at IHR.

Appendix – Illustrative Documents

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Document 1 Dates covered in each volume of the PCMs

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PCM/2	VOL 2 - 1588/89: 15 December – 24 March 1589/90: 25 March – 24 March 1590: 25 March – 12 December 1591/92: 12 December – 24 March 1592: 25 March – 13 December
PCM/3	VOL 3 - 1590/91: 12 December – 24 March 1591: 25 March – 11 December
PCM/4	VOL 4 - 1593/94: 8 September – 24 March 1594: 25 March – 18 December
PCM/5	VOL 5 – 1594/95: 18 December – 23 March 1595/96: 25 March – 28 March 1596: 28 March – 8 June 1598/99: 29 November – 23 March 1599/00: 25 March – 24 March 1600: 25 March – 5 June
PCM/6	VOL 6 - 1596/97: 11 June – 20 March 1597: 25 March – 5 October
PCM/7	VOL 7 - 1597/98: 7 October – 24 March 1598: 25 March – 29 November

Document 2 Transcription of entries for 12 February 1586

The daye	Februarie Ano 1586	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
W	Jhon Marcomm of this parishe and Ann Rogeres Beinge of the parishe of Alhallowes in the wall and beinge the Dawghter of one Jhon Rogeres Dwellinge in the towne of Roystonn in Harfordshere Weare Wedid the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586 By vertue of a lysence	x ^d
	r / e	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
A homilie read concerninge repentance	Memerandum that m' Hayse Ded Reade a part of a homelye concerninge Repentance in ower parishe churche the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586 in the Forenoone	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
W ^m Tailor his 3 bands	William Taylor and elizabethe Roade weare asked the therd tyme the xij th Daye of Februarie in ano 1586	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	

William Ihonson his 2 bands	William Jhonson and parnell gravell weare asked the Seconde tyme the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
Edward wallis his first bands	Edward Wallis and Alice Simcocke weare asked the First tyme the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586	
The daye	Februarie Ano 1586	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
W	Edward Beale and Katheryne Horslye weare Wedid the xij th Daye of Februarie in ano 1586	x ^d
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
W ^m Ihonson his 3 bands	William Jhonson and parnell gravell weare asked the therd tyme the xij th Daye of februarie in ano 1586	
	at evninge prayer	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
Edward Wallis his 2 bands	Edward Wallis and alice Simcocke weare asked the Second tyme the xij th Daye of februarie in ano 1586 at evninge prayer	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
C	Jhon Shipmann the Sonne of Phillip Shipmann cittizen and Freemasonn of Londonn and dwellinge at the Signe of the crowne and Beinge ann Inn and beinge in the Highe Striete was Cristned the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586	ij ^d
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
C	Jhon Platt the Sonn of William platt Beinge a varrier and dwellinge in the Highe Striete Was cristned the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586	ij ^d
The daye	Februarie Ano 1586	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
C	Margerett Jhonson the dawghter of peter Jhonson a cobler dwellinge in Swann alye beinge in the libertie of East Smithfield Was cristned the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586	ij ^d
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
C	Elizabeth Hill the dawghter of Anthonye Hill a printer Dwellinge as we go towards the miniries was cristned the xij th Daye of Februarie in ano 1586	ij ^d
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
C	Alice Driffield the dawghter of Jhon driffield a Saylor and Dwellinge in the libertie of East Smithfield was cristned the xij th Daye of Februarie in ano 1586	ij ^d
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
C	Elizabete Breache the Dawghter of Nicolas breache a carpenter Dwellinge in the Howse of Edmunde Richardson a cooke beinge his Father in Lawe and beinge in the churchyeard was cristned the xij th Daye of Februarie in ano 1586	ij ^d
The daye	Februarie Ano 1586	
	12 Februarie Ano 1586	
B	Jacus Luilier of Shalludo in Fraunce beinge a younge Jentelmann whas at parris and lyenge Sicke at the howse of Rowland Samforde A notarie Publickes Howes beinge in Hownsdiche where he endid his Lyfe and was Buried the xij th daye of Februarie in ano 1586 in the comonn churchyeard neare unto the northe dore	iiij ^s vii ^d
	beinge no parishioner and beinge xx yeares owlde	con
	his funirall chargis	
	For the minister ij ^s	
	For the grownde in the common churchyearde xij ^d	
	For the Best clothe xvii ^d	

	For the pitt and knell ij ^s viiij ^d	
	For the clarkes atendance viij ^d	
	For the Sextens atendance iiiij ^d	
	For iiij beareres xvj ^d	
10 ^s 2 ^d	For ij passinge belles viij ^d	

Document 3 Extract from John Stow's Survey of London.

