SURVIVING THE LITTLE ICE AGE: FAMILY STRATEGIES IN THE DECADE OF THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1693–1694 AS RECONSTRUCTED THROUGH THE PARISH REGISTERS AND FAMILY RECONSTITUTION

by

Elizabeth Anne Jones

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Department of Anthropology

Chapel Hill

2006

Approved by:

Carole L. Crumley, Adviser

Jean M. Black, Reader

Paul W. Leslie, Reader

Scott L. H. Madry, Reader

Vincas P. Steponaitis, Reader

ABSTRACT

ELIZABETH JONES: Surviving the Little Ice Age: Family Strategies in the Decade of the Great Famine of 1693-1694 as Reconstructed through Parish Registers and Family Reconstitution
(Under the direction of Carole L. Crumley)

This research, undertaken as part of a larger, multi-temporal study of social relations and land use, examines parish registers for the commune of Uxeau (*Canton* of Gueugnon, *Département* of Saône-et-Loire, region of Burgundy, France) during the coldest decade of the "Little Ice Age."

The work explores the types of analyses and research questions appropriate for very early registers that cover short intervals. Such registers usually lack the supplemental and corroborating records available for later periods, such as census lists, household enumerations and tax records. Analyses performed include some simple aggregative calculations and a thorough family reconstitution.

More unusually, this study places particular emphasis on the peripheral entries not always included in the data bases for family reconstitution–those notations in addition to the main facts of baptism, marriage and burial, which provide detailed information on persons acting as godparents, marriage witnesses and mourners. Incorporating this data, allows extended family groups to be reconstructed for up to four generations, using parish records covering a period of only ten years–something that would otherwise have taken several decades worth of data to accomplish. It is the ties represented in the peripheral data that make possible the reconstruction of the social network, parish hierarchy, and economic relations within

the parish. For example, the spatial mapping of the occupational data and the patterns of social alliances reveals two distinct agricultural ecotypes within the parish.

The ten-year period of the study coincides with the coldest decade of “The Little Ice Age” and surrounds the “Great Mortality” from the famine of 1693-1694. The strategies for marriage and godparent alliances that emerge from the analyses appear to have effectively reduced risk in that precarious decade of harvest failures, uncertain land tenure and exorbitant taxes. Most of the inhabitants of the parish belonged to large *communautés*, a communal type of farm made up of multiple, cohabitating, extended family groups. The study shows some significant differences in the practices of these *communautés* from those of later periods and neighboring regions.

For the people of Uxeau, past, present, and future

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work would not have come to fruition without the extremely generous and never-tiring support of my committee members. I most especially grateful to my advisor and mentor, Carole Crumley, for all her inspiration, facilitation, support and friendship these long years. A conversation with her never fails to stimulate new ideas and open new horizons. A special thanks is due also to Vincas Steponaitis whose support has also been crucial in my graduate career. His willingness to share information, both theoretical and practical, and his clarity of thought have benefitted me in many ways beyond the scope of this work. I owe much, as well, to Scott Madry, who in addition to his invaluable suggestions for this study, has been instrumental in helping me to see the ways in which the research begun here may be continued and expanded. On a more personal level, my graduate career would never have been undertaken at all without the love of scholarship instilled in me by my parents, who, I am sure, are the most loving, supporting and interesting parents in the world. With that kind of encouragement, one can attempt anything. I have no words sufficient to encompass what I owe to Tom Jenkins, my partner and the love of my life. He has supported me in every way possible, always cheerfully and lovingly, in spite of the heavy responsibilities that were placed upon him in helping me. Lastly, I owe much to the encouragement, and promptings of many dear friends and colleagues, who, often as not, have thrown in a good idea or two as well.

Among them I wish to especially recognize, Hyland Feldstein, Alice Remini and Amanda Tickner.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The modern commune of Uxeau (made up of the former pre-Revolutionary parishes of Uxeau and Bessy) in the *Canton* of Gueugnon, *Département* of Saône-et-Loire, region of Burgundy, France, is the area of investigation for this research (see Figure 1, Location of Research Area: The Arroux Valley; Figure 2, Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy; and Figure 3, Places Belonging to the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy Mentioned in the Parish Records from 1690-1700). Two objectives provided the impetus for this project. The first was the long-term research program that has been conducted in the area of Uxeau, investigating social relations and land use patterns as far back as the Bronze Age and as recent as contemporary farming and gardening in the commune (e.g., Crumley 1984; Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Madry 1987; Crumley 1994; Crumley 2000; Jones and Crumley 2001; Van Deventer 2001). The post-medieval period through the nineteenth century remained a gap in that research that needed to be filled, and the parish registers for the commune, beginning in the late seventeenth century, provided a good starting point to begin to address it.

The other objective relates to the use of parish registers as a source for reconstructing the past. The use of parish register data as a sole source has been deemed problematic, both by demographers interested in reconstructing populations

and by family historians interested in reconstructing household residence patterns and relationships. The reliability of parish records from earlier periods has been especially questioned (e.g. Goubert 1986:156). Demographers have also stressed the importance of having registers that cover a lengthy, uninterrupted span of years, in order to investigate long-term demographic trends. A detailed discussion of these issues appears in Chapter 2, Parish Registers. For the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when parish registers become more standardized and additional types of records (census lists, tax records, agricultural reports) become available with which they can be supplemented and cross-checked, the work of the demographer and family historian becomes easier and more accurate. Most studies done with parish registers have addressed these later periods.

I became interested in discovering what kinds of questions could be answered with parish records for the earlier periods, especially when they are the only source available and are not existent for long, uninterrupted intervals. Certainly other types of records do exist for this period in Uxeau. There are the records of notaries, detailing marriage contracts, wills, and land transfers that have been used so successfully by researchers such as John W. Shaffer for Uxeau's neighboring Canton of Luzy (see Shaffer 1982) (see Figure 2, Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy). There are also tithe records, and seigneurial family records of land holdings. Most of those records, however, require special access or a lengthy period of study at the archives in France, for periods of a year or more, to make effective use of them. The parish registers of Uxeau and Bessy, on the other hand, could be purchased from the French departmental archives in Mâcon in the form of microfilm. I also gained permission to photocopy Uxeau's own original set, housed

in the village's *mairie* (town hall), and was able to accomplish the task of data collection within a period of a few weeks. Undertaking this research into early parish records lays a foundation for analyzing and integrating other types of records from local and regional sources, and from later time periods.

In analyzing parish registers with the methods of historical demography, it is necessary to begin with the earliest possible records and move forward in time. For reasons laid out in the discussion of demographic methods in Chapter 2 (Parish Registers), working chronologically is the only accurate way to track individuals and the family ties between them, especially in an era when many individuals in a locality or even in the same family bore the same name. As it happens, the earliest set of reliable registers for Uxeau and its annex Bessy begin with the decade of the 1690s. This was the period of the last great famine of the seventeenth century in France, that of 1693–1694. The surrounding decade of the 1690s was the coldest of the "Little Ice Age." It was a precarious time for rural peasants, not only because of the threat of famine but also because of epidemic disease, uncertain land tenure, and the exorbitant taxes levied by Louis XIV for his foreign wars. The following chapters show how parish registers can be used not only to develop population statistics and to reveal the makeup of the social structure (as is usually done) but also to disclose some of the strategies by which rural peasants coped with the uncertainties of their living conditions in that era.

Chapter 2 describes the methodological issues concerning parish registers, and alternative ways in which they might be used. The remaining chapters provide historical context and analyze the data from the late seventeenth-century Uxeau and

Bessy parish registers to address questions of family and farm strategies, and questions of land use.

CHAPTER 2

PARISH REGISTERS

The Nature of Parish Register Studies

Parish records are an incredibly rich historical resource for reconstructing the past. They consist of a series of entries made by the parish priest (in France called the *curé*) of all the baptisms, marriages, and burials performed within his parish. The data for this study are all drawn from the late seventeenth-century parish registers for the modern commune[1] of Uxeau (covering roughly the same area as the former parishes of Uxeau and its annex Bessy), located in the *département* of Saône-et-Loire in the region of Burgundy, France (see Figure 1, Location of Research Area: The Arroux Valley; Figure 2, Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy; and Figure 3, Places Belonging to the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy Mentioned in the Parish Records from 1690–1700). Generally, parish registers have been used by historical demographers to estimate past populations. Used in conjunction with census data, and with records spanning generations, a fairly accurate estimate of a past population can be made. Parish register studies, to date, have concentrated on producing aggregative population statistics for the analysis of long-term trends, and, with the addition of census data and other types of sources (e.g., tax records, marriage contracts, wills, etc.), household composition has been studied as well. The more complex method of "family reconstitution" (explained in detail below),

produces detailed family genealogies from parish records. It has been used by demographers to trace the life course of individuals and produces detailed information on mortality, migration, reproduction, and fertility, centering on the conjugal unit. Historians other than demographers (those in the fields of history, economics, and anthropology, for instance) have, in the main, paid little attention to parish registers and the other sorts of analyses that might be performed from them.

This research, while performing traditional demographic analyses to some degree, differs in that it emphasizes extended family ties, revealed through a detailed study of family genealogies, and focuses on important non-familial relations (neighbors and godparents). The result of producing this intricate data is that it has allowed examination of family and farm strategies for survival during one of the most difficult periods in French History, “The Little Ice Age.” During this harsh climatic era, the coldest decade was that of the 1690s, and in the years 1693–1694 a great wave of mortality swept France (for details of the weather patterns and the corresponding demographic crises see Chapter 3, Climate, Famine, and Disease). Fortunately, this decade corresponds to the first complete and relatively undamaged span of parish records from Uxeau, 1690–1699. In many areas of Europe, and in the earlier time periods, parish registers are the main, if not only, source of data. The earliest census available for Uxeau (and for most of France outside Paris) was not taken until 1801 (Anderson 1988:11; Séguy 2001:7). Thus, parish registers are the main source of demographic data for Uxeau prior to the nineteenth century. The use of parish register data by itself, however, has been deemed problematic by historical demographers for the reasons outlined in detail below. This study will show the range of information that can be gleaned from parish records alone, even

when uninterrupted records (those without gaps due to damage or lapses in record keeping) are only available for a short span of time, such as the decade under study in this case, 1690–1699. The research herein focuses on the social strategies, economic strategies, and even land use patterns that can be ascertained from a thorough analysis of the available data, especially through the peripheral data that is often ignored by demographers—that pertaining to godparents, marriage witnesses, and mourners.

Content of Parish Registers

French parish registers contain a great deal of information. The records of baptisms provide birth information; the marriage records record the creation of the conjugal family unit; and the burials provide information on deaths. Parish registers were kept all over Europe (some dating from the Middle Ages), but the French parish registers contain more information on individuals than those of many other countries (e.g., England; Wrigley et al. 1997:3). For example, in Uxeau, the baptismal records often state the name of the father, the maiden name of the mother, the profession of the father, the residence of the parents, the name, occupation, and residence of the godfather, the name of the godmother (who, in the study area, is almost always not married to the godfather), and her husband's name, occupation, place of residence. Occasionally the record will state that the godparent is related to the baby in some way, such as an aunt or uncle. The marriage records usually provide the names, ages, occupations, and places of residence of the couple, their parents and other witnesses, and how each witness is related to the bride or groom (e.g., relative, employer, godparent or neighbor). Burial records often provide the age at death,

occupation, and place of residence of the deceased, the parents' names, occupation, and place of residence, the spouse's name, occupation, and place of residence, and sometimes other mourners' names, occupations, and places of residence, and how they are related to the deceased (for examples of entries see Figure 4, Examples of Baptisms in the Parish Registers; Figure 5, Examples of Marriages in the Parish Registers; and Figure 6, Examples of Burials in the Parish Registers).

From this wealth of information, aggregative statistics on fertility, mortality, marriage patterns can be compiled both for the community as a whole and for different subgroups within the community (e.g., different occupations, classes, and genders). Additionally, through the method of family reconstitution, the history of individuals can be followed through the course of their lives, family groups can be recreated with their lineages traced over generations, and entire social networks both within the community and without can be reconstructed.

The Uxeau/Bessy Registers

The parish registers utilized for this study are those of Uxeau and its annex of Bessy—in this early period the area of what is now the modern Commune of Uxeau was sub-divided into two parishes, Bessy, consisting of the lowlands along the Arroux River in the east, and Uxeau, incorporating the hilly uplands of the west. Both parishes were always served by the same *Curé* who himself kept the records for both. The earliest extant parish registers from Uxeau (including Bessy) are for the years 1628–1629. These two years are followed by a large gap from 1630 to 1669. From 1670 on the registers are fairly continuous with gaps of a few years

here and there.[2] The year 1670 is a pivotal one for parish records in France. This was the first year that the French state required the *curés* to keep strict records, and to make a copy of the register to be turned over to the civil government at the end of the year (Séguy 2001:7).[3] Prior to that time the registers were kept solely for church use, and copies were made only for the responsible bishop. Thus, after 1670, the parish *curé* was responsible for the original register (which remained at the parish church), a copy for the bishop, and a copy for the state. It is for this reason that many parish register studies begin at 1670, after which the recording of information was more consistent and detailed, and more copies remain in existence.[4] I made photocopies of the original register residing in Uxeau and was able to buy microfilm of the copies of the register sent to the government, that now reside at the *départemental archives* in Mâcon. Unfortunately, the earliest parish registers from Uxeau to be found at the episcopal archives in Autun date from 1804, and are thus later than the study period. The copies of the registers housed in Uxeau began in the year 1690. The governmental copy from Mâcon covers the earlier years 1670–1689 with the gaps noted above, but the documents are damaged in many places, and the quality of the photocopying on the microfilm (the only form in which they were available to me) is poor. Thus, I have begun this study with the year 1690, the first year in which I have two different copies of the register to compare. In this way it is usually possible to fill in the information lost to torn pages, illegibility or simple mistakes, from the entries in the other copy.

Types of Demographic Analysis: Aggregative Studies

While the potential of information from parish registers is great, extracting the information and making use of it is neither an exact nor simple process. To begin with aggregative data, many of the problems associated with these studies are due to the fact that the usual process in demographic analysis is to present vital statistics derived from birth, marriage, and death information as *rates* which are calculations of life events based on percentages of the *entire population*. Although it is possible to tabulate from parish registers the number of births and deaths for each year, and thus track the corresponding change in population from one year to the next, we have no way to ascertain what the total population was when the records began. Thus we would not know what percentage of the population the number of births, marriages or deaths in a year represented.

However, the overall percentages are not so important in tracking short-term changes. One can still easily spot a sharp change in births, marriages or deaths from one year to the next and relate it to contemporary events such as famines or epidemics (Wrigley et al. 1997:14).

> Pierre Goubert has written that preindustrial mortality peaks habitually produced a "triple distortion" of the parish demographic curves, influencing the number of marriages and births as well. When the burial curve shot up, the nuptial and baptismal curves collapsed nearly together. When the crisis passed, the number of burials fell off momentarily, then number of marriages and baptisms increased, and the demographic variables soon returned to their normal fluctuating state of equilibrium. (Post 1985:43; see Goubert 1997:36–37)

But for tracking longer-term trends in fertility, mortality or marriage patterns, it is necessary to know, for example, if 50 deaths in one year is the same percentage of

the total population (or the population “at-risk”) as 50 deaths occurring 70 years later, in order to know whether mortality/survival rates are changing over time or not.

Total population information is usually derived from census counts but since the first census for Uxeau was taken in 1801, there is no census data available for the study period. There have been, however, a number of ways used to estimate the total population from parish registers, making possible the calculation of approximate vital rates such as crude birth rates, crude death rates, and crude marriage rates. One method is “back projection” which in its most basic form is taking a known figure for total population from a census count (e.g., the 1801 or 1806 census for this study), and then working back in time year by year, adding the deaths and subtracting the births listed in the parish register. As described by Anderson (1988) back projection...

> is based on a simple idea: if one starts from a known census population, then, subtracting the number of births from the previous year and adding the number of deaths gives an estimate of the population at the start of that year. In a world with no emigration, cumulating this process would produce estimated populations backwards, on an annual basis, as far as the beginning of the records of births and deaths. (Anderson 1988:18)

Some problems in carrying out the procedure for the Uxeau records include the questionable accuracy of the early censuses in France (Anderson 1988:12), and the various *lacunae* in the Parish records resulting from document damage or loss, and temporary lapses in recording. Interpolation can be used to substitute raw numbers for the *lacunae* by taking a mean of the counts in the corresponding months of the five years preceding and the five years following the gap, and then substituting that number as the number of events that likely occurred during the missing period (Drake 1982:xv). This interpolation procedure will provide more accurate

substitutions in normal years than in exceptional years, such as 1709 in Uxeau—a year of extremely elevated mortality due to a famine/epidemic crisis, the scale of which is immediately apparent even though the recording of deaths largely stops in June, right at the beginning of the season when the most deaths could be expected (see Chapter 3, Climate, Famine, and Disease). Alternatively, some of the missing events (birth, marriage, and burial information) can be reconstructed by family reconstitution methods which will be discussed below.

A more important problem with the procedure of back projection in general, is the distorting problem of migration—people moving in and out of the parish—changing the size of the total population (see, for example, Ruggles 1992; Wrigley 1994) . As outlined by Anderson above, the simple additions of deaths and subtractions of births as one goes back in time do not take into account the phenomenon of migration. Even though it is unlikely in this pre-industrial period that there was large-scale migration in or out of Uxeau (Anderson 1988:27–28), people did commonly marry or look for work across parish boundaries, although in Uxeau they usually did not move farther away than a bordering parish.

The lack of a marriage record for those marrying in another parish affects marriage statistics. Even when a person does marry in their home parish, providing a marriage record, they often move to a spouse's community in another parish after the marriage, and should be subtracted from the total population count in their home parish. However, it is difficult to determine that they have indeed moved without consulting the records of neighboring parishes. Thus, their reproductive history is lost, as well as their death going unrecorded thereby affecting mortality figures.

A fortunate circumstance in this regard for France is the law passed in 1697 which required persons to be married in their parish of residence (residence equaling at least six years). The law was enacted to prevent clandestine marriages and elopement. This increased parental control over the choice of marriage partner (important for preventing the indiscriminate scattering of family resources and loss of family status through an undesirable marriage) (Hufton 1996:103). This, then, reduces the number of lost marriage records in comparison with countries like England. In Uxeau the general practice was that when spouses from different parishes married, the ceremony was performed and recorded by the *curé* of the bride's parish. This is borne out by the fact that while Uxeau brides are often listed in the Uxeau register marrying grooms from another parish, Uxeau grooms are very rarely listed marrying a bride from outside the parish. Uxeau grooms did indeed marry women from outside the commune, but the marriages were normally recorded in the bride's parish and not in the register of Uxeau. We can generally assume that when a bride marries a man from a different parish and then disappears from the parish records altogether after the marriage (and those who stay are often frequently mentioned in the records, as godparents, mourners, or marriage witnesses in addition to the entries at the births of their children), that she has moved to her new husband's parish. Patrilocality (the new couple living at the residence or nearby the groom's family) was, in fact, the norm for most of rural France during the 1690s (Goubert 1986:64; Segalen 1987:217). As we shall see, circumstances in Uxeau caused a significant deviation from that pattern.

Patrilocality was based on the practice of land—or the rights to use land—most often being inherited by sons, while daughters received cash and movable property.

Thus, the bride most often went to live with the groom on his family's farm. Of course there were a few exceptions. The case would be different for a widow with young children left in control of her husband's property who then remarried. The new husband would move in with her to help her run the farm or enterprise such as a mill or bakery. In Uxeau/Bessy there was much deviation from the patrilocal pattern because there were many large communal farms called *communautés* comprised of multiple related married couples. They farmed through sharecropping or renting land, and since the inheritance of land was not a possibility, married couples were fairly free to join the home farm of either the groom or bride as labor needs dictated, or to join another community entirely where their labor would be welcomed (for details on communal farms see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society).

The number of in-marrying brides can be estimated from their appearance at the baptism of their first child or at their own burial. There will not, however, be any birth or marriage record for these women, so if their age is to be determined for statistics like age-specific fertility rates, it would have to be gained from the burial record, provided they die and are buried in Uxeau with the age at death given. It is a likely assumption that Uxeau grooms were marrying into the same group of communities outside the parish, as were the brides of Uxeau, which is important information for the reconstruction of social networks.

Migrants that cannot be tracked at all are persons who permanently leave the parish to live with far-flung family or to work in other parishes. If they leave before they marry, a birth record may be all that exists to document the person. This is often the case for orphans. Widows, too, often disappear from the parish register at

some point without a trace. A person is considered to have been living in the parish and under demographic "observation" their whole life if there exists for them at least a baptism record and a burial record. Yet one cannot automatically assume that these vanishing people have migrated. Their records may simply be missing due to gaps in the register, and also due to the phenomenon of "underregistration" in which some births and deaths are not recorded. Studies have shown that most unrecorded events are typically the births of infants who die in the first week or so of life, but sometimes older deaths are also not recorded, especially those of the poorer classes (Anderson 1988:3). It is worth noting, that the *curés* of Uxeau appear to have been unusually diligent in recording baptisms and deaths of newborns (compared with other areas in France), and also of beggars, so it seems likely they were conscientiously trying to record all deaths in the commune (Willigan and Lynch 1982:68–69). There were short periods, however, when the *curé* was sick and people were forced to go to the *curés* of neighboring parishes for baptisms, marriages, and burials.[5] Additionally there was a period when the cemetery at Uxeau was not fenced or walled in for some reason, and people could not be buried there (no doubt due to the problem of wandering animals). In this situation the deceased were either buried within the church or church porch area, or occasionally buried in neighboring parishes.[6] Each time a person was buried in the cemetery of a neighboring parish, the Uxeau/Bessy record noted that the Uxeau cemetery was *interdit* or prohibited. P. Compin, the *curé* of Uxeau through most of the 1690s, made an effort to record these events taking place in other parishes, but it is likely that some information was lost. Information was often lost, too, when there was a change of *curé* due to death or retirement (Willigan and Lynch 1982:62). Much

information went unrecorded in Uxeau and Bessy in the years 1699 and 1700, when the new *Curé* Imbert took over (for details see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society).

The problem of migration means that more information is required to improve the accuracy of back projection in reconstructing total population.

> ...a more complex computer-based solution must be employed. It exploits a general demographic observation: regardless of the *level* of mortality, fertility, nuptiality and migration in any year, the *shares* of events between different age groups tend to vary in highly predictable ways. Making suitable assumptions about these shares [the assumed age distribution of events] allows us to proceed....[to] build population estimates back in time (Anderson 1988:18)..

The solution, as described by Wrigley et al., 1997 requires...

> as input data only simple totals of births and deaths together with information about the size and *age structure of the population in question at a point in time*, and assumptions (or direct information) about certain other characteristics of the population, such as the *age patterns of mortality and of net migration*....From these data, estimates of population size, crude birth and death rates, gross reproduction rates, expectation of life at birth (or at other ages), and net migration can be obtained for whatever time intervals are appropriate. (Wrigley et al. 1997:7, emphasis added)

Another problem, then, in using back projection for this study is absence of the age structure at a single point in time for Uxeau. The most common method is to start with the age structure from a census listing and work backwards. For Uxeau, only the count of total population is given in the early census records, not a count by households and ages of household members from which age structure could be derived.

Even if there were detailed census information on age structures, there remain other problems in using the method of back projection. Procedures more sophisticated than simple back projection, such as General Inverse Projection

designed by Jim Oeppen (Oeppen 1993), that incorporate age distributions and assumptions on age patterns of migration have been in use for some time. Ronald D. Lee has pointed out problems with this type of projection estimate in general. He says that "given only time series of births and deaths, and terminal population age distribution, it is impossible to form sound estimates of population size and net migration in the distant past" (1993:7). This is because:

> If two entirely different demographic histories produce identical series of births and deaths, and the same terminal distribution, then no one procedure can select the "true" one, because all are equally valid. Within this set of histories, population and migration change smoothly in some, while in others trajectories fluctuate sharply. (7–8)
>
> This is true even when outside information is available on the shapes of age schedules of mortality, fertility, and migration. (11)

Another possible way to determine the age structure and size of the population, utilized, for example, by Louis Henry (1980; see also Séguy 2001:9) and by Robert McC. Netting (1981), is to track age cohorts (usually in five-year groups) starting with those born at the beginning of the parish records. After a generation or two when most of the people born before the records begin have died off, the general age distribution of the group can be known. If one also estimates migration rates from individuals coming in and going out of demographic observation, the distribution can be made even more accurate and total population can be estimated. The procedure is time consuming because it also requires the method of family reconstitution in addition to simple counts of events, and it is only effective in studies over a century in length. Family reconstitution will be done for this study, but the study period (1690–1699) is obviously too short to make use of the procedure of tracking age cohorts.

For the many reasons outlined above, it is not possible to center research questions for this study on aggregative statistics of population trends over time, although it will be possible to use these methods on the Uxeau data in follow-up research. Additionally, the size of the two Uxeau parishes combined and the number of demographic events available per year in the earliest periods are not large enough to securely track long-term changes. Ideally one would have at least 100 events per year in order to detect long-term trends (Drake 1982:viii). The total number of events for Uxeau with its annex parish of Bessy averages 69.3 events per year from 1690–1699. Random variation becomes more of a problem with smaller populations.

One way of dealing with the random variation in small populations is to filter the yearly raw series of births, marriages, and deaths by dividing by a moving average of several years, which "effectively removes the influence of the population age distribution and the stock of marriages, so that remaining variations can largely be interpreted as variations in marital fertility and mortality" (Lee 1993:16–17). This is another method that can be effectively utilized on the Uxeau data in future research.

Short-term fluctuations in the pattern of vital events are another matter entirely, though, and the parish registers of Uxeau provide plenty of data for reconstructing short-term patterns in response to climatic-related mortality crises (see Post 1985:31). The problems that plague the analysis of long-term trends are muted in the short-term. For example: "Chronic under-registration of births and deaths has little effect on the results" (Lee 1993:16). Also, the total population does not change enough in the short-term to make the problem of migration as serious a block to understanding fertility, marriage, and mortality patterns as it is over the course of a

century or more. Even in a short span of time, the "study of short-run fluctuations in burials shows patterns of mortality crises; examination of the seasonality of the burials, and study of correlations of changes in baptisms and marriages with changes in burials, provide clues about the causes of the crises" (Anderson 1988:16–17). Despite lacking a total population estimate, through the method of family reconstitution "we can base rates on various subsamples such as families for whom marriage and child-bearing histories are complete" (Netting 1981:92), and this is the method used for most of the analyses in this research. Statistical analyses are performed on subgroups for whom there is complete information relevant to the problem at hand. Thus, the crisis years of 1693–1694 can effectively be compared with the mean rates of vital events in a span of years on either side of the years of elevated mortality (for an example see Monahan 1993:125–153).

Types of Demographic Analysis: Family Reconstitution

Family reconstitution is required for a thorough analysis of these short-term changes in patterns of fertility, nuptiality, and mortality. It alone provides the data necessary for calculating the age-specific data, such as age at first marriage, age at first birth, subsequent birth spacing and life expectancy.

The process of family reconstitution begins with creating an individual family record for each married couple by linking the baptism, marriage, and burial records for the spouses along with those same records for their children (Willigan and Lynch 1982:178; Anderson 1988:15). In initially creating family records, the work of a family reconstitution study differs from standard genealogical research only in that all the families of the parish are traced, and not just one family (Wrigley et al.

1997:12–13). Thus, the software created for genealogical research is apt for this study. For this research, the family record page was created with Family Tree Maker software. This program is based around a “family page” and allows detailed customization of the information collected, as well as the features of automatic linking of related individuals and automatic drawing of intricate family trees. The program automatically calculates age at first marriage, age at birth of first child, age at birth of last child, and age at death. It is also possible to enter any two names in the data base and the program will calculate the direct biological or marriage relationship between them. The program features many customizable report formats which can be exported to a spreadsheet program for further quantitative analyses. The quantitative analyses in this study were accomplished through an Excel data base.

As discussed above, this apparently straightforward process of creating family records can be complicated by lost records and migration. Yet even when a family record remains incomplete, it usually still provides some information that can be used in analysis. For example, when an Uxeau man marries a woman from another parish, her baptism record and the marriage record will be missing. Even so, information may be utilized from the couple on the number and spacing of births. If the in-marrying woman is then later buried in Uxeau and her age at death given, one can work backwards to find the age she was at the birth of each of her children (Netting 1981:91–92).

Some missing records can be reconstructed as dummy records when the other records for that family are complete. For example, a person’s missing baptism record can be reconstructed from the marriage record when the spouses’ ages and

the names of their parents are provided, and it can be shown that their parents resided in Uxeau at the time of birth (Willigan and Lynch 1982:68). Similarly, missing burial records can sometimes be reconstructed when the widow or widower of the deceased remarries. The reconstructed burial record would read “died after [date], but before [date]”— the “after” date being the last time the person was observed in the register (in a baptism or marriage record, or as a witness, or mourner, etc.) and the “before” date being that of the remarriage of the surviving spouse (Netting 1981:95). As described above, after a period of elevated mortality there almost always follows a period of increased marriage rates as widows and widowers remarry. In this period the rural married couple formed an inter-dependent economic unit, and remarriage was necessary to keep most farms and households going (see Chapter 6, Agriculture and Land Use; and Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society). Therefore almost all surviving partners will have remarried within the following year, and divorce not being an option, their remarriage will provide proof of their former spouse’s death.

For this research dummy baptism records were easily produced for infants and children who died with their age given at burial. Their births were added to the others for all statistical analyses. Dummy burial records, on the other hand, were not incorporated into the calculations, because the period of death could not usually be narrowed definitively to a single year, which would be necessary for the year to year analysis of fluctuation in mortality. Even so, entries were made on the family page that an individual had died between such and such a time. Similarly, some marriages (usually those of men to women outside the parish whose weddings would be recorded in the bride’s parish), were noted as having had to have taken

place between the time when the individual was described as being either single, *non-marié*(*e*) (usually described as such in the role of a godparent), and the birth of their first child, or between the death of a former spouse noted in a burial record and the birth of a child by a new spouse. Sometimes, from the appearance of the couple as godparents, marriage witnesses or mourners, it was possible to identify a marriage as having taken place even before the birth of their first child. Normally in the Uxeau/Bessy records, a woman's spouse (and his occupation/residence), whether he is alive or dead, and whether he is present at the event or not, is always mentioned every time she is mentioned. Married couples often show up together at marriages and burials so that husbands' wives are frequently known from an event as well. Even so, the dummy marriage records were not incorporated into statistical analyses because, like the dummy burial records, they could not be defined as taking place definitively within a particular year.

Another difficulty in reconstituting families stems from the fact that there is a rather small pool of first and last names which are used over and over again through the generations. Compounding the problem is the fact that it is not uncommon in Uxeau for two siblings to share the same first name (see explanation of this phenomenon in the discussion on godparents in Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society). Even so, the amount of detail given in the French registers (e.g., parents' and spouses' names, ages, place of residence, etc.) makes correctly identifying and separating out individuals with the same name much easier than in other countries (Anderson 1988:15). There were only a handful of instances in the Uxeau records between 1690 and 1699 where there was some doubt as to whether there were two separate individuals with the same name or a single individual in changed

circumstances (changed residence or occupation). Almost always there existed enough peripheral data (data from appearing as godparents, marriage witnesses or mourners) to securely identify each person.

As can be seen from the above discussion of dummy records and that of duplicate names, the peripheral information from people appearing as godparents, marriage witnesses, and mourners was critical for recreating family groups. This information is not usually incorporated into family reconstitution studies where only baptism, marriage, and burial records are tracked and entered onto family pages. By tracking these peripheral appearances in the records, it was even possible in this study to recreate entire family groups of parents and children that never had a single baptism, marriage or burial record between them. An outstanding example is that of Lazare Rabet, his wife Denise Gauthier and son Antoine Rabet who between them appear 23 times as godparents, and an additional 15 times as marriage witnesses and mourners, making them highly influential people within the parish. Yet there is not a single baptism, marriage or burial record for this family group from 1690–1699. Without recording their appearances, and linking them together as a family in the peripheral entries, the existence of this family would have gone entirely unrecorded. Lazare Rabet ran a large weaving operation in the Bourg d'Uxeau throughout the years 1690–1700, as well as being the tavern/innkeeper there for at least the years 1693–1696. His unmarried son Antoine was the notary for Uxeau.

Linking from peripheral data made it possible to put together many family lineages for a depth of three and four generations, something that would normally be impossible when only looking at ten years worth of births, marriages, and burials. The recording of peripheral data also allowed recreation of large extended families

showing the genealogical connections between hundreds of related individuals. Some of the large family trees when printed out to show all related individuals (in-laws as well as blood relatives), covered as many as 402 legal-sized sheets of paper put together (in size 10 font, no less!). Thus, a fairly secure determination was made on whether a godparent is a relative or whether someone is marrying a relative, even with only ten years of data—at least reliably enough to establish general patterns.

Custom "facts" created in the Family Tree software's data base to capture the peripheral data were: "godmother" and "godfather," which included the names, residence, and occupation of the godfather or godmother's spouse; "baptism," which consisted of the date (usually a different date from the birth date, place, and persons performing the baptism); "groom's witnesses" and "bride's witnesses," which included witnesses' names, residences, occupations, and relationship to the bride or groom; and "mourners," which included mourners' names, residences, occupations, and relationship to the deceased. Additionally, on each individual's family page were recorded the "residence," "occupation," and "date" at every appearance of that individual in the register attached to the source from which the information came: year, page number, the specific entry (e.g., "baptism of Adrien Bard," "burial of Denis Robelin," "marriage of François Gaillard and Émilane Meulleret"). As can be seen from the list of variables utilized by Louis Henry for his family reconstitution of parishes from all over France (see Table 1, Variables Utilized by Louis Henry for His Family Reconstitution of Parishes from All over France) the above variables added for this study are not normally tracked in family reconstitution studies.

Some individuals appeared in the register as many as 28 times in the space of ten years. Many people's changes of residence and occupation could be tracked in detail through these entries. Even so, due to the problems in recording outlined above, and the short time span covered, it was possible to make a complete family record (i.e., one that contains all baptism, marriage, and burial dates for the married couple and their children) for only a tiny percentage of the families in the register. That any could be completed in so short a time period was a result of the high mortality in the crisis period. For a few families the baptism dates of the parents could be determined from their ages given at marriage; in addition, the births and deaths of their children were recorded, and the death of both parents recorded, all within the span of the ten years under study. In other studies, covering much longer periods of time, the number of families reconstituted is still as low as 15 percent (Netting 1981:92).

Even with these limitations, the percentage of some types of recovered records was a good deal higher, such as the percentage of couples with marriage records and subsequent birth records for their children. There is a good chance that this group is fairly representative of the entire population, in light of the fact of Goubert's report that parish registers from a seventeenth-century French village that he examined show that 75 percent of the people were born and lived in the parish where their marriage took place (1997:43–44). The "reconstituted" family groups of parents and children form the data base for much of the analysis in this study. These family groups were analyzed as a whole and divided into different subgroups for comparison.

> The nature of reconstitution, in which information is built up from the individual FRFs [family record forms], is intrinsically well adapted to investigating the ways in which the economic and social circumstances of individual families influenced their demographic behaviour, and vice versa. And what can be done for individual families can also, of course, be done for larger local groupings by amalgamating information from FRFs: for those who lived in a particular district, if, for example, environmental factors are though to have a dominant influence on mortality; for those who formed a particular occupational grouping; for those who died without male heirs....for the parish as a whole (Wrigley et al. 1997:550–551).

In this study, comparisons were particularly made between the upland parish of Uxeau and the lowland parish of Bessy, and between the various occupational groupings and classes.

Issues of Representation

While the percentage of reconstituted families must form the data base for all family reconstitution studies, questions have been raised about the way in which the information derived solely from this subset of the entire parish population has been interpreted. These questions concern the "representativeness" of these families for their parish, area, region or country (Netting 1981:92; Willigan and Lynch 1982:71; Anderson 1988:15; Wrigley et al. 1997:15). This concern especially revolves around questions of migration and class. Do the families that can be "reconstituted" provide a representative picture of the general demographic trends in the parish, or is the picture skewed by lack of data on migrants who leave, and poorer classes who tend to be under-registered? In other words, are these people representative of what is going on in the parish as a whole? Similar questions are a matter of scale: How representative is this parish of the area? Of the region? Of the country? Obviously the answer depends on the type of research question being asked. In the early days

of family reconstitution, researchers did tend to extrapolate from a single parish or a few parishes to make interpretations for whole regions or countries. Now it is generally recognized that local areas can vary a great deal from each other—that localities may in some ways be unique (Anderson 1988: 9–10; Doveri 2000:52). Many comparisons of local studies are necessary to recognize what regional or national patterns may genuinely exist (Wrigley et al. 1997:5), and this research will contribute to the body of local studies which can be compared with each other to determine how responses and trends differ at local, regional, and national scales.

On the question of representation within the parish, the focal point of this investigation is the farms (in this context *communautés,* large, communal sharecropping farms) of Uxeau, and the ways in which people on these farms addressed risk in a period of extreme weather fluctuations, excessively burdensome taxes, and high mortality. Some of these strategies will show up in the marriage patterns, fertility patterns, and social networks—all of which can be examined from data found within the parish registers. If the focus is, then, the farms of Uxeau, the statistics on the migrants—those who leave the farms—will become less essential to the interpretation of these patterns, although an idea of the general numbers of those who are forced or choose to leave the farms is important. Those who live on the farms are well-represented in the parish registers. Poorer hired-laborers (*journaliers* and *manouvriers*), who work regularly or seasonally on farms in the parish, but who have no land or farms of their own, may suffer from some under-registration, but here, too, although their general numbers are important for the interpretation, they are not as critical to the research question as those living on the farms. They have been, however, tracked as much as possible as a group, and

compared with the groups of cereal/livestock farmers, specialized farmers such as winegrowers, and artisans (millers, weavers, tailors, etc.).

Household Reconstruction

This focus on farms leads to the question of household reconstruction which is a part of many family reconstitution studies (for examples of household studies see Laslett and Wall 1972; Wheaton 1980; Kertzer 1989; King and Preston 1990; Lehning 1992). This type of study requires census listings of household composition. When integrated with family reconstitution data, it is possible to establish the family relationships both within and between households, and to look at type of family structure (e.g.. nuclear family, extended family, stem family, joint family, etc.; for the explanation of these family types see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society) as a economic and social strategy. Many studies have dealt with this question of household structure and its relation to inheritance, economy, law, and land use (for a good review see Doveri 2000). From this work it has been convincingly shown that “family types” owe just as much to life cycle processes as they do to an ideal cultural type (e.g., Berkner 1975). For example, an extended family may become a nuclear family upon the death of the grandparents, and then become an extended family again, when grandchildren are born. It has been tricky to separate such life cycle processes from cultural norms, but combining family reconstitution studies with the census data has helped resolve this problem.

Previous studies have established that the “joint family” (consisting of married siblings living together as a household) has been a common form in the research area (e.g., Berkner and Shaffer 1978). In the study area this family type arose in

connection with a particular type of feudal tenure, but by the 1690s was connected to sharecropping, the situation in which the land is not owned but rented, with the rent being paid in produce and/or cash (see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society; and Chapter 6, Agriculture and Land Use). The need for labor in this type of farming is great, as the rented holdings are usually large, and fosters the creation of large family units such as the joint family. Correspondingly, the amount of land to inherit is negligible so there is no inducement to restrict family size (Doveri 2000:42–43). Uxeau is part of the region in central France where *communautés* (large communal farms made up of close as well as distant relatives) were common in addition to individual joint-family farms (Dussourd 1978; Dussourd 1979; Chiffre 1985; Vivier Nadine 1998) (see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society; and Chapter 6, Agriculture and Land Use). Thus, the reconstruction of household types would be interesting and informative for this study. However, household census information (listing head of household with ages, genders, and sometimes roles of other co-residents) is not available until the nineteenth century, so this was not possible for the study period, and because of the focus on farms, not essential. The residence supplied by the parish register is that of a farm, hamlet or village location only. The name of the farm does not necessarily provide individual household information, because most farms of the period consisted of several houses surrounding a farm yard, or clustered together forming a small hamlet type of agglomeration. Fathers, adult married sons, and other relatives living in these separate dwellings would cooperate to run the farm, and often eat a communal meal together. Most of the agglomerations of Uxeau and Bessy were large communal farms in the study period. Farms that were formally and legally incorporated as

communautés have been identified from historical records and from the parish register itself, which named the individuals who were the elected heads of *communautés*.

Social Networks

The parish register, therefore, provided information on who was living and working at which farm or *communauté* at what time. The social networks between these farms were reconstructed from extended family links and marriage ties, but, importantly, also from information in the register which goes beyond the actual facts of birth, marriage, and death. For this reconstitution study (unlike most such studies to date), the relations between the person(s) being baptized, married or buried, and the persons who act as godparents at baptisms, as witnesses at weddings, and as mourners at burials were utilized for establishing the patterns of social networks in the two parishes. Therefore, in addition to aggregative calculations that were made from the reconstituted family records such as age at marriage, birth spacing, and infant survival rates (all compared by occupation), the number and types of ties (e.g., kinship, marriage, godparent) between farms, and between farmers and other social groups/occupations (both within and outside the parish) were counted, compared, and their patterns of distribution noted spatially. Social networks are, of course, much affected by the type and number of different occupations present in a locality, and these occupations, in turn, reflect land use practices and possibilities for exploiting the environment. Thus, the occupational data derived from the registers, along with their linkages in the social networks, and their spatial distributions across

the landscape, provided much information on economy and land use in the two parishes.[7]

Research Questions

Questions for this particular study that were addressed with the data described above include: Were there mortality differences by age groups, genders, occupations? Were there differences in the seasonality of death, and can this difference be attributed to different causes (starvation, malnutrition or epidemics)? How did the 1693–1694 crises affect marriage patterns and fertility? How were patterns of marriage and fertility part of a conscious adaptive strategy to an environment of high risk? How did the creation and manipulation of social networks through marriage and godparents function in these strategies? What were the variety and spatial distributions of different occupations, and how does this reflect land use patterns and differing ecotypes? (For an explanation of "ecotype" see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society)? How did patterns in Uxeau compare with patterns in the rest of France and elsewhere?

