

Appendix

Demographic Tables

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Tables for Chapter 2, “Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Demographic Perspective”

The following five tables provide data on the proportions of life-cycle and lifelong singlewomen in medieval and early modern Europe. Culled from a wide variety of demographic studies, the data focus in particular on two measures: the timing of marriage (as reflected in the mean age at first marriage) and the incidence of marriage (as reflected in the proportions of women over about age 45–50 who never married).

TABLE A1 Proportions of Singlewomen in Some European Populations Before 1550

PLACE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY	DATE	% SINGLE WOMEN	(AGE OF ADULTHOOD)	% UNMARRIED (WIDOWS & SINGLEWOMEN)	MEAN AGE AT 1ST MARRIAGE	(NO. OF CASES)
England						
<i>Towns</i>						
Bristol elite ¹	1341–1428				16.8	(18)
London merchant elite ²	1352–1509				17.0	(41)
London elite ³	14th–15thC				19.1	(17)
Oxford (2 parishes) ⁴	1377		(14)	41.2		
Carlisle	1377		(14)	44.5		
Colchester	1377		(14)	39.7		
Hull	1377		(14)	45.0		
Coventry ⁵	1523	43.0	(15)			
<i>Villages</i>						
19 vills in Rutland	1377		(14)	32.6		
125 vills in Essex ⁶	1381		(15)	39.8		
<i>1377 Tax Overall</i> ⁷	1377	29.9	(14)	33.6		
Low Countries						
Zierikzee urban elite ⁸ (B)	1500–49				25.3	(65)
Germany						
Frankfurt urban elite ⁹	14th–15thC				18.8	(28)
Freiburg ¹⁰	1447	31.0				
Württemberg urban elite ¹¹	16thC				21.4	(34)

France						
Reims ¹²	1422	41.2	(14)			
Dijon ¹³	1500–50			21.9		(32)
Switzerland						
Zurich ¹⁴	1467	49.0	(15)			
Italy						
<i>Towns</i> ¹⁵						
Prato (Tuscany)	1372			16.3		
	1427			17.6		
	1470			21.1		
Florence (Tuscany)	1427	21.4	(12)	17.6		
	1458			19.5		
	1480			20.8		
6 large towns (Tuscany)	1427	18.2	(12)	17.9		
15 small towns (Tuscany)	1427	17.7	(12)	17.9		
Verona & Vicenza elite ¹⁶	1425–c.1510			20.1		(26)
<i>Villages</i>						
around Prato (Tuscany)	1372			15.3		
	1427			17.3		
	1470			19.5		
around Florence (Tuscany)	1427	18.0	(12)	18.4		
	1470			21.0		
around Lucca (NW Tuscany) ¹⁷	1411–13	2.4	(15)			

Notes: Note that the data presented here were collected in different ways from widely varying sources, as detailed in the notes below. Dates for mean age of marriage generally refer to marriage cohorts, except for those marked (B), which refer to birth cohorts.

i. Based on marriages of Bristol orphans of the urban elite; I thank Elaine Clark for allowing me to cite these figures, which are from Bristol Record Office, Register of Recognizances for Orphans. Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948), 196, n. 10, found 20 cases of Bristol girls orphaned in 1385–1485 and calculated that the median age of marriage was 17.0.