Stow, writing in 1603, regrets the loss of fields and trees he had known in his youth when he describes the suburb without Aldgate:

'This Hogge lane stretcheth North toward Saint *Marie Spitle* without Bishopsgate, and within these fortie yeares, had on both sides fayre hedgerowes of Elme trees, with Bridges and easie stiles to passe ouer into the pleasant fieldes, very commodious for Citizens therein to walke, shoote, and otherwise to recreate and refresh their dilled spirites in the sweete and wholesome ayre, which is nowe within few yeares made a continuall building throughout, of Garden houses, and small Cottages; and the fields on either side be turned into Garden plottes, teynter yarges, Bowling Allyes, and such like, from Houndes ditch in the West, so farre as white Chappell, and further towards the East.

'But this common field, I say, being sometime the beauty of this City on that part, is so incroched vpon by building of filthy Cottages, and with other purprestures, inclosures and Laystalles (notwithstanding all proclamations and Acts of Parliament made to the contrary) that in some places it scarce remaineth a sufficient high way for the meeting of Carriages and droues of Cattell, much lesse is there any faire, pleasantor wholsome way for people to walke on foot: which is no small blemish to so famous a city, to haue so vnsauery and vnseemly an entry or passage thereunto.'

From 'The Suburbs without the walls', *A Survey of London, by John Stow: Reprinted from the text of 1603* (1908), pp. 69-91.<<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=60055>>[accessed: 11 June 2013]

Document 4 Sample spreadsheet diary for March to May 1586.

Diaries of this kind were used for analysis of all PCM entries

. Date 1596	BurC	BurA	BNP	Ch	Ch NP	Wed	W NP	Ban	Chur	Ch ^{ur} NP	Serm	Ves	Coll	Comm	P	Memos
28-Mar	1©															
29-Mar	1©		1	1												
31-Mar				1		1			1							Bill
01-Apr	1©		1	1												
04-Apr		2		2				4			1		1	1(212)		
05-Apr		1														
06-Apr									1							
08-Apr								4					1	1(41)		
09-Apr								4					1	1(5)		
10-Apr		1				1										
11-Apr								2		1			5	5(555)		
12-Apr				3		2		3					1	1(40)		
13-Apr				2		1		4	1				1	1(16)		
14-Apr				1				2								
15-Apr	1©	1	1			1										Bill
16-Apr	1©			1						1						
17-Apr	1©															
18-Apr		1		1							2		1	1(205)		
19-Apr									2							
20-Apr	1©	1	1													
21-Apr		1	1						1							Bill
23-Apr		1							2							
24-Apr	1©															
25-Apr	1©	2		2		1		2			2		1	1(132)		
26-Apr				1					1					1(5)		Bill
29-Apr	1©					1			2							
30-Apr									1				1	1(3)		Caps
01-May	1©	1		1				3								

Column headings:

BurC	BurA	BNP	Ch	ChNP	Wed	WNP	Ban	Chur	ChurNP	Serm	Ves	Coll	Comm
Burial children	Burial adults	Burial non-parishioners	Christening	Christening non-parishioners	Wedding	Wedding non-parishioners	Wedding Banns	Churchings	Churchings non-parishioners	Sermons	Vestry meetings	Special charitable collections	Communion numbers
P	Perambulations	Memos	Additional notes										

Document 5 Edward Horden, resident of East Smithfield

'Edward Horden, esq. clerk of the green cloth to king Edward VI. queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, who had, for some considerable service to the crown, the augmentation of *a regal diadem*, added to his paternal coat by queen Elizabeth'.

From: 'Parishes: Goudhurst (part)', *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent: Volume 7* (1798), pp. 64-73. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=63392>>[accessed 5 Dec 2013]