These questions were answered largely through simple quantitative analyses and the noting of spatial distributions. More sophisticated statistical analyses found in most historical demographies were not undertaken, largely due the very small size of the data sets, but also partially due to the type of questions being asked of the data. The data were sufficiently numerous, and the patterns that emerged were clear enough, however, to provide tentative answers to these questions, and to suggest well-grounded hypotheses for testing or productive avenues for future research.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. A French *commune* is similar to a county in the United States. The village of Uxeau is the "county seat," and although there are some hamlets in the commune, Uxeau is the now only village within its boundaries. The *commune* of Uxeau, like many others in France, is based on the boundaries of the former parish of Uxeau combined with the parish of Bessy. Prior to the Revolution, Bessy (now a mere hamlet within the commune of Uxeau) was considered to be a separate parish, but was still called the *annexe* of Uxeau; there was formerly a chapel and cemetery at Bessy, now gone. Yet even when it was not officially a part of Uxeau, it was always served by the same *curé*, who kept the parish registers for both at the same time and in the same place. I have all the register information pertaining to both areas.

2. Prior to the Revolution when records of vital events changed over to a civil format, the following years are missing: 1630–1669, 1673–1675, the last half of 1700, all of 1702, almost all of 1707, most of the last half of 1709, and all of 1732. There is also heavy damage in the early 1720s.

3. Information that the government required at that time included "the inclusion of the signature of witnesses to all vital events (although very few people in Uxeau were able to sign their name), information on the specific relationships between bride, groom, and witnesses in the marriage records, and the age and residences of the spouses" (Willigan and Lynch 1982:61). In 1736 the government added the further stipulation that the register sent to government was not to be copied at the end of the year, but was to be maintained at the same time as the parish copy, with both registers considered to be originals (Séguy 2001:7).

4. Louis Henry in his pioneering studies based on parish registers sponsored by the Institut National d'Études Démographiques (I.N.E.D.), begun in the 1950s with results published largely in the 1970s (although studies based on his data continue to the present day) examined six parish registers from rural communes in Saône-et-Loire (the *département* in which Uxeau is located), all of which begin between the years 1670 and 1694. These communes are: Allerey, Charnay-lès-Mâcon, Charnay-lès-Mâcon (Saint-Léger), Frangy-en-Bresse, Ratte, Saint-Pierre-de-Varennes (Séguy 2001:105).

5. *Curé* P. Comprée was too ill to perform his duties between April 22 and May 3, 1697.

6. The cemetery was not walled in it seems from about August 15, 1690 (the first mention of the Uxeau cemetery not being enclosed, *le cimetière d'Uxeau n'étant clos*) until April 20, 1694: no burials took place in Uxeau's cemetery in that period. During this time residents of Uxeau were mostly buried within the church itself, but occasionally were buried in the neighboring cemeteries of the parishes of Bessy or Ste Radegonde. A total of 117 persons were buried within the church or the church porch area from 1690 to the first half of 1700. There must have been a crypt of some sort in or under the old church which is no longer standing except for a small part that was incorporated into the new church in the 1890s. (Roadwork in 1993 turn up a concentration of human bone in the churchyard on the opposite side of the church from the contemporary cemetery.) In the cemetery, occasionally more than one person was buried in the same grave; at one point three people were buried in the same grave. The seigneurial class in Uxeau—the Chaussins and de Montmorillions—were buried in what seems to be private family chapels.

7. Spatial data on relationships between farms or between differing areas of the parish will be incorporated at a later date into an existing GIS data base of the research area (created and managed by Dr. Scott Madry) for more complex spatial analysis to increase understanding of farming practices, land use, environment, and climate in an ongoing multi-temporal research project centered on Uxeau and the Arroux River valley (research team headed by Dr. Carole Crumley).

CHAPTER 3

CLIMATE, FAMINE AND DISEASE

Climate

The interrelated phenomena of catastrophic weather, widespread famines and epidemic diseases characterize the time period under study, 1690-1700. This decade surrounds the most extreme mortality crisis of the "Little Ice Age," that of 1693-94. This 1690s crisis was the first of the last three great mortality crises in France that were simultaneously famine- and weather-related, the other two being those of 1709-10 and 1741-42.[1] Surrounding the crisis years were stretches of relative well-being (i.e., free of extreme weather events and excessive mortality) that are long enough for valid comparisons to be made. In this case the years 1690-1692 and 1695-1700 are examined for comparison (see Chapter 2 Parish Registers for discussion of methodological issues connected with analyzing short periods of time).

The 1690s were part of the relatively homogenous and comparatively static period, called the "Old Regime" as it is often labeled by French historians (Goubert 1997:29).[2] Population growth was just about zero–about as many people died as were born. The population of France at the beginning of the eighteenth century (year 1700) was the same as it had been a hundred years earlier at the beginning of the seventeenth century (year 1600)(Parker and Smith 1997:34), with a population

of about 22 million inhabitants in 1715 (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:261-262). For example, in Uxeau between 1690 and 1699 the population grew by only 39 births over deaths, and 36 of these 39 resulted from a pronounced reduction in burials in only the last two years of the decade–1698 and 1699 (see Table 2, Yearly Counts of Marriages, Baptisms, and Burials in the Parish Registers of Uxeau and Bessy Combined). By comparison, a century later, between 1770 and 1790, the French population grew by two million inhabitants in just two decades (Fagan 2000:159). The changes that make the latter part of the eighteenth century a different world from the "Old Regime" are also the changes that transmute famine-related mortality crises into politically-charged bread riots. Harvest failures after the 1740s caused misery and unrest, but not a massive dying off of the population as in 1693-1694 (Goubert 1997:41-42, Le Roy Ladurie 1996:304-307, 354, 424; Post1985:17-19).

The "Little Ice Age" is the term given to the period between about 1300 and 1850 A.D. It was preceded by the warmer Medieval Climatic Optimum, and followed by the Climatic Optimum of our own age–the late nineteenth through the late twentieth century. There is disagreement about the exact time frame of the "Little Ice Age" as well as about its causes and defining characteristics (Fagan 2000:49-50). Generally, it was a period of glacial advance and colder global temperatures. Yet more than being just a time colder than our own, these colder global temperatures were accompanied by changes in ocean currents and prevailing winds that produced a period of sudden and dramatic shifts in the predominance of different climatic regimes over western Europe, resulting in wildly fluctuating and extreme weather–both cold and hot, wet and dry. Brian Fagan has described the effect on northwestern Europe in these colorful terms:

> But the Little Ice Age was far from a deep freeze. Think instead of an irregular seesaw of rapid climatic shifts, driven by complex and still little understood interactions between the atmosphere and the ocean. The seesaw brought cycles of intensely cold winters and easterly winds [the continental climatic regime], then switched abruptly to years of heavy spring and early summer rains, mild winters, and frequent Atlantic storms [the oceanic climatic regime], or to period of droughts, light northeasterlies, and summer heat waves that baked growing corn fields under a shimmering haze [the Mediterranean climatic regime]. The Little Ice Age was an endless zigzag of climatic shifts, few lasting more than a quarter century (2000:xiii).

There are three climatic regimes which converge in Burgundy, and in any given year one of them may predominate over the region for a season or more: oceanic regime (from the west)–weather pattern of cool, wet spring/summers and mild winters; continental regime (from the east)–weather pattern of cold, dry winters, and warm, wet summers; Mediterranean regime (from the south)–weather pattern of hot, dry summers and mild, wet winters (for a detailed discussion of the interaction of these three climatic regimes in the research area see Crumley and Green 1987). During the “Little Ice Age” the extreme weather of these patterns was far more pronounced, the dominance of any one climatic regime was often of longer duration, and the shifts between regimes more rapid and violent.

The coldest episode during this “Little Ice Age” period occurred between 1645 and 1713, curiously corresponding almost exactly with the reign of Louis XIV, the “Sun King” (1643-1715)(Eddy 1997:270, 287). It has been called the “Maunder Minimum” in light of the almost exact correlation of the cold with the dearth of sunspots recorded by astronomers of the period (all armed with capable telescopes) and noted by E. W. Maunder in the 1890s (Fagan 2004:121). It is assumed that the lack of sunspots is indicative of reduced solar activity, a factor affecting climate on the earth. Christian Pfister (1994) has examined the Maunder Minimum in detail

using documentary and tree-ring proxy data as well as early instrumental recordings from all over Europe. He has noted that the correlation between the lack of sunspots and the colder climate is neither exact nor "straightforward." The cooling does not seem to be a global event for the entire 70-year period. There is considerable regional variation across Europe. The results of his study do show, however, that significant cooling begins in the far west of Europe in the1670s, spreading eastward across the continent. He says: "For the entire period [of the Maunder Minimum] all seasons except summer were drier than today in continental western Europe" (p. 287). Decreased solar activity allows more cosmic rays to reach the earth from space and is thus reflected in the correspondingly greater amount of carbon 14 found in trees with dated tree-ring sequences. Pfister did find a good correlation between the time periods of most severe climate in Europe (about 1680-1700), the degree of decreased solar activity (shown by the tree-ring evidence), and the absence of sunspots recorded at that time from all over the world (pp. 289, 310)(see Eddy 1981 for a detailed discussion of solar activity and climate).

Within this ice-age minimum the coldest "decade" (for both summers and winters) was that of the 1690s–more precisely 1687-1700 (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:214; 2004:473), during which the great mortality of 1693-1694 occurred in France. As recorded in Paris, the winters of 1690s were 1.4° C colder than the average for the years 1901-1960 (Pfister and Bariess 1994:159).

The coldest month (coldest not just in the Maunder Minimum but maybe in the last 500 years (Le Roy Ladurie 2004:515; Pfister 1994:298) occurred in what came to be known as the "Great Winter" (or *Grand Hiver*), January 1709, beginning a

spate of bad weather that produced the second great mortality of the era, that of 1709-1710.

The year 1740 was one of the four coldest individual years in the "Little Ice Age." The other three "coldest years" were 1695 (the year following the great mortality of 1693-1694), 1725, and 1816 (Lamb 1995:232). In these four coldest years "spring, summer and autumn temperatures were all low, and the summer months mostly about 2.0°C (3.6°F) or more below the modern normal, the growing season was probably shortened by two months or even rather more" (Lamb 1995:232). January and February 1740 were respectively 6.2° and 5.2°C colder than the modern normal, and "the winter of 1741/42 was nearly as cold" (Fagan 2000:138). In fact, the extremely cold weather lasted from fall of 1739 through spring 1742. The cold conditions were exacerbated by drought that lasted through both the springs and summers of 1740, 1741, *and* 1742, and also an exceedingly wet autumn in 1740 (Fagan 2000:138; Post 1985:23). These successive seasons of disastrous weather prevented successful harvests for two to three years in Europe, and led to the last great climate- and famine-related crisis in France.

Mortality

Of the three widespread mortalities outlined above, the first, 1693-1694, was the worst. It is estimated that 10 percent of the French population perished–two million people out of a total of 20 million (Anderson 1988:24).[3] Throughout the decade of the 1690s, the month of March was cold, interfering with the sprouting of crops planted the previous fall, such as rye, and with the spring planting of other faster growing crops such as barley and buckwheat. The month of July was cool

and wet, retarding the crops' growth and even causing rotting in the fields (Fagan 2000:52). The French were particularly vulnerable due to their heavy reliance on grain and bread for subsistence. As described by Fagan:

> The bitterly cold winters of the late seventeenth century found France ill prepared for food shortages. Agricultural production declined seriously after 1680, then tumbled disastrously during the cold and wet years between 1687 and 1701. Several subsistence crises ensued, as grain prices rose to the highest levels of the seventeenth century. An apocalyptic famine descended on much of northern Europe and France in 1693/94....
>
> For the most part, the French peasantry turned up their noses at potatoes and other new foods and relied on cereal crops and vines for survival–the cereals to eat, the grapes for some cash....Most French peasants were still firmly wedded to wheat, which is notably intolerant of heavy rainfall....Having lived through a long period of relatively benign climate, cereal farmers were not equipped for cold, wet seasons when grape harvest came as late as November. With each bad harvest, grain shortages made themselves felt immediately (Fagan 2000:155).

A sobering account of the disaster was written in 1693 by the curé of Rumegies in the modern-day *département* of Nord in the very north of France:

> ...the final misfortune was the utter failure of the ensuing harvest, which caused grain to reach a tremendous price. And since the poor people were exhausted in like measure by the frequent demands of His Majesty and by these exorbitant taxes [the reference is to the wartime levies], they fell into such poverty as might just as well be called famine. Happy the man who could lay hands on a measure of rye to mix with oats, peas and beans and make bread to half fill his belly. I speak of two thirds of this village, if not more....Throughout this time, the talk was all of thieves, murders and people dying of starvation. I do not know if it is to the credit of the *curé* of Rumegies to refer here to a death which occurred in his parish during that time: a man named Pierre du Gauquier, who lived by the statue of the Virgin, towards la Howardries. This poor fellow was a widower; people thought that he was not as poor as he was; he was burdened with three children. He fell ill, or rather grew worn-out and feeble, but nobody informed the *curé*, until one Sunday, upon the final bell for mass, one of his sisters came and told the *curé* that her brother was dying of starvation, and that was all she said. The pastor gave her some bread to take to him forthwith, but perhaps the sister had need of it for herself, as seems likely to be the case. She did not take it to him, and at the second bell for Vespers the poor man died of starvation. He was the

> only one to drop dead for want of bread, but several others died of that cause a little at a time, both here and in other villages, for that year saw a great mortality. In our parish alone, more people died than in several ordinary years...Truly men wearied of being in this world. Men of goodwill had their hearts wrung at the sight of the poor peoples' sufferings, poor people, without money while a measure of corn cost nine to ten *livres* at the end of the year, with peas and beans corresponding....The ordinance made by His Majesty for the relief of his poor people [20 October 1693] cannot be forgotten here...Every community *had to* feed its poor. The pastors, mayors and men of law taxed the wealthiest and the middling, each according to his capability, in order to succour the poor, whom it was also their duty to seek out. It was the right way to keep everybody provided...In this village, where there is no court and everybody is his own master, the *curé* read out and re-read that ordinance to no avail. The *mayeurs* and men of law, who were the richest and would therefore have to be taxed most, fought it with all their might. With much hardship, August was finally reached. A fortnight beforehand, people were harvesting the rye when it was still green and putting it in ovens to dry it, and because this grain was unripe and unhealthy it caused several serious illnesses. May the Lord in his fatherly Providence vouchsafe us to be preserved henceforward from a like dearth....(quoted in Goubert 1997:47-48).

This account covers most of the key factors which combined to create these great famine mortalities:

1. The weather conditions that caused the failure of the harvests.
2. The dramatic rise in the price of grain and other foodstuffs as a result of scarcity, speculation, and/or the cost of importing grain.
3. The great numbers dying of starvation and disease.
4. The long periods of malnutrition and undernutrition that cause the body to weaken and impair the immune system.
5. The consuming of unhealthy food substitutes which caused further illness.
6. The wandering crowds of beggars and thieves in search of food that, in addition to the threat of violence, spread local endemic diseases creating widespread epidemics.

7. The governmental relief efforts which were often unsuccessful, and even when successful in preventing outright starvation, crowded people from a wide area–usually a large rural hinterland–together at relief stations in towns and cities, furthering the spread of epidemics.

An additional key factor (#8), not mentioned in the above account, were deaths more directly related to extreme weather conditions, entirely unconnected with the lack of food, such as deaths from hypothermia. Of course, all these factors often occur rather inextricably intertwined in what has been termed by famine historians as "synergistic" relationships that work together to amplify the scale of the mortality (Monahan 1993:152-153; Post 1985:270-271) . Often it can be difficult to untangle the effects of these different factors in any particular situation, but the following discussion outlines each of these factors taken individually.

Deaths Due Directly to Extreme Weather

The most direct effects of extreme weather events on mortality and on individual health, aside from harvest failures and nutrition, fall into two basic categories, winter and summer effects. First of all, the thermal stress of extreme cold or extreme heat can kill by itself. The most common kind of thermal stress occurring in the study period was the exceptional cold of the winters. Death from cold, called "hypothermia," is of two types: "exposure" hypothermia and "accident" hypothermia. Exposure hypothermia is the type with which most people are familiar. It results from sudden and dramatic exposure to severe cold, as when people are caught in a snowstorm or have to spend a cold night out of doors with no shelter.

Wet conditions further inhibit the ability of the body to maintain core temperature. The body shuts down quite rapidly and the victim can die within hours or less. Certainly some people died of exposure hypothermia in the record-breaking cold winters of the study period. Yet the numbers were relatively small, even in January 1709 when the temperatures plummeted far below freezing across France in a matter of hours (Lachiver 1991:274).

Accident hypothermia claimed many more lives and was a significant factor in the widespread mortalities (remember that 1695 was one of the four coldest years in the entire “Little Ice Age”). Accident hypothermia occurs after a continual exposure of several days or more to temperatures merely as low as 60°F (Post 1985:60). The core body temperature drops below 95°F. If corrective action is not taken, the temperature continues to drop and the heart slows until it stops (Fagan 2000:140; Post 1985:202-203). Infants and the elderly are the most susceptible to accident hypothermia. In most healthy adults physical reactions, such as shivering, rising blood pressure and pulse rates, and vascular constriction diverting the blood flow to the core body parts, all work to produce heat in the body and counteract the dropping temperature. In addition to these autonomic processes, the suffering person will take voluntary steps to warm themselves such as adding more clothing, moving closer to the fire, etc. In infants and the elderly the autonomic processes are inhibited and they may also be less able to take active steps to warm themselves. For example, the body’s ability to detect the cold and respond by shivering is often impaired in the elderly. The shivering response in infants does not develop until they are several months old. Conditions that make everyone more susceptible to accident hypothermia are fatigue, inactivity, hunger, and malnutrition (Post

1985:203-204). In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe almost all housing, even that of the wealthy, could not provide enough warmth to protect against accident hypothermia for at-risk individuals during the exceptionally severe winters (Fagan 2000:140).

Deaths Due to Disease

Other ways in which the cold weather events increased mortality have to do with illness and disease. Respiratory diseases such as pneumonia, bronchitis, pleurisy and influenza are worsened by cold weather, and pneumonia can be produced by accident hypothermia (Post 1985:205). Respiratory diseases are exacerbated by cold, damp air as well as by the smoky air of the dwellings in which people were confined for weeks or more during the extremely cold periods. The crowding of the poor in the small cottages and huts promoted the spread of these respiratory infections.

The close body contact from huddling together for warmth and sleeping several to a bed (as was the custom in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries) also spread other diseases, particularly louse-borne fevers such as typhus and relapsing fever (also called “yellow” fever) (Post 1985:214). Lice ingest the pathogens of both these diseases from infected people. Typhus is spread from the pathogens contained in infected louse feces that enter the skin when the louse bites are scratched, or enter the respiratory tract when dust containing the feces is inhaled. Relapsing fever “is usually contracted by crushing an infective louse over a bite wound or other abrasion of the skin” (Post 1985:233). In winter people rarely washed themselves or their clothes, increasing their chances of contracting a louse-

borne infection. The clothes of the dead were usually passed or sold to others without washing, further spreading the infected lice and feces (Fagan 2000:141).

Summer droughts brought on a different set of weather-related diseases–typhoid fever and bacillary dysentery. The late summer always saw a rise in deaths from these endemic diseases, but drought conditions greatly increased the incidence of the diseases. Both diseases are spread through fecal-oral transmission–most often from dirty hands and fingernails. When water is in short supply hand washing occurs less frequently. Water sources for drinking also become contaminated as wells and rivers dry up (Post 1985:233, 261). Also, whenever harvest failures and food shortages occurred, driving up the price of wine, more people were forced to drink water that was likely to be contaminated (Mohahan 1993:151).

In rural areas there was almost always a dung heap maintained near the house as a source of fertilizer. In addition to animal refuse, human feces were commonly thrown on the heap. Flies are another means of spreading disease, dysentery in particular, and they are most numerous in the late summer. The presence of the dung heap and farm animals near the house meant that flies carrying disease would be almost as plentiful indoors as out. This is why dysentery was often called “the country disease” (Fagan 2000:142; Post 1985:260, 262). Bacillary dysentery could also be contracted from eating unwholesome foodstuffs such as carrion meat, raw fruits and vegetables, and improperly cooked starchy vegetables (Post 1985:260). Dysentery bacteria could even be spread in the dust that blew during drought conditions (Fagan 2000:142).

The four types of winter and summer diseases described above–respiratory diseases, louse-borne fevers, typhoid fever and bacillary dysentery–almost always accompanied famine conditions in epidemic proportions during the study period. This phenomenon was due to the dual role of weather events in the spread of these diseases and in crop failure. There is also some interaction between the physical effect of famine on the body and the diseases. Two of the above types of diseases–respiratory diseases and bacillary dysentery–are made more lethal by conditions of malnutrition or undernutrition (not getting enough to eat over an extended period of time), especially for infants and the elderly (Post 1985:26, 260).

Deaths Due to Starvation and Malnutrition

Death from outright starvation occurred during all three famine episodes of the study period. It was prominent in the mortality of 1693-94, but less so in 1709-10, and rare in the 1741-42 event (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:424). This was due to the fact that public relief efforts improved during this time. Starvation was always more common in the rural areas than towns (the complete reverse of the normal pattern of mortality) because most public relief was set up by parish churches or municipalities.

Simple starvation (no food at all) leads to extreme emaciation and death. The process, however, can last weeks or months.

> Clinical and laboratory studies have demonstrated that human adults have a remarkable capacity to survive without food for long periods of time and that the body is able to accommodate a prolonged lack of food. The basal metabolic rate slows as the process of starvation goes on, and also the need for calories is reduced by the loss of weight. A starving person, moreover, normally reduces physical activity and, on balance, uses the available energy more efficiently. But the ability to survive depends on such individual variables as surplus body fat and body size and also on such environmental factors as ambient temperature. The paramount

> human defense against starvation, however, is the ability to conserve the expenditure of protein while at the same time continuing to synthesize the daily requirement of glucose necessary to maintain vital body functions. The critical loss of protein is controlled by the body's capacity to derive a substitute source of energy from the fatty tissues. But the ability of an adult to survive lack of food for several months is not shared by young children. The growth process stops almost immediately in a starving child because the energy required to build protein is great. A starving child will develop the emaciated condition known as marasmus, which is seen in some underdeveloped societies today (Post 1985:217-218).

In Uxeau during the extremely elevated mortality of the famine year of 1694, when the number of adults dying aged 19 - 49 was three to four times that of the preceding years, the numbers of children dying nine years old and under still represented over 40% of all deaths for the combined parishes of Uxeau and Bessy (see Figure 7, All Deaths of Known Age in 1694). It is probable that we see the effects of famine, and the lesser ability of young children to survive in these statistics.

Public relief efforts, while preventing death from starvation, did not eliminate malnutrition and undernutrition. These conditions were made more serious by the almost total reliance on bread in the diet–a fairly poor source of nutrition in the best of times (Fagan 2000:11, 154; Goubert 1997:39; Le Roy Ladurie 1996:424)[7]. The well-to-do ate wheat bread; the poorer classes ate bread and gruels made from rye, barley, buckwheat and oats (Fagan 2000:159; Le Roy Ladurie 1996:355; Monahan 1993:32). Malnutrition and undernutrition were especially serious for nursing mothers, who then could not produce the quality or quantity of milk to keep unweaned infants alive. While infant mortality was always high in Uxeau, during the famine years of 1693 and 1694, 32% and 39%, respectively, of the babies born those years died within a month of their birth–over twice the average for the rest of that decade (see Figure 8, Children Dying at One Month of Age of Less 1690-1699).

For adults, surprisingly, a period of no food at all may not have been as lethal in some cases as a prolonged period of undernutrition.

> ...inadequate amounts of wheat bread may have been more harmful than no food at all. Wheat is low in the protein required by the body for cell and tissue replacement and for glucose production. With no food at all, the body ceases to break down its own proteins and instead switches to ketones produced by the kidneys to maintain minimum life support. An adult can thus survive for a long period without food. But if the body continues to receive an inadequate supply of food (such as wheat bread) high in carbohydrates and low in proteins, this physiological safety switch fails to function, and the body continues to break down its own proteins–to feed on itself–in a desperate effort to supplement a useless diet (Monahan 1993:150-151).

Sufferers of prolonged undernutrition, if they do not die from contracting a lethal disease due to a weakened immune system, often die from what has been termed "famine diarrhea." The digestive system becomes impaired through atrophy and ulceration. The result is a diarrhea in which very watery stools, mucus, undigested food and blood are passed. This was often called the "bloody flux." Eventually the body's water and salt balance is upset leading to death (Post 1985:208). It is interesting to note that during these famines some French municipalities (like Lyon in 1709) mandated that bakers use the whole grain (to avoid waste) instead of making the white wheat bread preferred by the well-to-do, thereby making the bread more nutritious than normal (Monahan 1993:97-98).

Famine diarrhea is hard to differentiate from bacillary dysentery, and it is difficult to determine which is being described as the cause of death in the historical records. The seasonality of bacillary dysentery, however, is an indication that large-scale mortalities occurring in late summer through early autumn may be due to dysentery rather than famine diarrhea. (Identifying the various "fevers" described in

the historical accounts can also be attempted through seasonality, progression of the disease, and the age groups most often affected–Post 1985:228-230.)

Both dysentery and famine diarrhea were made more lethal by the ingestion of unhealthy foods and substitute foodstuffs. In times of food shortage, foods such as grain and apples were eaten before they were ripe. Unfit meat was consumed. People ate grass and cabbage stalks, and used such things as bracken, ferns, nut shells and tree bark for filler in making bread (Fagan 2000:155; Le Roy Ladurie 1996:216; Monahan 1993:122; Post 1985:24-25, 223).

Deaths Increased by the Disruption of the Economy and Social Life

The final key links between climate and mortality have to do with the disruption of the economy and social life. Food shortages caused the price of grain to rise dramatically, so that many could not afford to buy bread. Heavy taxes, as well as the forced provisioning of soldiers during the many wars of Louis XIV[4] meant that most peasants lived hand to mouth even in good years, and could not put anything aside for a future bad harvest (Appleby 1981:81; Fagan 2000:131, 153-155; Le Roy Ladurie:1996:214-216, 261; Parker and Smith 1997:43). The regular tax burden fell almost exclusively on the rural farmers–urban areas were taxed at a much lesser rate, while nobles and the bourgeoisie were almost entirely exempt from direct taxes (Shaffer 1982:39). Additional heavy taxes were levied to finance the wars of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697) and of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714).

Even those who could buy enough bread to get by drastically curtailed their consumer spending in other areas (Goubert 1997:40). This produced temporary

massive unemployment in areas like the textile industry which was so important to the economy of Uxeau and Bessy.

Both rural and urban poor were reduced to begging and wandered far afield in search of food. Hordes of the destitute wandered the country roads, and filled the streets of the towns, creating a massive movement of people, and a good deal of fear. The death of only one beggar (a man, seemingly with no relatives in the area) was recorded in Uxeau during 1694.[5] There is no way to tell how many from Uxeau and Bessy may have been reduced to begging, but left to find food, and thus did not die in their home parish. Unfortunately, the *curé* of Uxeau and Bessy offers no comment whatsoever on the conditions of the crisis. Most people reduced to abject destitution went to the towns where there was at least the hope of work or official handouts. Indigent people may have passed through Uxeau and Bessy on the way to towns along the Arroux river, such as Toulon-sur-Arroux or Geugnon, etc. Accounts tell us that it was not uncommon for these people to die along the roadside and be buried there without benefit of Christian sacrament or cemetery (Monahan 1992:146).

In the towns theft and bread riots were common (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:216). Many towns closed their gates to outsiders (mostly the rural folk of the surrounding area), forcing the vagrant populations to go on to larger towns still farther away from their homes (Monahan 1993:92-93). Sometimes the bodies of executed "troublemakers" were hung on the town walls or at the intersections of roads leading to town as a warning for others to stay away. This was done the town of Mâcon in southern Burgundy in 1709 (Monahan 1993:93).

This forced movement of people spread disease from one town, area or region to another. The crowding of people in urban relief centers, hospitals, and prisons further facilitated the spread of disease (Post 1985:274). This is why some diseases like smallpox, normally entirely unrelated either to weather conditions or nutrition, became epidemic during famine episodes (Post 1985:28).

The Effects of the Crisis in Uxeau/Bessy

Unfortunately, the *curés* of Uxeau/Bessy during this decade never mention the cause of death. Certainly outright starvation is never mentioned. An examination of the seasonality of death, and of the age groups most affected, at different times in Uxeau/Bessy over the years 1690-1699 can, however, suggest links to the various common diseases described above, and the related weather/famine events.

A look at the monthly pattern of deaths for the years 1690-1699 combined shows a pattern of seasonal death common throughout France for a normal year in the era (see Figure 9, Deaths by Month 1690-1699). The highest mortality peak is in December when one would expect cold-related deaths such as accident hypothermia, and respiratory illnesses such as influenza. Another peak in April (it was noted above, in the beginning of the chapter, that the springs of this decade were unusually cold and wet) is likely due to respiratory illnesses and typhus, both frequently producing symptoms of pneumonia, the virulence of which is exacerbated by the wet spring weather. A third peak comes in August and is most likely the result of bacillary dysentery. The slow climb in deaths in October and November may be related to typhoid fever, which is most common at this time of year.

The raw count of burials per year for the decade is presented in Figure 10, Vital Events 1690-1699. The classic mortality crisis pattern, the 'triple distortion' described by Goubert in the previous chapter (see Chapter 2 Parish Records), is easily seen in Figure 10. The crisis starts in 1693–deaths rise and marriages drop off. The height of the crisis is in 1694 when deaths soar and births plummet (from lack of conceptions in 1693 partially due to famine amenorrhoea). In 1695 deaths start to drop, births start to rise, and marriages boom as the widowed seek new spouses. In 1696, the year after the rush to remarry, births rise significantly. The pattern is exactly what we would expect to see, and shows that the quantity of data from the Uxeau/Bessy records is sufficient to reveal the short-term trends adequately.

Figures 11A–J, Burials by Month, show the month-by-month count of burials through the entire ten-year period. Table 3, Count of Burials by Age Group per Year, shows the raw counts of burials in each age group for each year of the decade. The fluctuation in the burial percentages of each of the different age groups over the ten years are also charted (see Figures 12A–F, titled with each age group dying 1690–1699).

The burials by month in 1690 (Figure 11A) show the normal pattern with peaks in March, August and November. The charts of burial percentages (Figures 12A-F) show an unusually high percentage of young children dying ages one month to one year and one to nine years. The young are especially susceptible to dysentery and Typhoid fever which often peak in August and November. As can be seen from Table 3 Count of Burials by Age Group per Year, child mortality is always fairly high

in relation to other groups. In 1691 (Figure 11B) most deaths came in the coldest winter months and affected all age groups (Figures 12A-F).

The year 1692 was marked by a particularly cold spring and summer, standing out even in a decade of cold springs and summers. The grape harvests came as late as November in some places, where they did not freeze on the vine, and much of the cereal crop (planted late to begin with) failed (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:215). The peak in deaths that year came in the spring (Figure 11C). It was the elderly over 50 years of age who particularly succumbed, most likely to typhus and respiratory illnesses. Deaths were nonexistent in July and August (normally a time of dysentery death when the summer is hot), and remained low until they spiked in December of the following year 1693 (Figure 11D).

The year 1693 also saw an icy spring, again delaying spring planting of the reduced supplies of seed, and blight attacked the cereal crops in many places. The harvests failed for a second year, causing great scarcity until the harvests of 1694 could be seen. Prices for bread and all other foodstuffs skyrocketed. Deaths rose in the fall of 1693, and soared in December. The burials of infants less than one month old (Table 3 and Figures 12A-F) spiked sharply that year–perhaps the first to be affected by their mothers' malnourished state.

The winter of 1694-1695 was one of the four coldest in the entire "Little Ice Age." The death rate was high all through 1694 (which may indicate deaths from actual starvation), but it was especially elevated from October 1694 through April 1695 (Figures 11E-F). The burials of infants less than one year old fell off due to the high number of infant deaths the previous year (Table 3), and the number of births in 1694 dropped by half (Table 2, Figure 10). It was the burial count of children aged

one to nine, of adults, and of the elderly over age 50 that increased dramatically in 1694 (Table 3). The age group of youths 10 to 18 surprisingly remained unaffected in 1694. Then in 1695 the number of burials in this group rose to match those of the other groups whose death rates fell somewhat from the 1694 peak, but remained higher than normal (Table 3 and Figures 12A-F). In 1695 the numbers dying fell steadily from January through June as the crisis eased (Figure 11F). July saw no deaths at all, but there was a typical spike in August, followed by a small number of deaths in the autumn.

The number of burials in 1696 (Table 3) dropped to low levels for all age groups, showing a complete recovery from the mortality crisis. The average number of deaths in that year followed the fairly normal pattern of spikes in March, July (one month earlier than the usual August spike), and December (Figure 11G).

The year 1697 saw a slight rise in the number of burials, unusually peaking in early summer from April through July (Figure 11H). The rise was particularly in the age groups of children one to nine, youths 10 to 18, and the elderly over 50 (Table 3, Figures12A-F). Some kind of disease, perhaps something entirely unconnected to weather or nutrition, like small pox must have run through the community.

The winter of 1698-1699 was again seriously cold (Fagan 2000:105). The number of deaths in 1698 is extremely low until December which sees a pronounced spike (Figure 11I), but the age distribution is normal (Table 3, Figures 12A-F). Burial numbers are high again in the spring of 1699, February through April, followed only by a handful of deaths in August and again in December (Figure 11J). With the exception of one adult, all who died in 1699 were infants and children under the age of nine (Table 3).

It is important to keep in mind that although the number of deaths in 1693-1695 was exceptionally high, it probably does not indicate the entire loss of life for the parishes. Those truly without resources and in immediate danger of starving would almost certainly have left the rural parishes for the towns. They would have died elsewhere, their deaths going unrecorded in the Uxeau/Bessy registers. There are indeed many families that disappear from the records entirely in these years. The crisis was almost certainly more catastrophic than the parish registers indicate.

The Ending of the Great Mortalities

The 1740s was the last time that a subsistence crisis significantly reduced the population in all of western Europe (Post 1985:17). After that, the factors that combine to create widespread mortality out of harvest failures gradually changed. Improvements in transportation and expansion of the international grain trade made importing grain to famine areas easier and cheaper. Relief efforts became both more effective, which prevented starvation, and more localized, which reduced the incidence of epidemic disease by curtailing the mass movement of people. Agriculture changed, becoming more diversified and incorporating crops less susceptible to climatic fluctuations (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:355; Post 1985:19). Wheat, which originated in the dry and warm Middle East, is particularly susceptible to cold winters and wet summers (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:214)(for a more detailed discussion of the effects of climate on harvests, see Chapter 6 Agriculture and Land Use). The medieval fallow system, which left land idle, came to be replaced with “green fertilizers” like peas, beans and clover that supplied alternate sources of food for humans and animals. The new sources of fodder thus created allowed more

meat for consumption, lessening the dependence on bread and increasing the amount of protein in the diet (Fagan 2000:106-107). Improvements in housing, hygiene, and sanitation reduced susceptibility to thermal stress and disease. The cessation of war in the eighteenth century, reduced crushing taxes and the need to provision soldiers, thereby mitigating the impact of food shortages (Le Roy Ladurie 1996:307).

Eventually, too, the climate improved from the extreme of the "Maunder Minimum," although bad years (e.g. 1725, 1740s, 1771, 1816, etc.) still occurred from time to time. Even so, as Andrew Appleby aptly put it, "The crucial variable in the elimination of famine was not the weather but the ability to adapt to the weather" (1981:83).

The Importance of Looking at Individual Farms and Families

As outlined in the preceding chapters, one of the aims of this research project was to look at the effects of the mortality crisis on social patterns at the scale of the individual farm and family through historical demography and family reconstitution. Most analyses of subsistence and climatic crises have focused on the effects from the national or regional level. W. Gregory Monahan pointed out in his study of the 1709-10 mortality crisis in Lyon, that few have even addressed the problem from the scale of a single city (1993:4). Certainly these crises had an effect on family and social relations which can be seen in much greater depth and complexity at the scale of individual families and farms. But even more importantly, part of the way in which people adapted to these periodic crises was through family and social relations. These individual strategies may even prove insightful for our own time as

we enter into a period of dramatic weather extremes and fluctuations produced by global warming.

We tend, perhaps, to fall into the trap of thinking that our level of technology and knowledge insulates us from the disaster of a climate-induced catastrophe, but the example of the 2003 *canicule* (heat wave) in France, which killed upwards of 15,000 people, should rouse us out of our complacency (CBS news website, September 25, 2003). Just as in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries, it was housing conditions that played a part in the weather-related deaths due to thermal stress–heat exhaustion, dehydration, cardiac stress, etc. From the time that air-conditioning had been invented until now, France's climate had not made such technology necessary. The summer temperatures Burgundy are normally in the eighty degrees F. The heat wave lasting from late July through mid-August had temperatures ranging from the upper nineties to well over 100 degrees F. (CNN website, September 9, 2003). The majority of the population lacked access to an air-conditioned environment during the crisis. Additionally, just as in former times, the relief efforts of the governmental proved inadequate; most of the top government health officials were on vacation (August is the month when the French nation takes its vacation), and the warnings and attendant mobilization to address the crisis were started too late. Hospital staff (also largely on vacation) were too few to attend to a disaster on that scale (CBS news website, September 25, 2003). And for an example of how family and social relations affect the risk of mortality, most of those who died were elderly, and the norm now in western industrial society is for the elderly to live apart from the rest of their family. Thus, many of those who died did not have family in attendance to monitor their condition and get them appropriate

medical treatment in time.[6] The same thing happens on a lesser scale (so far!) in the United States every time there is a heat wave or extreme cold snap. As always, poverty, too, plays a big role in these mortalities. The point is that we are no less vulnerable now to sudden climatic shifts and attendant extreme weather. Lessons from the past may prove instructive in understanding and adapting to change.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. There was a food crisis among the poor in 1795, but it was caused by war-time conditions and chaos in the government (Appleby 1981:63).

2. For two of the thousands of treatments of the ancien régime, see the detailed descriptions of Goubert 1997 and Le Roy Ladurie 1996.

3. France lost another million shortly after in the mortality crisis of 1709-1710 (Anderson 1988:54).

4. The burial of two solders being provisioned in the area was recorded in Uxeau in 1691.

5. Two beggars, a young girl and an elderly woman, were buried later in the decade, but these two had relatives in the area (for a discussion of their situation see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society).

6. The French government is considering instituting home visits by health care workers to the elderly living alone during holidays and vacations times to monitor their condition (CBS news website, September 25, 2003).

CHAPTER 4

RURAL FAMILY LIFE AND SOCIETY

The Role of Land in Shaping Family Structure and Rural Society

This chapter provides the context for understanding the demographic trends and social relationships revealed by the parish registers. In the agrarian society of rural France in the late seventeenth-early eighteenth centuries, the factor of overwhelming influence is land–both land tenure and land use. Land tenure and land use affect inheritance, marriage patterns, child-bearing strategies, household composition and organization, and even lifestyle in old age. The relationships created through ties to the land are a major factor in structuring village social life. The chapter covering agriculture will explore land use in detail with a focus on how types of land exploitation, and the technology available, structure social relationships and affect the family as an integrated labor force of economic production. This chapter will focus more on land tenure and how it shapes an individual's life cycle, the relationships within the family, and the relationships in the parish as a whole.

Almost all farmland was acquired by the average farming family through inheritance or marriage. Even the lease rights to land for farmers who only rented or sharecropped were often inherited by family members (Gottlieb 1993:201-202). Land that was bought and sold was usually land that a farm family lost in times of duress either through forced sale or confiscation for debt. This land was normally

acquired by nobles, town bourgeois or the few wealthy farm families who already owned or farmed a great deal of land. Peasant farm families lacked the resources (partly due to high taxes and the lack of large-scale market opportunities) to buy land even when it did come up for sale, and after the disappearance of the Bubonic plague (the plague disappeared entirely in Northern France after the 1660s–Appleby 1981:67-68) the ratio of population to land had risen to a point where there was no agricultural land lying unused without anyone to work it within the study area. The relatively expanded population (compared to the medieval plague era) had also reduced the amount of forested land, while at the same time expanding cities made wood an increasingly lucrative resource that the crown and nobility seized absolute control over during the reign of Louis XIV. Thus, the ability to create new farmland through forest clearance was ended. Therefore, inheritance and marriage patterns are crucial for understanding not only rural demographic patterns, but the agrarian economy as well.

Household Structure

One way of understanding inheritance and marriage patterns is to see them as strategies designed to produce a certain household composition or structure. In the past the aim of historical demographers was to create typologies or standard "types" of household composition. The household structural types relevant to this study are *nuclear family*, *extended family*, *stem family*, *joint family*, and *frérèche.*

- The *nuclear family household* consists of a single couple and their children (alternate forms of which can be a married couple before they have children, or one parent left alone with the children) (Willigan and Lynch 1982:184).