2. The figure represents the median age at marriage and is based on marriages of London orphans of the merchant elite that were recorded in Letter Books G–L and the London Journals; see Thrupp, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, 196.
3. Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York: 1993), 205, 263; the data refer to the marriages of London orphans, which would have included the wealthier strata of the urban population. Note also that orphans tended to marry earlier than non-orphans.
4. This and the following figures are from the 1377 poll tax; see P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 215. The column for “single and widowed women” is a minimum figure since singlewomen were often underenumerated in the tax.
5. Charles Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 84, 306–7; figure is derived from a detailed town census and is probably slightly inflated by the inclusion of some widows and girls.
6. L. R. Poos, *A Rural Society After the Black Death: Essex 1350–1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 152–57; figure is based on 1381 poll tax and has been adjusted by using model life tables so as to include excluded taxpayers (the largest group of which is singlewomen) and by assuming that one-half of the male exclusions were married.
7. Caroline Fenwick, “The English Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: A Critical Examination of the Returns,” Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1983), 179.
8. H. van Dijk and D. J. Roonda, “Het Patriciaat in Zierikzee Tijdens de Republiek,” *Archief: Mededelingen van het koninklijk zeeuwsch genootschap der wetenschappen* (Rotterdam: 1979), 37.
9. Richard Koebner, “Die Eheauffassung des ausgehenden deutschen mittelalters,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 9 (1911): 139.
10. Roger Mols, *Introduction à la démographie historiques des villes d’Europe du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Louvain: Duculot, 1954–56), 3: 129.
11. J. Hajnal, “European Marriage Patterns in Perspective,” in *Population in History: Essays in Historical Demography*, ed. D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), 115; the figures are drawn from genealogical records.
12. Pierre Desportes, “La population de Reims au XV^e siècle d’après un dénombrement de 1422,” *Le Moyen Age* 72 (1966): 472, 486, 495; figure is drawn from a census extant for two of the city’s richest parishes that together contain 3,195 people, about one-third of the town’s population.
13. Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 15; the figures are from declared age at marriage made in depositions of witnesses to crimes.
14. Hajnal, “European Marriage Patterns,” 116–17; the figures are drawn from head taxes and might include some widows.
15. All Tuscan data are from David Herlihy and Christine Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985); for age at marriage, see pp. 87, 207, 210, and note that those for 1458 and 1480 are based on samples of one-tenth of the taxed households. For percentage of singlewomen, see p. 216; the data are from the catasto of 1427 and include women of indeterminate marital status, who represent 2.8% of the Florentine population, 4.9% in the cities, 2.9% in the towns, and 1.4% in the countryside. The figures also exclude nuns, who represented about 2.4% of adult singlewomen (25, 214, n.16).
16. James S. Grubb, *Provincial Families of the Renaissance: Private and Public Life in the Veneto* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 221.
17. Franca Leverotti, “La famiglia contadina Lucchese all’inizio del ’400,” in *Strutture familiari, epidemie, migrazioni nell’Italia medievale*, ed. Rinaldo Comba, Gabriella Piccinni, and Giuliano Pinto (Naples: Edizione Scientifiche Italiane, 1984), 261; data are from an *estimo* recording 1,148 women aged 15–60 (10% of indeterminate marital status (.9%), 954 married, and 167 widowed.

TABLE A2 Proportions of Singlewomen in Some European Populations after 1550 (as measured by mean age of women at first marriage)

PLACE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY	DATE AND MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE					
	16TH CENT.		17TH CENT.		18TH CENT.	
Denmark and Sweden ¹			1581-1700	26.7	1740-90	25.5
Kolbäck (Sweden)			1585-1700	25.2		
Västerfärnebo (Sweden)			1581-1700	27.4		
Glostrup (Denmark)			1677-1740	28.2	1741-90	26.8
Scotland						
Lowlands ²			1660-1770	26.8*		
Kilmarnock ³	town part				1732-53	23.5
	rural part				1745-63	26.5
Ireland						
County Dublin ⁴			1652-53	23.8		
County Munster			1652-53	22.6		
Quaker women ⁵			1650-99	23.5	1700-40	24.1
County Antrim ⁶					1755-1802	22.9
Killyman (Ulster) ⁷					1771-1810	21.8
England						
<i>Country</i>	26 parishes ⁸		1610-24	25.5	1700-24	26.1
			1625-49	25.5	1725-49	25.3
			1650-74	25.8	1750-74	24.6
	(B) 404 parishes ⁹	1566	1616	25.7	1716	25.5
		1591	1641	26.8	1741	25.1
			1666	26.7	1766	24.3

TABLE A2 *Continued*

PLACE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY	DATE AND MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE					
	16TH CENT.		17TH CENT.		18TH CENT.	
<i>Cities</i>						
London ¹⁰			1598–1619	22.3		
London Quakers ¹¹			1650–99	27.1	1700–49	25.6
<i>Villages and small towns (B)</i> ¹²						
Alcester (Warwicks)	1550–99	22.4	1600–49	25.0	1700–49	28.2
Banbury (Oxford)	1550–99	24.9	1600–49	25.4	1700–49	26.7
Colyton (Devon)	1550–99	26.9	1600–49	27.3	1700–49	28.6
Terling (Essex)	1550–99	24.5	1600–49	24.6	1700–49	24.4
<i>Regions</i> ¹³						
Southern counties			1615–21	24.6		
Southern England Quakers			1650–99	24.9	1700–49	26.3
Yorkshire, 6 parishes			1691–1710	23.1		
Nottinghamshire, 3 parishes					1701–10	24.2
Low Countries						
<i>Cities</i>						
Amsterdam ¹⁴			1626–27	24.5	1726–27	27.2
			1676–77	26.5	1776–77	27.8
<i>Villages</i>						
Elversele (Flanders) (B) ¹⁵			1608–49	24.8	1700–49	28.0
Someren (Brabant) ¹⁶			1664–69, 1693–95	26.7		
N. Belgium ¹⁷			1620–99	26.4	1700–49	26.7