Document 6 Care of vagrants: transcription 5 July, 1588

'A man Chyld kept by Margerett Hewse the Wyfe of William Hewes alijs pewe a carpenter Sometyms Dwellinge in Islingtonn whose wyfe nowe beinge vagarant and caryeing the Sayde chylde althowghe not beinge Her owne up and Downe wth Her and callinge it by the name of Markes Hewes Fatheringe it uponn Her Husband The Sayd chyld beinge no parishioneres Chyld Dyed in Her armes neare the Cadge by the tower beinge in the Libertie of est Smithfield, And Some Speeches beinge used that She had Starved the chylde where uponn the aldermans Deputie cawlinge to Hem Agnes Porter Jone More and the wyfe of william Pond beinge Searcheres, w^t Dyveres other Honest neyghbors to vewe the Sayde chyld and fyndinge no Hurte done to the Sayde chyld, But that it Seemed to Have beene evell looked unto or tended, For that it was Full of Lyce and Dyed of a pynenge Sicknes as the wyves Sayde And the Sayd chyld Havinge Beene Thus vewed By the consent of The Aldermans Deputie the Sayde chyld Buried the vth Daye of Julye anno 1588'

Document 7 Description of an unknown non-parishioner: transcription 22 May 1590

' _____ [blank] A yonge man not beinge knowne with a smale Red Barde beinge Brode vissiged who was in a Browne Canvas Dublett Beinge Cutt havinge also on' him a whyt Ffriese Jerkin and an owld blake Cloke with sleeve holes on' eatch syde who was killed with a knyfe by a Dutch man' neare swan' aly gate in the libertie of the eastsmithfield The sayd Duchman whose name was _____ [blank] ded stabb a knyfe Thorowe his Right arme neare the vp' part thereof and so into the up' parte of his Bodye where of he dyed And Beinge Dead who Dyed. the sayd day that he was hurte beinge the xxith day of May an'o 1590. and the Crownere' quest havinge gone vppon him the xxiith Day of may an'o 1590. He was abowte the age of xxxiii yeares of y__ beinge no p'rishioner'

Document 8 Typical burial charges for parishioners and a non-parishioners:
transcriptions for 19 January 1591 and 24 March 1589

Non-parishioner

the day.	Ianuarie Anno 1591.	fo 25
B. 19:	Jhon Blackman Cittizen and grocer of London Dwelling at Stapleford Abott hall in Essex who being sick ded lye at the howse of Jhon Graundge a sawlt peterman dwelling in mr Turpin his Rente' being in a garden howse as we go towarde' sparrowes Corner where he endid his lyfe and was buried in the sowth church yeard Close by the heather butterise the xixth day of Ianuarie anno' 1591. yeares lxxxvii and being no p'ishioner w't vs	viis// con'
	His funirall chardgis	
	Ffor the minister - iis	
	Ffor the grownd in the sowth Church yeard - iis	
	Ffor the best cloth - xviiiid	
	Ffor ii owers knell w't the therd bell - xvid	
	Ffor the pit and knell - iis viiid	
	Ffor the Clarkes atendance viiid	
	Ffor the sextens atendance - iiiid	
	Ffor ii passing belle' - viiid	
	Ffor i bearer - iiiid	
	Ffor the ii searchere' - viiid	

Parishioner

B 24	Elizabeth Cornishe a widow wyfe to the late deceased Jhon Cornishe a fawkener dwellinge in the highe striete was buried in the midle of the sowth church yeard the xxiiii Day of march an'o 1589 yeares iiiii xx	xs iid// con'
the day	March Anno 1589.	fo. 38.
	The Funirall chardgis for the buriall of Elizabeth Cornish.	
	Ffor the minester - iis	
	Ffor the afternoones knell with the greate bell - vis viiid	
	Ffor the grownd in the sowthe church yeard - xiid	
	Ffor the best clothe - ixid	
	Ffor the peales - iis	
	Ffor the pitt & knell coffind - xviiiid	
	Ffor the clarke' atendance - viiid	
	Ffor the sextens atendance iiiid	
	Ffor ii passing belle' - viiid	
Ffor iiiii bearere' - xvid		

Document 9 Vestry discussions of burial charges for non-parishioners :