- The *extended family household* consists of a married couple, their children and one or more other relatives (e.g. a grandparent, sibling, aunt, uncle, cousin, niece, nephew, etc.) (Willigan and Lynch 1982:186).

- A *stem family household* consists of a married couple and one married child with spouse who will eventually inherit the estate (Shaffer 1982:6).

- A *joint family household* consists of parents and two or more of their married children, or alternatively, two or more married siblings without their parents (or even sometimes the coresidence of some other related *married couple*, e.g. a married nephew, niece, aunt, uncle, cousin, etc.) who all share ownership of the estate and work it together (Shaffer 1982:5-6). Thus, a joint family may be both vertically and laterally extended, and all share in joint ownership of the property. "It differs from the stem family in that marriage is not a signal for sons (and sometimes not even daughters) to move out" (Gottlieb 1993:16).

- A *frérèche family houshold* is a specific type of joint family common in the study region, and consists exclusively of married siblings and their children (Goubert 1986:76). "In the eastern part of France, in Franche-Comte and Bourgogne, a very complex mixture of Roman and German law prevailed until the end of the nineteenth century, placing a strong emphasis on the community of brothers who were equal heirs and shared property, even when their households were separate" (Segalen 1987:219).

Of course households can be either stem, joint, or *frérèche*, and at the same time be extended with numerous other single relatives, as well as including paid servants.

An important point about household structure is that households are not static types that may be determined from a single snapshot in time, such as a census. The formation of household structure is a process that is dependent on the ages and the survival of family members. Families go through a life cycle in which the household may evolve through several seeming "types" regardless of the ideal cultural type or the family's goal. For example, when the last grandparent dies, an extended family may appear to be a nuclear family, then later appear as a stem family when the first son marries, but ultimately end up a joint family as other children marry and stay in residence. Then, when the parents die, the joint family becomes a *frérèche*. With the high levels of mortality prevailing during the study

period, many families holding a joint-family ideal may appear to be stem families, or nuclear families due to only one child surviving into adulthood. Therefore, a lone census cannot inform much on the patterns of household structure for a community. Longitudinal studies, based on such data as family reconstitution from parish records, legal documents such as wills, marriage contracts, or acts of family incorporation, or a series of censuses with nominative data, are required to detect the family strategies in operation.

Even then, the only way to accurately to separate appearances from a family's actual goals or household strategy is to know the property relations that pertain within the family. The key is whether all of the children will inherit equally, or whether only one child will take over the farm. In a stem family, either the parent couple is in possession of the property and makes all decisions with the child as a subordinate worker, or the parents retire and turn over ownership and control to their children, even though the parents may remain in residence on the farm in a largely non-productive role. The two couples may work the farm together, but they never share ownership and decision-making (Shaffer 1982:6). By contrast, in a joint family, ownership and control of property (whether in land or movable goods) is shared by all married couples in residence. Thus, although a joint family may look like a stem family when only one child has married so far, the property relations between the household members are very different. (The relationship between property, inheritance, and family structure will be explored in more detail below.)

Another essential point to keep in mind is in that in addition to the fluctuations in household composition that result from the family's life cycle, a family's strategy for household composition may change as circumstances change (e.g. the loss or gain

of landed property, changing tax and legal structures, new technology available, etc.). Families are highly adaptable self-supporting economic groups, and household composition can be a flexible means of adjusting to changed circumstances (Gottlieb 1993:14). Indeed, household composition was the most flexible of the ways in which families could adjust to change, for it was the one aspect of their lives that they had the most control over. To reduce the size of the household, parents could stop having children, adult members could refrain from marrying, or, on the other hand, marry out of the household, and members could leave the household and work as paid laborers elsewhere. To increase household size, more children could be conceived, adults could marry and bring their spouses home to live, and other, more distant, relatives could be brought in (such as nieces, nephews, married siblings, in-laws, cousins, etc.) to add to the labor pool either as paid laborers or sharers in the communal property.

In the past demographers have used these established household "types" as labels to explain the patterns for large regional areas of Europe (on a scale as broad as "northwestern Europe," "Mediterranean Europe," "eastern Europe," etc.). These studies did take such things as environment, technology, climate, cultural and legal traditions into account on a very general level, but it was often assumed that a local study from one village could be extrapolated as an adequate explanation for the practices of entire large regions of Europe. Now it is generally acknowledged that variation by class or locality can be great within a very small area. Neighboring villages may have very different predominant patterns in household structure due to differences in local environment, market and transportation networks, legal codes, types of land tenure, available technology, cultural traditions, socioeconomic level,

etc. Importantly, no village or parish exhibits only a single household pattern among its population (Kertzer 1989:12).

Ecotypes

An important perspective for understanding the variations that may exist at the local level is the concept of *ecotype* developed by such family historians as David Gaunt and Michael Mitterauer. Orvar Löfgren has defined *ecotype* as 'a pattern of resource exploitation within a given macroeconomic framework' (Löfgren 1976:100). An *ecotype* encompasses:

- the local environment and its range of available resources,
- the particular resources that are extracted and the type of technology for doing so,
- the sociocultural institutions for instituting and organizing the family as an integrated work force
- the local relations between peasant farmers and non-peasant groups (e.g. the nobility, village tradesmen and craftsmen, day-laborers, etc.)
- the interrelations between groups exploiting different resources within the same environment (e.g. cattle farming, wine-growing, wood-cutting, mining, etc. which may all be taking place within the same local environment by different groups, or sometimes even undertaken by a single family as part of a diversified family economy)
- and the relations of the local area to outside areas which include transportation networks, settlement patterns, and the macro- political and economic systems (Mitterauer 1992:142-143).

It is especially in this last point–which examines how local resource exploitation is linked to outside areas– that the *ecotype* approach differs from the *ecosystem* orientation borrowed from biological studies and utilized by researchers such as Robert McC. Netting (1981) and Pier Paolo Viazzo (1989). Unlike the *ecosystem,*

the *ecotype* does not require a closed system for analysis. While the two types of studies are very similar in many respects, the *ecosystem* analysis tends to emphasize *stability* through such factors as environmental equilibrium in resource extraction, and carrying capacity of the environment in terms of human demographics. The *ecotype* approach is more easily focused on issues of *change* (e.g. new resources are extracted from the environment, new technology is introduced, or new market relations created, etc.). *Ecotype* analysis concentrates more on variation in household structure (as the primary unit of labor in resource extraction) than on demographic fluctuations and population trends. The ecotype approach is thus a particularly good perspective for tracing the interrelationships between land tenure (size and manner of holding), type of land exploitation (and thus the size and composition of labor force required), marriage patterns (the establishment of a new labor unit), inheritance systems (how land and wealth are handed down to succeeding generations), and household structure (the make-up of the group responsible for subsistence production and family reproduction). From this ecotype perspective it is very clear that the two key interrelated factors governing rural household structure were land (amount of land, type of tenure, and types of exploitation), and "family strategies," the label which I am giving to the interwoven package of marriage strategies, fertility strategies and inheritance strategies.

Inheritance and Land Tenure

The family strategies of farming families who owned land were often very different from the strategies of farming families who did not own land. The "landless"

can be divided into two groups: those who had farms (sometimes quite large farms) on leased or sharecropped land, and those without a self-supporting farm who worked for others. These latter were usually paid agricultural day-laborers, but they also hired out as carters, loggers, miners, metal-workers, or worked in some type of cottage industry. In Uxeau/Bessy, cottage industry was usually some aspect of the textile trade such as carding wool or combing hemp, weaving cloth (linen or hemp), and making clothes. The other non-farming "landless" types in the parish are represented by full-time craftsmen, merchants and professionals, such as roof thatchers, wooden shoe makers, oil producers, millers, woodcutters, innkeepers, notaries, mid-wives, and priests, and will be addressed below in the section on village networks. Some of these "landless" actually did own a small amount of land, perhaps a house and garden, and maybe a field or two, but it was not enough land to support a family. Either renting/leasing additional land, or working as a paid laborer was required to supplement the family income.

The amount of land owned or worked on a farm significantly affected the family's household structure and size. A large family requires a large amount of land for its support, and conversely, a large farm requires a large labor force to work it. Thus, it is only on large farms that extended and multiple family households are found–the rural poor family is almost always a nuclear family household (Shaffer 1982:10).

Inheritance systems and the amount of land the average family was likely to own were related variables. In the study period, France had two different systems of inheritance–partible inheritance and impartible inheritance. Generally, the areas that had been formerly governed by Roman law followed impartible inheritance with

the estate going to a single heir, while areas that had been governed by non-Roman customary law followed partible inheritance with shares for all children (even for the daughters in some areas). In France impartible inheritance going to a single heir was the norm south of the Loire, and partible inheritance with all heirs inheriting a share was the norm north of the Loire. In the study area the rules of partible inheritance applied (Gottlieb 1993:214-215; Shaffer 1982:22, 33). (After the Revolution the Civil Code mandated that all children in France receive an equal share; see Segalen 1987:217.)

Impartible inheritance which kept the estate intact obviously kept farm size stable, while partible inheritance could, in some circumstances, lead to the diminishing of farm size over the generations as the estate was split over and over again among heirs. In areas of France with partible inheritance, many landowning peasants were reduced by this process to the status of day-laborers by the end of the seventeenth century. The plots of land they owned were too small for their support, and, as explained above, there was no way for them to acquire more land either through sale or the clearance of virgin land. In Uxeau-Bessy, the parish records reveal a few instances of farmers, called "*laboureurs*", being reduced to the status of paid laborers or servants in the 1690s.

There were, however, ways for landowners to get around partible inheritance and avoid seriously dividing the patrimony. One way to keep the property intact was to have one child remain on the farm and pay the inheritances of the other children in cash and movable property. This was almost always the practice with daughters who received their inheritance in the form of a dowry at the time of their marriage. The dowry would often consist of some cash, livestock, household furniture, and

household linens that would most likely have to last the married couple their whole life (Hufton 1996:72). The livestock and cash (which could be used to buy seed and farm implements) were often crucial for the new couple to set up on a farm of their own. Theoretically some of the dowry was to be reserved for the support of the bride when she became a widow (Hufton 1996:227-228). If she was widowed before the marriage produced any children, or if the marriage was annulled because there were no children, the entire dowry was to be returned to her (although this did not always happen)(Gottlieb 1993:222).

Sons of landowners also received their inheritance at the time of marriage, or when they left the parental home. In fact, wedding contracts regularly replaced wills in specifying what each child was to receive from the parental estate. Sometimes at the marriage of the first child, the portions of all the other children would be also specified at the same time in the marriage contract (saving the cost of making a separate will). The sons who did not remain on the parental farm often received their inheritance in a form similar to a bride's dowry, given to them when they left home, an event that often coincided with their marriage (Shaffer 1982:65; Bourdieu 1976:125). Unmarried sons who remained at the parental home with the inheriting son became in essence a kind of unpaid servant working for their brother (Bourdieu 1976:137). For families of small landowners who could not afford to dower all their children, and for the families of paid laborers, it was necessary for the female children to earn their own dowry. The male child in these circumstances also needed to create the wherewithal to set up his own household by working as a servant or farmhand until such time as he could inherit land, or raise the cash to rent land to farm, or alternatively, by apprenticing to learn a non-farming trade. In

France, it was a common practice to work as a servant for relatives starting in the early teen years until the time that sufficient resources were amassed to marry–usually in their mid-twenties (Goubert 1986:64; Hufton 1996:124; Wall 2001:217). The Uxeau/Bessy records show several marriage partners, both men and women, employed as domestic servants or farm-hands at the time of their wedding, who afterward become a farming couple, or a couple involved in some full-time trade. It also seems from the records that some people went into domestic service after being widowed (both men and women) at retirement age, working in the households of younger family members. There was not the stigma attached to this type of service in rural areas that was to develop in later centuries–servants were treated, for the most part, the same as the family members of the household (for indeed, they were usually relatives), and given the same kinds of chores that the family's children would be expected to perform, working right along beside them.

In Uxeau/Bessy, however, landowning small farmers were not the norm. There had been processes other than partible inheritance at work in the study area which had created a great number of peasant farmers who owned no land of their own, yet still farmed large estates without falling into the class of paid laborers. This situation arose out of the feudal system of tenure called *bordelage*.

Bordelage

Under the feudal system, *bordelage* tenure was a kind of lease in which the tenant paid an entrance fee, and in exchange for a fixed rent in money, goods and services, held the land in perpetuity for himself and his heirs (Berkner & Shaffer 1978:153; Shaffer 1982:23). The holding could never be subdivided among the

heirs or for sale, and if the *bordelage* lease to the entire holding was sold by the tenant, half the value of the sale price must be paid to the *seigneur*, who then received the same rent from the new tenant (Berkner & Shaffer 1978:153). There were two situations in which the land would revert to the *seigneur*: 1) failure to pay the rent for three consecutive years, and 2) no coresident heirs at the time of the tenant's death. Anyone inheriting a *bordelage* lease must be living with the lease holder at the time of his death (Shaffer 1982:23). This kept children who wanted to inherit lease rights to the property (the sons) at home, creating large joint families of coresident brothers (*frérèches*).

Coresidence was an important principle in property relations. Medieval law stated that anyone living together for a year and a day, sharing income during that time had formed a legally binding corporate entity called a *communauté*, in which all property was held equally in common, even if no formal agreement had been made or contract written. This unwritten incorporation by tacit agreement was called a "*communauté taisible*" (Shaffer 1982:21). People started creating formal contracts of *communauté* not to create shared property, but actually to exclude certain individuals living in the household from the joint ownership, such as servants or poor, distant relatives such as widows (Berkner & Shaffer 1982:151; Shaffer 1982:66-67). Coresident brothers of the heir were also eager to create formal *communautés* because if the inheriting brother (the eldest brother) died without offspring, there was the chance that the lease would revert to the *seigneur* unless they had been formally incorporated as co-heirs (Berkner & Shaffer 1978:154). Because of the many lawsuits over the *communauté taisible*, a law was created in 1566 which required that the sharing of any property worth over 100 livres must be

documented with a written contract (Shaffer 1982:21). The property held in common consisted of farm tools, farm products, as well as all the income and profits. "Personal property excluded from the *communauté* consisted of clothes, furniture, dowries and individual inheritances a person might have a right to [such as small plots of land]–these were known as *propres*" (Shaffer 1982:73). Under *bordelage* these *communautés* were patrilineal (inheriting from father to sons) and patrilocal (married sons living with the father). Daughters married out of the *communauté* and their dowry acted as their inheritance (Berkner & Shaffer 1978:154).

As long as the peasant farmers paid their *bordelage* dues, they were, in effect, landowning farmers with complete control over their property. Since the dues were fixed, in good years they might see quite a profit, and any livestock or crops, once the *seigneur*'s portion was taken out, could be sold as they saw fit. They might even hold multiple *bordelage* leases, which could then be divided up among their children (Shaffer 1982:31-32).

Just as the requirement of coresidence for heirs was weakening, peasant farmers started forfeiting or selling their leases for debt in droves through the course of the seventeenth century. They were literally taxed out of their land. The highest taxes of the seventeenth century were levied during the Thirty Years War, 1631-1650. *Seigneurs* and bourgeois were largely exempt from taxes, and the town dwellers were taxed at relatively low rates, so that the crushing burden of the taxes fell on the peasant farmer, who was responsible for the taxes on the land he leased or owned (Shaffer 1982:38-39). Adding to that hardship were the harvest failures of 1635 and 1661. When crops failed the peasant farmer had to borrow money for food, and for seed to plant the next year's crop. The only thing that could be put up

for collateral was their land or the lease to their land (Shaffer 1982:42). The bourgeois in the towns were only too happy to loan the money, since the practice of "loaning money to peasants was virtually a form of land investment" (Shaffer 1982:44). When a lease was forfeited for debt, the holder of the loan had only to pay half the land's value to the *seigneur* to take full possession of the lease. These bourgeois consolidated their properties into large *domaines* which were farmed by the peasants through a sharecropping agreement, sometimes by the very family who had lost the lease in the first place (Shaffer 1982:50).

Sharecropping

In the sharecropping contract (*métayage*) the owner/holder of the land provided the first year's seed, breeding stock, plow teams and farming tools. In return they received half of the produce of the farm in crops and animals, and collected rent in cash on the house, outbuildings and farm equipment. Usually they also required a certain amount of labor (*corvées*) to be performed for them, such as carting goods to market (Berkner & Shaffer 1978:156; Goubert 1986:30; Shaffer 1982:51). On top of all this, the sharecropper was responsible for all seigneurial dues, royal taxes and tithes on the land (Goubert 1986:31). Sharecropping contracts were established for fixed lengths of time, often between six and nine years, after which they would come up for renewal at the landholder's discretion. If the landholder thought that the current sharecroppers were not creating enough profit, he/she might give the new contract to another group, dispossessing the current family of the land they farmed and even their home (Shaffer 1982:57-58).

Sharecropping was a much more profitable enterprise for the landholder than the old *bordelage* lease with it fixed dues. At the same time that many peasant farmers were selling their leases for debt to the bourgeois of the towns, many other *bordelage* leases were reverting to the *seigneur* for failure to pay the feudal dues three years in a row. These *seigneurs* saw the greater profits to be made through *métayage,* and themselves re-let the land out under *métayage* contracts instead of the old *bordelage* leases. By the 1690s the vast majority of land in central France and the study area was being farmed by sharecroppers (Goubert 1986:32; Berkner & Shaffer 1978:156).

This new type of arrangement changed the nature of the *communauté*. The generally larger *domaines* being farmed under sharecropping agreements required a larger group of people to do the work. The sharecroppers did utilize some full-time farmhands and also temporary labor at haying and harvest times, but they had to pay the full cost of the hired labor themselves. It was much more cost-effective to have live-in family for a labor force, forming a *communauté,* that shared income and profits (if any), and did not have to be paid a wage. "It required about two adult males and one team of oxen (6 to 8 animals) to plow and tend every 10 hectares of land. A *domaine* of 75 hectares would have from 30 to 40 hectares left fallow each year, requiring three plow teams (6 men) and three teams of oxen (18 to 24 animals)" (Shaffer 1982:140). Three plow teams of 6 men translates into as many as 6 married couples and their children with perhaps a grand-parent or two. Many *domaines* were well over 100 hectares. The great need for labor changed the nature of the *communauté* from a patrilineal, patrilocal family, into a family group consisting of all sorts of distant relatives and in-laws. When labor was needed,

marrying daughters stayed at home, adding their new spouse to the labor pool. Aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, cousins, brothers- and sisters-in-laws along with their spouses, parents-in-law, etc. were welcomed into the fold. Sometimes even fictive kin relations were created to add new members to the *communauté*, while maintaining the semblance of a family group (Gottlieb 1993:17; Shaffer 1982:77). Some documented *communautés* in neighboring areas (canton of Luzy) were made up of over twenty individual families (Shaffer 1982:30), and some of the *communautés* in Uxeau/Bessy seem to be on that scale. Because there was no land to inherit, the size of the group was only limited by how many could be fed.

Communautés

The large *communauté* farms formed small hamlets, some rivaling in size the "bourg" of the parish which was distinguished only by its parish church, an inn or tavern, maybe a school, and a few shops (Shaffer 1982:56). The hamlets of the *communautés* contained a cluster of houses, in which various members or hired laborers might live, and a large central hall, which might also contain small rooms in which other members slept (Goubert 1986:75-76). A key feature of the *communauté* was that (even if they lived in separate houses in the hamlet) everyone was required to share their meals together in the great hall. This helped define the group as a single "family" (Dussourd 1979:63). They elected a master to oversee the men's work and a mistress to oversee the women. The master of the *communauté*, known as the *chef*, signed all contracts, made important decisions, and negotiated marriages for the group (Doussourd 1978:27-3, 361; Goubert 1986:75-76). In larger

communautés there might be two *chefs*, one older and one younger (Shaffer 1982:30).

Within the parishes of Uxeau and Bessy, some of the larger hamlets seem to even contain more than one *communauté* group. Not easily being able to pay for extra labor for the haying, harvesting and transporting of farm produce, *communautés* often relied on each other for help during peak work seasons. Neighbors in general, were very important and close relationships, very much like family–although often they might actually be family. "...the most striking thing about neighbors is that they often appear in historical evidence precisely where we would expect to find relatives" (Gottlieb 1993:192). In fourteen marriages out of 105 in Uxeau and Bessy (13%), neighbors showed up as a witness for the bride or groom. Of course neighbors were often members of neighboring *communautés*. Two *communautés* might join together in purchasing farm equipment such as wagons. In areas near Uxeau and Bessy (Luzy), it has been documented that sometimes two *communautés* would jointly undertake a sharecropping lease, with a separate contract drawn up between the two, specifying the work obligations of each (Shaffer 1982:80). It seems likely that this was happening in Uxeau to some degree, since there is often more than one *chef* described in the registers as in charge of a *communauté* at the same place at the same time (see Table 4, *Communautés* 1690-1700). Certainly within Uxeau/Bessy in the 1690s *chefs de communauté* and their coparceners are moving around from place to place, splitting with one group and joining another (see Table 5, *Chefs de Communautés* in Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700). An example is the hamlet of Busserolles in Uxeau (see Figure 3, Places Belonging to the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy Mentioned in the Parish Records

from 1690-1700). In 1693 Claude Desbrosses was the *chef de communauté* there. He left by 1696 to become the miller at le Chevalot (Uxeau). Taking his place was Jean Belon, named as *chef* at Busserolles from at least 1695-1697, but Jean Thorey (nephew of Claude Ganeau, *chef de communauté* at Grand Dardon–Uxeau), who had been *chef de communauté* at la Malvelle in Bessy, joins him as another *chef de communauté* at Busserolles in that same year (1696). A third *chef de communauté*, Charles Lambé who had been *chef de communauté* at Petit Dardon (Uxeau) in 1695 also joins the group as perhaps a third *chef de communauté* at Busserolles by the year 1698.

It appears that these *chefs* were bringing the members of their *communauté* with them when they moved. Gilbert Deschamps started out as *chef de communauté* at Chaselot (Uxeau) in 1692. He remained there until 1696, but by 1697 he and many of his coparceners had moved to les Chazots (Uxeau), where he was again *chef de communauté*. (Note that it would have been impossible to track these changes without recording the peripheral entries in the parish registers).

This movement of *communautés* may be due to some losing their sharecropping contract when it came up for renewal, but the great number of deaths in the parishes from 1693-1695 surely must have required a shifting of the population to balance the labor requirements of the various *domaines*. The death of so many *laboureurs* (sharecropping farmers), seems to also have provided opportunities of upward mobility for many *journaliers* (wage workers) in these years who joined *communautés* as full-fledged *laboureurs* (farmers). There were also a few cases in the reverse of *laboureurs* becoming *journaliers*. The subgroup of fathers (those fathers about whom we have more than one year's information, *n* =

151) is made up of individuals who appear in the records frequently, beginning with their marriage in many cases, and is, as well, probably the most generally representative group in the registers (i.e. Godparents are chosen for particular qualities of status and wealth, marriage witnesses often reside outside the parish, and less information is given about mourners. In this era of exceptionally high child mortality mourners are mostly the fathers and mothers anyway). Between the years 1690 and 1700, 40% of the fathers changed residence, 23% changed occupation, with 11% of fathers changing both residence and occupation. This is not at all the more stable pattern one finds with patrilineal, patrilocal joint families of small landowners. Uxeau and Bessy were very much areas in flux. The best way to get an idea of what all this social and physical movement in the parishes of Uxeau/Bessy is about, is to compare the different social classes and occupations with each other during this precarious time of exorbitant taxes, harvest failures, and disease. But first, a description of the different occupations to be found within the parishes of Uxeau/Bessy, and of their networks with still other occupations outside the parishes is needed.

The People of the Countryside in and around Uxeau/Bessy

Laboureurs are by far the largest group in Uxeau/Bessy. The *chefs de communauté* are a subset of this group. Fellow laboureurs in one's *communauté* are sometimes referred to as"*parsonnier*" which simply means a co-parcener or fellow member of the *commuanuté*. Generally, the definition of *laboureur* is a plowman (see the Chapter 6 Agriculture and Land Use for details on this occupation). In this context, most, if not all will be sharecropping farmers. This is

borne out by the fact that in the registers the same person, normally called a "*laboureur*," will be called, alternatively, "*granger*" or "*métayer*" which both specifically mean "sharecropper."

Table 6, Places Mentioned in the Registers 1690-1699 within the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy, lists all the hamlets named as residences in the parish registers (see also Figure 13, Places Named as Communautés in the Parish Registers for Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700). Astonishingly, only one of these places, the "Village" de Bazin, located very near the Bourg d'Uxeau, does not appear on a modern map of the area. Grand Dardon and Petit Dardon had very close relations with each other. People moved back and forth, and sometimes the *Curé* simply wrote that someone lived at "Dardon" without specifying which of the two he meant (usually in other records one of the two neighboring hamlets is identified as the residence of that person). Two of the hamlets in Bessy, Chevreau and la Malvelle, are across the river from Bessy and no longer within the modern *commune* of Uxeau. Even in the 1690s the *Curé* noted that la Malvelle was sometimes considered to be in the parish of Marly-sur-Arroux, and some register entries were recorded there instead of in Bessy. Table 6 and Figure 13 indicate which of these hamlets were not mentioned as *communautés* from 1690-1700. Of course, there may have existed *communautés* at these places, but we are unaware of it because their *chefs* simply weren't mentioned in the registers during this time period. *Communautés* were known to exist at these other places in other time periods, with the exception of le Chevalot, le Reuil, and Bazin. Le Chevalot was the seat of Uxeau and Bessy's only resident *seigneur*, Bernard Chaussin. Le Reuil, was the site of a large mill. Bazin had several types of workshops. No *laboureurs* or farmers resided at any of these

three places. The fact that Bazin was never a farming community may help explain why it is the only hamlet no longer in existence. The only residents of le Reuil were families of millers. At le Chevalot, Sieur Bernard Chaussin had a large community that included a winegrower, a miller, a woodcutter, wooden shoe makers, tailors, carders of wool, and various generic wage-laborers. Bazin also had a large number of *journaliers* who were likely employed there in an oil producing operation (see below), a workshop of stone masons (see below), by winegrowers, and as a large collection of textile workers, tailors, weavers, and carders of wool.

Table 7, All Occupations from Uxeau/Bessy Parish Registers 1690-1700, lists every type of occupation named in the parish registers from 1690-1700. Importantly, 28% of these occupations would be entirely unknown apart from the peripheral information on godfathers, marriage witnesses, and mourners. Table 8, Occupations solely within Uxeau/Bessy 1690-1700, lists only the occupations of residents of Uxeau and Bessy. Eleven per cent of these occupations would be unknown without the incorporation of the peripheral records.

The next most numerous occupation to that of *laboureur* is that of wage-laborer, variously called *journalier, gens de labeur, manouvrier*, *domestique, valet, and servante.* *Journaliers* could be any type of worker, but the term tends to represent a fairly skilled laborer employed full-time. Some families of *journaliers* seem to reside at and be employed by the same *communauté* for several generations–these would likely be full-time farm hands. Many *journaliers* in the Uxeau/Bessy records eventually become skilled laborers and craftsmen, like carpenters or weavers or shoemakers. A *gens de labeur* was a sort of man (or woman)-of-all-work, kind of half-way between a *journalier* and a *domestique*–a

domestic servant. A *servante* was a female domestic servant and/or personal attendant, the same for *valet*–a man servant. In the Uxeau register, aristocrats and the *curé* have *servantes* or *valets*, as do some *chef de communautés* and a few others. Many of the *laboureurs* and even some of the *journaliers* have *domestiques*.

A *manouvrier* , by contrast, is a temporary laborer, a kind of handy-man with no permanent employment. They were made use of at haying and harvest time when extra hands were required–especially by the winegrowers (*vignerons*) for picking grapes. There was much heavy work that needed doing at the large farms–such chores as "hedge-trimming or ditching, if needed, or even...stream-cleaning, a necessary but very laborious task. Others were employed by the day to drain the meadows, either by digging new drainage trenches or by maintaining old ones, and to clear the ground of molehills (and if possible get rid of the moles)" (Goubert 1986:102). They also might work as unskilled assistants to various craftsmen, which is why we find them at Bazin in Uxeau. There are very few *manouvrier* listed in Uxeau–only ten, and half of them worked at Bazin. Of these ten, three became *journaliers* within a year of being listed as *manouvrier*. One *manouvrier* (Hilaire Berger) became a *laboureur*, and another (Claude Joby) married into the oil producing family and joined the enterprise at Bazin. One died in 1692 (Gilbert Rabet), and two more disappeared from the register that same year, and so may have died in the famine years, or at least left the parish. One of the *manouvrier* who became a *journalier* (Antoine L'Henry) died soon after in the great mortality of 1694, and his three children followed him, dying in the spring of 1695. A man (Claude Souterre) who worked as a vigneron in various places around the parish from 1690 to 1696, ended up as a *manouvrier* at Bazin, which may have been a form of

retirement from the heavy physical demands of farming or winegrowing. Another man (Claude Deschamps) started out as a *laboureur* at the *communauté* of le Noisillier from 1691 to 1693, and then after the famine shows up as first a *journalier,* then a *gens de labeur*, and finally a *manouvrier* at Dardon, sliding almost all the way down the social ladder.

The lowest one could sink was to become a beggar, a *mendiant(e)*. The death of one male beggar (Barthélémy Deschamps) was recorded in the famine year of 1694. Neither relatives nor residence were listed for the man (although that surname is common in the parish)–residences are never listed for beggars. The only two other beggars in the registers are two women–one a girl, only fourteen years old. Both her parents were dead, but she had relatives in the Parish. Her uncle (mother's brother), Louis Laforest, was a prominent member of the *communauté* at Villemaison in Uxeau (he shows up in the records 17 times). Her brother was a *laboureur* at Fresse. Both come to her burial. It is puzzling, then, why she would have been a beggar. Perhaps she had some sort of disability that kept her from working, and was supported by some sort of public charity. Sometimes the parish priest would arrange for a well-off family or two to provide support (food and such) for impoverished but honorable women who were unable to work, such as elderly widows with no family (Goubert 1986:144). The other female beggar who died–Jacqueline Lardery–also had relatives. Her age was not given, but she was the grandmother of a married grand-daughter, so she must have been well into middle age if not elderly. She not only had family, she had enough status within the family to be chosen as a marriage witness for her grand-daughter Nicole Lapille's wedding four years prior to her death. She was one of only two witnesses for the

bride, the other being a cousin–Jacqueline Lapille (teacher of the school at Chaselot). Jacqueline Lardery's son (deceased) had been a tailor, and her grand-daughter Nicole married a *vigneron*. This *vigneron* grand-son-in-law attended her burial, so she was never entirely abandoned by her family. Once again, it is puzzling why she would have been a beggar, but both her husband and son were dead, so there may not have been much available for her support.

The other occupations found in the registers are specialties of one sort or another. Very many people in Uxeau & Bessy were involved in the textile industry in some way. The largest number of these were weavers, called "*tissier en thoille"*, toile being a cloth made of cotten, linen, or hemp (woolen cloth was not called toile). Both linen and hemp were grown in France, but since there were "*peigneur de chanvre,*" combers of hemp, in Bessy, it is likely that they are weaving hemp cloth, a strong, long-wearing cloth, often used to make farmers' shirts. There were many carders of wool in Uxeau as well, but these were perhaps only preparing wool for local families to spin and weave themselves, or to be collected by middlemen to be spun and woven by large-scale operations in the towns (see Figure 14, Places Mentioned as the Residences of Wool Carders and Hemp Combers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). Unlike many other places in France, where weaving, and preparing wool or hemp for spinning were the winter-time activities of poorer farmers and their families (Goubert 1986:101-102), these textile workers in Uxeau/Bessy seem to be employed full-time at their craft, and they are defined by that occupation in the registers. They would certainly have woven the fibers produced, prepared, and spun by local families into cloth for them (Goubert 1986:143-144), but the large number of weavers in Uxeau and Bessy may

indicate that they are participating in proto-industrial weaving activity, producing cloth for sale elsewhere. There seem to be weaving workshops in the Bourg d'Uxeau (run by Lazare Rabet–who himself is called a "*tissier en thoille*"), Bazin, and the Bourg de Bessy, employing quite a number of workers. Yet many of the *commuanutés* have full-time weavers as well. There are weavers at la Malvelle and Montigny in Bessy, and at Bassenier, Fresse, Ville Fèvre, Petit Dardon, and Grand Dardon in Uxeau (see Figure 15, Places Mentioned as the Residence of Weavers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700). The new *curé*, *Curé* Imbert, who takes over in 1699 calls the weavers "*tisserant,*" but I believe he is referring to the same kind of weaver as the *tissier en thoille*.

Closely related to the weavers (and sometimes actually related by marriage) are the tailors (*tailleurs d'habits*)–makers of clothing. There are nine of them mentioned in Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700, but for most of the decade there are three main ones in operation, François Girardin at the Bourg d'Uxeau, Antoine Pornin at Grand Dardon (later moving to Petit Dardon in 1699), and Blaise Bonnardot at the Bourg de Bessy (see Figure 16, Places Mentioned as the Residence of Tailors in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). Others are briefly mentioned at Bazin, Ville Fèvre, and le Chevalot. Likely they produced clothing for the local people of the parish.

Another sizeable group was that of the *vignerons* (winegrowers). There were 14 of them in Uxeau (none in Bessy) (see Figure 17, Places Mentioned as the Residences of Vignerons in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). These specialists seem to move from place to place quite frequently, both within the parish, and in and out of the parish. For example, between the years

1690 to 1692, Antoine Janot moved from the Village des Rosières (parish of Rosières) to Bazin in Uxeau, and then back to Rosières (see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy). The Souterres were a *vigneron* family. Their father had been a *vigneron* at Rosières. Between 1690 and 1696 Guillaume Souterre went from Bazin to Rosières to Bazin to the Bourg d'Uxeau. He died then in 1696. Brother Claude Souterre from 1690 to 1696 moved from Uxeau to Busserolles to Rosières to Bazin. He ends up as a *manouvrier* at Bazin in 1697. Brother Émilian Souterre in the years 1694 to 1696 moved from Rosières to Grand Dardon. Then, from 1697 to 1699 he is simply called a *journalier* at Dardon instead of *vigneron*. Claude Jondeau moved from Busserolles to the Village of St Antoine in the parish of Toulon-sur-Arroux (see Figure 2). Pierre Verot moved from the city of Autun to Busserolles in 1697 (see Figure 2). A few *vignerons* did stay in one place. François Guilleminet was noted at the Bourg d'Uxeau from 1690 to 1698. Blaise Lacroix was vigneron at Chaselot (seat of the *fermier* for Uxeau and Bessy, Claude Jacob–see below) from 1690-1693. He disappears during the famine years, and then from 1695 to 1699 Jacques Borneuf takes over at Chaselot. Curiously, both Pierre Mongilliard at Grand Dardon, and Pierre Laplace at Petit Dardon are called *vignerons* in the year 1696, but in the years before and after that they are both called simply *laboureurs*. This may represent a failed attempt to establish vines in 1696 at those two closely related communities. Similarly Jean Ganeau who was called a *journalier* at Grand Dardon in 1693 is called a *vigneron* in 1700, but his place of residence is not given–he may still have been at Grand Dardon. A new *vigneron* appears out of nowhere at Bazin in 1699, Toussaint Laforest.

It is almost certain that these *vignerons* were sharecroppers, just like the *laboureurs* (Brennan 1997:19). In one case it is actually stated that the *vigneron* (Pierre Chanance) is the *vigneron* for the *seigneur* of the parish, Bernard Chaussin (although the *seigneur's* vines were not at located at Chevalot itself–Pierre Chanance was working at Bazin at the time). There is never more than one *vigneron* at one place at a time, and it would seem that landowners are switching *vignerons* often at the end of the year's contract, a year being the normal length of time for *vignernon* sharecropping (Goubert 1986:129). It is also likely that the *vignerons* held sharecropping leases from more than one owner at a time. This may explain some of the frequent going back-and-forth between Rosières, St Antoine, and Uxeau. It would also explain why many entries of marriages, births and deaths of these *vignerons* at the time they were said to be living at Rosières are nevertheless entered in the Uxeau Parish register.

A good *vigneron* had to have a great deal of skill and experience.

> Knowing how to prune was the most important qualification, a matter of art, biology, and economic strategy....The vinedresser also had to know how to attach the vines to props, using straw....One of his major duties involved knowing how to propagate vines, either by planting new ones or by spreading established vines. A well-run vineyard was supposed to be regularly revived by a method of 'layering' (*provignage*). This method of creating new vines involved first preparing long shoots from an established vine, then burying part of the vine stem to make it put down roots near the original vine (Brennan 1997:17).

Although being a *vigneron* was a highly skilled job, most sharecropping *vignerons* did not make a large income. Wine presses were too expensive for most *vignerons* to own. It is possible that Sieur Bernard Chaussin owned one at Bazin, and there may have been one at Uxeau where François Guilleminet was so firmly established–he may have been the *vigneron* for the *Curé* and the church in Uxeau

because he is most often described as the "*vigneron de céans*" in the register–*de céans* means "of our house." Other wine presses may have been located outside the parish at Rosières and St Antoine, and it is possible that the grapes from places like Busserolles were made into wine there. It was common practice for the sharecropping *vigneron* to turn the entire crop of grapes or the wine over to the landowner, and receive back from him half the profits after the landowner had undertaken to sell it (Brennan 1997:19).

The extremely late harvests and failed harvests of the decade certainly must have made it difficult for the *vignerons.* Several, such as Claude Souterre, mentioned above, stopped being a *vigneron*. Laurent Bard, started out as a *vigneron*, but then switched to being a wool carder, and then finally joined his father and brothers in the oil producing business, working all the while through these changes of careers at Bazin.

Closely aligned with the *vignerons* were the *cabaretiers* (tavern keepers), *hostelliers* (innkeepers) and *hostes* (also innkeepers)–these three terms are used interchangeably to describe the same persons in Uxeau and Bessy. The taverns of the country parishes bought the locally produced wine to sell (Goubert 1986:30. 125; Brennan 1997). There "...was at least one *cabaret* in each village of any size, which sold that year's local, usually red, wine from the barrel, by the jug, or by the pint. The customers were local, or people who were traveling through" (Goubert 1986:136). Those running a *cabaret,* in the countryside at least, usually had other occupations on the side, or other skills to which they could turn (Goubert 1986:136-137). For example, Charles Perret (who married the oil producer of Bazin's daughter, Lazare Bard) was first a miller in the Bourg de Toulon-sur-Arroux from

1692 to 1695 (like his brother Annet, who was a miller in the parish of Montmort)(see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy). After his marriage, he became the *cabaretier* in Toulon-sur-Arroux from 1696 to 1699. The first *cabaretier* in Uxeau was Philibert Guillaume, who tended the *cabaret* only in the year 1690. He after that became a *journalier*, a carpenter, and finally a clog maker (*sabotier*). (Philibert's sister, Adrienne Guillaume, was the widow of a former *cabaretier* in the Bourg de Toulon-sur-Arroux, Jean Ganeau.) From 1693 to 1696 the *cabaret* in the Bourg d'Uxeau was taken over by Lazare Rabet, who was also a weaver, and seems to have employed other weavers as well (e.g. Jean Delangle). From 1690 until 1693, Lazare was a full-time *tissier en thoille*, as he was again from 1696 to 1699, but from 1693 to 1696 he is invariably described as the *cabaretier*, the *hostellier*, or the *hoste* for Uxeau. The *cabaret* in the Bourg de Bessy was run by Joseph Grillot the entire decade, from 1690 to 1699. The *cabaretiers* were important people in their villages and parishes–they knew everyone. Joseph Grillot in Bessy appears eleven times in the register as mourner, marriage witness and godfather, from 1690-1699. Even more impressively, Lazare Rabet in Uxeau, during the same period, appears 24 times in the register as mourner, marriage witness and godfather, without ever having a birth, marriage or burial record in his own family. The village's *cabaret* was the real center of social life for the rural parish. Even more so than the church–although everyone was required by law to attend mass on Sunday (Goubert 1986:136). It was common practice to stop at the *cabaret* after mass, for after all, they were not allowed to work on Sundays–not even spinning or sewing was allowed, although dispensation was granted in the threat of storms to get the hay or grain in. Dancing and games (such as quoits, ninepins, football, *tamis*–a sort of

tennis), however, were allowed, although strict bishops were trying to halt both by the end of the seventeenth century (Goubert 1986:149-150). These activities would take place in the town square, in and around the *cabaret*. The *cabaret* was also the site of town meetings. The royal taxes were collected there. Sometimes the *seigneurial* court was held there. The *cabaret* was the place that officers of the military would go to find new recruits (Goubert 1986:137-138). Truly it was the center of parish life.