Germany*Cities*

Nördlingen ¹⁸			1611–50	25.1	1691–1730	30.2
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			1651–90	26.0		
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Villages

Schwalm region ¹⁹			1600–1799	24.7		
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Hesel (E. Friesland)			1600–1799	25.2		
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Vasbeck (Walbeck) ²⁰					1700–49	26.6
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Werdum (E. Friesland)					1700–49	24.3
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Rust (Baden)					1700–49	25.5
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Giessen ²¹			1631–1730	24.5		
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Switzerland

Geneva ²²			1625–44	24.8		
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			1650–74	26.0		
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France

<i>Country</i> ²³			1675–99	24.7	1700–24	25.0
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					1775–99	26.3
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Cities

Rouen (Normandy) ²⁴			1640–69	25.8	1700–29	26.2
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Meulan (Paris Basin) ²⁵			1660–1739	24.9	1740–64	26.0
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Bourg en Bresse (Ain) ²⁶	1560–79	20.5	1600–19	21.6	1760–89	27.0
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	1580–99	21.5				
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Villages

Crulai (Normandy) ²⁷			1674–1742	24.6		
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Athis (Ile de France) ²⁸	1578–99	19.1	1635–79	23.4		
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Lambesc (Provence) ²⁹					1700–40	23.0
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Saint-Savin (Pyrenees) ³⁰			1630–69	19.1	1710–49	25.4
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			1670–1709	22.3		
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TABLE A2 *Continued*

PLACE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY	DATE AND MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE					
	16TH CENT.		17TH CENT.		18TH CENT.	
<i>Regions</i>						
Paris Basin ³¹			1671-1720	24.5		
Lorraine ³²	1575-1625	22.1				
Vexin ³³			1685-89	23.6		
			1695-99	25.1		
Portugal						
<i>Villages</i> ³⁴						
Moncarapacho (Algarve)	1545	21.1*				
Rebordaos (Bragança) (B)			1610-29	25.3	1721-1800	26.4
Spain						
<i>Towns and Cities</i>						
Cuenca (New Castile) ³⁵	1560-1600	21.6	1601-50	20.7	1701-5	22.4
Cartagena (Murcia) ³⁶			1646-50	19.6		
			1674-79	21.3		
<i>Villages</i>						
Cirauqui (Navarre) ³⁷			1640-99	22.0	1700-9	23.0
					1770-89	21.1
Villabáñez (Old Castile) ³⁸			1590-1605	20.2	1701-50	22.4
			1651-1700	21.8	1751-1800	22.6
S. Pablo de Zaragoza (Aragon) ³⁹			1600-50	22.8		
Los Molinos (New Castile)			1638-89	21.7	1690-1729	22.3
Felanitx (Mallorca)	1580-1601	19.6	1602-50	20.9		

<i>Regions</i> ⁴⁰					
Galicia				1787	25.0*
Aragon					23.2*
New Castile					23.0*
Estremadura					22.0*
Murcia					22.2*
Andalusia					22.2*
Italy					
<i>Cities</i> ⁴¹					
Venice (Venetia)				1701–5	28.8*
				1740–44	29.3*
Pavia (Lombardy)				1700	22.0*
Chieti (Abruzzi)				1732	25.0*
<i>Villages</i>					
Valdarno (Tuscany) ⁴²		1684–1707	24.2		
S. Ippolito & Galciana ⁴³		1646	19.9*	1735	25.1*
(Tuscany)		1678	22.2*	1786	26.2*
Altopascio (Tuscany) ⁴⁴		1625–49	18.6	1700–49	21.9
		1650–99	20.4	1750–84	25.5
Prato contado (Tuscany) ⁴⁵		1678	23.6*	1786	25.2*
Chieti contado (Abruzzi)				1732	24.0*
Eboli (Campania)		1629	18.5*	1750	19.0*
Solofra (Campania)		1631	23.5*	1730	25.3*
Bitetto (Puglia)	1585	17.3*			
Taurisano (Puglia)	1522	19.8*	1643	19.0*	1747
	1561	15.3*			
	1586	15.8*			

Unless noted otherwise, all data are drawn from family reconstitution studies, except for ages marked with a *, which represent the singulate mean age of marriage calculated according to the method developed by J. Hajnal. All dates refer to marriage cohorts, except for those marked (B) which are based on birth cohorts.

1. Michael W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 127. The 1581–1700 figure is a weighted mean of reconstitutions (only 3 of which cover this whole period) from 6 villages. The 1740–90 figure includes data from 3 reconstitutions.