Transcription 14 December 1595

<p>Order taken for all suche Corpse as shalbe Buried in the churchyard which is before the sowth part of the church</p>	<p>Item it was determined & agreed at the foresaid vestrie holden in the pish of Chruch of St Buttolphes without aldgate london on Thursday being the xvijth day of December Anno 1595 that of all Corpse whatsoever, ether young or owld, that shalbe buried in the Church year before the sowth parte of the Church whether they shalbe Coffind or not Coffind being pishioners There shalbe taken for the said ground for the use & benyfit of the Church the some of fyve shillinges, and for every Corps being no pishioner that shalbe buried in the said grownd there shalbe taken for the same for benyfitt of the Church the some of xs</p>
<p>Order taken for all such corpse as shalbe Buried in the comon church year in Coffins</p>	<p>Item also it was determined and agreed at the foresayd vestrie howlden in the pish Church of St Buttolphes Wthout Aldgate london on Thursday being the xvijth day of december Anno 1595 That of all pishioners both young and owld that shalbe buried in the Comon church year with Coffins There shalbe taken for the said ground for the said coffin ijs vjd and for every Corps so buried with a Coffin being no pishioner both [?] young or owld body, there shalbe taken for the said Coffin, for the use of the Church vs</p>
<p>Order taken that the church clothes shall be payd for used or not used at Burialls</p>	<p>Item also it was determyned and agreed at the foresaid vestrie holden in the pish Church of St Buttolphes without aldgate london on Thursday the xvijth day of December anno 1595 that no Corse [sic] shalbe buried in the Church or Church year above the age of seven yeares but that they shall use one of the Clothes belonging to the Church for the said purpose or at the Least wayse that there shalbe receyved for one of them whether they shalbe used or not for the benyfitt of the Church such mony as hath beene usually accustomed to be payd for them vules [?] that the parties so buried be so poore that there shalbe nothing to be gott [?] for the buriall of them arten [?]</p>

Transcription 13 December 1599

<p>Order taken for all such as shalbe Buried in the Newe Vault</p>	<p>Item it is fully agreed at this Vestrie holden in the pish Church of St Buttolphes without aldgate London on Thursday being the xijth day of December Anno 1599 that all such pishioners young or owld which shalbe Buried in the Newe Vault at the North syd of the body of the Church under the Newe Gallerie shall pay to the use of the pise for the sayd grownd Tenn Shillinges, And all suche as be no pishioners shall pay for the said grownd in the said Vault duple Chardgis</p>
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Document 10. Bonds for non-parishioner christening: transcription 14 October 1591

'Ann Hurst the dawghter of Thomas Hurst Cittizen and Marchuant Taylor of London dwelling at the howse of Ffrauncis Bawldwin yeoman of the Queenes Ma'tie' great Backhowse being as we go towarde' the minories Was Christned the xiiiith Day of october an'o 1591. being no p'rishioners chyld and the said Thomas hurst and one Georg Leake a marchant venteror Dwelling in Cowlman strite weare Bownd in a bond of Twentie pownds vnto Charles Russell and Jhon Woodrofe being Churchwardens to save the p'ishe Harmeles from being charged with the said child'

Document 11 Dates of Vestry Meetings 1583 - 1600

Month	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	March
Year													
1583/4										15 th	14 th ,22 nd	3 rd ,25 th	11 th ,18 th
1584/5		17 th	28 th	10 th	6 th		22 nd 27 th 29 th	25 th	1 st				
1585/6													
1586/7										18 th 21 st			
1587/8	25 th		1 st 14 th	21 st			14 th 17 th 19 th			17 th 21 st			1 st
1588/9			21 st	23 rd 28 th						15 th 16 th 17 th 21 st	3 rd 15 th		
1589/90	25 th		4 th	22 nd			6 th		2 nd	15 th 21 st	4 th		
1590/1	25 th	26 th	24 th 28 th	3 rd 28 th			9 th 17 th			12 th 20 th 21 st			
1591/2				27 th		8 th	15 th	20 th		12 th 14 th 17 th 19 th 20 th		11 th	
1592/3		18 th 7 th	4 th 17 th 24 th	20 th	26 th	29 th							
1593/4									6 th 11 th	2 nd 16 th 19 th 23 rd	13 th 17 th	5 th	11 th 19 th
1594/5			31 st		14 th			8 th		18 th			
1595/6		9 th 16 th 20 th	16 th	1 st 29 th		28 th	10 th 23 rd		4 th	14 th 18 th 21 st 23 rd	10 th	11 th 26 th	
1596/7	25 th			17 th 27 th			3 rd	6 th	1 st	6 th 16 th 21 st	14 th	2 nd 6 th 8 th	
1597/8	25 th	9 th	26 th	7 th 19 th 29 th	4 th 6 th	12 th 16 th 20 th	16 th		15 th	15 th 18 th 21 st	29 th		
1598/9						8 th 22 nd		5 th	1 st 3 rd	14 th 19 th 21 st	18 th		8 th
1599/60			1 st	5 th	3 rd			1 st 2 nd 11 th 6 th 18 th		2 nd 13 th 16 th 21 st	10 th 22 nd 29 th	21 st	
1600			6 th 15 th 21 st 26 th	6 th									