The priest or *curé,* the other leading man of the parish, was in some ways the rival of the *cabaretier* (the tavern had to be closed during mass, and the parish priest was not allowed to set foot in or drink at the tavern)(Goubert 1986:136, 154). The country parish priests almost always came from towns or cities, not too far usually, from the parish they served, but were not a part of the country society, either (Goubert 1986:154). They generally were of the bourgeois class of businessmen, lawyers or the upper echelons of craftsmen (Goubert 1986:153). The priest had to be able to read and write, and this alone set him apart from the majority living in the countryside, for most of his congregation could not (Goubert 1986:156). Goubert reports that from 1686 to 1690 in the northeastern part of France up to half the men and a quarter of the women could sign entries in the parish register for attendance at baptisms, marriages and burials (Goubert 1986:56). But in Uxeau almost every entry says that those present did not know how to sign their name. The only people from Uxeau who signed the register from 1690-1700 were the family of sieur Bernard Chaussin, *seigneur* (see below), the family of Claude Jacob, *fermier* (see below), Antoine Rabet, notary, and Émilian Jondeau, unmarried son of Claude Jondeau, *vigneron* at Busserolles. From Bessy only one person signed their name

the entire decade–François Bonnardot, and his occupation is not given. He is only listed once in the records as a godfather, which is usually a person of some status. Clearly the only people who could write are the village elite, although Émilian Jondeau, as the son of a *vigneron* would not automatically fall into that category. Interestingly, there is a teacher mentioned as having a school at Chaselot, the home of fermier Claude Jacob. This may be where his children learned to read and write, and perhaps even the children of *seigneur* Bernard Chaussin. The teacher is a woman, Jacqueline Lapille, who shows up only once in the register as witness at her cousin, Nicole Lapille's wedding to a *vigneron*, Émilian Souterre. The *curé* says that Jacqueline Lapille signed the register at the marriage, but her signature does not show up on the two copies of the register available (the parish copy and the government copy)–she may have signed the bishop's copy. People signing the register who lived outside the parishes of Uxeau and Bessy were most often godparents, usually persons of some status (see Table 9, Individuals Signing the Parish Register 1690-1700).

This lack of literacy, especially of not knowing how to sign one's name, presented an interesting problem for the *curé* of how to spell their names in the register when the people themselves could not spell it. *Curé* Compin (*curé* from 1690 through most of 1699), standardized the spellings of the names of his parishioners fairly well, although even he varies the spelling from time to time (sometimes even within the same paragraph!). The new *curé*, *Curé* Imbert was obviously unfamiliar with his new flock. He tried to spell the names and places phonetically, but even then he just left some names blank–key figures, such as the bride or groom at a wedding, or one of the parents at a baptism. He does not very

often record residences or occupations at the beginning, although he had the example of his predecessor above on the very page on which he was writing. It appears that he had real difficulty understanding what people were saying to him. The accent of the people in the countryside almost assuredly varied greatly from the speech in the town or city he was from. Even now the Burgundian accent is quite distinct from that of other areas of France and rather difficult to comprehend at first for those new to the area. In the seventeenth century accents and *patois* could vary a great deal even within a short distance. Another indication of a cultural gap between himself and his congregation is that at first he mistakenly gives wives their husband's surname instead of their father's, which was the practice in Uxeau/Bessy. I suspect that his parishioners were somewhat reluctant to accept him as their new priest, and went to priests in neighboring parishes for many of their baptisms, marriages and burials. The number of all these events when he took over in the very last part of 1699, and first half of 1700 (the second half of 1700 is missing entirely from the records) drops significantly, which likely does not represent a real demographic trend (that is why the events from 1700 have not been figured into most of the calculations in this research). *Curé* Imbert improved as he went along through the early 1700s (he died in the next great mortality of 1709-1710). This illustrates the gulf that could exist between a parish priest and his congregation.

The *curé* was also one of the elite of the village because his income was larger than the majority of his parishioners. He generally had servants, lands, vineyards, gardens, for "most presbyteries were surrounded by large gardens, often extending to a couple of fields, a vineyard and a meadow, which were frequently the result of old bequests which over the years had become church or presbytery lands"

(Goubert 1986:157). A small part of his income came from fees paid to him for baptisms, marriages and burials, and saying special masses, but in the main, his support derived from the tithe each person (at least the farmers, craftsmen and businessmen) in the parish was obligated to pay. These tithes came in the form of farm produce, such as grain, wine, fleeces, increase of livestock, and even a tenth of the cloth produced by the weavers, all of which the priest could keep for his own use or sell (Goubert 1986:161-162).

But unlike the others, such as landowners and the government, who extracted income from the peasants, the parish priest had great responsibilities to the people in his parish. He was in charge of their very souls. His duties included "all the sacraments except confirmation (performed by the bishop when he was in the neighborhood)....He had to celebrate mass, hear confessions, take communion, preach the Sunday sermon, hear the catechisms of children between the ages of seven and twelve" (Goubert 1986:154). The *curé* also had to perform many functions for the civil government, such as recording and sending them a copy of the parish registers. He was the one to read all the government "edicts, ordinances, and proclamations" to the people of the parish, since he was one of the few who could read, and he saw everyone altogether each week (Goubert 1986:156). In many ways he was the link between his parishioners and the greater outside world (not to mention their link between this world and the next), and as such, could engender great trust and respect. The abuses of this power, however, helped bring about the secularization and dismantling of the church during the Revolution of the next century. It is worth noting that in Uxeau, during the Revolution, their parish priest at

the time was so beloved that when he was stripped of his role as priest, they elected him mayor.

The priest in Uxeau/Bessy was assisted in his duties by the *marguillier, portier*, the *sacristain*, and the *sage-femmes*. The *marguilliers* were "church wardens" or lay administrators of a parish church. They were usually in attendance at a baptism or burial. The *marguillier* was in charge of church property and acted as church secretary-treasurer. The *portier* was in charge of the more physical aspects of the church and its upkeep. He rang the bells and sometimes was the gravedigger as well. The *sacristain*–in the case of Uxeau, a woman*, sacristaine* Benoiste Papu–was in charge of the sacristy, the place in the church for storage of the utensils for communion, vestments, moveables, and was also sometimes responsible for cleaning the church itself. The *sage-femmes*, or "wise women," were official midwives for the parishes. They were approved and certified by the church "fabric" (the church board, a committee in charge of deciding how church funds should be spent and for nominating *marguilliers*, *portiers*, and *sacristian(e)s*), and the *curé*). The midwife, in addition to offering experience and assistance in delivering babies, "bore the responsibility of baptizing a puny infant lest it should die before the priest arrived, and of recognizing a mother's need for extreme unction. In the eyes of the Catholic church her moral standing was as important as her competence" (Hufton 1996:188). She could be called upon in court to testify on matters concerning the birth, death or parentage of a child.

In many cases, in Uxeau and Bessy, the midwife did indeed baptize a child in danger of dying before it could be taken to the priest. The child given this type of emergency baptism (*ondoyer*–to give an emergency baptism, from the meaning "to

move" or "to ripple, wave"), always did die in the Uxeau/Bessy records, and without a doubt was some cases was stillborn. The fear of the child being excluded from heaven on account of not being baptized, prompted the midwife and witnesses–such as the father, and the neighbors and relatives present to help with the birth–to swear that they had seen some sign of life, even if it was only the flicker of an eyelid or the fleeting flush of a cheek (Hufton 1996:193). "The unbaptized child was not accorded a place in the parish cemetery, a source of considerable distress to parents" (Hufton 1996:194). So it is not surprising that by some "miracle," it appears that since every child born in Uxeau was alive long enough to be baptized (there are no records of the deaths of unbaptized infants–although since they could not be buried in the church or cemetery, their deaths may well have gone unrecorded altogether). Those present at the event had their names recorded in the parish register as affirming that the baptism was "valid."

There were many active midwives living in Uxeau and Bessy, and also in the neighboring parishes who would sometimes come to Uxeau to deliver a baby (see Table 10, *Sage-Femmes* Active in Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700). Françoise Guillion, who lived at the Village de Cupière in the neighboring parish of Ste Radegonde, delivered seventeen babies in Bessy. Goubert says that usually in seventeenth-century France there was only one *sage-femme* per village (1986:47), but that is clearly not the case here. Many of *sage-femmes*, however, only appear in the register one or a few times, and from the several known cases of *sage-femmes* delivering their own grandchildren (e.g. Gratienne Desbarres, Benoiste Deschamps, Marguerite Jaudot, Gabrielle Luas, Benoiste Papu, Louise Pascault, Jeanne Prestre, and Émiliane Recognard), it seems that they are probably delivering babies of

friends or relatives–usually grandchildren. Nevertheless, they are all officially recognized as "*sage-femmes*" and recorded as witness to the births in the registers. Obviously, from looking at Table 10, it is clear that Louise Pascault was by far the busiest *sage-femme* in Uxeau (she delivered some babies in Bessy too), followed by Benoiste Papu who died in 1698. Émiliane Recognard was active in Uxeau before her death in 1694, and so was Marguerite Jaudot before she moved to another parish after the death of her husband Jean Mongilliard in 1694. Bessy had Benoiste Deschamps and Matthelie Lataupe (who died in 1692), as well as the visiting *sage-femme* Françoise Guillion for many births. In general visiting *sage-femmes* were more common in Bessy. The known ages of these women range from age 50 to 75, which are ripe old ages for the population in Uxeau and Bessy. Of course, years of experience were required for the job, but it was also a way for widows, and the wives of *journaliers* and craftsmen, to earn a little money–but not much (she was sometimes paid from parish funds). With the description of the midwife, all the occupations possible for single or widowed women in Bessy and Uxeau have been covered: servant, teacher, *sacristaine* and midwife. Married women were considered a full partner in their husbands' enterprise. When couples are listed in the register, they are described as husband so-and-so and wife so-and-so, farmers, wage-laborers, winegrowers, etc. always in the plural as if the wife were engaged in the same work as the husband, which to a large degree, she was. In rural areas, the work of husband and wife was thoroughly integrated, which is one reason why widows and widowers often remarried within a month or two of losing a spouse, and why people remarried at ages past childbearing. The married couple was a genuine partnership.

All of above jobs assisting the church (*marguillier*, *portier*, *sacristaine*, and *sage-femme*) were part-time. Another occupation was required to support oneself and a family. The *marguillier* for Uxeau was François Lorcet who was at the same time *maréchal* (see below) for the Bourg d'Uxeau. He was in the post of *marguillier* from 1690 to his death in 1694, when his son, Jean Lorcet took over both as *marguillier* and *maréchal*, until at least 1700. The *marguillier* for Bessy was Claude Forges from 1690 until he, too, died in 1694. Claude Forges in addition to being *marguiliier*, was at the same time *portier* for Bessy, and a also a weaver (*tissier en thoille*). He was succeeded in Bessy by Benoist Perret, *marguillier* from 1696 through at least 1700. Prior to that time Benoist had been a *journalier* in the village of le Châtaignier in Uxeau. At the same time, or just before he became *marguillier*, he became a *tissier en thoille* in the Bourg de Bessy as well, just like his predecessor Claude Forges. Even *sacristaine* Benoiste Papu was also a *sage-femme*.

A *maréchal* (the other occupation of *marguilliers* François and Jean Lorcet) was the marshal (our equivalent of county sheriff or city police) for a town, village or parish. This post tended to be the monopoly of certain families. Besides the above example of the Lorcet father and son, there was the Sotty family. Brothers François Sotty and François Sotty (both having the same name–a practice explained below in the discussion on godparents–one of these brothers also had a son named François Sotty) were both *maréchals* in the nearby Bourgs of Issy-l'Évêque and Gueugnon (see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy). One of these brothers had a son, Philibert Sotty, who was *maréchal* in the bourg of la Chapelle-au-Mans (see Figure 2). The François Sotty who was *maréchal* in Issy-l'Évêque died in 1694 and

was replaced by 1697 by Louis Belin. These *maréchals* show up in the Uxeau registers, sometimes as marriage witnesses, but mostly as godfathers. Léonard Bijon, *maréchal* of neighboring Vendenesse-sur-Arroux (see Figure 2), shows up in the registers eight times at weddings, burials, and as godfather. Other *maréchals* showing up as godfathers are Michel Briou of Ste Radegonde and François Pilliet of Montmort (see Figure 2). For a time there seems to be two *marechals* in Uxeau. Claude Desdames is listed as *marechal* for the Bourg d'Uxeau in the year 1697 at the same time that Jean Lorcet is *maréchal.* One may be *maréchal* for the Bourg, while the other is *maréchal* for the parish–or maybe simply two were needed to fill the job. *Maréchals* sometimes have other side occupations–the Lorcets were also *marguilliers*, and Léonard Bjion of Vendenesse-sur-Arroux was also a *taillandier* or edge-tool maker. Following in the tradition of family monopolies on the post of *maréchal*, Claude Desdames was also related to another *maréchal*–he was married to Françoise Pilliet, likely the sister of François Pilliet, *maréchal* of Montmort, who was godfather to the couple's child.

Other individuals with official positions in the parish were Antoine Rabet, the notary (*clerc* or *notaire* as they were sometimes called), and Claude Goudier, the *procureur d'office* or public prosecuter. Antoine Rabet was the son of *cabaretier* and *tissier* Lazare Rabet. He appears in the registers eleven times as godfather. Only one man appears as godfather more often in the records than he, and that is Jean Thorey, a *laboureur* married to Marie Ganeau (who is godmother more often than any other woman), daughter of Claude Ganeau, *chef de communauté* at Grand Dardon. The notary had a very important part in people's lives, especially in an illiterate society (documents were paid for by the line, so the writing was often large

and florid). He drafted all the legal contracts–marriage contracts, sharecropping contracts, wills, and probate papers. He was even more involved writing up bills of sale and promissary notes for the ubiquitous loans required by farmers and others (Goubert 1986:177-118). Some notaries involved themselves in actually lending money as well, and became rich through the defaults. Between Antoine and his father, this was a substantial family in Uxeau–just the sort you would want to support and protect your child as godfather if need be.

Claude Goudier is named as a *procureur d'office* only once in 1692, and was probably involved as a prosecutor for the local *seigneurial* court of justice. He disappears from the records during the famine years, but emerges from 1696 to 1697 as a simply a *journalier*, first at Bazin and then at Ville Fèvre. Whether this represents a reduction of circumstances or merely that the *procureur d'office* was only a part-time job is unknown.

It is now time to cover the two people of highest status in the parishes, Sieur Bernard Chaussin of le Chevalot and Me Claude Jacob of Chaselot. These two represent the aristocracy and the bourgeois in Uxeau, respectively. Bernard Chaussin no doubt had seigneurial rights over a great deal of land in Uxeau and Bessy, holding the sharecropping contracts for many of the *communautés*. He is sought out as godparent by the likes of Jean Thorey (the man appearing most often as godfather himself) and Claude Desdames, *maréchal* of Uxeau. He is the only aristocrat named residing within the parishes of Uxeau and Bessy, but he has some ties to the more important de Montmorillon family headed by François Salladin de Montmorillon, "Comte Dessaules, Seigneur de Lucenier, Noisillier, Bassenier et autres places," who lived at the château of Lucenier, just over the parish border from

Uxeau in the parish of la Chapelle-au-Mans (see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy). As you can tell from his title, he had feudal title over much of the land in Uxeau and Bessy. The death of de Montmorillion's daughter Jeanne-Françoise (died age 9) was recorded in the Uxeau register in 1690, even though she lived in the parish of la Chapelle-au-Mans, and was buried in the private chapel at Lucenier. This was because *Curé* Compin, the priest from Uxeau, performed the ceremony along with the priest from la Chapelle-au-Mans. Elite personages often had more than one *curé* in attendance at their burials.

Claude Jacob was described as "*bourgeois*" and "fermier." The first represents a class or "estate" of society, while the second is a specific relationship between landowner and sharecroppers. A *fermier* meant someone who leased farmland for a cash rent. In the sharecropping context, it was a middleman who leased the *domaine* from the landowner, and then contracted with the sharecroppers to farm it. *Fermiers* were generally harsher to the sharecroppers than landowners, because they needed to squeeze more out of them to gain a profit. "It is little wonder that during the Revolution it was against such *fermiers* that sharecroppers vented their rage" (Shaffer 1982:126). The ambivalent feelings that might be felt toward Claude Jacob as an important person in the parish, but also in a position to exploit its sharecroppers, may be revealed in the fact that although Claude Jacob's family–his wife and numerous children–are chosen as godparents more than any other family in the two parishes (22 times from 1690-1700), he himself was never once asked to be a godfather. This contrasts with Sieur Bernard Chaussin who was asked to be godfather by both *laboureurs* and *journaliers*.

Claude Jacob was the *fermier* of "M. le Renaud Abbé d'Uxeau." The church–abbeys in Autun and Chalon-sur-Saône–had from the Middle Ages been the feudal lords over a substantial amount of land in Uxeau and Bessy. In the early thirteenth century these lands came under the control of the Abbey of Saint Pierre at Chalon-sur-Saône which held control until the time of the Revolution (Berry 1987:92). It appears that Claude Jacob was the *fermier* for all or most of the church land in the parishes (he is the only one mentioned in that capacity), excepting the land set aside for support of the parish priest and church. In this context it must be mentioned that since the Carolingian period there had been a small fortified priory in the center of the village of Uxeau (the shape of its circular medieval walls can still be seen in the outline of the village today, and parts of the modern church have been dated to sometime between the later eleventh to early twelfth century)(Berry 1987:92; 1993:515). The tiny priory was in existence up until the Revolution, but one would not have any hint of its existence from the parish registers. They shared the parish church, but the monks lived apart and would bury their own in their own cemetery.

Another person who had power over sharecroppers lives was the miller.

> ...the construction, and maintenance, of a mill was very expensive, and only the rich and powerful were able to undertake it....In most provinces, though not universally, milling was therefore the monopoly of the seigneur, who had the power to choose the miller himself. The terms of the lease meant that he had to maintain all parts of the mill, which were very complex, and keep it working as much of the time as possible.
>
> As well as the mill itself, the lease included the adjacent cottage (or sometimes it was just part of the mill itself), some cow-sheds, a good-sized garden, a few strips of meadow (or sometimes cultivated land), and fishing rights if there was a river (Goubert 1986:139)

Peasant farmers had no option but to pay to grind their grain at the *seigneur's* mill (or eat porridge instead of bread). The miller took as much as a sixth of the flour ground as his cut, which could provide grounds for resentment if folks believed the miller was cheating them.

There were no mills mentioned in Bessy, but there were mills on the river in nearby Rosières and Toulon-sur-Arroux (see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy). Four millers (*meuniers*) and mills (*moulins*) were named in Uxeau: Moulin au Chevalot, Moulin des Roches, Moulin du Reuil, and Moulin de Villemaison (see Figure 18, Places Mentioned as the Residence of Millers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy fom 1690-1700). Villemaison and le Reuil are very close to each other and are generally run by the same millers. Thus, it is hard to tell if there are two separate mills, or if there is a single mill is being described at le Reuil with the miller living at Villemaison. From 1691 until 1693 Pierre Chaussin (perhaps a relative of Sieur Bernard Chaussin?) ran the mill at le Reuil/Villemaison. He had been preceded there by his father as miller who died some time before 1691. Pierre Chaussin disappears after 1693 and is replaced at le Reuil/Villemaison by Pierre Paisseau from 1694-1700. Thomas Desormières was the miller at les Roches from 1693 to 1694. In 1694 he left to become a *journalier* at nearby le Châtaigner. No more mention is made of the mill at les Roches through 1700. A series of millers were employed at le Chevalot, the seat of Sieur Bernard Chaussin and no doubt owned by him. Charles Vager was the miller from 1691 to 1695. He then left that job to take up the position of *fendeur de bois* (woodcutter) at le Chevalot. His replacement was Claude Desbrosses from 1696 to 1698. Claude had formerly been the *chef de communauté* at Busserolles. Since being a miller was a lucrative job,

there was probably no loss of status or income in this switch. Jean Dusuge first appears in the Uxeau register in 1700 and is in charge of the mill at le Chevalot at that time.

Millers seem to move around in the same way that *communautés* and *vignerons* do. Whether this is at their own choosing, or at the decision of the owner of the property is unknown. Millers outside of Uxeau/Bessy who have ties to the parishes are found at Rosières, the Moulin d'Arroux at Toulon-sur-Arroux, the Moulin au Prevachot in Ste Radegonde, and the Moulin de la Clayette in the parish of la Clayette (See Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy).

The woodcutter or *fendeur de bois* was also employed by the landowners. Forests and woods were highly regulated by the crown and jealously guarded by their owners (Goubert 1997:42-43). "Wood was needed in the country, and even more in the towns, for burning, building timber, and for making tools, to the extent that it was the most important raw material–and to a point the most important energy source–of the time" (Goubert 1986:103). Wood was an expensive commodity, and the insatiable demand of the growing cities made it a lucrative source of income for those close enough to waterways to transport it to the towns (Shaffer 1982:13). The sharecropper did not have leave to cut wood on the land that he leased: he "did not have the right to touch the trees, not even saplings in the hedges; he might only take dead branches" (Goubert 1986:31). Official woodcutters were in charge of cutting and transporting wood. This

> ...entailed a great deal of hard work maintaining and cutting the wood, moving it (to the nearest passable cart-road), bundling it into the proper number of 'cords' of wood, waiting for the cart, or getting ready to float the trunks in rafts... to supply Paris and the other large cities. Some of this vast amount of work went to specialists [the *fendeurs de bois*], but the

> heaviest work needed strong muscles and team organisation, and most of this strength was supplied by plain day-labourers who got their firewood and a few deniers out of it (Goubert 1986:103).

The woodcutters for Uxeau and Bessy always lived at Chevalot, and no doubt were employed by Sieur Bernard Chaussin to work in his woods. They are called either "*fendeur de bois du Chevalot*" or "*fendeur de bois de Bessy.*" Chevalot is right on the border between Uxeau and Bessy within a band of woods that runs from northeast to southwest (see Figure 19, Places Mentioned as the Residences of Woodworkers in the Parish Records of Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). The *fendeurs* at Chevalot were Louis Pascault who died some time before 1690 (his daughter married sieur Bernard Chaussin's *vigneron* Pierre Chanance). Charles Vager who had been Chevalot's miller from 1691 to 1695 was *fendeur de bois* at Chevalot in 1696. Then in 1697, Pierre Flesche is called *fendeur de bois* at Chevalot and from that time on Charles Vager is called *fendeur de bois* of Bessy, although he may still live at le Chevalot. The *fendeur de bois* for Ste Radegonde in 1693 (see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy) was Guillaume Pascault, who may have been related to the first *fendeur de bois* at Chevalot, Louis Pascault. The *fendeur de bois* for Vendenesse-sur-Arroux in 1697 was Dominique Barbotte (see Figure 2). Most of these men seem to be older men in their sixties (they have children in their forties), so this may be an overseer type of job given to well-established men in the community.

The next group of occupations are those of craftsmen. There were two family-run workshops in Bazin, one of stone masons (*maçon*), and the other of oil producers (*huillier*). Stone masons were necessary in Uxeau and Bessy because many of the houses and outbuildings were built of stone (stone being readily

available and wood a precious commodity)–some buildings from that time still stand today in Uxeau. Pierre Rimaret at les Roches (see Figure 3 Places Belonging to the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy Mentioned in the Parish Records from 1690-1700) was the third husband of Edmonde Roy, who died herself in 1694. He seems to have taught the craft of stone cutting and building to two of her sons-in-law, one married to a daughter by her first husband and the other married to a daughter by her second husband. One of these two, Étienne Pornin, was a *journalier* at les Roches from 1690 to 1696 before becoming a *maçon*. His half-brother-in-law Jacques Philippon may, or may not have already been a *maçon* when he moved to les Roches from another parish and married Edmonde's daughter. The two half-brothers-in-law split from their step-father-in-law at les Roches, and set up shop together at Bazin in 1697. This example of the stone masons really demonstrates the importance of in-laws for finding work, and as work partners. It was not uncommon in Uxeau/Bessy for a son-in-law to move to his father-in-law's residence and join in his occupation. Another instance of that happens in the Bard family, the oil producers in Bazin. Émilian Bard (husband of Benoiste Papu, the *sacristaine* and *sage-femme*) was an oil producer (*huillier*) in Bazin from 1691-1698. The records do not say what kind of oil was being produced. The records show hemp being grown in Bessy, and it may have been hemp oil they were selling. Two of his sons were carders of wool for a while, and it may have even been lanolin they were extracting. Oils were important for lubricating machinery and tools, and used for lighting, but they may even have been making nut or rapeseed oil used in cooking (Goubert 1986:90). Émilian had two sons, Laurent and Claude, who, early in the 1690s before the mortality crisis, did not work in their father's operation. Laurent was a

vigneron and wool carder (*cardeur de laine*) in these years at Bazin. Claude was a *tailleur d'habits* at Bazin. These occupations may have been part of a diversified family economy (they were all living at Bazin), which makes sense as a survival strategy in that grim and uncertain decade, or they may have been working for someone else. By 1695, both sons start working as *huilliers* with their father. Then in 1696, Laurent moved to Toulon-sur-Arroux (see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy), and practiced the oil trade there. Émilian's daughter Lazare had married the *cabaretier* (former *meunier*) in Toulon-sur-Arroux in 1695, and her brother Laurent may have made contacts in Toulon-sur-Arroux through his new brother-in-law. By 1698 brother Claude, no longer called a *huillier*, was working as a wool carder as his brother Laurent had done before him. Émilian's other daughter, Pierrette, married Claude Joby, a *manouvrier* from Ste Radegonde in 1698 (see Figure 2). He had joined her father as a *huillier* in Bazin by 1700.

Extended family ties (especially through in-laws) would have allowed people in Uxeau/Bessy to adapt to harsh times by changing residence and occupation as needed (or to even get away from family members with whom they do not get along).

In addition to the stone masons, others involved in the building trade were carpenters and roof thatchers. Being a carpenter seems to have been a sideline for many. Philibert Guillaume, for example was a *cabaretier* in 1690, a *journalier* in the Bourg d'Uxeau in 1691, and then in 1692 was called a carpenter (*charpentier*) in Bazin (see Figure 19 Places Mentioned as the Residences of Woodworkers in the Parish Records of Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). By 1693 he was merely a *gens de labeur* (man of labor) at Bazin. He ended up as a *sabotier* (wooden shoe or

clog maker–which is another kind of wood-working) at Ville Fèvre. Nicolas Collin was listed as a *gens de labeur* or a *journalier* for most of his years at Petit Dardon, but at his death in 1694, he was described as a *charpentier*. Lazare Descourt was a farmer in Bessy in 1694, but in 1697 he shows up in the records as a *charpentier* at la Valla in Bessy. It may be that these part-time carpenters were hired for specific building projects, and then went on to do something else. Uniquely, Ville Fèvre seems to have kept a full-time carpenter in their community. This is the same *communauté* where two *sabotiers* (clog makers) were employed as well–obviously the *communauté* had access to wood, with some sort of forest or woodland within its *domaine* (see Figure 19 Places Mentioned as the Residences of Woodworkers in the Parish Records of Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). Gaspard Guyard was *charpentier* there in 1692–he died later that year. Then from 1695 to 1698 the *charpenter* at Ville Fèvre was Philippe Guibourg. Philippe was the only man in Uxeau or Bessy never called by any other title than a *charpentier*.

Wooden shoes were the most practical footwear in the muddy farmyards and fields. They were worn by some farmers in Uxeau up until the end of the twentieth century. Making them was a skilled job that required access to a supply of good wood (Goubert 1986:143)(see Figure 19 Places Mentioned as the Residences of Woodworkers in the Parish Records of Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). In addition to the above-mentioned Philibert Guillaume, Hugues Blondeles made *sabots* at Ville Fèvre starting in 1695. He had moved to the parish from Rosières and married Catherine Souterre, daughter of the large *vigneron* family described above. Claude Darroux was *sabotier* at Busseuil (Uxeau), but he disappeared from the parish records after the death of both his wife and child in 1691. Jean Beraule

was a full-time *sabotier* from 1694 through at least 1698 at le Chevalot, where sieur Bernard Chaussin could ensure a good supply of wood. Jean Bard, a *journalier* at Montigny in Bessy turned his hand to making *sabots* in 1700.

Roof thatching was another trade essential for building. A thatch roof was cheaper than the slate or tile, and the thatch provided some insulation against hot and cold weather. If a thatched roof was constructed well (by a professional), it could last 25 years or more, depending on materials (reed lasted longer than straw), before it needed rethatching. Small repairs from time to time, however, still required a professional thatcher (Clayton-Payne 1993:32). The real danger of thatch was from fire. Reeds, the preferred material, were used for thatch where available, but "almost all the roofs were thatched with wheat or rye-straw, long, tough stems cut close to the ground" (Goubert 1986:8). Rye straw would have been much more plentiful than wheat straw in the Uxeau/Bessy area (See Chapter 6 Agriculture and Land Use). Thatching in Uxeau and Bessy, also seemed to be the preserve of a family of specialists. Simon Buisson was *couvreur à paille (*thatcher) in the Bourg de Bessy before dying in 1691. His wife, *sage-femme* Matthelie Lataupe, died soon after in 1692. Their son-in-law Antoine Garreau (married to daughter Gabrielle) was also *couvreur à paille* in Bessy from 1690 to 1692. By 1696 he had moved to Petit Dardon in Uxeau and worked as thatcher there through at least 1699. The only other *couvreur à paille* mentioned in the records was Charles Noireau, also from Bessy, who died sometime between 1690 and the death of his wife, Antoinette Pautet in 1694 (her mother, Lazare Jouleau, had remarried the *maréchal* of Uxeau, François Lorcet, and her sister, Léonarde Pautet, was married to François Lorcet's son–also *maréchal*–Jean Lorcet). *Couvreur à paille* Charles Noireau had been at

the same time a *peigneur de chanvre* (comber of hemp fibers). These two professions–using similar materials–seemed closely tied, for thatcher Simon Buisson's son, Émilian Buisson was a *peigneur de chanvre* at Chevreau in Bessy (see Figure 14 Places Mentioned as the Residences of Wool Carders and Hemp Combers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700).

There are only a few other occupations left to mention that were found within Uxeau and Bessy. François Pillot from Montigny in Bessy, was the only person from 1690 through 1700 called a "*locataire.*" This was a tenant farmer, someone who leased land directly from the owner with a cash payment, and worked it, or oversaw it himself. This type of farmer tended to be better off than a sharecropper, but it depended on the size of the land holding being leased (Goubert 1698:33).

Another occupation in Uxeau of which there is only a single example, is that of *chapelier* (hatmaker). Léonard Barquelot was *chapelier* at Dardon before his death in 1694. There were wool carders at Dardon (Marcel Chivrier), so it is probable that the hats were made of wool felt. The only other *chapelier* named in the registers was Benoist Guibourg in Toulon-sur-Arroux.

There were two main families of wool carders, the Chivrier brothers and the Bard brothers. Brothers Jean and Melchior Chivrier were wool carders at le Chevalot in 1694. Marcel Chivrier (likely another brother or other close relative) had started as wool carder at Grand Dardon in 1691, and then moved to Bazin 1694-1695. The Chivriers were evidently full-time wool carders–in all of their entries no other occupation is ever given for them. For the Bard brothers, who were discussed above in the context of oil producers, carding wool was only one of many professions they practiced at Bazin. There seems to have been a center of wool

carding at Bazin. The only place, in addition to Grand Dardon, le Chevalot and Bazin, mentioned where wool carding took place was at Ville Fèvre (see Figure 14 Places Mentioned as the Residences of Wool Carders and Hemp Combers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700). Magdelon Sappet was *cardeur de laine* there from 1690 to his death in 1692. He shows up in four separate entries in the register–every time as a wool carder.

The final occupations to be discussed are military. Two soldiers from the Regiment of St Maurice, either being quartered nearby or passing through, died in 1691 and were buried in Uxeau. The *curé* was most anxious to be assured that they were good Christians before he would give them burial. Claude Mongilliard, although normally a *journalier* at the Bourg d'Uxeau from 1690 to 1698, was for time in 1693 a *soldat de milice* (served in the local militia). Jean de Beaumont was "Capitaine du Château du Toulon," but while holding the post actually resided in Busserolles from 1692 to 1694.

A few occupations found only outside Uxeau and Bessy should be mentioned. These usually appeared when people acted as godfathers or marriage witnesses–the peripheral records. Lawyers from the courts at Issy-l'Évêque and Toulon-sur-Arroux were sought after as godfathers (see Figure 2 Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy). There was a surgeon (*chirurgien*) from Toulon-sur-Arroux, as well as numerous merchants (*marchand* or *bourgeois*) mostly from Toulon-sur-Arroux, but a few came from Issy-l'Évêque. Workers in wood included a boat builder (*charpentier en bateaux*) from Gueugnon, and a *tonnelier* (cooper) from Toulon-sur-Arroux, both of whom have the same name–Jean Bijon. A *tonnelier* is especially important in a wine-growing area, for he makes the casks, barrels and

vats used to store and transport the wine. Also located in Toulon-sur-Arroux was a *métissier*–a breeder, of livestock–probably cattle. There were several occupations related to clothing: *cordonnier* (leather shoemaker), *tanneur* (tanner), *pelletier* (furrier)–all from Toulon-sur-Arroux, and finally a *drapier*–a cloth manufacturer/merchant from the Village du Breuil in the parish of Gueugnon (see Figure 2). It is possible that this person may have had a business connection with the weavers in Uxeau/Bessy.

Even though some of the occupations in Uxeau/Bessy seem to have nothing to do with farming, everyone–even weavers, or stone masons, or tavern-keepers, or wage laborers, or even the *curé*–would have lived the rural lifestyle, which meant having a large garden (with perhaps fruit trees or some vines), some animals, and perhaps a small field or two to grow crops or hay. For example, the vigneron,

> like every peasant in France and Europe, he had to cultivate his kitchen garden, where he grew quantities of the indispensable peas and beans, and a couple of small patches of corn; and he would also have the use of a scrap of pasture, or common, where his cow or sheep could graze. Much of this not very exciting work was done by his wife and children, but digging, ploughing, and harvesting still had to be done by him. Consequently, although vignerons were obviously specialists, or at least skilled workers, there were not, and could not be monoculturists: at that time, the very idea of complete specialisation was non-existent on the land (Goubert 1986:129).

> Everybody who lived in the villages, even if their work was apparently specialised (as in the quasi-industrial weaving industry), was thus basically a peasant, attentive to the beasts, plants, and things of the land; and this even included the parish priest (Goubert 1986:144).

During the famine, virtually everyone would have had some food from their garden, especially peas and beans (although here, too, the yields would be lowered by same weather that devastated the grain crops).

Now that the occupations both within and outside of Uxeau/Bessy have been described, and the social network laid out, it is possible to make some comparisons in child mortality, marriage patterns and godparent alliances between these groups.

CHAPTER 5

FAMILY PATTERNS AND STRATEGIES

After looking at the range of occupations within Uxeau/Bessy, and after tracing some of the economic and family relationships between persons in the parishes, one can now make meaningful comparisons between different groups in areas such as child mortality. After examining the nature of the ties between land, inheritance and family structure, one can now profitably look for patterns in marriage practices and godparent alliances, and interpret them in light of strategies for reducing risk in that decade of stressed living conditions and high mortality.

Economic Pattern of Child Mortality

Between 1690 and the first half of 1700, 343 children were born in Uxeau/Bessy. Of these 134 died before mid-1700, which is 39%, a very high mortality rate. Almost an equal number of females and males were born (171 females and 172 males), but 10% more of the females survived than the males (112 or 66% females survived versus 97 or 56% males). In average conditions, the rate of male infant mortality is normally higher than female (Willigan and Lynch 1982:65). This rules out any kind of preferential treatment for boy babies over girl babies in this period. The birth of daughters would not be seen as detrimental to family interests as it was elsewhere, since in the *communauté* system, there was no inheritance to

make dowries a problem ,and the labor of females and the spouses they could bring into the *communauté* was often a decided asset.

Of the children born from 1690-1700 who died, 90% of them died under age 3 and 97% of them died under age 4. Since the counting of deaths in this study continued to mid-1700, we can fairly reliably track and compare the number of children born each year from 1690-1698 who then died before reaching the age of three. Figure 20, Percentage of Children Born Each Year from 1690-1698 Who Died Under Age Three, shows that in the years before 1693, the percentage of children dying under age three ranged from 31.3% to 35.3%. The percentage jumps up to almost 60% in 1693, and drops slowly, but remains high through 1694 and 1695. By 1696 the rates of those dying under age three has returned to the pre-famine year levels, and then continues to drop in 1697 and 1698 to a low of 20% (the very low figures in 1697 and 1698 may be somewhat suspect, since some of the deaths may have gone unrecorded in the transition from *Curé* Compin to *Curé* Imbert late in 1699–these problems were discussed in the preceding chapter).

Figure 21, Percentage of Children Born to Fathers of Different Occupations between 1690 and 1698 Who Then Died by Mid-1700, gives a rough indication of the difference in child mortality by occupation. The calculations are only an approximation because they were based on the total number of children born to fathers in each occupational category from 1690-1698, and then the percentage of those children born to those fathers that died by mid-1700. This manner of calculation does not take into account the number of years each child was “at-risk.” Children born at the beginning of the period will have a higher chance of dying before the end of the period because they are observed over a longer time period

(e.g children born in 1690 who die at age 7 will have their deaths included whereas children born in 1698 who die at age 7 will not have their deaths included). However, since 90% of all children born and then dying in this time frame died under the age of 3, and 97% under the age of 4, the distortion caused by this problem should be relatively small, since the group includes only those born only through 1698, but those dying through mid-1700.

Figure 21 covers the occupations that had more than 10 births during the time period. Not surprisingly, the children of *chefs de communauté* had the lowest mortality rate. *Chefs* were privileged members of the *communauté*, and were likely chosen from men of some standing (including strong economic resources). While *communautés* owned farm equipment communally, and shared equally in costs and profits, members could still own individual property, which might include, besides furnishings and personal belongings, some small plots of land or other types of investments. The *chef de communauté* would be in a good position as spokesperson for the *communauté* and maker of all contracts to further his own interests at the same time with the contacts he made.

Millers, the group with the next lowest child mortality, were similarly almost always well-to-do, because people were forced to use their facilities and turn over a substantial amount of their flour to them in payment. A miller would actually make higher profits when harvest yields were low because he could sell the flour he collected at a higher price.

As can be seen from Figure 21, the mortality rate for children of sharecroppers (*laboureurs*), winegrowers (*vignerons*), and wage laborers (*journaliers, gens de labeur, domestiques, servantes, manouvrier*, etc.) were virtually the same. It is to be

expected that *laboureurs* and *vignerons* would have similar rates because both worked under the same type of sharecropping contracts. It is a bit more surprising that wage laborers had the same child mortality rate (In Italy Doveri found that wage laborers had a much higher child mortality rate than sharecroppers)(Doveri 2000:44, 54), however, a majority of wage laborers in Uxeau/Bessy worked as farm hands for *communautés*, or as servants in their homes. They would have essentially shared the same work and the same living conditions, so that their child mortality rate would have been similar.

Weavers' families, on the other hand, had a much higher child mortality rate–over 60%. This indicates that their income may not have been not on a par with sharecroppers and their farm hands or domestic servants. It does seem from the records that whenever a weaver (*tissier en thoille*) has the opportunity to become a farmer/sharecropper, such as marrying into a *laboureur* family, he takes it. Often it is young unmarried men who work as *tissiers* early in their career, probably trying to earn enough to marry and set up a household of their own. When the harvest crisis hit, and the prices of bread soared, weavers would have lost their customer base, and at the same time would have had a much more difficult time borrowing money than *laboureurs* who could use their farm lease, small land-holdings, or next year's crop as collateral.

Table 11, Percentage of Children Born to Different Occupational Groups between 1690 and 1698 Who Died Before Mid-1700, shows all of the occupational groupings, even those with less than 10 births in their category. As expected, the very lowest mortality rate was that of Sieur Bernard Chaussin who had four children from 1690 to 1698, and none of them died. Military occupations also fared well.

Craftsmen such as the roof thatcher and oil producers had an even lower mortality rate than the *chefs de communauté*. Tavern keepers, woodcutters, tailors and carpenters all had lower mortality rates than the sharecroppers and winegrowers. Occupations with higher mortality rates than *laboureurs* were wool carders, wooden shoemakers, and stone masons. While there are no particular surprises here (except, perhaps, for the stone masons), it must be kept in mind that the numbers of all these additional groups were low, and therefore not statistically reliable. Additionally, the mortality rate for these very small groups (some occupations were represented by just one father) may sometimes have had more to do with the individual age and general health of the mothers than with their economic circumstances.

Marriage as an Economic Strategy

A marriage always presented a puzzle for the family. They had to counterbalance the desire to provide a large enough share of the inheritance for the family member (often a child, but sometimes a sister or brother, or orphaned nephew or niece), to be able to make a good marriage (i.e. with a person from a reputable family who had at least equivalent resources or economic potential to that of their own family), while at the same time not seriously diminishing the patrimony (the parents' retirement income and the inheritances of the other children) (Bourdieu 1976:120). As Bourdieu pointed out in his study of peasant marriages in the French Pyrenees, "...the strategies either for the transmittal of the undiminshed patrimony or for the biological continuity of the lineage and the reproduction of its work force are by no means necessarily compatible..." (Bourdieu 1976:118-119). For example, a

son might desire to marry and leave the family home to set up his own household, but it might be more in the family's interest to keep him home as an unmarried and unpaid worker. In solving this puzzle they had to work within the legal rules of inheritance, incest laws, cultural ideas of appropriateness (e.g. that marriage partners should be similar in age, status, and economic circumstances)(Hufton 1996:65), and the availability of desirable marriage partners. There were no straightforward rules to follow, just certain cultural principles and legal constraints. In describing families' strategies, Bourdieu says that "far...from being reducible to formal and explicit rules, these strategies are the product of *habitus*, meaning the practical mastery of a small number of implicit principles that have spawned an infinite number of practices and follow their own pattern, although they are not based on an obedience to any formal rules" (Bourdieu 1976:141). Certain principles, such as patrilocality, incest rules, and parity of spouses' ages and class, are violated from time to time in Uxeau and Bessy, in order to fulfill other principles deemed more important in the situation, such as safeguarding the family's resources. Certain strategies which were particularly effective for the time and place emerge from the parish record data, as well as changes in these strategies over time.