2. R. A. Houston, "Age at Marriage of Scottish Women, c. 1660–1770," *Local Population Studies* 43 (1990): 63–66. The figures are based on 849 female deponents between the ages of 15 and 49 who appeared before the High Court of Justiciary; the sample is probably biased toward town-dwellers and underrepresents the poorest classes.
3. Michael W. Flinn, ed., *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 276.
4. David Dickson, "No Scythians Here: Women and Marriage in Seventeenth-Century Ireland," in *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, ed. Margaret MacCurtain and Mary O'Dowd (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 230. The County Dublin data refer to 103 women in a listing of Catholic and Protestant inhabitants of the baronies of Upper Cross and Newcastle; the age at marriage was calculated by subtracting the reported age of the eldest child plus 1 year from the reported age of the mother. The Munster data are calculated in a similar way but refer to 34 women appearing in transplantation certificates.
5. Richard T. Vann and David Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death: The British and Irish Quakers in the Demographic Transition, 1650–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 105.
6. V. Morgan and W. S. Macafee, "Irish Population in the Pre-Famine Period: Evidence from County Antrim," *Economic History Review* 2nd ser. 37 (1984): 186.
7. W. S. Macafee, "Pre-Famine Population in Ulster: Evidence from the Parish Register of Killyman," in *Rural Ireland, 1600–1900: Modernisation and Change*, ed. Patrick O'Flanagan, Paul Ferguson, and Kevin Whelan (Cork: Cork University Press, 1987), 154; Killyman was a linen-weaving parish.
8. E. A. Wrigley, R. S. Davies, J. E. Oeppen, and R. S. Schofield, *English Population History from Family Reconstitution, 1580–1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 149. The data have been corrected for compositional change and "splicing" and refer to marriages between bachelors and singlewomen; singlewomen who married widowers were generally 3 to 4 years older than the ages noted here. Note also that data are not available for all 26 parishes for every period.
9. These data represent corrected versions of figures derived by back projection for 404 parishes; see David R. Weir, "Rather Never Than Late: Celibacy and Age at Marriage in English Cohort Fertility," *Journal of Family History* 9 (1984): 342.
10. Vivien B. Elliot, "Single Women in the London Marriage Market: Age, Status and Mobility, 1589–1619," in *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage*, ed. R. B. Outhwaite (London: Blackwell, 1981), 84, 87. Data are drawn from applications for a licence to marry in the diocese of London and thus are probably biased in favor of higher status groups, although servants and other low-status groups often applied as well.
11. John Landers, "Fertility Decline and Birth Spacing Among London Quakers," in *Fertility and Resources*, ed. Landers and Vernon Reynolds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 93.
12. Richard M. Smith, "Population and Its Geography in England 1500–1730," in *An Historical Geography of England and Wales*, ed. R. A. Dodgshon and R. A. Butlin (New York: 1979), 217.
13. All regional data are from Flinn, *European Demographic System*, 124–25, except for Quaker data, which are from Landers, "Fertility Decline," 93.
14. A. M. Van der Woude, "Population Developments in the Northern Netherlands (1500–1800) and the Validity of the 'Urban Graveyard' Effect" *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1982): 63.
15. P. Deprez, "The Demographic Development of Flanders in the Eighteenth Century," in *Population in History*, ed. Glass and Eversley, 615.
16. Mols, *Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe*, 3: 137.
17. Jacques Houdaille, "Nuptialité et fécondité en Flandre et au Brabant du XVIIe au XIXe siècles," *Population* 32 (1977): 1005.
18. Christopher R. Friedrichs, *Urban Society in an Age of War: Nördlingen, 1580–1720* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 69; data based on a sample of 263 women whose fathers or husbands had surnames that began with a G.

19. Schwalm and Hesel data are from A. E. Imhof, "Remarriage in Rural Populations and in the Urban Middle and Upper Strata in Germany from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century," in *Marriage and Remarriage in Populations in the Past*, ed. Jacques Dupâquier, Etienne Hélin, Peter Laslett, Massimo Livi-Bacci, and Solvi Sogner (London: Academic Press, 1981), 338.
20. Data for Vasbeck, Werdum, and Rust from John Knodel, *Demographic Behavior in the Past: A Study of Fourteen German Village Populations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 122–23.
21. Data for Giessen and Massenhäusen are from Flinn, *European Demographic System*, 126–27.
22. A. Perrenoud and D. Zumkeller, "Caractères originaux de la démographie genevoise du XVI^e siècle. Structure ou conjoncture," *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1980): 130.
23. David R. Weir, "Life Under Pressure: France and England, 1670–1870," *Journal of Economic History* 44 (1994): 33; the dates are the years in which the cohort reached age 25.
24. Jean-Pierre Bardet, *Rouen aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: les mutations d'un espace social* (Paris: Société d'Édition d'Enseignement Supérieur, 1983), 1:55.
25. For the period 1660–1739, exact ages are known only for 16% of the women marrying; for 1740–64, this rises to 36.9%; see Marcel Lachiver, *La population de Meulan du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle (vers 1600–1870)* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1969), 138–39.
26. Denise Turrel, *Bourry en Bresse au 16^e siècle: les hommes et la ville* (Paris: Société Démographique Historique, 1986), 198–202. The average age rises by 6 to 7 months if women whose status at marriage was unclear (single or widowed) are included in the calculations.
27. Etienne Gautier and Louis Henry, *La population de Crulai, paroisse normande: étude historique* (Paris, 1958), 84.
28. François Lebrun and Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, "Le mariage et la famille," in *Histoire de la population française*, ed. Jacques Dupâquier et al. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988), 2: 305, citing Jean-Marc Moriceau, *La population du sud de Paris aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris, 1978).
29. M. Terrisse, "Note à propos des aspects démographiques de la vie provençale au XVII^e siècle," *Provence Historique* 39 (1989): 81.
30. Yves Guy, *Saint-Savin: démographie d'un village bigourde* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1988), 163.
31. François Lebrun, "Amour et mariage," in *Histoire de la population française*, 2: 305.
32. Jean-Pierre Kintz, "Démographie en pays lorrains au XVI^e siècle," *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1975): 411.
33. Jacques Dupâquier, "L'autorégulation de la population française (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle)," in *Histoire de la population française*, 2: 429.
34. Robert Rowland, "Sistemas matrimoniales en la Península Ibérica (siglos XVI–IX): una perspectiva regional," in *Demografía histórica en España*, ed. Vicente, Pérez Moreda and David S. Reher (Madrid: El Arquero, 1988), 90.
35. David S. Reher, *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain: Cuenca, 1550–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 75.
36. Francisco Chacóon Jiménez, "Notas para el estudio de la familia en la región de Murcia durante el Antiguo Régimen," in *La familia en la España mediterránea (siglos XV–XIX)*, ed. James Casey et al. (Barcelona: Centre d'Estudis d'Història Moderna Pierre Vilar, 1987), 155.
37. Fernando Mikelarena Peña, *Demografía y familia en la Navarra tradicional* (Pamplona, 1995), 160.
38. Bartolomé Bennassar, *Valladolid au siècle d'or: une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1967), 197.
39. Rowland, "Sistemas," 91, for Los Molinos, S. Pablo de Zaragoza, and Felanitx.
40. Rowland, "Sistemas," 95.
41. City data from Marzio Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso tetto: Mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo* (Bologna: Il Molino, 1984), 534, 536.
42. Andrea Menzione, "Composizione delle famiglie e matrimonio in diversi gruppi contadini nella Toscana del secolo XVII," in *Popolazione, società e ambiente: Temi di demografia storica italiana (secc. XVII–XIX)*, ed. Eugenio Sonnino et al. (Bologna: Società Italiana di Demografia Storia, 1990), 200.
43. Marco Della Pina, "Famiglia mezzadrile e celibato: le campagne di Prato nei secoli XVII e XVIII," in *Popolazione, società e ambiente*, 136.
44. Frank McArdle, *Altopascio: A Study in Tuscan Rural Society 1587–1784* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 61.
45. Following data are from Barbagli, *Sotto lo stesso*, 535–36, 538; most are also listed in Gérard Delille, *Famille et propriété dans le royaume de Naples (XV^e–XIX^e siècle)* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1985), 192–93.

TABLE A3 Proportions of Lifelong Singlewomen in Some European Populations

PLACE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY	DATE AND % OF ADULT WOMEN NEVER MARRIED					
	15TH-16TH CENT.		17TH CENT.		18TH CENT.	
Ruling Families¹ (B)	1480-1579	24.1	1580-1679	24.9	1680-1770	13.2
Norway²					1750	14.1
Sweden³ (B)					1700	10.4
					1750	11.7
Scotland⁴						
<i>Villages</i>						
Kilmarnock (W. Lowlands)					1740s	26.0
Torthorwald (Borders)					1763-80	33.0
Tranent (E. Lowlands)					1750s	9.7
					1770s	14.5
Fordoun (E. Lowlands)					1790s	13.5
Ireland						
Quaker women ⁵					1700-49	1.9
					1750-99	15.1
England						
<i>Country⁶ (B)</i>	1536	4.7	1616	22.1	1716	12.1
(men & women)	1591	14.6	1641	19.4	1741	10.0
			1666	9.2		
			1691	8.4		