It is true that because *communautés* shared both the means of production and profits, that marriage was much simpler for members, especially if marrying within their own *communauté*. Bride's dowries and the personal wealth of the groom (who paid for the marriage feast)(Bourdieu 1976:133) could be much smaller, which is reflected in the early age of marriage for those belonging to *communautés* (see below). Yet even in these circumstances, much thought still had to be put into arranging a match beneficial to both the family/*communauté* and the marrying

couple. There was still a dowry or inheritance to be provided in personal furnishings, linens, privately owned plots of land, etc., and there were labor needs to be balanced. "...the wedding brought together fields and meadows, increased the numbers of horses or cattle, and brought new strength to more experienced workers" (Goubert 1986:68). There may have been a question of how many and which children might join the *communauté* of their parents. In the early 1690s, there are a number of sons of *laboureurs*, who are working as *journaliers* or *tissiers de thoille*. Others became craftsmen of different kinds. It may be that the labor needs of the *communauté* would not accommodate incorporating all of its children. It is evident, however, that during and after the high mortality years of 1693-1695, many of these men do eventually become *laboureurs* at a *communauté*, usually right after their marriage (but not always at the *communauté* of their parents). Being a *laboureur* it seems was preferable to craftwork, and men seemed to take the opportunity to join a *communauté* whenever they could (see Segalen 1987:222). An alternative possibility is that these young men may have been working for wages as part of a diversified family economy, temporarily raising some extra cash for the *communauté's* needs, and for their own future marriage. Of course, some might have wanted to simply get away from their families for personal reasons.

Marrying Couples Having Living Parents

One critical aspect of inheritance in relation to brides' dowries and grooms' inheritance portions (which were both, in essence, the same thing), is whether the spouses' parents were alive at the time of their marriage. If the parents were dead, then no money or property from the patrimony would remain in their hands or be

diverted for their support after retirement, which could make marrying easier. Figure 22, Parents of Spouses Marrying between 1690 and Mid-1700 gives the numbers of spouses with both parents dead, with one parent alive, and with both parents alive. It also shows the number of spouses for whom no mention at all is made of their parents in the register (which is quite high, 32% of all spouses). Of the spouses who have their parents identified in the register, 61 (or 43%) have both parents dead, 53 (or 37%) have one parent alive (and this is more often a father than a mother–probably due to the high mortality of mothers in childbirth), and 29 or only 20% have both parents alive. It is likely that for the spouses of whom no mention is made of their parents that the majority of these parents are deceased as well. It could be that some of the unmentioned parents simply did not attend the wedding, because they lived too far away or were too ill or feeble, but often in this situation, the spouse is still identified as the child of so-and-so who lives in such-and-such a place. Therefore, is it not unlikely that for well over half of the spouses marrying, both parents were deceased at the time of their wedding. This fact throws a new light on the large number of people over the age of 50 who died in the years 1692 through1694. Those numbers may represent a substantial portion of the population in that age group.

Figure 23, Parents of Brides and Grooms Marrying between 1690 and Mid-1700, shows the difference between brides and grooms in having deceased parents. Brides were much more likely to have living parents. This is primarily due to the fact that brides are usually younger (but normally not too much younger) than the grooms.

Age at Marriage

Figure 24, Age-Group Percentages for Brides and Grooms for All Marriages of Known Age 1690-1699, shows the percentage of brides and grooms in different age groups. The number of brides under age 21 is almost equal of the number of brides between the ages of 21 and 30. To have so many young brides is highly unusual compared to the rest of France in the period, where normally brides marry for the first time in the mid-twenties and grooms in their thirties (Doveri 2000:20-21; Goubert 1986:64). It is, however, common among communal sharecropping families where, since there is not much land to inherit, dowries are much reduced (Goubert 1986:64). Doveri documented the same thing for the sharecropping families in Italy (Doveri 2000:44). The young age of grooms in Uxeau/Bessy is also unusual. The majority of men married for the first time in their twenties, not thirties, and about 12% even married under the age of 21. In Uxeau/Bessy there were grooms as young as age 15, and brides as young as age 13–although no mother gave birth younger than 17 and no man fathered a child younger than age 21 (these young spouses will be discussed in more detail below). The average age of all brides in Uxeau is 23.6 years and of all grooms 29.1 years (which includes remarriages). This is even lower than Doveri reports for the sharecropping communities of Italy (the average age of all brides at marriage there was 24.6).

Another difference between sharecroppers and the rest of France, is that older women seem to remarry easily (one bride, Louise Beraule, remarried at age 55). Among landowners the remarriage of a widow was made difficult because she often had a difficult time recovering her dowry. Sometimes it simply no longer existed if her husband's fortunes had gone badly. Other times her first husband's kin would

want to keep the dowry as the inheritance of her children by him. Men preferred to marry or remarry a single woman with a substantial dowry, unencumbered by children from a previous marriage. The situation was different for sharecropping families for whom inheritance was a minor issue. Dowries were not as large for sharecroppers, and the value of a woman's labor would be worth more. And since additional labor for a *communauté* was a good thing in the years of high mortality, a widow's children could be a welcome addition as well. Unusually, these older brides in Uxeau/Bessy produced more children in their new marriages. Goubert reports that in other areas of France menopause almost always came before the age of 45 (Goubert 1986:50). But in Uxeau and Bessy (although the ages of most mothers are not known) women continued to produce children in their late forties–four women had children at age forty-five and older. One of these had a child (if the register can be believed) at age 54!

Remarriage

Remarriage was especially important in rural society, and that is why there was a fair number of older grooms in Uxeau/Bessy as well. Neither husbands nor wives could run their farm or business on their own (Hufton 1996:233). Besides the fact that there was simply too much work for one person to do alone, work was strictly divided along gender lines. A woman was not expected to be able to do some of the heavy farm work like plowing, and men were unfamiliar with woman's tasks.

> Even at quite lowly social levels, men were considered demeaned by being seen doing women's work–particularly housework and washing. They were not accustomed to tending children, and the services performed by a wife on the farm or in the workshop were not easily replaced by wage labour (Hufton 1996:224).

Another factor compelling people to remarry was that of illness and death. Many of the illnesses endemic in the period, such as typhus, left the victim too helpless to eat or drink on their own (Post:1985:231). Even when there were older children in the home, one depended on a spouse to do this. Survival often depended on the quality of care received during the weeks and recurring bouts of illness, and it was generally believed that no one would be as attentive to your needs as your spouse (Hufton 1996:64). Then again, it was even more important if one was dying that there be a responsible adult in the home to summon the *curé* in time to administer last rites, ensuring that the deceased would enter heaven (Goubert 1986:236). It was common in Uxeau to remarry within two months of a spouse's demise.

The Effects of the Mortality Crisis on Marriage Patterns

Figure 10, Vital Events 1690-1699 shows the surge in marriages starting in the year 1694 and peaking in 1695, as widows and widowers remarry quickly after the loss of their spouse during the high mortality of those years. By 1696 the flurry of activity was complete, and the number of marriages resumed its normal level that year. Yet there is a definite change in pattern after 1695 in the age of marriage. Figures 25A-E, Percentages of Brides Marrying in Different Age Groups 1690-1699, and Figures 26A-E, Percentages of Grooms Marrying in Different Age Groups 1690-1699, show the changes in the age of marriage before and after the high mortality years of 1693-1695. For brides in the years 1690 to 1692, the largest group marrying were brides under the age of 21. In fact this age group's percentage

of all marriages grew each year from 1690 to 1692. From 1693 to 1695 the percentages of the other age groups increased , especially in the 31 to 40 year old category as widows remarried. The overall number of marriages returned to normal in 1696, but from 1696 to 1699, there was a huge increase in the 21 to 30 age group at the expense of the under 21 year old brides. Brides were definitely waiting longer to be married, which would reflect reduced economic circumstances making it more difficult to raise a dowry. A similar pattern is visible for grooms. The age group marrying in the largest number from 1690 to 1691 is the 21 to 30 year olds, but there are a number of grooms under age 21. As with the brides, the years 1693 through 1694 reflect older widowers remarrying. Then in 1696, 1697 and 1699, it is exclusively men in the 21 to 30 year old category that marry. There are no under-age-21 year olds or older men remarrying. It makes sense that the older men drop out, because they generally all remarried from 1693 to 1695, but the complete absence under age 21 year olds must again be due to the greater difficulties in raising the means to establish a household.

Who Marries Whom

In proceeding to the issue of who marries whom, and what that reveals about marriage strategies, we can start with the issue of relatives. In many societies, marrying relatives (especially cousins) is a way to keep resources within the extended family group, instead of dissipating the family's resources by losing dowries to outsiders. In France and the rest of Catholic Europe, the Church's incest laws were extremely restrictive.

The church's definition of kinship was so wide as to run the risk of

> including almost everyone in an individual's acquaintanceship, especially if that individual lived in a small village. In canon law, kin comprised all blood relatives to the fourth degree, which by the method of computation that the church used meant extending out to third cousins in the same generation. It also meant extending down to great-great-grandchildren, great-grand-nephews, and great-grand-nieces (Gottlieb 1993:182).

Not that people would be generally aware of who was their third cousin. In illiterate societies without genealogists, "relatives" were those with whom you kept in contact. Uncles and aunts were important, and were expected to adopt an orphaned niece or nephew, or to help them along in life where they could. First cousins, if they lived close by, were also important and considered "family" (Gottlieb 1993:183). They often show up as witnesses for the bride and groom at weddings in Uxeau and Bessy.

Even in-laws could be considered kin ineligible as a marriage partner by the church. For example once a person married into a family the in-laws became their kin. They could not remarry anyone in that family if their spouse should die, not even a second cousin once removed of their former spouse (Gottleib 1993:182).

The people of Uxeau and Bessy found a way around the incest laws–and thereby, to prevent dispersing the family wealth in too many different directions–by marrying sets of relatives to other sets of relatives–usually on the same day. Gottleib reports that this was a common practice in French mountain villages (Gottlieb 1993:187-188).

Marrying several people from the same family on the same day was another way to husband resources. Marriage feasts and celebrations were expensive (especially in this era of failed harvests), and by combining weddings, one feast would serve instead of two. In fact, over 34% of marriages in Uxeau and Bessy took

place on the same day as another marriage. In the late fall, when it was time to kill the pigs which could not be fed over the winter, it was even common in Uxeau to have two or three weddings of entirely unrelated people on the same day. Goubert describes these marriage feasts:

> One of these opportunities for excess which continued for a long time, and perhaps still exists in some parts of the country, was the quasi-ritual killing of the pig at the onset of winter. For this, the family grew to include cousins and sometimes neighbors, for there was plenty to be done, and some of the savoury products had to be eaten quickly: the blood, in the form of black pudding, some of the offal, the first pâtés, and whatever else they wanted....Very often...marriages were arranged at the same time as these pork-feasts: some sharp tongues compared the sacrifice of the pig to that of the bride, or brides, as the one animal was enough for several weddings (Goubert 1986:92).

Over 14% per cent of all marriages taking place in Uxeau and Bessy between 1690 and mid-1700 were cases of relatives marrying into the same family. This was obviously an important strategy for conserving family resources. From 1690 through mid-1700 there were three instances of two brothers of one family marrying two sisters of another family (two sets of these weddings taking place on the same day). There were also two instances of a widowed father and son marrying a widowed mother and daughter on the same day. In these cases, the dowries of the sisters or of mother and daughter could be combined and would end up in the same household. In addition, there are three marriages where a person married one of their sibling's in-laws (these in-laws would be kin to the sibling that married first, but were not kin to the second sibling until he or she also married into the family). There is even an instance where a bride married her stepbrother (Léonarde Pautet and

Jean Lorcet–*maréchal* and *marguillier* of Uxeau), a situation fairly certain to be prohibited by the church (which the church would allow anyway if one purchased a dispensation).

Another type of marriage that went against cultural ideas of appropriateness was a marriage with a great disparity in ages–these were rare in Bessy and Uxeau. In most areas of France marriages where there was a disparity in age or status would produce some expression of disapproval by the community. "Every unequal marriage, not just where there was a disparity of ages, but where status was unequal, shocked the community and aroused mockery, derision, and often cruelty which went far further than the noisy, nocturnal, often bacchic ritual charivari" (Goubert 1986:69). There were only two marriages with a great age disparity in Uxeau between 1690 and mid-1700. In one, widow Lazare Laforest, age 40, married a much younger man age 25, Jacques Renard. She and her former husband were members of the *communauté* at Villemaison in Uxeau (he died in the great mortality of 1694). Her new husband (married July 5, 1696) was from the neighboring parish of la Chapelle-au-Mans and joined his older wife's *communauté*. Later his brother Benoist Renard, also from la Chapelle-au-Mans, but working as a *domestique* for the *fermier* Claude Jacob at Chaselot, married Lazare's niece Jeanne Laforest; he too became a new member of the *communauté* at Villemaison.

The other marriage with a great disparity in ages was that of Philiberte Derives, age 20, and Jean Laragis, age 50. This was the first marriage for Philiberte (she was described as a "*non-mariée*" or unmarried woman in her role as godmother prior to her wedding), and her father was a substantial *laboureur* at Vernizy in Bessy, which made it even more unusual that she would be marrying someone so

much older. The influencing factor here was that the groom was *chef de communauté* at Fréty in the parish of Rosières, making it an extremely advantageous match. His deceased wife had had relatives in his new bride's hamlet of Vernizy–Magdelaine Quatrevallée married to *laboureur* Émilian Laplace–so there were already ties between the two communities. She left Bessy to live in Fréty after her marriage.

Residence Patterns of Newly Married Couples

There is now the question of where the couples were living after the marriage. In most of France, virilocal residence (bride moves to the groom's residence) was the ideal pattern. Among poorer landowners whose patrimony could not accommodate all the married sons, and among wage laborers, neolocal residence (both spouses moving to a new location after marriage) was becoming more common in this era, if means could be found to set up a new household. Uxorilocal residence (groom moves to the bride's residence) could happen in the case of heiresses and wealthy widows, but was a fairly rare occurrence.

In Uxeau, post-nuptial residence patterns were different, largely due to the predominance of *communautés*. As can be seen from Figure 27, Post-Nuptial Residence Patterns in Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700, virilocal marriage (moving in with the groom) occurred in only 39% of all marriages. The next largest category (28% of all marriages) is uxorilocal residence, where a groom joins the bride's *communauté* or her father's workshop. This is almost always an opportunity for the upward mobility of the groom–a chance for wage laborer to become a full member of a *commuauté* (to become a *laboureur*) or to learn a new, more skilled trade.

Where the bride and groom both are members of different *commuautés*, the bride usually moves to the groom's residence, but sometimes they both join an entirely different *communauté* from where they were living prior to the wedding. This new *communauté* can usually be shown to be a place where one of the spouses has relatives, such as an aunt or uncle or brother or sister. Neolocal residence of this type, and also of the type where wage laborers find employment as a couple in a new location after their marriage, make up 11% of all marriages.

In 12% of all marriages, both the bride's family and groom's family belong to the same *communauté*, and the couple remains there after marriage. In this type of marriage, there is little need for much in the way of dowry, and the marrying couple are often of a very young age. For 10% of marriages no records exist to determine the residence of a couple at the time of, or after their marriage.

Spatial Patterns of Marriage Ties

Another important aspect of the Uxeau/Bessy marriage pattern, is that the majority of marriages are contracted with families outside of the home parish. This, too, is unusual for France in this period. As Goubert reports, for the seventeenth century, "even in very small parishes, most marriages were to another member of the same parish: parochial endogamy reaches 65, 70, even 75 per cent and more" (Goubert 1986:67). This is not the case for either Uxeau or Bessy. Yet, oddly, although marrying outside one's parish is the norm, only three out of the 105 marriages taking place from 1690-1700 where between the parishes of Bessy and Uxeau. This is odd in light of the fact that Bessy was called the "*annexe*" of Uxeau; that Bessy and Uxeau shared the same *curé*; that one even had to travel through

Bessy from Uxeau to get to some of the parishes with whom they contracted marriage alliances. This circumstance is something that will require explanation.

Figure 28, Marriage Alliances in Bessy and Uxeau 1690-1700, shows that for the two parishes combined, 40% of marriages were between families from the same parish, while 57% were with a family from a different parish. Figure 29, Marriage Alliances in Uxeau 1690-1700, and Figure 30, Marriage Alliances in Bessy 1690-1700, show that the percentage of exogamy is slightly lower for Uxeau taken by itself at 53%, while the percentage of marriages outside of the parish for Bessy is much higher at 68%.

Figure 31, Count of Marriages within the Parish and with Other Parishes for Uxeau/Bessy 1690-1700, and Figure 32, Percentage of Marriages within the Parish and with Other Parishes for Uxeau/Bessy 1690-1700, show the year-by-year variation in parish endogamy and exogamy. Exogamy is very high in the years 1690 and 1691. It drops some in 1692, but the percentage rises in 1693 and again even higher in 1694. The trend changes in 1695, the year of the great remarrying. In that year the percentage of endogamous marriages rises substantially, finally superceding exogamous marriages. Endogamous marriages retain that lead for the next three years from 1696 to 1698. Then in 1699 and 1700 the preference for exogamous marriages again asserts itself.

It may be that after the hardships and suffering of 1693-1695, the advantages of having alliances closer to home, where in-laws might be of more immediate help to the family were more strongly felt. Additionally, in 1695 at least, there would have been more marriage partners available within the parishes as widows and widowers looked to remarry. Some did remarry outside the parish, but there were

advantageous alliances to be made within the parish, with so many job vacancies to be filled. *Communautés* that did not immediately replenish their supply of labor were in danger of losing their sharecropping contract when it came up for renewal. In some cases, the *seigneur* had the right to eject the *communauté* even before the end of the contract if he felt they were unable to do the work.

> In fact, most agreements gave the right to the lessor to dismiss the *métayer* at any time during the agreement, provided six months' notice were given. If dismissed, the *métayer* was to leave behind seed for the next season and all capital equipment in the condition in which it had come to him (Shaffer 1982:57-58).

The need to rebuild the depleted labor force on the *communautés* after the large number of deaths in 1693-1695 allowed many *journaliers* to marry into the *communautés* and improve their lot. The *communautés* drew men from outside the parish as well.

Figure 33, Brides Marrying out of Parish and Grooms Marrying into Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1698, gives a count of brides leaving the parish and grooms moving into the parish to marry year by year. Over the nine-year period the number of brides leaving and of grooms entering the parishes was fairly even; there was an exodus of 27 brides and an influx of 23 grooms. All 23 of these grooms joined their new bride's *communauté* or village.

Within the constraints of the research period it is impossible to get an idea of the number of brides entering the parishes of Uxeau and Bessy to marry, since their marriages are not recorded in Uxeau, although their presence has been detected through the subsequent births of their children. Similarly there is no way to track the number of grooms leaving Uxeau and Bessy. The only way they can be identified is if they show up in a peripheral record (i.e. as a godfather, marriage witness, or

mourner) with their new residence specified. For example, that is how it is known that Laurent Bard the huillier (oil producer) from Bazin had moved to Toulon to practice his trade, or that Antoine Jacob (son of *fermier* Claude Jacob) moved to Toulon-sur-Arroux to be a *contrôleur* (some type of auditor/inspector) after his marriage to Philiberte Ferrat, whose father was a merchant there. This illustrates again the importance of including the peripheral records in the database.

The parish registers not only indicate that the majority of marriages in Uxeau and Bessy were contracted with families in communities outside their parish, they also show patterns in the relative distances from which marriage partners were found. Figure 34, Marriages Contracted with Another Parish 1690-Mid 1700, shows that 67% of the marriages with partners from other parishes were from parishes that touched the borders of Uxeau or Bessy: Grury, Issy-l'Évêque, Ste Radegonde, Rosières, Toulon-sur-Arroux, Marly-sur-Arroux, Vendenesse-sur-Arroux, and la Chapelle-au-Mans. These places would have been within easy traveling distance, and persons living there regularly show up in Uxeau and Bessy for weddings and baptisms. The parishes of Montmort, St Romain-sous-Versigny, Oudry, Gueugnon and Neuvy are just the other side of the contiguous parishes, and 23% of marriage partners come from these places–still close enough for frequent visits and attendance at family events.

Only 10% of marriages contracted with spouses from outside the parish were made with places at a further remove. Of these six far-ranging marriages, three involved families of *vignerons* who seem to have had far-flung contacts, no doubt through their trade (the marriage partners were from St Berain-sous-Sanvignes, Vitry-en-Charollais and St Laurent de Bononges–diocèse de Limoges).

Another two of the six marriages involved one of the two families representing the upper echelons of Uxeau society–the family of *fermier* Claude Jacob (Sieur Bernard Chaussin's children were not old enough to marry, but he had to go just as far afield to find godparents for them–see below). Claude Jacob would not have found any marriage partners within Uxeau of his same class or "estate" for his children to marry, and he had at least eight living children by two wives to marry off (a ninth child, daughter Marie, died unmarried at age 25 in 1694) (see Figure 35, Descendants of Claude Jacob). He did arrange marriages for three of them within the research period. As mentioned above, his son Antoine married into the bourgeois class, the daughter (Philiberte Ferrat) of a merchant in Toulon. The dowry received from Antoine's marriage in 1691 would have been turned around and used for his sisters' weddings. Gabrielle Jacob and her half-sister Eleanor married two brothers (although the weddings were seven years apart–1692 and 1699)–Antoine and Philibert Joby, the sons of Sieur Philibert Joby, *seigneur* du Vernelle, paroisse de Liner-en-Bourbonnais.

The sixth marriage with a partner from some distance involved families of ordinary *laboureurs*, but the parents of the groom, who was working as a weaver in St Agnan prior to the wedding, had lived at Ville Fèvre (the residence of the bride) before their deaths, and the groom would have grown up there. He moved back to Ville Fèvre after the wedding.

Table 12, Marriage Relationships between Residences, shows the marriage alliances during the decade for each of the communities in Bessy and Uxeau. What stands out in addition to the large number of marriages with other parishes, is that no community or *communauté* seems to have established a preferential relationship

with any other in seeking marriage partners. In fact almost every marriage for a community in these years is a connection with a different place. In cases where there is more than one marriage between communities, it is, more often than not, due to the marriage of relatives on the same day, such as two brothers marrying two sisters. It appears as if these communities are trying to establish as many diverse alliances as possible. There is a good possibility that this was indeed an intentional, conscious strategy, for although the *communautés* were made up of many different nuclear families, one member–the *chef*–arranged all marriages and negotiated the marriage contracts. "...marriages, in fact, were arranged between the heads of two communities who knew each other, one of whom needed a new male or female for his community, usually because somebody had died" (Goubert 1986:76).

Marriage Strategies Reflected in the Marriage Alliances

This pattern in Uxeau and Bessy differs not only from most other areas in France, it differs from the patterns of *communautés* within the local region. Shaffer, in his research on *communautés* in Luzy (the parish just the other side of Uxeau's neighboring parish, Issy-l'Évêque) found that preferred marriages there were with *communautés* having contiguous *domaines*, and that preferential relationships were set up between particular *communautés* for the exchange of marriage partners (Shaffer 1982:78). He found that

> ...there is substantial evidence that the children of sharecroppers were exchanged between families as part of a strategy to establish bonds with neighboring farms. In this way, the burdens of farming could be alleviated by creating a reserve of kin upon whom one could call in times of need (Shaffer 1982:78).

Certainly *communautés* in Uxeau and Bessy also wanted to create a similar local

“reserve of kin” to help out when extra labor was needed at haying and harvesting times, but in this period they were also anxious to create as many different bonds as possible over a wider-ranging area. The uncertainty of the harvests, the depletion of the labor force in the 1693-1693 crisis, and threat that the sharecropping contract might not be renewed, meant that having relatives in other *communautés,* whom one could possibly join, provided a kind of insurance against loss of sharecropping contract and thus home. By having these alliances with as many different *communautés* as possible, chances were increased that one or more of them might be in need of extra labor when members of one’s own *communauté*–the entire *commuanuté*, or merely some excess children–needed a new home.

An example of this kind of movement is Gilbert Deschamps, *chef de communauté* at Chaselot who moved in 1997 along with Michel Richard, Simon Perrin and their families from Chaselot to les Chazots, where Gilbert Deschamps again became *chef de communauté*. They joined a *communauté* that was already there which included the families of Louis Voillot, Hugues Therry, and François Paillart.

Similarly, Charles Lambé, *chef de communauté* at Petit Dardon, moved to Busserolles in 1698, along with Antoine Goudier (married to Claudine Lambé), Joseph Richard (married to Pierrette Lambé), Claude Richard, and Lazare Pouponneau (step-brother to Charles Lambé), and all their families. Charles Lambé became a *chef de communauté* at Busserolles joining Jean Thorey, long-time *chef de communauté* at Busserolles, who himself had formerly been *chef de communauté* at la Malvelle in Bessy, but whose father had been part of the *communauté* at Petit

Dardon, and whose mother was sister to Claude Ganeau *chef de communauté* at Grand Dardon.

Thus, the marriage strategies to deal with risk seem to be: 1) for individual families to concentrate resources by marrying several relatives into the same family; and, on the other hand, 2) for *communautés* to create as many diverse marriage alliances as possible as sources of potential future aid, through a varied geographical distribution of ties, and by not establishing preferred marriage exchanges with any one particular community.

Reproduction as an Economic Strategy

Closely related to marriage strategies are reproductive strategies. The number and timing of births produced in a marriage affect the family's labor supply, the distribution of the family's resources, the parents' retirement possibilities, and can even have an effect on the mortality of the wife.

As described above, women in Uxeau and Bessy continued having children into their late forties and early fifties. The span of time covered by the parish registers in this study did not allow for much data to be collected either on the number of children produced during a marriage, or on age at first birth. But 42 marriages contracted within this time period that also produced at least one birth, so that data on the interval between marriage and first birth could be analyzed.

Interval between Marriage and First Birth, by Occupation

Significant differences emerged from looking at the average length of time between marriage and first birth as it varied by occupations. Figure 36, Average

Length of Time between Marriage and First Birth for Occupations Having More than One Marriage Producing a Birth 1690-1700, shows that wage laborers averaged 4.5 years to the birth of their first child after marriage. Sharecroppers had a much reduced 2.7 year average, and *chef de communautés* and winegrowers were only slightly below that at 2.4 years. Weavers have a very low 1.4 year average to the birth of their first child. One might expect that the differences between groups might have something to do with standard of living, nutrition and better pre-natal conditions, which might explain the difference between the average sharecropper and the *chef de communauté* and winegrowers. Yet when, above, we examined child mortality–something also tied to standard of living–wage laborers had very much the same levels as sharecroppers and winegrowers (see Figure 21, Percentage of Children Born to Fathers of Different Occupations between 1690 and 1698 Who Then Died by Mid-1700). One would then expect them to have similar lengths of time to first birth. The very short length of time experienced by weavers would be even harder to explain in terms of mother's health and standard of living, for that group had by far the highest infant mortality.

Figure 37, Average Length of Time between Marriage and First Birth by Occupation 1690-1700, shows all occupations with a marriage producing a birth, even those with only one instance in the category. From this chart it seems clear that occupations that depend on a particular skill, rather than farming, generally have much shorter periods between marriage and first birth. This may have to do with the ease of setting up an independent household.

Interval between Marriage and First Birth for Spouses under the Age of Twenty-one

Another factor to look at is the percentage of spouses under the age of 21 in these marriages. Figure 38, Percentage of Marriages with Spouses under Age 21 by Occupation, shows that wage laborers who have the longest period between marriage and first birth also have the fewest young spouses. Weavers, who have the shortest length of time to first birth, have the next lowest percentage of under age 21 spouses than other groups. Winegrowers have a very high percentage of under age 21 spouses at 67%. Wine growers' wives tend to be full partners in the *vignerons'* work, laboring along with their husband in a demanding physical job that does not rely on any draft animal or equipment to ease the load (Goubert 1986:128-129) (for more detail, see Chapter 6, Agriculture and Land Use). In that context, a young healthy woman who could be trained with the specialist's skills was an asset.

In this era in Uxeau and Bessy, younger brides had a much longer average time between marriage and first birth than older brides. It is likely that many very young brides had difficulty conceiving and carrying babies to term for the first few years, however this delay in having children also appears with very young grooms, even when they are married to older brides. There were two fifteen-year-old grooms, married to 17- and 19-year-old women. One union produced no children in the five years of observation, while the other produced a child only after six years of marriage. Another 16-year-old groom (married to an 18-year-old woman) produced no children in the five years of observation. The group of 17-year-old grooms had their first child within a range of 4.4 to almost 7 years. Clearly something is going on besides biology.

Figure 39, Average Length of Time between Marriage and First Birth for Marriages with Spouses under Age 21, 1690-1700, shows that the average length of time from marriage to first birth for all mothers, regardless of age, was 2.5 years. The average length of time to first birth for all marriages with spouses under age 21 is half a year higher at 3 years. The length of time for sharecropper marriages with spouses under age 21 is longer still at 3.9 years (and this figure would be higher than that if the sharecropper marriages that produced no children at all in as long as 5 to 8 years of observation were figured in). The much shorter length of time to first birth for weavers and other skilled laborers with under age 21 spouses is comparable at 1.8 and 1.7, respectively.

Wage laborers are not represented on this figure because there were only two marriages in that category with spouses under age 21, and neither produced any children. One wage laborer marriage produced no children in the 8 years of observation, and in the other, the groom died with the couple still childless two years after the wedding. It is important to note, as depicted in Figure 39, that the pre-1695 average length of time to first birth for marriages with spouses under age 21 was much higher (at 3.7 years) than the average length of time for marriages with young spouses made in 1695 (average 2.1 years). As we saw above in Figures 25A-E, Percentages of Brides Marrying in Different Age Groups 1690-1699 and Figures 26A-E, Percentages of Grooms Marrying in Different Age Groups 1690-1699, the tendency to have very young brides and grooms peaked just before the famine years during which malnutrition would have been an increased factor for delaying birth compared to later years. After 1695, persons under the age of 21 did not so readily marry.

The very delayed births for marriages of sharecroppers with spouses under the age of 21, may be due to the fact that these marriages might have been contracted for social and economic reasons (such as a need to balance the labor requirements of the *communauté*), long before actual cohabitation took place. In the large *communautés* the great hall where everyone ate together had at one end of it quarters for the *chef de communauté* and at the opposite end quarters for parents and separate quarters for children (some married members of the *communauté* would also live in separate houses in the hamlet, but they would still all eat together in the same great hall). The children were raised communally under the supervision of the *maîtresse* (or "mistress," the female equivalent of the *chef*) of the *communaté*, and not by their own mothers. Children even ate altogether at a table by themselves away from their parents (Dussourd 1978:31). Young unmarried people were housed dormitory-style with separate rooms for males and females. Marrying teens of the *communauté* may have continued to live in this manner for some time before they started cohabitating together as a couple.

It is also the case that the younger the bride, less likely she was to leave home or family after marrying. Figure 40, Average Ages of Brides by Residence Pattern, shows post-nuptial residence patterns for under-age-21 brides by age group. The youngest brides (13-15) tended to be among those who lived in the same *communauté* as the grooms and so moved nowhere after the wedding. The average age of this group was 16.6 years. The next group, averaging 16.9 years, was the group of brides who left the *communauté* after the wedding, but did so in the company of a mother or older sister who had married at the same time and would live with them in their future home. The third group was much older, with an average age of 18.6.

Conscious Control over Child Bearing

By delaying child-bearing in the very young couples of the *communautés*, the elders would be maximizing the labor output of these young and strong workers, while at the same time safe-guarding the health of the young wives who might have difficulty in child bearing at so young an age.

It would seem then, that the shorter time to first birth of skilled laborers was due to the fact that it was easier for them to be economically independent and to set up a household together apart from family control (no need of a large dowry or inheritance since their skill provided their means of making a living). Neolocality was also a phenomenon related to the burgeoning proto-industry of the period all over France, possibly represented by the textile industry, particularly the weavers, in Uxeau and Bessy.

> In contrast to a peasant or artisan economy where skill and capital had to be obtained before a niche could be acquired, proto-industrial families, engaged in relatively unskilled tasks, had few external constraints over the timing of their marriages; they also had incentives to marry (and to marry young) so as to establish a balanced productive unit and exploit peak earning capacities (Anderson 1988:73)

By contrast, the wage laborers, most of whom were farm hands or domestic servants, may have not had much privacy as a married couple, being relegated to servants' quarters in some homes, and likely, in other circumstances, living in the homes of their parents or other family members (many *journalier* families did own their own cottages, gardens and a bit of land–just not enough land to support a family)(Goubert 1986:98). They may have had some trouble initially setting up an independent household. This did not seem to delay marriage for them because they were often hired as a co-working pair and moved to their new position right after the

marriage. When they eventually did have children, they were just as healthy and likely to survive in Uxeau and Bessy as the children of winegrowers and sharecroppers. Since health and nutrition don't seem to be factors, it may be that this group, which was characterized by older spouses and limited means, may have consciously put off having children, waiting for their economic and household situation to improve. Most demographers agree that "at most levels of society there existed some knowledge of contraceptive practices and techniques" (Hufton 1996:182).

That these reproductive patterns outlined above were in some part conscious strategies may be assumed from the control exercised by family and *communauté* over the very young spouses in delaying child bearing, as well as by the seeming deliberate choice of wage laborers (*journaliers*), lacking independent means to set up a household, to put off the birth of their first child until economic circumstances permitted.

Choice of Godparents as an Economic Strategy

At the birth of a child, the most important task of a parent was to find good godparents (someone of substantial means, who would take the responsibility seriously–often a relative). "For the child's parents, the choice of godparents offered a variety of possibilities not unlike those involved in the choice of in-laws. In some places local notables were routinely asked to be godparents of quite humble people" (Gottleib 1993:190). In Uxeau, Sieur Bernard Chaussin, the person of highest status in either Uxeau or Bessy, was godparent to a wage laborer (a lowly *gens de labeur)*, as well as the higher status *laboureur.* A godparent was a very important safety net

for a child. Each child had two godparents who were not related to each other, thereby increasing the number of possible protectors and resources available. Further multiplying the number of alliances for the family was the fact that in Uxeau and Bessy no two siblings had a godparent in common.

A godparent was responsible for raising a child if it was orphaned (a very common occurrence), and could be expected later in life to help with finding a job if necessary, or to offer financial help in the way of a dowry. Godparents took the place of deceased parents as marriage witnesses in five of the weddings in Uxeau and Bessy, and no doubt had supplied a substantial portion of the cost of the wedding. Often it was the godparent who showed up at the burial of child instead of its parents. As elsewhere in France, burials in that period, unlike weddings, were generally attended by very few family and friends. At the burials of young children, often only the father was named as mourner in the registers, and sometimes, not even he attended (Goubert 1986:52, 234).

Selection of Godparents and the Naming of Children

Children were always named after one of their godparents, and the choice of the right godparent was so important that parents would name a child after a desired godparent even if they already had a living child of that name. A perfect example is the case of the daughters of Lazare Dupour and Claudine Lacroix, sharecroppers of the *communauté* at la Malvelle in Bessy. Claudine was Lazare's third wife and they had their first child together in 1696. They named the girl Françoise after her godmother, Françoise Merle, wife of the *chef de communauté* at Chevreau in Bessy. A *chef de communauté* would be a very desirable godparent as he would surely be

able to look after the child in any circumstance. Lazare and Claudine's second child, born two years later in 1698, was another girl. They named this child Françoise as well, after her godmother, another Françoise–Françoise Brial, wife of Gabrielle Pillot, a *journalier* from their own *communauté* at la Malvelle. Some demographers have expressed puzzlement over this practice, common at the time, of having two children with the same name, but when it is realized that securing a good godparent is the primary concern, the phenomenon becomes understandable. The *curé* in Uxeau/Bessy tried to distinguish between siblings of the same name in the register by calling one the "elder" (*l'âiné*) and the other the "younger" (*le jeune*).

Selection of Godparents and Occupation

Table 13, Godfathers' and Godmothers' Husbands' Occupations, lists the occupations of the 265 godfathers, godmothers' husbands and unmarried godparents' fathers named in the registers during the study period. *Laboureurs* predominate in this group because that is the occupation of the overwhelming majority of people in the parishes. The group of *journaliers* living in the parishes was also quite large, but they were not often chosen as godparents. Most of those who were, served as godparent only once. The same situation applies to the weavers (*tissiers en thoille*). Almost every profession named in the registers is represented at least one time as a godparent, but some professions and people were chosen over and over again. For example, *chefs de communauté* served frequently as godparents. Table 14, Fathers' Occupations Compared to Godparent' Occupations, lists the different occupations of the fathers in the registers and links them to the occupations of the godparents they chose. This

list shows that people try to pick as highly up the social scale as they can, but they do not stick to members of their own occupation, or of any other particular occupation. Out of 94 godparents to *journaliers*, only 4 were also *journaliers*.

Sieur Bernard Chaussin, as person of highest status in the parishes, seems to have had some difficulty finding godparents of comparable status for his children (see Figure 41, Descendants of Bernard Chaussin). He found four other *seigneurs* in the region, including the prominent François Salladin de Montmorillon, Comte Dessaules of Lucenier, in addition to choosing a lawyer from Issy-l'Évêque, and a bourgeois from St Antoine in Toulon-sur-Arroux. Yet, for one of his daughters born in 1698, he resorted to using her own brother and sister as godparents who were still children themselves at the time. This was rather unusual; there were no other cases of siblings being chosen as godparents in the registers during this period. Twenty-one per cent of both godfathers and godmothers in the Uxeau and Bessy were identified as close relatives of the child (usually an aunt, uncle or cousin), and probably the actual number is somewhat higher than that, but it remains likely that the majority of godparents in Uxeau and Bessy were not close relatives.

Parish Hierarchy and Social Network Revealed by the Selection of Godparents

Those chosen repeatedly as godparents represented the parish elite; they would be the most substantial and well-respected members of the community. Table 15, Godmothers, and Table 16, Godfathers, list the godparents in order of how many times they were chosen between 1690 and 1700. Eighty per cent of both

godfathers and godmothers, served only one or two times in that capacity. The other 20% were chosen three of more times.

Jean Thorey, a *laboureur* at Petit Dardon, was chosen more times than any other godfather. Both Petit and Grand Dardon were large communities and perhaps the most influential *communautés* in the parish. People from these two places were sought out frequently as godparents. Jean Thorey was married to Pierrette Duparier who herself was one of the most frequently chosen godmothers. Her mother, Denise Gauthier, was also chosen frequently, and had been married for a second time to Lazare Rabet, tavern keeper, and the fourth most frequently chosen godfather. Their son, notary Antoine Rabet, was second most frequently chosen godfather, and together the Rabet family is tied for second place with the family of Jean Thorey as most sought after family for godparents in Uxeau/Bessy (the family of *fermier* Claude Jacob was the most frequently chosen family) (see Figure 42, Rabet and Thorey Descendants). Claude Granier, the third most frequently chosen godfather was married to Émiliane Ganeau, sister of the most frequently chosen godmother, Marie Ganeau. These were the daughters of Claude Ganeau, *chef de communauté* at Grand Dardon. Marie was married to Pierre Leschallier, a frequently chosen godfather. Their daughter, Dominique Leschallier, was tied for third place as most frequently chosen godmother. She was married to Jean Lauferon, the brother of François Lauferon *(l'âiné*), *chef de communauté* at Petit Dardon. Second most frequently chosen godmother was Eleanor Jacob, daughter of *fermier* Claude Jacob. Tied for third place, along with the above-mentioned Dominique Leschallier, were Madelaine Compin, an unmarried woman whom I believe was related to the *Curé* Compin, and Catherine Leschallier, the sister of

Pierre Leschallier (husband of Marie Ganeau) and aunt of Dominique (see Figure 43, Descendants of Benoist Leschallier). Thus, the people most often chosen as godparents were a closely and densely related network of parish notables.

Table 17, Godfathers, Godmothers' Husbands, and Fathers of Unmarried Godparents by Number of Times Named, lists the number of times a man is mentioned on his own as godparent, and in connection with his wife and children as godparents. *Fermier* Claude Jacob tops the lists with 22 mentions in the registers, but as discussed in the previous chapter, he himself was never chosen as a godfather. It was his wife Antoinette Gauthier and his many children that served so often as godparents. He is followed in number of mentions in the godparent entries by the above-discussed Jean Thorey, Pierre Leschallier and Lazare Rabet, respectively.

Spatial Patterns of Godparent Ties

The last thing to note about godparents is where they came from. Figure 44, Godparent Relationships for Bessy 1690-1700, and Figure 45, Godparent Relationships for Uxeau 1690-1700, show that it was most common to find godparents within one's own parish. Even so, 30% of the godparents for Bessy came from outside the parish, although only 5% of these lived in the parish of Uxeau. For Uxeau, the percentage of outside godparents was less, only 14%, and only 2% of their godparents came from Bessy.

Table 18, Godparent Relationships between Residences, shows where the godparents came from for each community in Bessy and Uxeau. Unlike the pattern in choosing spouses, there are distinct preferences shown here. The largest

number of godparents for almost every community came from within the community itself. Other contacts were still wide-ranging, but there were clearly some preferred communities for picking godparents. These were usually communities in close proximity–their neighbors. For example, the *communauté* at Bassenier drew the largest number of godparents from its own membership, but also favored nearby Chaselot and Fresse (see Figure 3, Places Belonging to the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy Mentioned in the Parish Records from 1690-1700). The relations between Uxeau and Bessy were weak, but the communities that were most likely to have some godparent relations between the two parishes were those closest to the border. For example, godparent ties existed between Busserolles in Uxeau and Morentru in Bessy. Le Chevalot in Uxeau had godparent relations with la Valla, the Bourg de Bessy and la Tour du Bois all in Bessy. The patterns show that people would go quite far to get a good godparent, but most often chose a close-living relative, member of their own community, or neighbor.