<i>British peerage</i> ⁷ (B)	1550-74	9.0	1600-24	12.8	1700-24	26.3
	1575-99	4.2	1650-74	15.1	1750-74	23.9
<i>Quakers</i> ⁸						
Urban			1700-49	3.5	1750-99	14.7
Southern England				3.0		14.9
Northern Britain				0		7.2
Low Countries						
E. Flanders ⁹			1699-1703	15.2	1742-57	18.8
France						
<i>Country</i> ¹⁰ (B)			1660-64	7.1	1710-14	6.6
			1675-79	5.6	1730-34	9.6
			1690-94	6.6	1760-64	11.7
All départements ¹¹ (BC)					1756	12.9
<i>Cities and Towns</i>						
Paris (St. Sulpice parish) ¹²					1715-44	15.0
Rouen (Normandy) ¹³			1640-69	16.0	1700-29	19.0
			1670-99	22.0	1730-59	21.0
					1760-89	17.0
Meulan ¹⁴			1660-1739	7.9+	1740-89	10.2
<i>Villages and Regions</i>						
Saint-Savin (Pyrenees) ¹⁵			1618-99	8.6+	1700-99	14.9+
Normandy ¹⁶					1740-89	5.3
Northern France						8.1
Eastern France						6.6
Manche ¹⁷ (B)					1756	16.4
Seine-et-Marne (B)						7.3
Jura (B)						14.2
Dordogne (B)						12.4
Hautes Pyrénées (B)						20.7

TABLE A3 *Continued*

PLACE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY	DATE AND % OF ADULT WOMEN NEVER MARRIED					
	15TH-16TH CENT.		17TH CENT.		18TH CENT.	
Switzerland						
<i>Cities</i>						
Geneva elite ¹⁸ (B)	1550-99	2.0	1600-49	7.0	1700-49	29.0
			1650-99	25.0	1750-99	31.0
Geneva ¹⁹	1580-89	12.0	1650s	15.0		
Spain						
<i>Country</i> ²⁰ (C) villages cities					1787	10.0 17.1
<i>Cities</i>						
Cuenca ²¹ (C)					1752	13.3
<i>Regions</i> (C)						
Galicia					1787	16.5
León						7.8
Catalonia						12.4
Old Castile						7.8
New Castile						7.5
Valencia						8.6
Andalusia						17.9
Italy						
<i>Cities</i>						
Florence (Tuscany) ²² (C)	1427	5.8				
	1457	2.9				
	1480	1.9				

6 Cities (Tuscany) (C)	1427	5.4		
15 Towns (Tuscany) (C)	1427	2.5		
Pavia ²³ (Lombardy)			1700	11.0
<i>Villages</i>				
around Florence (C)	1427	2.0		
around Prato ²⁴				
sharecroppers (mezzadri)			1786	18.1
renters (pigionali)				9.3
around Pisa ²⁵ (C)		1684–1707	11.6	
Lucera (Apulia) ²⁶ (C)		1621	.6	
Eboli (Apulia) (C)		1629	7.6	1750 8.2
Solofra (Campania) (C)		1631	1.0	1730 22.7
S. Cipriano (Campania) (C)		1610	10.1	1730 21.0

All figures are based on never-married women, but at ages that varied from 45 to 55 and by using different methods, as noted below. Dates refer to death cohorts, except for those marked (B) which are birth cohorts and those marked (C) which refer to the year of the census recording marital status and age.

1. Sigismund Peller, "Births and Deaths Among Europe's Ruling Families Since 1500," in *Population in History*, 89; data drawn from family genealogies (age 50).
2. Louis Henry, "La population de la Norvège depuis deux siècles," *Population* (1979): 547 (age 50 or older).
3. Erland Hofsten and Hans Lundstrom, *Swedish Population History: Main Trends from 1750 to 1970* (Stockholm, 1975), 35 (aged 45–49).
4. Flinn, ed., *Scottish Population History*, 280 (dying aged 50 or older).
5. Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 108 (dying aged 50 or older); figures are calculated using the method of Henry and Houdaille (n. 9 below).
6. Roger S. Schofield, "English Marriage Patterns Revisited," *Journal of Family History* 10 (1985): 14 (aged 40 or older). The figures are derived from back projection with further modifications, refer to birth cohorts, and are for both men and women (which means they probably underestimate lifelong singlewomen).
7. T. H. Hollingsworth, "The Demography of the British Peerage," *Population Studies* Supp. 18 (1964): 20 (age 50 or older).
8. Vann and Eversley, *Friends in Life and Death*, 108 (dying aged 50 or older).
9. Jacques Houdaille, "Nuptialité et fécondité en Flandre et au Brabant du XVIIe au XIXe siècles," *Population* 32 (1977): 1006 (ages 40–49 or older); figures are derived from *états des âmes*.
10. Louis Henry and Jacques Houdaille, "Célibat et âge au mariage aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles en France. I. Célibat définitif," *Population* 33 (1978): 50 (aged 50 or older). Their method draws on data in burial registers and is designed to take into account the relatively large number of women whose exact marital status at death could not be determined.