Complementary Family Strategies in Social Alliances

Looking at marriage and godparent strategies for making social alliances together, three different but complementary patterns emerge from the data. Individual families tried to marry several members into the same family to conserve family wealth. *Communautés* under direction of the *chef de communauté*, tried to have as many and as widespread marriage contacts as possible to maximize places of potential aid or new residence, if the need arose. Godparents insured protection for offspring, and were often chosen close to home, with the additional benefit of

cementing alliances with family and neighbors who could offer immediate help and extra labor when needed.

To better comprehend the geographic distribution of these alliances, and to understand the reason for the paucity of social interaction between Bessy and Uxeau, it will be necessary to look at patterns of land use and the nature of agriculture in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

AGRICUTLURE AND LAND USE

Land

The former parish of Uxeau was characterized by hilly, rugged uplands, which are the southern reaches of the mountainous Morvan to the north. The soils are granitic, sandy and acidic (Crumley and Green 1987:26; Shaffer 1982:127, 148). The Arroux River, which flows from northeast to southwest, forms the eastern border of the modern *Commune* of Uxeau (see Figure 3, Places Belonging to the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy Mentioned in the Parish Records from 1690-1700). Almost all of the places in the former parish of Bessy lay along this river (with the one exception of Morentru). Bessy's soils in the valley are less acidic and enriched by periodic flooding (Crumley and Green 1987:28).

Agriculture

The principal agricultural activity in Uxeau and Bessy in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, as in most of France, was growing grain for subsistence purposes. "So as far as it can be calculated, the kingdom of France produced about enough in an average year for its needs, but with nothing in the way of surplus" (Goubert 1986:93-94). As described in Chapter 3, Climate, Famine and Disease, bread (or lacking an oven, grain eaten in the form of pancakes–*galettes* or

porridge–*bouillie*) was the mainstay of the diet and provided most of the protein consumed. After turning over the landowner's half, and the church's tenth, and the miller's sixth of the flour ground, sharecroppers would consume the rest. Only in years with very favorable harvests would there have been any excess grain to sell. *Journaliers* who owned a few small fields would grow grain for the family's consumption, but it would not be enough grain. They would have to find work for wages to buy the rest of the food the family would need to get them through the year (Goubert 1986:94).

The primary grain grown in Uxeau would have been rye, or perhaps sometimes rye mixed with wheat, called "*maslin*." In the 1660s rye was the only crop reported grown in Uxeau, Vendenesse-sur-Arroux, Toulon-sur-Arroux and the surrounding area (personal communication from Denis McDaniel on his research in the archives at Dijon, April 2002). In the neighboring canton of Luzy, "it was not until 1882 that the area sown in wheat exceeded that sown in rye" (Shaffer 1982:149-150). People preferred to eat wheat, but it did not grow well in moist, cold climates which were especially prevalent in the 1690s. The acidic soils and higher elevation of Uxeau meant that a group of what were known as *petite céréales*–rye, buckwheat and barley–would provide a much more abundant and reliable harvest than wheat. Rye...

> flourished on acid soils and in many harsh environments....Rye was sown in autumn and was robust enough to survive long periods of snow cover but was then at the mercy of spring frosts or excessive rain. As well as providing the grain for black bread, rye yielded useful quantities of straw and was used as a source of fodder...(Clout 1983:21).

> Buckwheat was suited to most kinds of light soils and did not require heavy application of manure. It needed only a short growing season with a reasonably high degree of humidity, hence hot drying winds or late frosts could cause serious damage (Clout 1983:22).

> Barley was grown...flourishing on calcareous soils on the fringes of the Paris Basin and in upland areas, where its short growing season was particularly appropriate. Its grain was consumed in breweries, stables and poultry yards and entered the human diet in parts of eastern France (Clout 1983:22).

If the rye crop, planted in the fall, did fail in the spring from frosts or heavy rains, the fields could be reseeded in late March and April with barley and buckwheat. These crops took only five months to mature and so would be ready to harvest the next fall (Monahan 1993:76-77). However, if the cold, wet spring was followed by a hot, dry summer, then a buckwheat crop could be damaged. On the other hand, if the summer were extremely wet and cold, crops would fail to mature, and could even rot in the field from the damp. As Goubert describes, this was often the biggest threat to the harvest.

> There were bad winters...but it was not so much the cold which threatened crops, nor even hailstorms or cloudbursts–which were always localised–as wet summers, which prevented the grain from ripening, and mildewed and rotted it (Goubert 1986:93).

About one third of the land was always left fallow in order for it to “rest” and regain its fertility (Goubert 1986:7). In some upland areas, where biennial rotation was practiced, as much as half the land might be left fallow each year (Shaffer 1982:124). Fallow land left unplanted one year in three or every other year, was grazed by sheep and cattle. The land provided necessary fodder (from grain stubble and weeds/grass that sprouted), while at the same time, the manure from the animals enriched the soil.

> The prime objective of agriculture during the *ancien régime économique* was to produce enough grain to feed an increasing population, but this could only be achieved if adequate manure were available to maintain soil fertility, and so it was to this end that most livestock were raised. In consequence, keeping livestock was not a specialist activity over much of France but rather an essential adjunct to the arable system which, in turn, made important quantities of feed for sheep through fallowing and stubble grazing. Stretches of moorland and other types of rough land provided pastoral resources which, similarly, were more suited to sheep than cattle...(Clout 1983:94).

Therefore, the sheep of Uxeau were absolutely necessary for successfully growing grain, in addition to their uses for wool and cheese. In Bessy, where carders of wool are not present, cattle may have fulfilled that purpose more than sheep. Plow teams of oxen would have ranged from four to ten animals per team, depending on whether lighter upland soils or heavier lowland soils were being plowed. As we have seen (see Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society), a large *domaine* such as that farmed by the *communautés* in Bessy and Uxeau may have required as many as five or six plow teams, equaling from 24 to 60 animals. Of these, the oldest pair of cattle from each team would be sold each year and replaced with a young team (Shaffer 1982:58). Cattle were never eaten in the countryside, where the cash from their sale was absolutely essential for paying taxes, tithes, and sharecropping rents on buildings and equipment. This applied to sheep as well. In fact, “meat was hardly ever seen except on feast days....If there were cows, then any calves would naturally be sold, as would any lambs; old beasts too were sold rather than eaten” (Goubert 1986:88). These old cattle would be gaunt from the strenuous work, and would need fattening before being sold to nearby towns for their meat. This was the work of *emboucheurs*, who bought the cattle from the farmers, and fattened them for at least three months on rich lowland pastures, such as those

found along a river, before selling them. The animals would gain as much as 100 kilograms, providing the margin of profit for the *emboucheur*. There would have been a fair number of head of cattle being sold from Uxeau and Bessy each year as a by-product of agriculture (Shaffer 1982:135), and it is in Bessy that the rich, well-watered riverine fields and meadows suited to fattening the animals would be found. The fact that no *emboucheurs* were specifically mentioned in the parish records from 1690-1700 is not surprising, because in this era cattle fattening would not have been a full-time occupation as it was to become in the late eighteenth century. (Cattle raising as an industry came into being with the introduction of the Charolais breed in the 1770s–Shaffer 1982:134). In the 1690s it could only have been a supplemental activity of the grain farmers. Bessy is certainly the location where the fattening of these animals would have taken place. Cattle, even when fewer in number, are much more efficient than sheep for manuring fields (Goubert 1986:10). These facts may explain the seeming lack of–or smaller number of–sheep in Bessy indicated by the absence of full-time wool carders in the records. The uplands of Uxeau on the other hand, would have included more rocky land–areas of scrub, brushland and woodland–with thin soils not suitable for the plow, but having plenty of plant cover of the type that sheep could graze in addition to feeding on the fallow land.

In the years the land was not left fallow, the rye crop was planted in the fall and harvested nine to ten months later–the following July or August. In the spring following the late summer harvest, a first plowing in March or April, called the *somber*, took place to break up remaining stubble and weeds. This plowing exposed the dark earth–hence its name. A second plowing took place in June called the

biner. Finally, just before the planting in the fall, a third plowing called the *semaille* took place to loosen the soil and to incorporate the manure deposited on the fields by the grazing animals. Then the crops were sown and the fields harrowed to break up the clods and cover the seed (Shaffer 1982:139). By the following July/August the rye could be harvested again, thus producing a crop only once every two years on a plot of land (Clout 1983:19-20).

Labor Requirements

The plowing was difficult, laborious work, requiring two strong men with experience and expertise to run each plow team. The work in the spring, early summer, and again in the fall, required a year-round labor-force of plow men, which is why the *communauté* organization made more sense than relying on paid farm hands.

From mid-summer to early fall, the work consisted of haying and harvesting–all done by hand. These activities had to be done quickly, sometimes in a matter of days. Even though the work force of the *communauté* was large, and its women and children also took part, extra hired labor was still needed at this time to ensure a successful harvest. (Shaffer 1982:139).

> The mowing of hayfields had to take place within a few days; if cut too early the hay would lack sufficient nutrients, and if cut too late it would contain excess moisture that would harm livestock by producing digestive diseases or even abortions (Shaffer 1982:138).

Additional workers were also required to help with harvesting and threshing of grain. Both activities were done by hand up until the end of the nineteenth century. The grain had to be cut and bound into sheaves. It was harvested with a small

sickle which could be used by men, women, and children. The larger scythe needed a large, strong person to swing it, using their entire body in the motion (Clout 1983:90-91). These scythes were more efficient, but because metal was so expensive their cost was prohibitive for farms (even most spades of the time were made with just a thin covering of metal over wood)(Goubert 1986:97). Threshing to free the seed from the stalk was also done by hand with a heavy flail that could be dangerous if not used carefully. This took place in large barns that provided some protection from the elements (Goubert 1986:84). It was physically demanding work that required a large number of people (Clout 1983:87). Additional labor was also required in carting the grain to the mill and back, and to deliver the landowner's and church's shares.

These laborers were seldom paid much cash. They might receive a few coins, but mostly they were fed while on the job (an important benefit, especially in lean years), and were given a share of the grain which they could use for their family's immediate consumption needs or save as seed for planting the next year's crop on their own very small holdings (Goubert 1986:100).

Vignerons, although doing most of their yearly round of work by themselves with the help of wife and children, did employ large number of people for the grape harvest, which like hay and grain had to be accomplished in a matter of days. Vineyards generally suffered from the same weather hazards as the grain crops. Late frosts in the spring or early in the fall could damage the plants, and too much rain could destroy the harvest as would summer hail storms.

Vines were almost always planted on well-drained slopes near a river (Goubert 1986:125), such as the slopes of the uplands of Uxeau which rise from the Arroux

river. There were no *vignerons* or vines mentioned in Bessy whose communities (except for Morentru) lie in the valley along the banks of the river itself. The upland slopes were subject to erosion, and every so often the soil had to be replaced, carried up the hill a basketful at a time. A *vigneron* might also hire workers to carry out this arduous, but unskilled task, or similarly, to aerate the soil in the spring with pickaxes (Brennan 1997:16).

Overall, the demand for labor in the country was so great in late summer and fall that it sometimes even drew people from the towns (Goubert 1986:100).

Supplementary Subsistence Activities

Of course, the work on the main crops–grain or grapes–was in addition to many other subsistence activities that took place on every farm or cottage smallholding. There were the animals to look after. The sheep had to be closely tended so that they wouldn't wander into fields of grain or the few good pastures and meadows reserved for hay and cattle. Cattle eat plants part way down, allowing them can grow back rapidly–sometime within a just a week or two, but sheep eat a plant all the way to the ground delaying regrowth sometimes until the next season (thus the nursery rhyme warning for Little Boy Blue–the sheep's in the meadow, the cow's in the corn!). In some places a village would hire a single shepherd to tend everyone's animals during the day and bring them back in the evening. A separate cowherd might similarly be employed to move the few cattle between communal pastures and fallow land (Goubert 1986:142). There were no shepherds or cowherds mentioned in Uxeau, and the large *communautés* may each have designated their own member to do the job.

There was also the milking. The milk from cattle and sheep was made into cheese which would be sold at market for consumption by the country elite and town folk rather than the actual producers (Goubert 1986:39). It was the same with chickens and their eggs (Goubert 1986:99). Where there were many sheep, as seems to be the case in Uxeau, then some of the hard, aged cheese might be eaten after the evening meal of soup poured over chunks of bread (Goubert 1986:87).

Another major subsistence activity was the garden, and everyone had one, even those living in towns. Men dug the gardens, but they were tended by the women and older children (Goubert 1986:1500. The garden provided the vegetables and herbs for the stews, that along with bread, made up almost every meal. The peas, lentils and beans provided additional protein in the diet. Other vegetables grown were cabbages, turnips, carrots, radishes, leeks, and spinach-beet. Herbs to give some flavor to the bland diet were also grown (Goubert 1986:86, 98; Monahan 1993:150). The garden might include a few vines and some fruit trees. The grapes and most of the good fruit were sold at market, but the overripe fruits, along with herbs were put into barrels of water to form the only drink available since wine was out-of-reach for most, and not drunk by women, children and servants even in households that could afford it (Goubert 1986: 41, 87, 125). The fruit drink might also be made of wild berries, tasty leaves or, as was common with vignerons, the pressed grape stalks, pips, and skins left over after the wine making (Goubert 1986:91, 125). A hive of bees in the garden would provide the only sweetener available in the countryside (Goubert 1986:13, 115), although honey, too, would be sold.

Close to the house might also be a small field devoted to hemp. Most families produced some type of fiber (wool, flax or hemp) to make their own cloth, even if that cloth was actually woven for them by a local weaver (Goubert 1986:143-144). In Uxeau this was wool as indicated by the full-time wool carders living there. Hemp required wet conditions and large pools in which it could soak before it could be broken down and combed into fibers for spinning (Goubert 1986:13-14). It is in Bessy that we find the right conditions for hemp as well as the combers of hemp listed in the register. Any extra fibers or cloth produced would also be sold.

Other important subsistence activities crossed into the realm of the surreptitious and illegal. Forests and wooded areas, such as those found particularly in Uxeau, provided essential resources for subsistence. The same was true for rivers and ponds–especially important for Bessy. These areas, however, were almost always owned and controlled by *seigneurs* or the crown. The overall area of forest in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century in Bessy and Uxeau was somewhat greater than it is today (personal communication with Dr. Scott Madry from his inspection of early maps for the area), even though today plantations of pines to be sold for wood are an still an important investment and common land use for the farmers of Uxeau. In the seventeenth century, and up until the revolution, rights to pasturage, gathering berries and nuts, and trapping animals in the woods, as well as fishing in the rivers were all the reserve of the landowner, who only sometimes permitted these activities on a limited basis in a few well-designated areas, or for few specified weeks during the year (Goubert 1986:173). People freely pastured their animals in the woods, and poached and fished anyway (Goubert 1986:4-5, 89). Rabbits and fish provided an important source of protein, and were

probably the only meat eaten on a regular basis by peasants (rabbits were not kept domestically at the time–no need when the woods and fields were full of them–Goubert 1986:42, 88).

Without use of the woodlands, people in that time could not have successfully raised cattle and pigs. Since not much land could be spared from cereal growing, only a small amount of hay was put by to see the cattle (plow teams) through the winter, but if drought or a prolonged winter diminished the supply, the only alternative was to run the animals through the wooded areas to forage (Shaffer 1982:124). Pigs were raised in almost all wooded areas of France . They were fed solely on acorns or beechmast because there were no table scraps left over to give them (Goubert 1986:88). Oak groves, then, were a particularly important resource for an area, and it may explain the longevity of these stands, even when wood was in high demand. Plant survey (personal communication from Amanda Tickner on her 2004 survey) and pollen study (Scott Cummings and Albert 1995) in the oak woods between les Roches and la Valla (not far from le Chevalot) indicate that those woods have been oak groves continuously since ca. 800 BC.[1]

As described in Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society, the family's pig would be butchered in the late fall. The meat would provide the feast for the autumn weddings and winter holidays, while the rest would be salted and dried and made to last the whole year. The little amount added to stews normally provided more flavor than protein (Goubert 1986:86).

Nuts from the woods could be another important source of protein in the diet, and the berries were one of the only sources of fruit available to everyone. The hedges bordering the fields often provided resources similar to the wooded areas.

In addition to their use as a wind break and barrier to roaming animals, they were a home for small animals, contained berries and sometimes fruit or nut trees, and could provide coppice for fences, trellises and other structures if the landowner allowed them to keep the wood when trimming back the hedges (Goubert 1986:16, 31).

The Rhythm of Rural Demographics

Now that the agricultural and subsistence pattern has been laid out, it is possible to examine how the seasonal round affected patterns of marriages and births. Figure 46, Marriages by Month 1690-1699, shows the cumulative counts for marriages in each month over the ten-year period. A definite pattern can be seen where most marriages occur in November, April and June. The prevalence of November marriages was discussed in Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society. The fall harvest work was at an end, and it was time to slaughter the animals that could not be fed over the winter, which provided for the wedding feasts. The church calendar periods of Lent and Advent prevented marriages for most of March and December (Goubert 1986:66), a practice clearly reflected in Figure 46. The months of January and February were slow months as far as agricultural labor was concerned, but the weather was usually harsh and not conducive for travel or celebrations. The months of April and June were better, and marriages were frequent during those months. The month of May, however, was considered “unlucky” for marriages, and that belief seems to have been taken seriously in Uxeau and Bessy (Goubert 1986:66). Marriages were infrequent during July,

August, September and October because these were the busiest months of the year. The days were taken up by haying, harvesting, and threshing.

Figure 47, Births by Month 1690-1699, also reflects the seasonal round. Conceptions were lowest in March and April–the time of the heaviest plowing, and in September through November–the time of harvesting. The peak months for conceptions were January and February, and May through July–the months of less intense agricultural labor.

Ecotypes

Differences in land use or *ecotype* (concept described in Chapter 4, Rural Family Life and Society) between Bessy and Uxeau, have emerged from the analyses of the previous chapter. This is not surprising since the parish of Bessy was largely made up of the valley lowlands along the Arroux River, and that of Uxeau comprised the hilly uplands. One could glance at a topographical map of the two areas and guess as much. Sheep were more suited to grazing on the rocky scrub land in Uxeau, and it was in Uxeau that all the full-time carders of wool lived. It is likely that cattle to be fattened for sale took the place of sheep in fertilizing the fallow fields and richer meadows of Bessy. The wet riverine land in Bessy was more suited to raising hemp and soaking it, and that was where the full-time combers of hemp lived.

It must be noted that probably all families were involved in processing either wool or hemp fibers for their personal needs, but there was enough wool being produced in Uxeau, and enough hemp being produced Bessy for people to specialize and support themselves by doing it full-time. Similarly, although many

families in France at the time supplemented their income by weaving in the slow winter months, both Uxeau and Bessy had a large number of full-time, professional weavers–more than enough to meet local demand for cloth.

Vines are best planted on slopes where they are well drained and above the chillier frost zones of the valleys. Uxeau has these slopes, while much of Bessy is flat. All of the *vignerons* lived in Uxeau and not Bessy.

Yet while the differences in land use between the highlands of Uxeau and lowlands of Bessy are completely understandable, the reason for the complete separation of the people of the two parishes into these different occupational groups is not so transparent. That is because no farms or *domaines* in that place and time were made up of contiguous fields. The *domaines* of the large landowners had been acquired piecemeal with scattered plots that could be a long distance from each other (that remains the case for many farms today in Uxeau). There is no reason why someone in Uxeau could not own or sharecrop some choice land along the river. There is no reason why someone from Bessy could not own or sharecrop vineyards on the slopes of Uxeau, which may well have been within sight of *communautés* in Bessy. The villages of Rosières and St. Antoine were located along the river like Bessy, but they, in contrast, were heavily involved in the wine trade and had strong connections, both business and social, with Uxeau. Bessy's *communauté* of Morentru was even located on the upland slopes, but no *vignerons* or wool workers were recorded as living there.

The ecotype perspective includes relations with those outside the immediate area. When we examine relations of marriage and godparents for Uxeau and Bessy, we see that the occupational split is mirrored in the social relations (see

Chapter 5, Family Patterns and Strategies). For both Uxeau and Bessy, it was more common to marry someone outside their parish than within, yet marriage relations between Uxeau and Bessy were extremely rare. A similar trend appeared in godparent relationships. Although godparents were more likely to be chosen from one's home parish, a substantial portion in both Uxeau and Bessy came from outside the parish, and yet the number of these relations between Uxeau and Bessy was again minimal.

The depth of the divide between Uxeau and Bessy suggests that it has deep roots, reflecting a long-time pattern of different ecotypes. It is possible to speculate that these differences may go back to Gallo-Roman times. For that period, archaeological research has shown that Roman-type settlement, road networks, and land use were concentrated along the river, while the older Celtic settlements and communication network were concentrated in the uplands (see Crumley and Marquardt 1987).[2]

Notes to Chapter 6

1. These woods also contain Bronze Age burial tumuli which make the area a sacred site which is still, to some degree, regarded as such by local inhabitants.

2. A substantial Roman-era villa has been discovered in the uplands of Uxeau near Busserolles, but has not been excavated. Excavation there could reveal much about the differences or similarities in economy and land use between the upland areas of Uxeau and lowland Bessy.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Alternative Uses of Parish Registers

The results of this research have accomplished three major tasks. The first was to show that early parish registers, used on their own, and covering only short intervals of time, may be profitably utilized to answer various types of research questions or to form robust hypotheses for further investigation apart from the standard uses of parish registers for population reconstruction, discerning long-term demographic trends, and the delineation of household structure. Evidence on marriage practices, reproductive patterns, social alliances, the local economy, and land use may be effectively drawn from such studies to reveal local conditions, family strategies, and change in response to major short-term events such as the famine of 1693-1694.

The Incorporation of Peripheral Records

The second task was to show that the incorporation of the peripheral records in parish registers concerning godparents, marriage witnesses and mourners expands significantly the types of questions that can be addressed with parish registers, and improves the reconstruction of family ties, especially in relation to the extended family beyond the immediate household. The peripheral data is not frequently

added to a data base for family reconstitutions, mainly because the entry of simple baptisms, marriages, and burials is so time consuming on its own. The incorporation of the data on godparents, marriage witnesses, and mourners increases the work and time exponentially. Additionally, parish records in many places do not include this kind of detailed data found in some of the French registers. Attempting to enter these peripheral records for a lengthy span of years at one time is quite daunting. But the breadth of information gained by doing so is worthwhile, even if done for only a short period of years such as a decade. By using this information, families were reconstructed for up to four generations–something that would otherwise take many decades worth of data. Importantly, the peripheral data revealed the relationships beyond the immediate family and household, and the role these relationships played in the lives of individuals, especially in marriage alliances, residence patterns, and work relationships.

Mourners were usually immediate family–parents, siblings and children. These records did not inform much on the social relations within the parishes but were invaluable for reconstructing family trees within a short span of years. Marriage witnesses were more likely to include extended family, godparents, neighbors, and employers. These records were especially valuable for reconstructing the social network both within the parishes and their ties without. Godparents were sometimes relatives, but in Uxeau and Bessy more often were not. By recording the number of times people were selected as godparents in the records, the social hierarchy of the parishes could be reconstructed, as well as ties to other parishes.

All three of these types of peripheral records increased the presence of individuals in the reconstruction many times, and allowed detailed tracking of many

people, showing when they changed residence or occupation. Change of residence within a parish is something usually not noted in parish register studies. Most tend to be more focused on people moving in and out of parishes, and comparisons between parishes in general. The specific information revealed about Uxeau and Bessy showed that changes of residence and occupation were common and frequent, and that even entire *communauté* groups with their *chef* changed residence and workplace. The strategies for social alliances revealed through the marriage and godparent records showed the construction of a safety net which allowed most individuals (and entire *commuauté* groups) to successfully change occupation and residence when the need arose. Most such changes represented upward mobility or at least a lateral change of circumstance showing a successful ability to cope with the stressful conditions of the decade. Only a handful of individuals in the records showed evidence of downward mobility (although one must still take into account persons whose loss of occupation or residence caused them to disappear abruptly from the registers altogether).

Differences between the Communautés of 1690s Uxeau/Bessy and Those of Other Places and Other Times

The patterns of marriages and godparents also revealed differences in strategies between these *communautés* and the majority of other farmers in France at the time, as well as between the *communautés* of this early period compared with the *communautés* of more recent times, particularly the much-studied *communautés* of the nineteenth century. First, while the pattern of marriage alliances in most of France, as well as for neighboring *communautés* in Luzy, and for *communautés* of

the same region in later periods, was to marry within one's own parish, the predominant marriage alliance in Uxeau and Bessy was with people from other parishes. This seemed to be a conscious strategy on the part of the *chefs de communauté* (who arranged all marriages) to establish as many and as widespread ties to other *communautés* as places from which to draw additional labor or siphon off excess labor, and as a potential refuge in a time when excessive taxes, harvest failures and high mortality might precipitate the loss of the *communauté's* sharecropping contract. Several *communauté* groups (who may have lost their contract) were able to successfully join other *communautés* with whom they had established ties during the study period.

Godparent alliances, on the other hand, were used to reinforce ties between families of the same *communauté*, to cement relations with leaders of the *communautés* as well as the elite of parish society, and to ally with close neighbors who could come to one's immediate aid and provide temporary extra labor when needed at haying and harvest time. Even so, the godparent ties in Uxeau and Bessy were more often with persons from outside the parish than was the norm for most of France in that period, once again possibly indicating the desire for a more widespread safety net.

Compared with other small-holding farmers in France, the age at first marriage was significantly lower for the Uxeau/Bessy, which is in keeping with comumunal farming societies found elsewhere in France and in Italy who did not have to worry as much about dowries and inheritance as land-owning farmers. Even so, the very young average age at marriage found in Uxeau and Bessy (some women as young as 13 and men as young as 15) was lower than some found elsewhere. This may

have been another marriage strategy of the *chefs* to bring in additional labor when needed in the form of these young and strong teenagers. At the same time, the controlled communal living environment of the *communauté* seems to have prevented these young couples from conceiving for many years after their marriage, with the result of maximizing their laboring productivity and safeguarding the young women from the dangers of early child bearing. Wage-laborers working for the *communautés*, although marrying at a much later age, had an even more significant delay between marriage and the birth of their first child. This may have been due to housing arrangements of the workers or to a conscious effort on the part of the couple to delay child bearing until they were more financially established. No such delay in child bearing was seen for the non-farming craftsmen and professionals in the parish. After the famine years of 1693 and 1694, the numbers of people marrying below the age of twenty-one abruptly dropped in Uxeau and Bessy, which may be a further indication that the economic burden of those years affected the *communautés*, delaying sharecroppers from amassing even the small dowries and inheritances normally exchanged by these groups.

Another difference between the *communautés* of the 1690s and those of later years was that marriage between blood relatives was common for later periods (with the purchase of a dispensation from the Church)(Dussourd 1979:94-95), but non-existent in 1690s Uxeau and Bessy. The incest laws were strictly observed in that regard (and the peripheral records allowed enough detailed reconstruction of families to make that determination), but multiple marriages between families (e.g. sets of sisters marrying brothers, and sets of widowed mothers and daughters marrying widowed fathers and sons) before they became blood relations were

another way to achieve the same end of concentrating wealth within the family. The tradition of multiple marriages on the same day was a trend observed in the 1690s which continued through the nineteenth century among *communautés* (Dussourd 1979:94-95).

Economy and Land Use Patterns

The third task for which the parish registers were utilized was to reconstruct the economy and land use patterns of Uxeau and Bessy. Once again, the incorporation of the peripheral records proved essential for creating a picture of the range of activities occurring throughout the parishes at a certain point in time.

Some occupations were shown to be the specialty of single families (painstakingly reconstructed), such as the wool carding of the Chivriers, the oil producing of the Bards, the winegrowing of the Souterres, and the working with straw of the Buisson family as roof thatchers and hemp combers. The Sotty family were *maréchals* for much of the surrounding area, and the family of Edmonde Roy were the stone masons in Uxeau. Even *chefs de communauté* tended to be related to each other.

Where families were not able to have the security of a monopoly over a trade or craft, diversification of occupations within the family (and on the level of the *communauté* as well) provided insurance against failure in one area, and allowed the accumulation of cash necessary for rents, tithes, taxes and dowries. A single family or *communauté* commonly included various occupations such as full-time sharecropping farmers, winegrowers, weavers, wool carders, carpenters, etc. Wage laborers, too, were able to turn their hand to many different jobs creating a type of

security. Philibert Guillaume is a good example; within the space of nine years he worked running a tavern, as a general farm hand, as a carpenter and as a shoemaker.

The reconstruction of land use and ecotypes are, again, something not regularly addressed in the usual parish register study. Although today Bessy and Uxeau are a single Commune with little difference in land use between the two areas,[1] in the 1690s there was a distinct difference in ecotype that was mirrored in the spheres of social interaction between the two parishes. While both parishes had a primary objective of raising grain for subsistence, Uxeau with its higher elevation specialized in wine growing and sheep for fiber and fertilizer, while Bessy grew hemp for cloth, and likely substituted retired plow oxen, which they fattened and sold, for the manure of sheep on their fields. While both parishes interacted a great deal with outside parishes, there was very little exchange between Uxeau and its annex Bessy. The difference in land use and economies, which channel the relations with outside areas, is the most probable explanation for the dearth of social ties between Uxeau and Bessy.

Results in Relation to Future Research

The indications provided by the registers of land use in this period will be followed up in further studies. Maps from the time, *seigneurial* records of land holdings, tithe records, tax records, and pollen/phytolith studies can all be used to add to the picture begun by the evidence provided in the parish registers.

A valid criticism of parish register studies and family reconstitution projects in the past has been that the selection of a parish to study has been made arbitrarily,

for convenience, or on the basis of the quality of the records, rather than on the relation of the parish to research questions or a research program (Willigan and Lynch 1982:71; Anderson 1988:16). The commune of Uxeau was selected for family reconstitution because of the long-term research that has been and is being done on the commune. This research focuses on landscape and historical ecology covering periods from the Bronze Age through to the present day (e.g. Crumley 1984; Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Madry 1987; Crumley 1994; Crumley 2000; Jones and Crumley 2001; Van Deventer 2001).

The results of this study will be integrated with past research and incorporated into future research on ecotypes, micro-environments, climate, and sustainability in relation to farming and land use (currently underway by Scott Madry, Elizabeth Jones and Amanda Tickner). The demographic, social, and land use research begun with parish registers in this study will be continued into later periods (eighteenth through twentieth centuries), and related to the evolving sociopolitical and environmental conditions. Beginning with the nineteenth century, the types of demographic and social analyses accomplished in this study can be broadened (e.g. household reconstruction, longer-term demographic trends, larger data sets which will lend themselves to more sophisticated statistical analyses), and integrated with specific economic conditions (farm land values, yields, crop prices) and more spatially defined land-use patterns (data on the specific land parcels related to individual farms, and the type of agricultural use for each parcel tracked over time). The different kinds of records that become available for this in the nineteenth century include census listings, household enumerations, tax records, and government reports on agriculture. For the nineteenth century it will be possible to tie the

information from the “civil” records (the same information recorded in the earlier parish registers) on residence and family relationships to the list of names of the landowners of individual land parcels in the contemporary tax records, making it possible to link individual land parcels to specific farms or *communautés*, and thus examine both the socioeconomic and land use strategies of individual families and farms in much greater detail. Therefore, the significance of the selection of the Uxeau parish records does not lie solely within the questions asked for this particular study. To quote E. A. Wrigley:

> The most successful research is that which remains incomplete. Just as reproduction in necessary for the survival of a population, so good research must breed new problems (Wrigley et al. 1997:557).

Note to Chapter 7

1. Vines are no longer grown in Uxeau, and hemp is no longer grown in Bessy. Both areas now specialize in raising cattle and fodder crops, although sheep seem to have gained in popularity since the droughts of the last few years have made providing fodder for cattle difficult. Plantations of trees, and raising goats and dairy cows for cheese are other common agricultural activities.

Appendix 1. Tables

Table

Table 1: Variables Utilized by Louis Henry for His Family Reconstitution of Parishes from All over France (Séguy 2001:62-63)

Individual Variables
age at death of the wife
age at death of the husband
age at marriage of the wife
age at marriage of the husband
year of wife's death
year of husband's death
year of final observation
year of marriage
year of birth of the wife
year of birth of the husband
year of remarriage
presence of wife after such date
presence of husband after such date
presence of wife before such date
presence of husband before such date
day of final observation
day of marriage
day of remarriage
day of death of the wife
day of death of the husband
day of birth of the wife
day of birth of the husband
place of birth of the wife
place of birth of the husband
place of remarriage of the wife
place of remarriage of the husband
month of final observation
month of marriage
month of remarriage
month of death of the wife
month of death of the husband
month of birth of the wife
month of birth of the husband
form number
number of children
last name of former spouse of wife
last name of former spouse of husband
last name of wife
last name of husband
last name of mother of the wife

Individual Variables

last name of mother of the husband
death of the wife in parentheses
death of the husband in parentheses
first name of former spouse of wife
first name of the preceding wife of the husband
first name of the wife
first name of the husband
first name of the mother of the wife
first name of the mother of the husband
first name of the father of the wife
first name of the father of the husband
profession of the former spouse of the wife
profession of the former spouse of the husband
profession of the wife
profession of the husband
profession of the mother of the wife
profession of the mother of the husband
profession of the father of the wife
profession of the father of the husband
rank of marriage of the wife
rank of marriage of the husband
signature of the wife
signature of the husband
survival of the mother of the wife
survival of the mother of the husband
survival of the father of the wife
survival of the father of the husband
type of form
code INSEE of the commune

Table 2: Yearly Counts of Marriages, Baptisms and Burials in the Parish Registers of Uxeau and Bessy Combined

Year	Marriages	Baptisms	Burials	Total events
1690	10	32	30	**62**
1691	11	42	42	**84**
1692	11	34	39	**73**
1693	8	37	44	**81**
1694	13	18	74	**92**
1695	23	27	43	**70**
1696	8	40	28	**68**
1697	7	31	36	**67**
1698	5	35	14	**49**
1699	2	31	16	**47**
Total	**98**	**327**	**366**	**693**

Table 3: Count of Burials by Age Group per Year

Year	# Children died 1 month or less	# Children died over 1 month to 1 year	# Children died over 1 year to 9 years old	# Youths died between 10 and 18 years old	# Adults died 19 to 49	# Adults died 50 and older	Total Burials of Known Age
1690	4	6	6	1	7	5	29
1691	7	5	8	4	10	5	39
1692	2	5	3	1	9	19	39
1693	12	7	6	3	10	6	44
1694	7	4	18	1	28	14	72
1695	5	6	9	8	9	6	43
1696	7	8	1	1	9	2	28
1697	5	3	5	6	11	6	36
1698	6	0	1	0	5	2	14
1699	7	2	2	0	1	0	12
Totals	**62**	**46**	**59**	**25**	**99**	**65**	**356**

Table 4: Communautés 1690-1700

Bessy

	Communauté	Chef	First Name	Years
1	Chevreau	Ratinet	Guillaume	1691
		Lardot	Benoist	1693
		Ratinet	Jean	1697
		Buisson	Nicolas	1697-1698
2	la Valla	Latrêche	Gaspard	1693
3	la Malvelle	Thorey	Jean	1692
4	Morentru	Paillart	Claude	1690
5	Tour du Bois	Augard	François	1691

Uxeau

	Communauté	Chef	First Name	Years
1	Bassenier	Laurent	Benoist	1696
		Sommant	Léonard	1696
		Ducloux	Jean	1697
2	Busserolles	Desbrosses	Claude	1693
		Belon	Jean	1695-1697
		Thorey	Jean	1696
		Lambé	Charles	1698
3	Busseuil	Fontenette	Claude	1697
4	Chaselot	Deschamps	Gilbert	1692-1696
		Deschamps	unknown	1696
5	Fresse	Roy	Leger	1694-1696
		Richard	Benoist	1696
		Savenot	Jean	1698
6	Grand Dardon	Ganeau	Claude	1693-1695
		Gaillard	François	1696
7	les Chazots	Deschamps	Gilbert	1697
8	les Jacobs	Garnier	Léonard	1690
		Dejoux	Claude (le jeune)	1697-1699

Uxeau

	Communauté	Chef	First Name	Years
9	Noisillier	Miel	Gratien	1694-1696
10	Petit Dardon	Lauferon	François (l'âiné)	1693-1697
		Lambé	Charles	1695
11	Ville Fèvre	Bourgeon	Léonard	1691-1693
		Simon	Robert	1695
12	Villemaison	Mongilliard	Jean	1691
		Cogny	Benoist	1695-1698
		Perrin	Hugues	1697

Rosières

	Communauté	Chef	First Name	Years
13	Fréty	Laragis	Jean	1691

Table 5: Chefs de Communauté in Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700 (30 total)

Last Name	First Name	Communauté	Parish	Years	Notes
Augard	François	Tour du Bois	Bessy	1691	died June 19, 1692
Belon	Jean	Busserolles	Uxeau	1695-1697	
Bourgeon	Léonard	Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1691-1693	died November 23, 1693
Buisson	Nicolas	Chevreau	Bessy	1697-1698	brother-in-law of chef Guillaume Ratinet
Cogny	Benoist	Villemaison	Uxeau	1695-1698	
Dejoux	Claude (le jeune)	Les Jacobs	Uxeau	1697-1699	
Desbrosses	Claude	Busserolles	Uxeau	1693	leaves by 5/1/1696 to be meunier at Chevalot
Deschamps	Gilbert	Chaselot	Uxeau	1692-1696	
Deschamps	Gilbert	les Chazots	Uxeau	1697	
Ducloux	Jean	Bassenier	Uxeau	1697	died November 25, 1697
Fontenette	Claude	Busseuil	Uxeau	1697	
Gaillard	François	Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1696	
Ganeau	Claude	Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1693-1695	
Garnier	Léonard	Les Jacobs	Uxeau	1690	last mention in records January 19, 1695
Lambé	Charles	Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1695	
Lambé	Charles	Busserolles	Uxeau	1698	
Lardot	Benoist	Chevreau	Bessy	1693	
Latrêche	Gaspard	la Valla	Bessy	1693	
Lauferon	François (l'âiné)	Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1693-1697	
Laurent	Benoist	Bassenier	Uxeau	1696	
Miel	Gratien	Noisillier	Uxeau	1694-1696	
Mongilliard	Jean	Villemaison	Uxeau	1691	died April 19, 1694
Paillart	Claude	Morentru	Bessy	1690	
Perrin	Hugues	Villemaison	Uxeau	1697	
Ratinet	Guillaume	Chevreau	Bessy	1691	died November 11, 1691
Ratinet	Jean	Chevreau	Bessy	1697	brother of chef Guillaume Ratinet, died May 30, 1697

Last Name	First Name	Communauté	Parish	Years	Notes
Richard	Benoist	Fresse	Uxeau	1696	
Roy	Leger	Fresse	Uxeau	1694-1696	
Savenot	Jean	Fresse	Uxeau	1698	
Simon	Robert	Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1695	son-in-law of chef Léonard Bourgeon
Sommant	Léonard	Bassenier	Uxeau	1696	
Thorey	Jean	la Malvelle	Bessy	1692	
Thorey	Jean	Busserolles	Uxeau	1696	

Chefs de Communauté outside of Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700

Last Name	First Name	Communauté	Parish	Years	Notes
Laragis	Jean	Fréty	1691	Rosières	

Table 6: Places Mentioned in the Registers 1690-1700 within the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy

Places in Uxeau	Not Communauté
Bourg d'Uxeau ("de céans", Village d'Uxeau)	X
Chaselot (Village de Chaselot)	
le Châtaignier	
le Chevalot (Village du Chevalot)	X
Le Reuil	X
Les Roches (Village des Roches)	X
Village de Bassenier	
Village de Bazin	X
Village de Busserolles	
Village de Busseuil	
Village de Fresse	
Village de Montdemot	
Village de Ville Fèvre	
Village de Villemaison	
Village des Chazots	
Village des Jacobs	
Village du Grand Dardon	
Village du Noisillier	
Village du Petit Dardon	
Villemaison	

Places in Bessy	
Bourg de Bessy (Village de Bessy)	X
Village de Chevreau	
Village de la Malvelle	
Village de la Tour du Bois	
Village de la Valla	
Village de Montigny	X
Village de Morentru	
Village de Vernizy	X

Table 7: All Occupations from Uxeau/Bessy Parish Registers 1690-1700

Occupation	Translation
advocat en parlement du Toulon	attorney in the courts
bourgeois	inhabitant of town or city, businessman, investor
cabaretier	tavern-keeper
capitaine du Château du Toulon	military officer
cardeur de laine	wool carder
charpentier	carpenter
charpentier en bateaux	boat builder
chapelier	hat maker
chef de communauté	elected head of a communauté
chirurgien	surgeon
clerc	notary
contrôleur à Toulon	official, auditor, inspector
cordonnier	shoemaker
couvreur à paille	roof thatcher
curé	parish priest
domestique	domestic servant
drapier	cloth merchant/manufacturer
écolier	student
fendeur de bois	wood cutter
fermier "de M.(Monseigneur) le Renaud Abbé d'Uxeau"	middleman who leases or sub-leases estates from landowners and oversees the sharecroppers who actually farm the land
gens de labeur	hired workers, servants
granger	sharecropper
hoste	innkeeper
hostellier	innkeeper
huillier	oil producer
journalier	farm hand, hired worker
laboureur	farmer, in this context a sharecropper
Lieutenant de Cavalerie	military officer
locataire	tenant farmer
maçon	stone mason
maîtresse d'école à Chaselot	teacher
manouvrier	hired workers, usually as temporary day laborers
marchand	merchant
maréchaussée	the constabulary of a village or town
maréchal	marshal of a town, village or parish
marguillier	lay administrator of a parish, church warden
mendiant(e)	beggar, male or female

Occupation	Translation
métayer	sharecropper
métissier	breeder
meunier	miller
colonel of the régiment de St Maurice	military officer
parsonnier	co-owner of property in a communauté
peigneur de chanvre	comber of hemp
pelletier	furrier
portier	clerk in charge of guarding the church, ringing the bells, etc.
procureur d'office	public or state prosecutor
sabotier	clog or wooden shoemaker
sacristain(e)	sacristan--officer of the church in charge of the sacristy, the utensils, movables and sometimes the church itself
sage-femme	midwife
seigneur du Chevalot	aristocracy, lord of a domain with feudal rights and privileges
servant(e)	servant--a domestic worker or personal attendant
soldat	soldier
soldat de milice	soldier in local militia
taillandier	edge-tool maker
tailleur d'habits	tailor
tisserant	weaver
tissier en "thoille"	weaver of toile--a cotton, linen, or hemp cloth
tonnelier	cooper--makers of vats, barrels and casks
valet	domestic manservant, personal attendant
vigneron	wine grower/maker

Table 8: Occupations solely within Uxeau/Bessy 1690-1700

Occupation	Translation
bourgeois	inhabitant of town or city, businessman, investor
cabaretier	tavern-keeper
capitaine du Château du Toulon	military officer
cardeur de laine	wool carder
charpentier	carpenter
chapelier	hat maker
chef de communauté	elected head of a communauté
clerc	notary
couvreur à paille	roof thatcher
curé	parish priest
domestique	domestic servant
écolier	student
fendeur de bois	wood cutter
fermier "de M.(Monseigneur) le Renaud Abbé d'Uxeau"	middleman who leases or sub-leases estates from landowners and oversees the sharecroppers who actually farm the land
gens de labeur	hired workers, servants
granger	sharecropper
hoste	innkeeper
hostellier	innkeeper
huillier	oil producer
journalier	farm hand, hired worker
laboureur	farmer, in this context a sharecropper
locataire	tenant farmer
maçon	stone mason
maîtresse d'école à Chaselot	teacher
manouvrier	hired workers, usually as temporary day laborers
maréchal	marshal of a town, village or parish
marguillier	lay administrator of a parish, church warden
mendiant(e)	beggar, male or female
métayer	sharecropper
meunier	miller
parsonnier	co-owner of property in a communauté
peigneur de chanvre	comber of hemp
portier	clerk in charge of guarding the church, ringing the bells, etc.
procureur d'office	public or state prosecutor

Occupation	Translation
sabotier	clog or wooden shoemaker
sacristain(e)	sacristan--officer of the church in charge of the sacristy, the utensils, movables and sometimes the church itself
sage-femme	midwife
seigneur du Chevalot	aristocracy, lord of a domain with feudal rights and privileges
servant(e)	servant--a domestic worker or personal attendant
soldat de milice	soldier in local militia
tailleur d'habits	tailor
tisserant	weaver
tissier en "thoille"	weaver of toile--a cotton, linen, or hemp cloth
valet	domestic manservant, personal attendant
vigneron	wine grower/maker

Table 9: Individuals Signing the Parish Register 1690-1700

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	Residence	Parish	Roles/relationship
Bonnardot	François	unknown	Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	godfather child of Dominique Dupour, tissier
de Planechamps	Claude	seigneur	les Vernes	Bragny-en-Charollais	godfather child of Antoine Moreau
Chapelain	Anne		la Verchere	Issy-l'Évêque	godmother, wife of seigneur Jean-Baptiste Langlois, relative of Bernard Chaussin's wife
Duraud	Joseph	lawyer		Issy-l'Évêque	godfather to Chaussins
Langlois	Jean Baptiste	seigneur	la Verchere	Issy-l'Évêque	godfather to child of Bernard Chaussin
de Montmorillion	François Salladin	comte, seigneur	Lucenier	la Chapelle-au-Mans	godfather to child of Bernard Chaussin
de Montmorillon	Antoine		Lucenier	la Chapelle-au-Mans	godfather, son of François Salladin de Montmorillion
Joby	Antoine		Vernelle	Liner-en-Bourbonnais	signed at his own wedding, son of sieur Philibert Joby, son-in-law of Claude Jacob
Joby	Jacqueline		Vernelle	Liner-en-Bourbonnais	marriage witness, daughter of sieur Philibert Joby
Pilliet	Françoise	maréchal de la paroisse de Montmort		Montmort	godfather
Jacquelot	Louis	curé	Village de Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	curé performed baptisms and burials when Curé Compin was ill
Demint	Charlotte		Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	godmother, wife of Jean Lambert, marechaussée & marchand

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	Residence	Parish	Roles/relationship
Ferrat	Philiberte		Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	signed at her own wedding, wife Antoine Jacob
Jacob	Antoine	contrôleur	Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	signed at his own weding, son of Claude Jacob
Lefort	Jeanne-Marie		Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	godmother, daughter of Jean Lefort, lawyer
Letaule	Nicolas	merchant	Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	godfather
Pirrette	Claude	surgeon	Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	godfather
Chapelain	Anne-Marie		le Chevalot	Uxeau	godmother, wife of Sieur Bernard Chaussin
Chaussin	Bernard	seigneur	le Chevalot	Uxeau	godfather
Gauthier	Antoinette		Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	godmother, wife Claude Jacob
Jacob	Claude	fermier	Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	marriage witness
Jacob	Eleanor		Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	godmother, daughter of Claude Jacob
Jacob	Gabrielle		Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	godmother, daughter of Claude Jacob
Jacob	Honnette Eleanor		Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	godmother, daughter of Claude Jacob
Jondeau	Émilian		Busserolles	Uxeau	godfather, unmarried son of Claude Jondeau, vigneron
Rabet	Antoine	notary	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	godfather, unmarried son cabaretier Lazare Rabet
Chaussin	Catherine				godmother, relative Bernard Chaussin
De la Loge	Marie		Ville d'Autun		mourner at burial of her husband

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	Residence	Parish	Roles/relationship
Lullier	Jeanne				unknown, not mentioned as witness at wedding where she signed

Table 10: Sage-Femmes Active in Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700

# Deliver	First Name	Last Name	Village	Parish	Husband Name	First Name	Occupation	Notes
2	Gratienne	Bard		Uxeau				both 1700
1	Linet	Beraude						1700
4	Edmonde	Chapuis		Uxeau				
1	Jeanne	Clavière		Grury				1699
3	Gratienne	Desbarres	Village de Bazin	Uxeau	Pere	Pierre	wage laborer	husband died 1690; sage femme 1699-1700
14	Benoiste	Deschamps	Village de la Tour du Bois	Bessy	Augard	François	chef de communauté	husband died 1692
4	Simonne	Duraud	Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	Deschamps	Claude	sharecropper	husband died before 1690 in Grury; she lived with her son, Gilbert Deschamps, chef de commuanuté at Chaselot until she died 1693 (75 years old)
1	Benoiste	Dureuil		Bessy				
1	Louise	Ganié		Vendenesse-sur-Arroux				
17	Françoise	Guillion	Village de Cupière	Rosières				delivers babies in Bessy

# Deliver	First Name	Last Name	Village	Parish	Husband Name	First Name	Occupation	Notes
10	Marguerite	Jaudot	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	Bonnin	Marie	sharecropper	1st husband died before 1690 and she was sage-femme in Uxeau--married 2nd husband Jean Mongilliard November 7, 1690 (she was age 50 then)--he died April 19, 1694 after which she moved to la Chapelle-au-Mans and continued to be sage-femme only for Jacques Borneuf's sons
6	Matthelie	Lataupe	Village de Bessy	Bessy	Buisson	Simon	roof thatcher	husband died 1691; she died March 21, 1692 (age 56); son Émilian Buisson peigneur de chanvre; son-in-law Antoine Garreau couvreur à paille
2	Jeanne	Lauferon		la Chapelle-au-Mans	Thorey	Jean	sharecropper	married Jean Thorey and moved to Petit Dardon in 1699--no evidence of being sage-femme after that--but not long enough to tell

# Deliver	First Name	Last Name	Village	Parish	Husband Name	First Name	Occupation	Notes
7	Gabrielle	Luas		la Chapelle-au-Mans	Renard	Jean	sharecropper	delivers babies in Uxeau; her two sons marry Aunt Lazare Laforest and her neice Jeanne Laforest
1	Jeanne	Marchand		Bessy				first appears 1700
1	Antoinette	Nuseller		Ste Radegonde				1692--when Curé Compin was sick and baptisms were taking place in Ste Radegonde
60	Benoiste	Papu	Village de Bazin	Uxeau	Bard	Émilian	oil producer	she died September 24, 1698 (62 years old)
128	Louise	Pascault	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	Vaillaule	Léonard		
3	Jeanne	Prestre	Village de Chevreau	Bessy	Lataupe	Jean	sharecropper	She was from Grand Dardon before her marriage in 1690 (44 years old at marriage)
8	Émiliane	Recognard	Village de Dardon	Uxeau	Ganeau	François	wage laborer	he died before January 7, 1691; she died September 2, 1694 (60 years old)
1	Lazare	Robert		la Chapelle-au-Mans				
1	Claudine	Sarrasin		Bessy				
1	Jeanne	Thiorse	Village de Montigny	Bessy	Liardoux	Jean	stone mason	he died December 3, 1691

Table 11: Percentage of Children Born to Different Occupational Groups between 1690 and 1698 Who Died Before Mid-1700

Children born to:	# born 1690-1698	# died 1690-1700	% died
aristocracy--seigneur	4	0	0.0
military--capitaine/soldat	6	1	16.7
roof thatcher--couvreur à paille	4	1	25.0
oil producer--huillier	4	1	25.0
chef de communauté	34	10	29.4
tavern keeper--cabaretier/hostellier	3	1	33.3
woodcutter--fendeur de bois	3	1	33.3
tailor--tailleur d'habits (1 set twins removed)	6	2	33.3
miller--meunier (3 sets twins removed)	11	4	36.4
carpenter--charpentier	7	3	42.9
sharecropper--laboureur/granger (3 sets twins removed from count)	138	60	43.5
winegrower--vigneron	25	11	44.0
wage laborer--journalier/gens de labeur/manouvrier/domestique (2 sets twins removed)	63	28	44.4
wool carder--cardeur de laine	6	3	50.0
wooden shoemaker--sabotier	4	2	50.0
stone mason--maçon	5	3	60.0
weaver--tissier en "thoille" (2 sets twins removed)	23	14	60.9

Altogether out 342 children born between 1690 & 1700, there were 8 sets of twins and 1 set of triplets--all these children died, usually in a day or two or within four months at most (9 multiple births = 2.7 % of the 332 births). Twins and triplets in this era invariably died from medical complication unrelated to income, environment or nutrition (Goubert 1986:48), and so were removed from this calculation.

Only the fathers with records for more than one year were included = 149; children of fathers with multiple occupations are counted more than once--one time in each occupation.

Table 12: Marriage Relationships between Residences

Relationships between Uxeau & Bessy:	Village des Roches	Village de Chevreau
	Village de Busserolles	Bourg de Bessy
	Village du Grand Dardon	Bourg de Bessy

Spouses' Residence	**Parish**	**# Relationships**	**% Total**	**Locale**			
	Rosières	2	40.0	**Bourg de Bessy**			
	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	20.0	(Paroisse de Bessy)			
Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	1	20.0	(40 % relations with Uxeau)			
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	20.0				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		5		**0**	0.0	**5**	100.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Chazé (father & son marry mother & daughter)	Gueugnon	2	33.3	**Village de Chevreau**			
Village de la Valla	Bessy	1	16.7	(Paroisse de Bessy)			
	Marly-sur-Arroux	1	16.7	(16.7% relations with Uxeau)			
Village des Roches	Uxeau	1	16.7				
	Vitry (proche Paray-le-Monial)	1	16.7				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		6		**1**	16.7	**5**	83.3

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
		0		**Village de la Malvelle**			
				(Paroisse de Bessy)			
				(no relations with Uxeau)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
		0		**Village de la Tour du Bois**			
				(Paroisse de Bessy)			
				(no relations with Uxeau)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Chevreau	Bessy	1	33.3	**Village de la Valla**			
Village de la Valla	Bessy	1	33.3	(Paroisse de Bessy)			
Marly-sur-Arroux	Marly-sur-Arroux	1	33.3	(no relations with Uxeau)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		3		**2**	66.7	**1**	33.3

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
	St Berain-sous-Sanvignes	1	33.3	**Village de Montigny**			
	St Romain-sous-Versigny	1	33.3	(Paroisse de Bessy)			
Moulin d'Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	33.3	(no relations with Uxeau)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		3		**0**	0.0	**3**	100.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
		0		**Village de Morentru**			
				(Paroisse de Bessy)			
				(no relations with Uxeau)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		0					

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
	Bessy	1	33.3	**Village de Vernizy**			
	Neuvy	1	33.3	(Paroisse de Bessy)			
Village de Fréty	Rosières	1	33.3	(no relations with Uxeau)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		3		**1**	33.3	**2**	66.7

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Vernizy	Bessy	1	100.0	**Paroisse de Bessy**			
				(no relations with Uxeau)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		1		**1**	100.0	**0**	0.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	3	23.1	**Bourg d'Uxeau**			
Village des Jacobs (2 brothers at les Jacobs)	Uxeau	2	15.4	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
	Issy-l'Évêque	1	7.7	(no relations with Bessy)			
	Marly-sur-Arroux	1	7.7				
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	7.7				
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	7.7				
Village du Noisilier	Uxeau	1	7.7				
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1	7.7				
	Uxeau	1	7.7				
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	7.7				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		13		**10**	76.9	**3**	23.1

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
		0		**le Reuil**			
				(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		0					

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Bassenier (2 brothers marry 2 sisters)	Uxeau	3	37.5	**Village de Bassenier**			
Village de Bazin	Uxeau	2	25.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
la Comaille	Issy-l'Évêque	1	12.5	(no relations with Bessy)			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	12.5				
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	12.5				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		8		**7**	87.5	**1**	12.5

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	2	33.3	**Village de Bazin**			
	Grury	1	16.7	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
	Neuvy	1	16.7	(no relations with Bessy)			
	Ste Radegonde	1	16.7				
Village de Dardon	Uxeau	1	16.7				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		6		**3**	50.0	**3**	50.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Soulcy (2 brothers marry 2 sisters)	Issy-l'Évêque	2	28.6	**Village de Busserolles**			
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	14.3	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Bourg d'Issy-l'Évêque	Issy-l'Évêque	1	14.3	(14.3 relations with Bessy)			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	14.3				
Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	1	14.3				
	Uxeau	1	14.3				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		7		**3**	42.9	**4**	57.1

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
		0		**Village de Busseuil**			
				(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		0					

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Vernelle (2 brothers marry 2 sisters)	Liner-en-Bourbonnais	2	50.0	**Village de Chaselot**			
Villemaison	Uxeau	2	50.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		4		**2**	50.0	**2**	50.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
2 cousins marry same day	Ste Radegonde	2	20.0	**Village de Fresse**			
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	2	20.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	2	20.0	(no relations with Bessy)			
Village de Montdemot (father & son marry mother & daughter)	Uxeau/Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	2	20.0				
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	10.0				
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	10.0				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		10		**8**	80.0	**2**	20.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village du Châtaignier (2 brothers at le Châtaignier)	Uxeau	2	20.0	**Village de Ville Fèvre**			
	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	10.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	10.0	(no relations with Bessy)			
	St Agnan	1	10.0				
	Ste Radegonde	1	10.0				
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	10.0				
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	10.0				
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	10.0				
	Uxeau	1	10.0				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		10		**6**	60.0	**4**	40.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
	la Chapelle-au-Mans	3	33.3	**Village de Villemaison**			
Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	2	22.2	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
	Issy-l'Évêque	1	11.1	(no relations with Bessy)			
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	11.1				
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	11.1				
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	11.1				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		9		**4**	44.4	**5**	55.6

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	100.0	**Village des Chazots**			
				(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		1		**0**	0.0	**1**	100.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Bourg d'Uxeau (2 brothers at les Jacobs)	Uxeau	2	50.0	**Village des Jacobs**			
Village de Dardon	Uxeau	1	25.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
	Vendenesse	1	25.0	(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		4		**3**	75.0	**1**	25.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Chevreau	Bessy	1	33.3	**Village des Roches**			
la Chapelle-au-Mans	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	33.3	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
	St Laureau de Bononges, diocèse de Limoges	1	33.3	(.33 % relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		3		**0**	0.0	**3**	100.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Ville Fèvre (2 brothers at le Châtaignier)	Uxeau	2	100.0	**Village du Châtaignier**			
				(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		2		**2**	100.0	**0**	0.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
	St Romain-sous-Versigny	1	50.0	**Village du Chevalot**			
Village du Chevalot	Uxeau	1	50.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		2		**1**	50.0	**1**	50.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
la Chapelle-au-Mans	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	25.0	**Village de Dardon**			
	Ste Radegonde	1	25.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1	25.0	(no relations with Bessy)			
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	25.0				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		4		**2**	50.0	**2**	50.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	10.0	**Village du Grand Dardon**			
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	10.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village du Grand Dardon (2 brothers at Grand Dardon)	Uxeau	2	20.0	(10% relations with Bessy)			
	St Romain-sous-Versigny	1	10.0				
Village de Roche	Issy-l'Évêque	1	10.0				
Village de Montdemot	Uxeau/Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	10.0				
	Oudry	1	10.0				
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	2	20.0				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		10		**6**	60.0	**4**	40.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	2	33.3	**Village du Petit Dardon**			
Village de Montdemot	Uxeau/Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	16.7	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
	Gueugnon	1	16.7	(no relations with Bessy)			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	16.7				
	Montmort	1	16.7				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		6		**2**	33.3	**4**	66.7

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	50.0	**Village du Noisillier**			
	Uxeau	1	50.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		2		**2**	100.0	**0**	0.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale
	Uxeau	2	25.0	**Paroisse d'Uxeau**
	Issy-l'Évêque	1	12.5	(no relations with Bessy)
	St Romain-sous-Versigny	1	12.5	
Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	1	12.5	
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	12.5	
Village du Noisillier	Uxeau	1	12.5	
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1	12.5	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
8	**6**	75.0	**2**	25.0

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	33.3	**Village des Rosières**
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	33.3	(Paroisse des Rosières)
	Issy-l'Évêque	1	33.3	(included in Uxeau register)
				(no relations with Bessy)

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
3	**1**	33.3	**2**	66.7

Spouses' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Locale			
Village de Fresse (father & son marry mother & daughter)	Uxeau	2	50.0	**Village de Montdemot** (somtimes Uxeau, sometimes (no relations with Bessy)			
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	25.0				
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1	25.0				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		4		**4**	100.0	**0**	0.0

Table 13: Godfathers' and Godmothers' Husbands' Occupations

Godfathers's and Godmothers' Husbands' Occupations	English translation	# persons	% total # persons
laboureur ou granger	farmer--in this context almost always sharecropper (= granger or métayer)	108	40.8
chef de communauté	elected head or "maître" of group of laboureurs (usually sharecroppers) living/working together while sharing wealth and resources	26	9.8
journalier, gens de labeur, manouvrier	paid workers, either full-time farmhands or part-time laboureurs	18	6.8
tissier en "thoille"	weaver of cloth called "toile", made of linen, cotton or (as is probable in this case) hemp (not wool cloth)	15	5.7
vigneron	winegrower/maker	14	5.3
maréchaussée et maréchal	Constable or marshall of a village or town	9	3.4
no occupation	youth or child, retired, or simply not specified	9	3.4
domestique	domestic servant	7	2.6
meunier	miller (runs mill usually owned by local seigneur)	7	2.6
seigneur	local lord, landed aristocracy with hereditary rights to land and labor	7	2.6
marchand	merchant (almost always living in larger towns)	4	1.5
marguillier	church warden, lay administrator of a parish	4	1.5
cabaretier ou hostellier	tavern owner/manager, innkeeper	3	1.1
capitaine du Château (de Toulon), lieutenant de cavalerie, soldat de milice	military occupations	3	1.1
tailleur d'habits	tailor, maker of clothing	3	1.1

Godfathers's and Godmothers' Husbands' Occupations	English translation	# persons	% total # persons
advocat en parlement	lawyer at court	2	0.8
cardeur de laine	wool carder (preparing for spinning)	2	0.8
charpentier	carpenter	2	0.8
écolier	student	2	0.8
fendeur de bois	wood cutter	2	0.8
fermier	manager who leased an estate from the landowner and oversaw the sharecroppers, taking his own cut	2	0.8
huillier	oil producer	2	0.8
maçon	stone cutter, builder	2	0.8
"parepleure"(?) chez honne. Jean Bassinges (tanneur à Toulon)	skinner at a tanner's	1	0.4
bourgeois	upper-class merchant and landowners, usually living in towns, who generally contracted with sharecroppers to farm their land	1	0.4
chirurgien	surgeon	1	0.4
clerc	notary	1	0.4
cordonnier	shoemaker, cobbler	1	0.4
couvreur à paille	roof thatcher	1	0.4
drapier	cloth manufacturer, merchant	1	0.4
métissier	stock breeder	1	0.4
peigneur de chanvre	comber of hemp (preparing for spinning)	1	0.4
sabotier	clog maker (wooden shoes)	1	0.4
taillandier	edge-tool maker	1	0.4
tonnelier	cooper, maker of barrels, casks and vats (such as for wine trade)	1	0.4
	Totals	**157**	**59**

Godmother occupations	English translation	# persons	% total # persons
domestique ou servante	domestic servant	4	57.1
sage-femme	mid-wife	3	42.9
	Totals	**7**	**100**

Table 14: Fathers' Occupations Compared to Godparents' Occupations

Fathers' Occupations	# fathers	# births	Godparents' Occupations	#	%	Notes
écolier	1	1	laboureur	1	50.0	
(student not from Uxeau)			tailleur d'habits	1	50.0	
			total godparents	**2**		
cabaretier du Bourg d'Uxeau	1	1	laboureur	1	50.0	
			seigneur	1	50.0	
			total godparents	**2**		
Capitaine du Château de Toulon	1	1	advocat en parlement du Toulon	1	50.0	
			no occupation	1	50.0	relative
			total godparents	**2**		
cardeur de laine	2	3	laboureur	3	75.0	
(1 birth no godparents)			meunier au Chevalot	1	25.0	
			total godparents	**4**		
charpentier	1	2	laboureur	**4**	100.0	

Fathers' Occupations	# fathers	# births	Godparents' Occupations	#	%	Notes
chef de communauté (3 births no godparents)	10	18	laboureur	17	63.0	5 laboureurs relatives
			chef de communauté	3	11.1	
			vigneron	2	7.4	
			fermier de céans	1	3.7	
			maréchal du lieu de Ste Radegonde	1	3.7	
			meunier	1	3.7	
			servante chez le Sr de Beaumont de Busserolles	1	3.7	
			tailleur d'habits	1	3.7	
			total godparents	**27**		
couvreur à paille	1	3	laboureur	3	50.0	
			chef de communauté	1	16.7	
			maréchal du Bourg d'Uxeau et marguillier	1	16.7	
			vigneron	1	16.7	
			total godparents	**6**		
domestique	1	1	laboureur	1	50.0	
			no occupation	1	50.0	relative
			total godparents	**2**		
fendeur de bois	2	3	chef de communauté	1	33.3	
			fendeur de bois	1	33.3	relative
			sabotier	1	33.3	
			total godparents	**3**		

Fathers' Occupations	# fathers	# births	Godparents' Occupations	#	%	Notes
huillier	1	1	cabaretier	1	50.0	relative
			vigneron	1	50.0	relative
			total godparents	**2**		

journalier, gens de labeur, manouvrier (12 births no godparents)	47	62	laboureur	48	51.1	8 relatives
			vigneron	9	9.6	
			tissier en "thoille"	6	6.4	
			fermier de céans	5	5.3	
			chef de communauté	4	4.3	
			journalier, gens de labeur, manouvrier	4	4.3	
			cabaretier	3	3.2	1 relative
			clerc	3	3.2	
			maréchal du bourg	2	2.1	
			couvreur à paille	1	1.1	
			écolier	1	1.1	
			fendeur de bois	1	1.1	
			maçon	1	1.1	1 relative
			marchand	1	1.1	
			meunier	1	1.1	
			peigneur de chanvre	1	1.1	1 relative
			sabotier	1	1.1	
			seigneur	1	1.1	
			tailleur d'habits	1	1.1	
			total godparents	**94**		

Fathers' Occupations	# fathers	# births	Godparents' Occupations	#	%	Notes
laboureur	97	175	laboureur	78	38.4	51 relatives
(12 births no godparents)			chef de communauté	22	10.8	7 relatives
			fermier de céans	14	6.9	1 relative
			maréchal du Bourg	13	6.4	2 relatives (1 also taillandier)
			vigneron	13	6.4	
			meunier	9	4.4	1 relative
			journalier, gens de labeur, manouvrier	8	3.9	1 relative
			tissier en "thoille"	7	3.4	4 relatives
			clerc	6	3.0	2 relatives
			tailleur d'habits	6	3.0	
			domestique	5	2.5	3 relatives
			marchand	4	2.0	
			cabaretier, hostellier	3	1.5	
			charpentier	2	1.0	1 relative
			lieutenant de cavalerie, soldat de milice	2	1.0	1 relative
			marguillier	2	1.0	also tissier en "thoille"
			seigneur	2	1.0	
			cardeur de laine	1	0.5	
			chirugien	1	0.5	
			drapier	1	0.5	
			écolier	1	0.5	
			métissier	1	0.5	
			peigneur de chanvre	1	0.5	1 relative
			sage-femme	1	0.5	
			total godparents	**203**		

Fathers' Occupations	# fathers	# births	Godparents' Occupations	#	%	Notes
meunier	6	15	laboureur	13	61.9	
(4 births no godparents)			chef de communauté	3	14.3	
			fermier	1	4.8	
			seigneur (comte)	1	4.8	
			tailleur d'habits	1	4.8	
			tissier en "thoille"	1	4.8	
			vigneron	1	4.8	
			total godparents	**21**		
sabotier	3	3	laboureur	3	75.0	
(1 birth no godparents)			tailleur d'habits	1	25.0	
			total godparents	**4**		
seigneur (sieur)	1	5	seigneur	6	66.7	2 relatives (siblings)
			bourgeois	2	22.2	
			advocat en parlement Issy-l'Évêque Châtellenie	1	11.1	
			total godparents	**9**		

Fathers' Occupations	# fathers	# births	Godparents' Occupations	#	%	Notes
tailleur d'habits	3	7	laboureur	3	25.0	
(1 birth no godparents)			tissier en "thoille"	2	16.7	1 relative
			charpentier	1	8.3	1 relative
			chef de communauté	1	8.3	
			cordonnier	1	8.3	
			domestique (servante)	1	8.3	
			fendeur	1	8.3	
			maréchal du Bourg	1	8.3	
			seigneur	1	8.3	
			total godparents	**12**		
tissier en "thoille"	10	19	laboureur	22	61.1	
			journalier	3	8.3	
			tissier en "thoille"	3	8.3	1 relative
			maréchale	2	5.6	1 relative
			tailleur d'habits	2	5.6	1 relative
			chef de communauté	1	2.8	
			clerc	1	2.8	
			domestique	1	2.8	1 relative
			vigneron	1	2.8	
			total godparents	**36**		

Fathers' Occupations	# fathers	# births	Godparents' Occupations	#	%	Notes
vigneron	13	20	laboureur	14	42.4	2 relatives
(2 births no godparents)			fermier	3	9.1	
			vigneron	3	9.1	1 relative
			domestique	2	6.1	1 relative
			tissier en "thoille"	2	6.1	
			capitaine du Château du Toulon	1	3.0	
			chef de communauté	1	3.0	
			huillier	1	3.0	1 relative
			marchand	1	3.0	
			maréchal	1	3.0	
			seigneur	1	3.0	
			skinner at tanneur's workshop	1	3.0	
			tailleur d'habits	1	3.0	1 relative
			tonnelier	1	3.0	
			total godparents	**33**		

no occupation given	3	3	laboureur	3	75.0	
(1 birth no godparents)			seigneur	1	25.0	
			total godparents	4		

Table 15: Godmothers

Godmother Last Name	First Name	# times	Father or Husband	Last Name	First Name	Step Father or 2nd Husband	Last Name	First Name
Ganeau	Marie	12	H	Leschallier	Pierre			
Jacob	Eleanor	8	F	Jacob	Claude			
Compin	Madelaine (Magdelaine)	7	F	Compin	Jacques			
Leschallier	Catherine	7	F	Leschallier	Benoist	H	Delangle	Pierre
Leschallier	Dominique	7	F	Leschallier	Pierre	H	Lauferon	Jean
deMontchanin	Philiberte	6	H	Lauferon	François			
Duparier	Pierrette	6	H	Thorey	Jean			
Gauthier	Antoinette	6	H	Jacob	Claude			
Gauthier	Denise	5	H	Rabet	Lazare			
Gentilhomme	Jeanne	5	H	Perrin	Jean			
Pornin	Françoise	5	H	Laplace	Pierre			
Savenot	Lazare	5	F	Savenot	Pierre	H	Lauferon	Blaise
Vallois	Christine	5	H	Duparier	Claude	H	Lauferon	François
Barrier	Philiberte	4	H	Girardin	François			
Gigaule	Philiberte	4	H	Janot	Antoine			
Laforest	Lazare	4	H	Moüillade	Pierre	H	Renard	Jacques
Laplace	Philiberte	4	H	Barquelot	Nicolas	H	Michel	Jacques
Merle	Françoise	4	H	Ratinet	Jean	H	Latrêche	Lazare
Pautet	Léonarde	4	H	Lorcet	Jean			
Ratinet	Gabrielle	4	H	Buisson	NIcolas			
Barquelot	Dominique	3	F	Barquelot	Nicolas			
Bouheret	Jacqueline	3	H	Bijon	Léonard			
Bourgeon	Catherine	3	H	Simon	Robert			
Bouthier	Claudine	3	H	Bonnardot	Blaise			

Godmother Last Name	First Name	# times	Father or Husband	Last Name	First Name	Step Father or 2nd Husband	Last Name	First Name
Chanterlaix	Marguerite	3	H	Vager	Charles			
Ganeau	Émiliane	3	H	Granier	Claude			
Jacob	Gabrielle	3	F	Jacob	Claude			
Pascault	Claude (Claudine)	3	H	Chanance	Pierre			
Richard	Émiliane	3	H	Delangle	Maurice			
Richard	Étiennette	3	H	Pornin	Antoine			
Thomas	Jeanne	3	H	Sommant	Claude			
Vaillaule	Jeanne	3	H	Mongilliard	Claude			
Bard	Lazare	2	H	Guitton	Gilbert	H	Perret	Charles
Bijon	Philiberte	2	F	Bijon	Jean	F	Savenot	Jean
Bourgeon	Lazare	2	H	Leschallier	Benoist			
Chapelain	Marie-Anne	2	H	Chaussin	Bernard			
Chaussin	Antoinette	2	F	Chaussin	Denis			
Corderet	Sebastienne	2	H	Gentilhomme	Magdelon			
Derives	Philiberte	2	F	Derives	Jean	H	Laragis	Jean
Dubois	Marie	2	H	Laforest	Louis			
Ganeau	Marie	2	F	Ganeau	Jean			
Garenne	Denise	2	H	Lambé	Charles			
Garreau	Antoinette	2	H	Gros	Émilian			
Gauthier	Jeanne	2	H	Berger	Pierre			
Guilleminet	Françoise	2	F	Guilleminet	François	H	Chalon	Émilian
Jacob	Antoinette	2	F	Jacob	Claude			
Jacob	Louise	2	F	Jacob	Claude			
Janot	Eleanor	2	F	Janot	Antoine			
Laumier	Jeanne	2	H	Bequée (Bequet)	Jean			

Godmother Last Name	First Name	# times	Father or Husband	Last Name	First Name	Step Father or 2nd Husband	Last Name	First Name
Linet	Jeanne	2	H	Perrin	Simon			
Pascault	Jacqueline	2	H	Deschamps	Gilbert			
Perrin	Lazare	2	F	Perrin	Hugues			
Petisaulze	Antoinette	2	H	Deschamps	Claude			
Pornin	Gabrielle	2	H	Latrêche	Gaspard			
Richard	Christine	2		Richard	Benoist			
Robelin	Anne	2	F	Robelin	Denis	H	Guibourg	Antoine
Simon	Simonne	2	F	Simon	Robert			
Therry	Philiberte	2	H	Perret	Benoist			
Thomas	Catherine	2	H	Sommant	Pierre			
Thorey	Jeanne	2	H	Bourbon	Antoine			
Thorey	Legere	2	H	Bonnin	Jean			
Venot	Marie	2						
Augard	Jacqueline	1	H	Gentilhomme	Magdelon			
Augard	Marguerite	1	H	Villette	Pierre			
Barquelot	Catherine	1	H	Gaillard	Georges			
Barquelot	Jeanne	1	F	Barquelot	François			
Beraule	Lucienne	1	F	Beraule	Jean			
Bonnin	Benoiste	1	F	Bonnin	Marie			
Bonnin	Claudine	1						
Bonnin	Lazare	1	H	Paillart	Claude			
Bourgeon	Benoiste	1	H	Vallois	François			
Brial	Françoise	1	H	Pillot	Gabriel			
Buisson	Gabrielle	1	H	Garreau	Antoine			
Carpentier	Claude (Claudine)	1	H	Laizon	Émiland			

Godmother Last Name	First Name	# times	Father or Husband	Last Name	First Name	Step Father or 2nd Husband	Last Name	First Name
Chandelier	Jeanne	1	H	Richard	Michel			
Chanin	Léonarde	1						
Chapelain	Anne	1	H	Langlois	Jean-Baptiste			
Chappé	Jeanne	1	H	Pilliet	François			
Chaussin	Catherine	1						
Chaussin	Marguerite	1	F	Chaussin	Bernard			
Chaussin	Marthe	1	F	Chaussin	Bernard			
Chausy	Marthe (? missing)	1	H	Ducray	Jean			
Choppin	Edmonde	1	H	Beraule	Jean			
Dagonneau	Nicole	1	H	Rabet	Georges			
de Beaumont	Marie	1	F	de beaumont	Jean			
Dejoux	Catherine	1						
Delaforges	Pierrette	1	H	Thorey	Jean			
Demint	Charlotte	1	H	Lambert	Jean			
deMontchanin	Blaise	1	H	Fourrier	Jean			
deMontchanin	Lazare	1	H	Leschallier	Jean			
Derives	Philiberte	1	H	Laplace	Gaspard			
Deroches	Pierrette	1	H	Gauthier	Lazare			
Desbrieres	Antoinette	1	H	Perrin	Hugues			
Desbrosses	Jeanne	1	H	Michon	Fiacre			
Deschamps	Benoiste	1	H	Augard	François			
Deschamps	Gabrielle	1	F	Deschamps	Gilbert			
Dubois	Benoiste	1	H	Paisseau	Pierre			
Duchesne	Lazare	1						
Ducloux	Blaise	1	H	Pornin	Étienne			
Ducloux	Gabrielle	1	F	Ducloux	Paul			

Godmother Last Name	First Name	# times	Father or Husband	Last Name	First Name	Step Father or 2nd Husband	Last Name	First Name
Duraud	Pierrette	1	H	Pascault	Louis			
Dureuil	Jeanne	1	H	Robert	François			
Fontenette	Matthie	1	H	Delorme	Pierre			
Fourrier	Marie	1						
Ganeau	Dominique	1						
Garnier	Claudine	1	H	Richard	Benoist			
Gauthier	Charlotte	1						
Gigaule	Catherine	1	H	Jondeau	Claude			
Girard	Claudine	1						
Goudier	Claudine	1	H	Merlot	Jean			
Guerin	Claudine	1	H	Laurent	Benoist			
Guerin	Émiliane	1						
Jacob	Marie	1	F	Jacob	Claude			
Jacob	Pierrette	1	H	Moreau	Antoine			
Jondeau	Philiberte	1	F	Jondeau	Claude			
Labonne	Claudine	1	H	Lataupe	Lazare			
Labouthière	Jeanne	1	H	Miquaules	Pierre			
Labouthière	Lazare	1	H	Robert	Lazare			
Lachase	Claudine	1	H	Pelerette	Edmé			
Lacroix	Claudine	1	H	Martin	Benoist			
Lambé	Claudine	1	H	Goudier	Antoine			
Lambé	Pierrette	1	H	Richard	Joseph			
Lanoisellée	Dominique	1	H	Richard	Noel			
Laragis	Antoinette	1	H	Augard	Jean			
Larochette	Émiliane	1	H	Luas	Claude			
Lauferon	Jeanne	1	H	Thorey (Thoré)	Jean			

Godmother Last Name	First Name	# times	Father or Husband	Last Name	First Name	Step Father or 2nd Husband	Last Name	First Name
Lauferon	Philiberte	1						
Laureau	Claudine	1	H	Dejoux	Dominique			
Laurent	Josephe	1	H	Pascault	François			
Lefort	Jeanne-Marie	1	F	Lefort	Jean			
Linet	Léonarde	1	H	Pillot	Jacques			
Lorcet	Jeanne	1	H	Delangle	Léonard			
Luas	Antoinette	1	H	Guilleminet	François			
Magny	Claude (Claudine)	1	H	Dejoux	Claude			
Magny	Lazare	1	H	Mongilliard	Pierre			
Mallioche	Claudine	1	H	Pascault	Jean			
Martin	Claudine	1	H	Granier	Lazare			
Matthieu	Elizabeth	1	H	Jacquelot	Magdelon Antoine			
Meulleret	Émiliane	1	H	Gaillard	François			
Miel	Antoinette	1	F	Miel	Gratien			
Miel	Catherine	1	H	Berger	Jean			
Miel	Émiliane (Pierrette)	1	H	Thomas	François			
Miel	Reine	1	H	Laplace	Gilbert			
Moreau	Benoiste	1	F	Moreau	Charles			
Morisot	Honnette	1	F	Morisot	Philibert			
Nuseller	Antoinette	1						
Paillart	Laurence	1	H	Delorme	Pierre			
Pallot	Antoinette	1	H	Philippon	Jacques			
Pascault	Claude (Claudine)	1	H	Bard	Claude			

Godmother Last Name	First Name	# times	Father or Husband	Last Name	First Name	Step Father or 2nd Husband	Last Name	First Name
Perrer	Magdelaine	1	H	Grillot	Joseph			
Perret	Philiberte	1						
Pierre	Catherine	1	H	Merle	Pierre			
Pilliet	Françoise	1	H	Desdames	Claude			
Pillot	Marguerite	1						
Prieur	Françoise	1	H	Lacroix	Blaise			
Richard	Anne	1	F	Richard	Benoist			
Richard	Dominique	1	H	Richard	Pierre			
Rousseau	Marie	1	H	Briou	Michel			
Souterre	Marie	1						
Tuchaule (Tussot)	Sebastienne	1	H	Bard	Laurent			
Verot	Étiennette	1	F	Verot	Pierre			
Verot	Lazare	1	F	Verot	Pierre			

Table 16: Godfathers

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	# times as godfather
Thorey	Jean	laboureur	14
Rabet	Antoine	clerc	11
Granier	Claude	laboureur	8
Rabet	Lazare	tissier en "thoille" et cabaretier	7
Savenot	Jean	chef de communauté	6
Delangle	Pierre	laboureur	6
Laplace	Pierre	laboureur	6
Cogny	Benoist	chef de communauté	5
Vallois	François	journalier et gens de labeur et laboureur	5
Gentilhomme	Magdelon	laboureur	5
Paillart	Claude	chef de communauté	4
Dejoux	Dominique	laboureur	4
Lauferon	Blaise	laboureur	4
Leschallier	Pierre	laboureur	4
Mongilliard	Noel	laboureur	4
Richard	Noel	laboureur	4
Chaussin	Bernard	sieur du Chevalot	4
Deschamps	Gilbert	chef de communauté	3
Latrêche	Gaspard	chef de communauté	3
Lauferon	François	chef de communauté	3
Perrin	Hugues	chef de communauté	3
Sommant	Léonard	chef de communauté	3
Delangle	Maurice	laboureur	3
Dupour	Gregoire	laboureur	3
Laforest	Louis	laboureur	3
Lauferon	François	laboureur	3
Lauferon	Jean	laboureur	3
Pascault	François	laboureur	3
Lorcet	Jean	maréchal du Bourg d'Uxeau et marguillier	3