11. Etienne Van de Walle, "La nuptialité des Françaises avant 1851, d'après l'état civil des décédées," *Population* 32, special no. (1977): 458–59. His method takes data on age and marital status in 1806 and makes adjustments for differential mortality by marital status; the data refer to the proportion of women dying aged 50–74 years old who never married.
12. Henry and Houdaille, "Célibat," 53 (aged 60 or older).
13. Bardet, *Rouen aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, 1:322 (dying aged 50 or older).
14. Lachiver, *La population de Meulan*, 136 (dying aged 50 or older). It is likely that up to half of the 20 women of "indeterminate" status of the 380 total in 1660–1739 were spinsters. For the period 1740–89, the marital status of only 8 of the 433 went unrecorded, and for 1790–1839, only 7 of the 573 total.
15. Guy, *Saint-Savin*, 154 (dying aged 50 or older). The figures exclude those whose marital status was not recorded in the burial register, which includes 70.2% of the women in the first period and 40.5% of those in the second period.
16. Henry and Houdaille, "Célibat," 52 (dying aged 50 or older). The figures represent the average of the proportions derived by two different methods; the three regions were chosen because the number of women of undetermined marital status was less than 10%.
17. See n. 11 above for the data from 1756.
18. Louis Henry, *Anciennes familles genevoises: étude démographique: XVIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956), 52 (dying aged over 50 in the families of the ruling elite).
19. E. William Monter, "Historical Demography and Religious History in Sixteenth-Century Geneva," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9 (1979): 417; the 1580s figures are based on the marital status of 404 women dying in this period aged 50 or older, 47 of whom died single. The 1650s figures are those of A. Perrenoud, cited by Monter in n. 33, of women dying single aged 50 or older.
20. Reher, *Town and Country*, 80, n. 20 for the overall figures and Rowland, "Sistemas matrimoniales," 95, for the individual regions. Figures based on never-married women aged 40–50.
21. Reher, *Town and Country*, 75 (ages 40–50).
22. All 1427 data from David Herlihy, "Deaths, Marriages, Births, and the Tuscan Economy (ca. 1300–1500)," in *Population Patterns in the Past*, ed. Ronald Demos Lee (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 143. Figures refer to women, aged 48–52, who were listed in the Florentine catasto with no indication of ever having married, and excludes nuns. The 1480 figure for Florence is from Molho, *Marriage Alliance*, 217–18 (aged 46–55); it excludes 0.9 per cent of women whose marital status is unclear.
23. Hajnal, "European Marriage Patterns," 137, citing G. Aleati, *La popolazione di Pavia durante il dominio spagnolo* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1957); figures based on women dying single aged 40–59 in three parishes.
24. Della Pina, "Famiglia mezzadrile e celibato," 131; figures based on women aged 50–54.
25. Menzione, "Composizione delle famiglie e matrimonio in diversi gruppi contadini nella Toscana," 207; data are based on women aged 50–54.
26. This and the following from Delille, *Famille et propriété dans le royaume de Naples*, 190 (aged 50); data are from a series of censuses that give age and marital status. The Apulia villagers were largely sharecroppers in a grain-exporting region, while the villagers of Campania were essentially subsistence hill farmers.

TABLE A4 The Effect of Migration on the Proportions of Singlewomen
(as measured by mean age of women at first marriage)

PLACE	TYPE OF COMMUNITY	DATE	MEAN AGE AT 1ST MARRIAGE
England			
London-born ¹	city	1598–1619	20.5
Migrants to London			24.2
Netherlands²			
Amsterdam-born	city	1796	
Spouse Amsterdam-born			24.6
Spouse migrant			25.6
Migrant			
Spouse Amsterdam-born			26.6
Spouse migrant			28.4
Spain			
Cuenca-born ³	city	1680–1750	22.4
Migrants	city	1701–50	24.0
Italy			
Altopascio (Tuscany) ⁴	village	1625–49	
Marry and remain			18.6
Marry and leave			21.0
Marry and remain		1650–99	20.4
Marry and leave			22.5

Data are drawn from family reconstitution studies unless noted otherwise. Dates refer to marriage cohorts.

1. Vivien Brodsky Elliott, "Single Women in the London Marriage Market," 84, 87. The data are drawn from applications for a licence to marry in the diocese of London, are probably biased in favor of higher status groups because of the expense of the licence, although servants and other low-status groups were included and the author thinks the ages are generally representative of all single women in London.

2. Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 191, citing Herman A. Diederiks, *Een stad in verval. Amsterdam omstreeks 1800* (Amsterdam: Historisch Seminarium van de Universteit van Amsterdam, 1982), 92.

3. Reher, *Town and Country*, 82.

4. McArdle, *Altopascio*, 63.

TABLE A5 The Effect of Wealth and Status on the Proportions of Singlewomen (as measured by mean age of women at first marriage)

PLACE AND TYPE OF COMMUNITY	STATUS	DATE AND MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE					
		15TH-16TH CENT.		17TH CENT.		18TH CENT.	
Ruling Families¹ (B)		1500-99	20.2	1600-99	22.7	1700-99	21.7
England							
Nobility ² (B)	British peers	1550-74	20.3	1600-24	20.7	1700-24	23.5
		1575-99	19.7	1675-99	22.7	1775-99	25.5
London ³	2 rich parishes			1580-1650	22.3		
	2 poor parishes				24.0		
Colyton (Devon) ⁴ (village)	Gentry	1550-99	24.6	1600-49	24.1	1750-99	26.2
	Crafts		25.4		25.7		26.8
	Laborers		25.6		24.2		26.8
	Poor		25.2		26.5		28.0
Low Countries							
Zierikzee ⁵ (B)	Urban patriciate	1500-49	25.3	1600-49	26.0	1700-49	25.5
		1550-99	24.2	1650-99	25.0	1750-99	24.1
Germany							
14 villages ⁶	Farmers					1700-99	24.1
	Artisans and skilled						25.3
	Proletarians						26.4
	All (incl. unknown)						25.6
9 villages ⁷ (in Belm)	Land-rich					1761-70	24.8
	Smallholders						25.7
	Landless						27.3

France					
Nobility ⁸	Dukes and peers	1650–99	20.0	1700–50	19.4
				1750–99	18.3
Nobility ⁹	Provincial nobility	1600–49	23.8	1710–39	21.6
		1650–79	24.5	1740–69	22.8
Rouen city ¹⁰	Merchants & officials	1640–1792	25.0		
	Legal profession		25.7		
	Lesser merchants		25.8		
	Shopkeepers		26.9		
	Artisans		26.1		
	Workers/Laborers		26.2		
Switzerland					
Geneva ¹¹	High-mid bourgeoisie	1625–44	19.7	1650–74	25.2
	Petite bourgeoisie		23.2		24.9
	Employees and workers		26.8		27.1
Italy					
Florence ¹²	All brides	1437–79	19.9		
		1480–1519	20.4		
	Richer brides	1437–79	18.4		
		1480–1519	19.8		

Data are drawn from family reconstitution studies, except for the nobility which are based on family genealogies. All dates refer to marriage cohorts, except for those marked (B) which refer to birth cohorts.

1. Peller, "Births and Deaths Among Europe's Ruling Families," 88.

2. Hollingsworth, "Demography of the British Peerage," 25.

3. Roger Finlay, "Population and Fertility in London, 1580–1650," *Journal of Family History* 4 (1979): 31–32.

TABLE A5 *Continued*

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4. Pamela Sharpe, "The Total Reconstitution Method: A Tool for Class-Specific Study?" *Local Population Studies* 44 (1990): 48; data based on family reconstitution, but should be treated with caution since social status could be determined for only roughly half of the women marrying (53 known for the first period, 128 for the second, and 114 for the third).
 5. Van Dijk and Roorda, "Het patriciaat in Zierikzee," 37.
 6. Knodel, *Demographic Behavior in the Past*, 133.
 7. Jürgen Schlumbohm, "Micro-History and the Macro-Models of the European Demographic System in Pre-Industrial Times: Life Course Patterns in the Parish of Belm (Northwest Germany), Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries," *History of the Family* 1 (1996): 89; status is that of the husband.
 8. Louis Henry and C. Levy, "Duc et pairs sous l'Ancien Régime. Caractéristiques démographiques d'une caste," *Population* (1960): 813.
 9. Houdaille, "La noblesse française 1600–1900," 507; data drawn from family genealogies.
 10. Bardet, *Rouen*, 255; data based on family reconstitution of 3,244 marriages and the status refers to the bride's family.
 11. Perrenoud and Zumkeller, "Caractères originaux de la démographie genevoise du XVIe siècle," 131; data based on family reconstitution.
 12. Anthony Molho, *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval Florence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 307; the age at marriage is the reported age of the wife when the husband collected the dowry. "Richer brides" were those whose dowry amounts were in the top fiftieth percentile.