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	# times as godfather
Lorcet	François	Maréchal d'Uxeau et marguillier	3
Lambert	Jean	Maréchaussée et marchand à Toulon-sur-Arroux	3
Chaussin	Pierre	meunier	3
Jondeau	Claude	vigneron	3
Grillot	Joseph	cabaretier ou hostellier	2
Bourgeon	Léonard	chef de communauté	2
Richard	Benoist	chef de communauté	2
Jacob	Hector	écolier	2
Jacob	Pierre	écolier	2
Jacob	Claude	fermier (father)	2
Augard	Claude	laboureur	2
Berard	Claude	laboureur	2
Bourbon	Antoine	laboureur	2
Dejoux	Antoine	laboureur	2
Dejoux	Jacques	laboureur	2
Lauferon	Émilian	laboureur	2
Leschallier	Benoist	laboureur	2
Mongilliard	Christin	laboureur	2
Rabet	Georges	laboureur	2
Richard	Michel	laboureur	2
Moüillade	Nicolas	laboureur (granger chez Duré)	2
Dejoux	Claude	laboureur (later chef de communauté)	2
Girardin	Claude	maréchal	2
Bijon	Léonard	Maréchal de la paroisse de Vendenesse et taillandier	2
Nestoux	Jean	meunier au Préchevot	2
Perret (Perray)	Charles	meunier et cabaretier	2
Buisson	Émilian	peigneur de chanvre	2
Bonnardot	Blaise	tailleur d'habits	2
Girardin	François	tailleur d'habits	2
Pornin	Antoine	tailleur d'habits	2

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	# times as godfather
Gros	Jean	tissier en "thoille" (et laboureur)	2
Janot	Claude	vigneron (father)	2
Jondeau	Émilian	vigneron (father)	2
Duraud	Joseph	advocat en parlement Issy-l'Évêque Châtellenie	1
Laizon	Émiland	bourgeois de Toulon	1
Descourt	Lazare	charpentier	1
Guitton	Gilbert	charpentier	1
Belon	Jean	chef de communauté	1
Buisson	Nicolas	chef de communauté	1
Fontenette	Claude	chef de communauté	1
Ganeau	Claude	chef de communauté	1
Lardot	Benoist	chef de communauté	1
Laurent	Benoist	chef de communauté	1
Ratinet	Jean	chef de communauté	1
Roy	Leger	chef de communauté	1
Simon	Robert	chef de communauté	1
Pirrette	Claude	chirurgien	1
de Montmorillon	François Salladin	Comte Dessaules, Seigneur de Lucenier, Noisilliers, Chaselot, Busserolles, et autres places	1
Carrin	Gaspard	cordonnier	1
Garreau	Antoine	couvreur à paille	1
Ducloux	Gilbert	domestique chez Jacques Borneuf	1
Delangle	Philibert	domestique chez Jacques Dejoux (laboureur du village des Jacobs)	1
Renard	Benoist	domestique chez le V. Jacob (fermier de Chaselot)	1
Recognard	Émilian	domestique chez Léonard Bourgeon, chef de la communauté du Ville Fèvre	1
Millier	Benoist	domestique chez Me Joseph Jacquelot, Curé de Ste Radegonde	1
Talert	Pierre	drapier	1

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	# times as godfather
Latrêche	Lazare	granger	1
Lesdon	Claude	granger de Mr Laizon de St Antoine	1
Chalon	Émilian	journalier	1
Gros	Émilian	journalier	1
Main	Pierre	journalier	1
Mongilliard	Claude	journalier	1
Mongilliard	Pierre	journalier	1
Villette	Pierre	labourer	1
Barquelot	Nicolas	laboureur	1
Berger	Pierre	laboureur	1
Bourgeon	Claude	laboureur	1
Brenillion	Pierre	laboureur	1
Destreaux	Hippolyte	laboureur	1
Ducloux	Émiland	laboureur	1
Gautheron	Unième (Unisème)	laboureur	1
Gautheron	Vincent	laboureur	1
Gauthier	Lazare	laboureur	1
Godard	Jean	laboureur	1
Guillaume	Jean	laboureur	1
Laplace	Émilian	laboureur	1
Laplace	Gaspard	laboureur	1
Lataupe	Jean	laboureur	1
Laumier	Benoist	laboureur	1
Leschallier	Jean	laboureur	1
Luas	Étienne	laboureur	1
Monceau	Gilbert	laboureur	1
Monceau	Philibert	laboureur	1
Moreau	Antoine	laboureur	1
Munier	Guillaume	laboureur	1

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	# times as godfather
Perrin	Jean	laboureur	1
Perrin	Simon	laboureur	1
Perrot	François	laboureur	1
Porut	Jean	laboureur	1
Renard	Jacques	laboureur	1
Richard	Claude	laboureur	1
Richard	Joseph	laboureur	1
Robelin	Denis	laboureur	1
Robert	Lazare	laboureur	1
Sommant	Pierre	laboureur	1
Sotty	Claude	laboureur	1
Sotty	François	laboureur	1
Therry	Hugues	laboureur	1
Therry	Léonard	laboureur	1
Thomas	Barthélémy	laboureur	1
Thorey	François	laboureur	1
Toulet	Jacques	laboureur	1
Gentilhomme	Jean	laboureur et parsonnier du Jean Perrin	1
Quatrevallée	Antoine	laboureur, parsonnier dans la communauté de Jean Laragis (laboureur de la paroisse de Rosières)	1
Coulaud	François	marchand à Issy-l'Évêque	1
Letaule	Nicolas	marchand à Toulon-sur-Arroux	1
Sotty	Philibert	maréchal de lieu de la Chapelle-au-Mans	1
Laureau	Jean Baptiste	métissier	1
Vager	Charles	meunier au Chevalot	1
Paisseau (Pesseau)	Pierre	meunier au Moulin du Reuil et à Villemaison	1
Bonnardot	François	no occupation	1
Engibert	Claude	no occupation	1
Gautheron	Jean	no occupation	1

Last Name	First Name	Occupation	# times as godfather
Leschallier	Pierre	no occupation	1
Perrin	François	no occupation	1
Roux	Lazare	no occupation	1
Chanillon	Nicolas	parepleure(?) chez honne. Jean Bassinges (tanneur à Toulon)	1
Chaussin	Jean-Baptiste	sieur du Chevalot (father)	1
de Montmorillon	Antoine	Comte Dessaules, Seigneur de Lucenier, Noisillier, Chaselot, Busserolles, et autres places (father)	1
Langlois	Jean Baptiste	sieur de la Verchere	1
de Planechamps	Claude	Sieur des Vernes	1
Berger	Jean	tissier en "thoille"	1
Gaillard	Gabriel	tissier en "thoille"	1
Laragis	Gilbert	tissier en "thoille"	1
Gaillard	Georges	tissier en "thoille" (tisserant)	1
Delangle	Jean	tissier en "thoille" chez Lazare Rabat	1
Forges	Claude	tissier en "thoille" et marguillier	1
Bijon	Jean	tonnelier	1
Borneuf	Jacques	vigneron	1
Couillion	Antoine	vigneron	1
Duroux	Léonard	vigneron	1
Guilleminet	François	vigneron	1
Lacroix	Blaise	vigneron	1
Chanance	Pierre	vigneron de Mr Chaussin	1

Table 17: Godfathers, Godmothers' husbands, and Fathers of Unmarried Godparents by Number of Times Named

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Jacob	Claude	Me	fermier "de M.(Monseigneur?) le Renaud Abbé d'Uxeau"	Chaselot	Uxeau	22		22
Thorey	Jean		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	7	14	21
Leschallier	Pierre		laboureur	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	15	4	19
Rabet	Lazare		tissier en "thoille" then hostellier et cabaretier then tissier again	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	5	7	12
Delangle	Pierre		laboureur	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	5	6	11
Granier	Claude		laboureur	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	3	8	11
Laplace	Pierre		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	5	6	11
Rabet	Antoine		clerc du Bourg d'Uxeau	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau		11	11
Lauferon	François	l'âiné	chef de communauté et laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	6	3	9
Chaussin	Bernard	Sieur	seigneur du Chevalot	le Chevalot	Uxeau	4	4	8
Gentilhomme	Magdelon		laboureur	Village de Bessy	Bessy	3	5	8
Richard	Benoist		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Fresse	Uxeau	6	2	8

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Barquelot	Nicolas		laboureur et tissier en "thoille"	Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	6	1	7
Compin	Jacques	Maître			Grury	7		7
Lauferon	Jean		laboureur	Village du Grand Dardon (communauté de Claude Ganeau)	Uxeau	4	3	7
Lorcet	Jean		maréchal du Bourg d'Uxeau et marguillier	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	4	3	7
Savenot	Jean		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	6	7
Delangle	Maurice		laboureur	Village de Fresse	Uxeau	3	3	6
Deschamps	Gilbert		chef de communauté et laboureur (chef at both places)	Chaselot et Village des Chazots	Uxeau	3	3	6
Girardin	François		tailleur d'habits	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	4	2	6
Janot	Antoine		vigneron	Village de Bazin et Village des Rosières	Uxeau et Rosières	6		6
Lauferon	Blaise		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	2	4	6
Lauferon	François	le jeune	laboureur	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	3	3	6
Leschallier	Benoist		laboureur	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	4	2	6
Perrin	Hugues		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	3	3	6
Perrin	Jean		laboureur	Village de Bessy	Bessy	5	1	6
Simon	Robert		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	5	1	6

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Vallois	François		journalier et gens de labeur then laboureur	Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	5	6
Bijon	Léonard		maréchal de la paroisse de Vendenesse-sur-Arroux et taillandier		Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	3	2	5
Bonnardot	Blaise		tailleur d'habits	Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	3	2	5
Buisson	Nicolas		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Chevreau	Bessy	4	1	5
Cogny	Benoist		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau		5	5
Dejoux	Dominique		laboureur	Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	4	5
Jondeau	Claude		vigneron	Village de Busserolles et St Antoine	Uxeau et Toulon-sur-Arroux	2	3	5
Laforest	Louis		laboureur chez les Cognys	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	2	3	5
Latrêche	Gaspard		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de la Valla	Bessy	2	3	5
Paillart	Claude		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Morentru	Bessy	1	4	5
Richard	Noel		laboureur	Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	4	5
Chanance	Pierre		vigneron (de Mr Chaussin)	Village de Bazin et Village des Rosières	Uxeau et Rosières	3	1	4
Lambert	Jean	honorable	marchand et H24	Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-Sur-Arroux	1	3	4

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Mongilliard	Claude		soldat de milice, journalier et gens de labeur	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	3	1	4
Mongilliard	Noel		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon et Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau		4	4
Pascault	François		laboureur	Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	3	4
Ratinet	Jean		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Chevreau	Bessy	3	1	4
Vager	Charles		meunier then fendeur de bois de Bessy	le Chevalot	Uxeau	3	1	4
Berger	Pierre		laboureur	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	2	1	3
Bourbon	Antoine		laboureur	Village de Busserolles (communauté de Jean Thorey)	Uxeau	1	2	3
Chaussin	Pierre		meunier au Moulin du Reuil	le Reuil et Village de Villemaison	Uxeau		3	3
Dupour	Gregoire		laboureur	Village de Bessy	Bessy		3	3
Grillot	Joseph		cabaretier et hostellier	Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	2	3
Gros	Émilian		journalier	Village de Chevreau	Bessy	2	1	3
Guilleminet	François		vigneron	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	2	1	3
Lorcet	François	Me	Maréchal d'Uxeau et marguillier	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau		3	3
Perret	Charles		cabaretier et hostellier (first meunier)	Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-Sur-Arroux	1	2	3

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Perrin	Simon		laboureur et granger	Village de Chaselot (communauté de Deschamps) et Village des Chazots et Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	2	1	3
Pornin	Antoine		tailleur d'habits	Village du Grand Dardon et Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1	2	3
Rabet	Georges		laboureur	Village des Chazots	Uxeau	1	2	3
Renard	Jacques		laboureur	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	2	1	3
Richard	Michel		laboureur	Village de Chaselot et Village des Chazots	Uxeau	1	2	3
Savenot	Pierre		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	3		3
Sommant	Claude		laboureur	Village de Bassenier (communuté de Léonard Sommant)	Uxeau	3		3
Sommant	Léonard		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Bassenier	Uxeau		3	3
Sommant	Pierre		laboureur	Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	2	1	3
Augard	Claude		laboureur	Village de la Tour du Bois et Village de Montigny	Bessy		2	2

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Bequée (Bequet)	Jean		laboureur	Village de Chevreau	Bessy	2		2
Berard	Claude		laboureur	Village de la Faye (Petite ou Grande?)	Marly-sur-Arroux		2	2
Beraule	Jean		sabotier	Village du Chevalot	Uxeau	2		2
Berger	Jean		tissier en "thoille"	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	1	2
Bonnin	Jean		laboureur	Village de la Malvelle	Bessy	2		2
Bourgeon	Léonard		chef de communauté	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau		2	2
Buisson	Émilian		peigneur de chanvre	Village de Chevreau	Bessy		2	2
Chalon	Émilian		tissier en "thoille" et journalier et domestique de céans	Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	1	2
Chaussin	Denis		meunier	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	2		2
Dejoux	Antoine		laboureur	Village des Jacobs	Uxeau		2	2
Dejoux	Claude	le jeune	Chef de communauté (at les Jacobs but first laboureur at la Valla)	Village de la Valla et Village des Jacobs	Bessy et Uxeau		2	2
Dejoux	Jacques		laboureur	Village des Jacobs et Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau		2	2
Delorme	Pierre		journalier	Village de Bessy	Bessy	2		2
Deschamps	Claude		laboureur (after 1693 journalier, gens de labeur et manouvrier at Dardon)	Village du Noisillier	Uxeau	2		2
Duparier	Claude		tissier en "thoille"	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	2		2
Gaillard	Georges		tissier en "thoille"	Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	1	2

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Ganeau	Jean		vigneron (first journalier)	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	2		2
Garreau	Antoine		couvreur à paille et journalier	Village de Bessy	Bessy	1	1	2
Gauthier	Lazare		laboureur	Village de Bessy	Bessy	1	1	2
Girardin	Claude		maréchal				2	2
Gros	Jean		tissier en "thoille" (et laboureur)	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau		2	2
Guitton	Gilbert		charpentier		Issy-l'Évêque	1	1	2
Jacob	Claude	Honeste	fermier (father) "non-marié"	Chaselot	Uxeau		2	2
Jacob	Hector		escollier = écolier	Chaselot et Marly-sous-Issy	Uxeau et Marly-sous-Issy		2	2
Jacob	Pierre	Honeste	"tholier estudiant"(?)	Chaselot et Toulon-sur-Arroux	Uxeau et Toulon-sur-Arroux		2	2
Janot	Claude		vigneron (father), journalier (Lucenier first) et manouvrier (Ville Fèvre)	Village de Ville Fèvre, Lucenier, et Village des Rosières	Uxeau, la Chapelle-au-Mans et Rosières		2	2
Jondeau	Émilian		vigneron (father) "non-marié"	Village de Busserolles	Uxeau		2	2
Lacroix	Blaise		vigneron	Chaselot	Uxeau	1	1	2
Laizon	Émiland		bourgeois de Toulon	St Antoine	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	1	2

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Lambé	Charles		chef de communauté et laboureur (chef at both places)	Village du Petit Dardon et Busserolles	Uxeau	2		2
Langlois	Jean-Baptiste		Sieur de la Verchere et Prevestière		Issy-l'Évêque	1	1	2
Laplace	Gaspard		laboureur	Village de Vernizy	Bessy	1	1	2
Latrêche	Lazare		laboureur et granger	Village de la Valla et Village de Chevreau	Bessy	1	1	2
Lauferon	Émilian		laboureur	Village de Montdemot	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux		2	2
Laurent	Benoist		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	1	2
Leschallier	Jean		laboureur (first journalier et gens de labeur, then after laboureur, domestique chez Robert Simon, laboureur de Ville Fèvre)	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	1	2
Mongilliard	Christin		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon et Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau		2	2
Mongilliard	Pierre		vigneron et gens de labeur, journalier et laboureur	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	1	2
Moreau	Antoine		laboureur	Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	1	1	2

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Moüillade	Nicolas		laboureur (et granger chez Duré)	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau		2	2
Moüillade	Pierre		laboureur	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	2		2
Nestoux	Jean		meunier au Préchevot	Préchevot	Ste Radegonde		2	2
Paisseau	Pierre		meunier	Village de Villemaison et le Reuil	Uxeau	1	1	2
Perret	Benoist		tissier en "thoille" et marguillier de Bessy (first journalier at le Châtaignier)	Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	2		2
Richard	Joseph		laboureur et granger	Village de Dardon et Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	1	1	2
Robelin	Denis		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon et Village de la Valla	Uxeau et Bessy	1	1	2
Robert	Lazare		laboureur et gens de labeur	Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	1	2
Verot	Pierre		vigneron	Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	2		2
Villette	Pierre		laboureur	Village de Montigny	Bessy	1	1	2
Augard	François		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de la Tour du Bois	Bessy	1		1
Augard	Jean		laboureur	Village de Montigny	Bessy	1		1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Bard	Claude		huillier et tailleur d'habits et cardeur de laine	Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1		1
Bard	Laurent		cardeur de laine et vigneron et huillier	Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1		1
Barquelot	François		laboureur	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1		1
Belon	Jean		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Busserolles	Uxeau		1	1
Bijon	Jean		laboureur		Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1		1
Bijon	Jean		tonnelier	"residence à" Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1
Bonnardot	François			Bourg de Bessy	Bessy		1	1
Bonnin	Marie		laboureur	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1		1
Borneuf	Jacques		vigneron	Village de Chaselot	Uxeau		1	1
Bourgeon	Claude		laboureur	Village de la Cour	Ste Radegonde		1	1
Brenillion	Pierre		laboureur		Rosières		1	1
Briou	Michel		maréchal du lieu de Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	1		1
Carrin	Gaspard		cordonnier	Bourg de Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1
Chanillon	Nicolas	Me	"parepleure"(?) chez honne. Jean Bassinges (tanneur à Toulon)	Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Chaussin	Jean-Baptiste		sieur du Chevalot (father), "non-marié"	le Chevalot	Uxeau		1	1
Couillion	Antoine		vigneron		Montmort		1	1
Coulaud	François	honorable	marchand à Issy-l'Évêque	Issy-l'Évêque	Issy-l'Évêque		1	1
de beaumont	Jean		capitaine du Château du Toulon	Village de Busserolles "residence au"	Uxeau	1		1
de Montmorillon	Antoine		Comte Dessaules, Seigneur de Lucenier, Noisilliers, Chaselot, Busserolles, et autres places (father)	Lucenier	la Chapelle-au-Mans		1	1
de Montmorillon	François Salladin	Messire	Comte Dessaules, Seigneur de Lucenier, Noisilliers, Chaselot, Busserolles, et autres places	Lucenier	la Chapelle-au-Mans		1	1
de Planechamps	Claude	Sieur	Sieur des Vernes	Les Vernes	Bragny-en-Charollais		1	1
Dejoux	Claude	le jeune	laboureur de la communauté de Dominique Dejoux	Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1		1
Delangle	Jean		tissier en "thoille" chez Lazare Rabat	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau		1	1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Delangle	Léonard		laboureur	Village de Serve	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1		1
Delangle	Philibert		domestique chez Jacques Dejoux (laboureur du village des Jacobs)	Village des Jacobs	Uxeau		1	1
Derives	Jean		laboureur	Village de Vernizy	Bessy	1		1
Descourt	Lazare		charpentier et laboureur	la Valla	Bessy		1	1
Desdames	Claude		maréchal du Bourg d'Uxeau	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1		1
Destreaux	Hippolyte		laboureur	Village des Jacobs et Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau		1	1
Ducloux	Émiland		laboureur	la Chapelle-au-Mans "demeurant à"	la Chapelle-au-Mans		1	1
Ducloux	Gilbert		domestique chez Jacques Borneuf	Chaselot	Uxeau		1	1
Ducloux	Paul		laboureur	Uxeau	Uxeau	1		1
Ducray	Jean	Sieur du Breuil	Sieur du Breuil	le Breuil	Maltat	1		1
Duraud	Joseph	Me	advocat en parlement Issy-l'Évêque Châtellenie	residence au lieu	Issy-l'Évêque		1	1
Duroux	Léonard		vigneron		Ste Radegonde		1	1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Engibert	Claude			demeurant chez le Sr Curé de Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1
Fontenette	Claude		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Busseuil	Uxeau		1	1
Forges	Claude		tissier en "thoille" et marguillier	Bourg de Bessy	Bessy		1	1
Fourrier	Jean		laboureur	Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1		1
Gaillard	François		chef de communauté (first tissier en "thoille" then laboureur)	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1		1
Gaillard	Gabriel		tissier en "thoille" et laboureur	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau		1	1
Ganeau	Claude		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau		1	1
Gautheron	Jean				Ste Radegonde		1	1
Gautheron	Unième (Unisème)		laboureur		Ste Radegonde		1	1
Gautheron	Vincent		laboureur		Ste Radegonde		1	1
Gentilhomme	Jean		laboureur et parsonnier du Jean Perrin	Village de Bessy	Bessy		1	1
Godard	Jean		laboureur		Issy-l'Évêque		1	1
Goudier	Antoine		laboureur	Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	1		1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Granier	Lazare		laboureur (first gens de labeur at Ville Fèvre, then laboureur)	Village de Dardon	Uxeau	1		1
Guibourg	Antoine		laboureur et granger	Village de la Valla	Bessy	1		1
Guillaume	Jean		laboureur		Grury		1	1
Jacquelot	Magdelon Antoine	Sieur	Lieutenant de Cavalerie			1		1
Laplace	Émilian		laboureur	Village de Vernizy	Bessy		1	1
Laplace	Gilbert		laboureur	Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1		1
Laragis	Gilbert		tissier en "thoille"		Rosières		1	1
Laragis	Jean		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Fréty	Rosières	1		1
Lardot	Benoist		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Chevreau	Bessy		1	1
Lataupe	Jean		tissier en "thoille" at Bourg de Bessy, then laboureur at Chevreau	Bourg de Bessy et Village de Chevreau	Bessy		1	1
Lataupe	Lazare		laboureur	Village de Chevreau	Bessy	1		1
Laumier	Benoist		laboureur	Village de Chevreau	Bessy		1	1
Laureau	Jean Baptiste		métissier	Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1
Lefort	Jean	Me	advocat en parlement du Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1		1
Leschallier	Pierre			Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau		1	1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Lesdon	Claude		granger de Mr Laizon de St Antoine	St Antoine	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1
Letaule	Nicolas		marchand à Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1
Luas	Claude		laboureur	Ville d'Issy-l'Évêque	Issy-l'Évêque	1		1
Luas	Étienne		laboureur	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau		1	1
Main	Pierre		journalier	Village de Fresse	Uxeau		1	1
Martin	Benoist		laboureur	Village de Morentru et la Malvelle	Bessy	1		1
Merle	Pierre		meunier		Rosières	1		1
Merlot	Jean		manouvrier	Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1		1
Michel	Jacques		marchand		Gueugnon	1		1
Michon	Fiacre		laboureur	Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	1		1
Miel	Gratien		chef de communauté at Noisillier (first laboureur at Ville Fèvre)	Village du Noisillier et Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1		1
Millier	Benoist		domestique chez Me Joseph Jacquelot, Curé de Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde		1	1
Miquaules	Pierre		laboureur		Ste Radegonde	1		1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Monceau	Gilbert		laboureur		Ste Radegonde		1	1
Monceau	Philibert		laboureur	Village de Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde		1	1
Moreau	Charles		laboureur		Bessy	1		1
Morisot	Philibert			Bourg de Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1		1
Munier	Guillaume		laboureur		Ste Radegonde		1	1
Pascault	Jean		laboureur	Village de Montevrier	Issy-l'Évêque	1		1
Pascault	Louis		fendeur de bois	Village du Chevalot	Uxeau	1		1
Pelerette	Edmé		laboureur		Crecy	1		1
Perrin	François						1	1
Perrot	François		laboureur	Village de Villemaison	Uxeau		1	1
Philippon	Jacques		maçon	Village des Roches et Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1		1
Pilliet	François		maréchal de la paroisse de Montmort		Montmort	1		1
Pillot	Gabriel		journalier	Village de la Malvelle	Bessy	1		1
Pillot	Jacques		laboureur	Village des Chazots	Uxeau	1		1
Pirrette	Claude	Me	chirurgien	Toulon-sur-Arroux	Toulon-sur-Arroux		1	1
Pornin	Étienne		maçon (first journalier)	Village des Roches et Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1		1
Porut	Jean		laboureur		Grury		1	1

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Quatrevallée	Antoine		parsonnier dans la communauté de Jean Laragis (laboureur de la paroisse de Rosières)	Village de Fréty	Rosières		1	1
Recognard	Émilian		domestique chez Léonard Bourgeon (chef de la communauté du Ville Fèvre)	Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau		1	1
Renard	Benoist		domestique chez le V. Jacob (fermier de Chaselot), later laboureur at Village de Villemaison	Chaselot "demeurant à" et Village de Villemaison	Uxeau		1	1
Richard	Claude		laboureur	Village de Busserolles	Uxeau		1	1
Richard	Pierre			Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1		1
Robert	François		laboureur	Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1		1
Roux	Lazare	Me					1	1
Roy	Leger		chef de communauté et laboureur	Village de Fresse	Uxeau		1	1
Sotty	Claude		laboureur		Vendenesse-sur-Arroux		1	1
Sotty	François		laboureur	Village du Noisillier	Uxeau		1	1
Sotty	Philibert		maréchal de lieu de la Chapelle-au-Mans	la Chapelle-au-Mans	la Chapelle-au-Mans		1	1

Last Name	First Name	Title	Occupation	Residence	Parish	G-mother # births	G-father # Births	total births named
Talert	Pierre		drapier(?)	Village du Breuil	Gueugnon		1	1
Therry	Hugues		laboureur	Village des Chazots	Uxeau		1	1
Therry	Léonard		laboureur		Vendenesse-sur-Arroux		1	1
Thomas	Barthélémy		laboureur	Bassenier et Village de Fresse (communauté de Leger Roy)	Uxeau		1	1
Thomas	François		laboureur	Village du Noisillier	Uxeau	1		1
Thorey	François		laboureur et granger	Village de Busserolles	Uxeau		1	1
Thorey	Jean		chef de communauté (chef at both places) et laboureur et granger	Village de Busserolles Village de la Malvelle	Uxeau et Bessy	1		1
Toulet	Jacques		laboureur		Gueugnon		1	1

Table 18: Godparent Relationships between Residences

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	22	51.2	**Bourg de Bessy**
Village de la Valla	Bessy	4	9.3	(Paroisse de Bessy)
Village de Chevreau	Bessy	3	7.0	(4.6% relations with Uxeau)
Parish of Bessy	Bessy	2	4.7	
Village de St Antoine	Toulon-sur-Arroux	2	4.7	
Village de la Tour du Bois	Bessy	1	2.3	
Village de Morentru	Bessy	1	2.3	
Village de Vernizy	Bessy	1	2.3	
Parish of Grury	Grury	1	2.3	
Village de Fréty	Rosières	1	2.3	
Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	1	2.3	
Parish of Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	1	2.3	
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	1	2.3	
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	2.3	
Parish of Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	2.3	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
43	**34**	79.1	**9**	20.9

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Chevreau	Bessy	12	60.0	**Village de Chevreau**
Village de Vernizy	Bessy	2	10.0	(Paroisse de Bessy)
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	2	10.0	(No relations with Uxeau)
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	5.0	
Village de la Faye	Marly-sur-Arroux	1	5.0	
	Montmort	1	5.0	
	Rosières	1	5.0	

Total # Relations		# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
20		**15**	75.0	**5**	25.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Chevreau	Bessy	4	50.0	**Village de la Malvelle**
Village de la Malvelle	Bessy	2	25.0	(Paroisse de Bessy)
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	12.5	(No relations with Uxeau)
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	12.5	

Total # Relations		# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
8		**7**	87.5	**1**	12.5

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de la Tour du Bois	Bessy	1	16.7	**Village de la Tour du Bois**
Village de Montigny	Bessy	1	16.7	(Paroisse de Bessy)
	Grury	1	16.7	(No relations with Uxeau)
Village de la Faye	Marly-sur-Arroux	1	16.7	
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	16.7	
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	16.7	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
6	**2**	33.3	**4**	66.7

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de la Valla	Bessy	4	40.0	**Village de la Valla**
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	10.0	(Paroisse de Bessy)
Village de Chevreau	Bessy	1	10.0	(20% relations with Uxeau)
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	10.0	
Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1	10.0	
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	10.0	
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	10.0	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
10	**6**	60.0	**4**	40.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	5	41.7	**Village de Montigny**
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	2	16.7	(Paroisse de Bessy)
Village de Montigny	Bessy	2	16.7	(No relations with Uxeau)
Village de Morentru	Bessy	1	8.3	
	Rosières	1	8.3	
Préchevot	Ste Radegonde	1	8.3	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
12	**5**	41.7	**7**	58.3

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Morentru	Bessy	2	28.6	**Village de Morentru**
Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	2	28.6	(Paroisse de Bessy)
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	14.3	(28.6 relations with Uxeau)
Village de la Cour	Ste Radegonde	1	14.3	
	Ste Radegonde	1	14.3	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
7	**3**	25.0	**4**	33.3

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	1	25.0	**Village de Vernizy**
Village de Chevreau	Bessy	1	25.0	(Paroisse de Bessy)
Village de Vernizy	Bessy	1	25.0	(No relations with Uxeau)
Village de Fréty	Rosières	1	25.0	

Total # Relations		# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
4		**3**	75.0	**1**	25.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	2	100.0	**Paroisse de Villemonter**
				(included in Bessy register)
				(No relations with Uxeau)

Total # Relations		# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
2		**0**	0.0	**2**	100.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	24	45.3	**Bourg d'Uxeau**
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	4	7.5	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	4	7.5	(no relations with Bessy)
Parish of Grury	Grury	3	5.7	
le Village du Village du Chevalot	Uxeau	3	5.7	(includes le Chevalot)
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	3	5.7	
Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	2	3.8	
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	2	3.8	
Ville d'Issy-l'Évêque	Issy-l'Évêque	1	1.9	
Parish of Monmort	Montmort	1	1.9	
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	1.9	
Parish of Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	1	1.9	
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	1.9	
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	1.9	
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1	1.9	
Parish of Uxeau	Uxeau	1	1.9	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
53	**45**	84.9	**8**	15.1

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	50.0	**le Reuil**			
				(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	50.0	(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		2		**2**	100.0	**0**	0.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	13	37.1	**Village de Bassenier**
Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	7	20.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	4	11.4	(no relations with Bessy)
	Grury	1	2.9	
Village du Breuil	Gueugnon	1	2.9	
Ville d'Issy-l'Évêque	Issy-l'Évêque	1	2.9	
la Chapelle-au-Mans	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	2.9	
Marly-sous-Issy	Marly-sous-Issy	1	2.9	
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	2.9	
	Ste Radegonde	1	2.9	
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	2.9	
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	2.9	
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	2.9	
	Uxeau	1	2.9	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
35	**27**	77.1	**8**	22.9

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	5	18.5	**Village de Bazin**
Village de Bazin	Uxeau	4	14.8	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	3	11.1	(no relations with Bessy)
Village des Rosières	Rosières	2	7.4	
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	2	7.4	
	Grury	1	3.7	
	Gueugnon	1	3.7	
	Issy-l'Évêque	1	3.7	
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	3.7	
Chaselot	Uxeau	1	3.7	
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	1	3.7	
Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	1	3.7	
Village de Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	3.7	
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	3.7	
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	3.7	
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	3.7	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
27	**21**	77.8	**6**	22.2

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Busserolles	Uxeau	14	34.1	**Village de Busserolles**
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	6	14.6	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	4	9.8	(7.3% relations with Bessy)
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	4	9.8	
	Ste Radegonde	3	7.3	
Village de Morentru	Bessy	2	4.9	
Village de Ste Radegonde	Ste Radegonde	2	4.9	
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	2	4.9	
Village de la Malvelle	Bessy	1	2.4	
Préchevot	Ste Radegonde	1	2.4	
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	2.4	
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	2.4	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
41	**28**	68.3	**13**	31.7

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	3	37.5	**Village de Busseuil**
	Issy-l'Évêque	1	12.5	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Village de Busseuil	Uxeau	1	12.5	(no relations with Bessy)
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	12.5	
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	12.5	
Village de Montdemot	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	12.5	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
8	**3**	37.5	**5**	62.5

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	18	81.8	**Village de Chaselot**
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	2	9.1	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Les Vernes	Bragny-en-Charollais	1	4.5	(no relations with Bessy)
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	4.5	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
22	**21**	95.5	**1**	4.5

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	20	48.8	**Village de Fresse**
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	7	17.1	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	3	7.3	(no relations with Bessy)
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	3	7.3	
	Grury	1	2.4	
Village de Serve	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	2.4	
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	2.4	
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	2.4	
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	2.4	
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	1	2.4	
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	2.4	
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	2.4	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
41	**37**	90.2	**4**	9.8

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	23	59.0	**Village de Ville Fèvre**
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	5	12.8	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	2	5.1	(no relations with Bessy)
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	2	5.1	
Village du Noisillier	Uxeau	2	5.1	
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	2	5.1	
	Ste Radegonde	1	2.6	
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	2.6	
	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	2.6	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
39	**37**	94.9	**2**	5.1

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	23	54.8	**Village de Villemaison**
Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	5	11.9	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	4	9.5	(no relations with Bessy)
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	2	4.8	
	Uxeau	2	4.8	
	Grury	1	2.4	
Lucenier	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	2.4	
Village de Bassenier	Uxeau	1	2.4	
Village de Dardon	Uxeau	1	2.4	
Village des Chazots	Uxeau	1	2.4	
Village du Reuil	Uxeau	1	2.4	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
42	**40**	95.2	**2**	4.8

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village des Chazots	Uxeau	10	62.5	**Village des Chazots**			
	Issy-l'Évêque	2	12.5	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village de Vaudelin	Issy-l'Évêque	1	6.3	(no relations with Bessy)			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	6.3				
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	6.3				
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	6.3				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		16		**13**	81.3	**3**	18.8

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village des Jacobs	Uxeau	6	33.3	**Village des Jacobs**			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	3	16.7	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	2	11.1	(5.6% relations with Bessy)			
	Uxeau	2	11.1				
Village de la Valla	Bessy	1	5.6				
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	5.6				
Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1	5.6				
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	5.6				
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	5.6				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		18		**16**	88.9	**2**	11.1

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	3	27.3	**Village des Roches**
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	3	27.3	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	1	9.1	(no relations with Bessy)
Village de Chaselot	Uxeau	1	9.1	
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	9.1	
Village des Roches	Uxeau	1	9.1	
Village du Noisillier	Uxeau	1	9.1	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
11	**11**	100.0	**0**	0.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	5	16.1	**Village du Chevalot**
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	4	12.9	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Bourg de Bessy	Bessy	3	9.7	(19.4% relations with Bessy)
Village de St Antoine	Toulon-sur-Arroux	3	9.7	
Village de la Valla	Bessy	2	6.5	
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	2	6.5	
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	2	6.5	
Village de la Tour du Bois	Bessy	1	3.2	
la Verchère	Issy-l'Évêque	1	3.2	
Ville d'Issy-l'Évêque	Issy-l'Évêque	1	3.2	
	Issy-l'Évêque	1	3.2	
Lucenier	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	3.2	
le Breuil	Maltat	1	3.2	
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	3.2	
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	3.2	
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	3.2	
Village de Dardon	Uxeau	1	3.2	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
31	**15**	48.4	**16**	51.6

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	3	75.0	**Village de Dardon**			
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	1	25.0	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
				(uncertain whether Grand or Petit			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		4		**4**	100.0	**0**	0.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	18	51.4	**Village du Grand Dardon**			
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	9	25.7	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	3	8.6	(no relations with Bessy)			
	Gueugnon	1	2.9				
Village de St Antoine	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	2.9				
Village de Dardon	Uxeau	1	2.9				
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	1	2.9				
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	1	2.9				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		35		**33**	94.3	**2**	5.7

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	28	58.3	**Village du Petit Dardon**
Village du Grand Dardon	Uxeau	9	18.8	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	5	10.4	(2.1 % relations with Bessy)
Village de la Malvelle	Bessy	1	2.1	
Bourg de Toulon	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	2.1	
Village de Dardon	Uxeau	1	2.1	
Village de Villemaison	Uxeau	1	2.1	
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	1	2.1	
Village de Montdemot	Vendenesse-sur-Arroux	1	2.1	

Total # Relations	# Same Parish	% Total	# Outside Parish	% Total
48	**45**	93.8	**3**	6.3

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village de Ville Fèvre	Uxeau	3	42.9	**Village du Noisillier**			
Village du Noisillier	Uxeau	2	28.6	(Paroisse d'Uxeau)			
Bourg de la Chapelle-au-Mans	la Chapelle-au-Mans	1	14.3	(no relations with Bessy)			
Village du Petit Dardon	Uxeau	1	14.3				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		7		**6**	85.7	**1**	14.3

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village de Montevrier	Issy-l'Évêque	1	25.0	**Paroisse d'Uxeau**			
	Rosières	1	25.0	(no relations with Bessy)			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	1	25.0				
Village du Chevalot (includes le Chevalot)	Uxeau	1	25.0				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		4		**2**	50.0	**2**	50.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Bourg d'Uxeau	Uxeau	4	50.0	**Village des Rosières**			
	Crecy	1	12.5	(Paroisse des Rosières)			
Village des Rosières	Rosières	1	12.5	(included in Uxeau register)			
Village de Bazin	Uxeau	1	12.5	(no relations with Bessy)			
Village de Fresse	Uxeau	1	12.5				
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		8		**6**	75.0	**2**	25.0

Godparents' Residence	Parish	# Relationships	% Total	Fathers' Residence			
Village de St Antoine	Toulon-sur-Arroux	1	100.0	**Paroisse de Vendenesse-sur-**			
				(included in Uxeau register)			
				(no relations with Bessy)			
		Total # Relations		**# Same Parish**	**% Total**	**# Outside Parish**	**% Total**
		1		**0**	0.0	**1**	100.0

Appendix 2. Figures

Figure

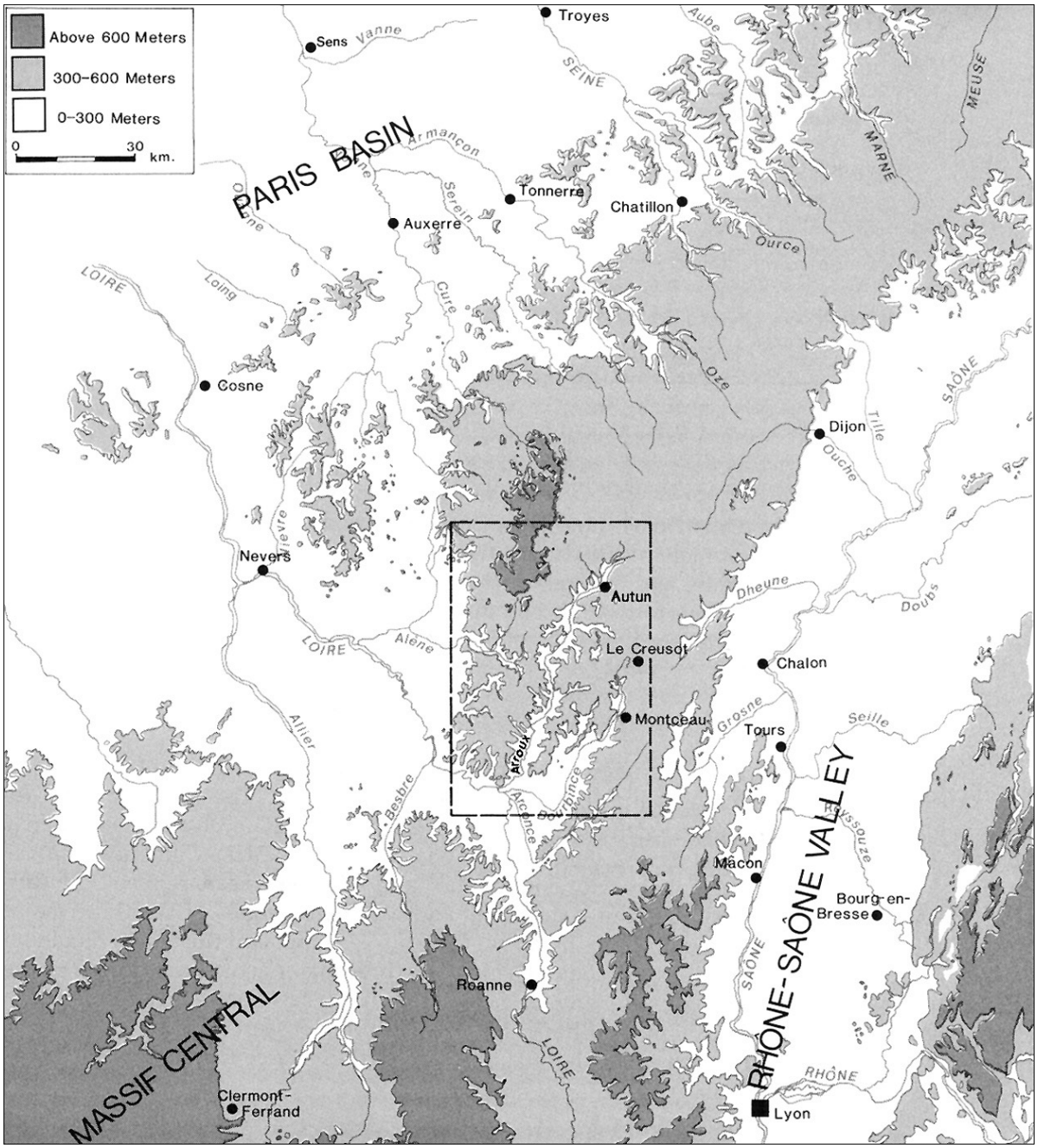

Figure 1: Location of the Research Area: The Arroux Valley
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Figure 2: Region Surrounding Uxeau and Bessy

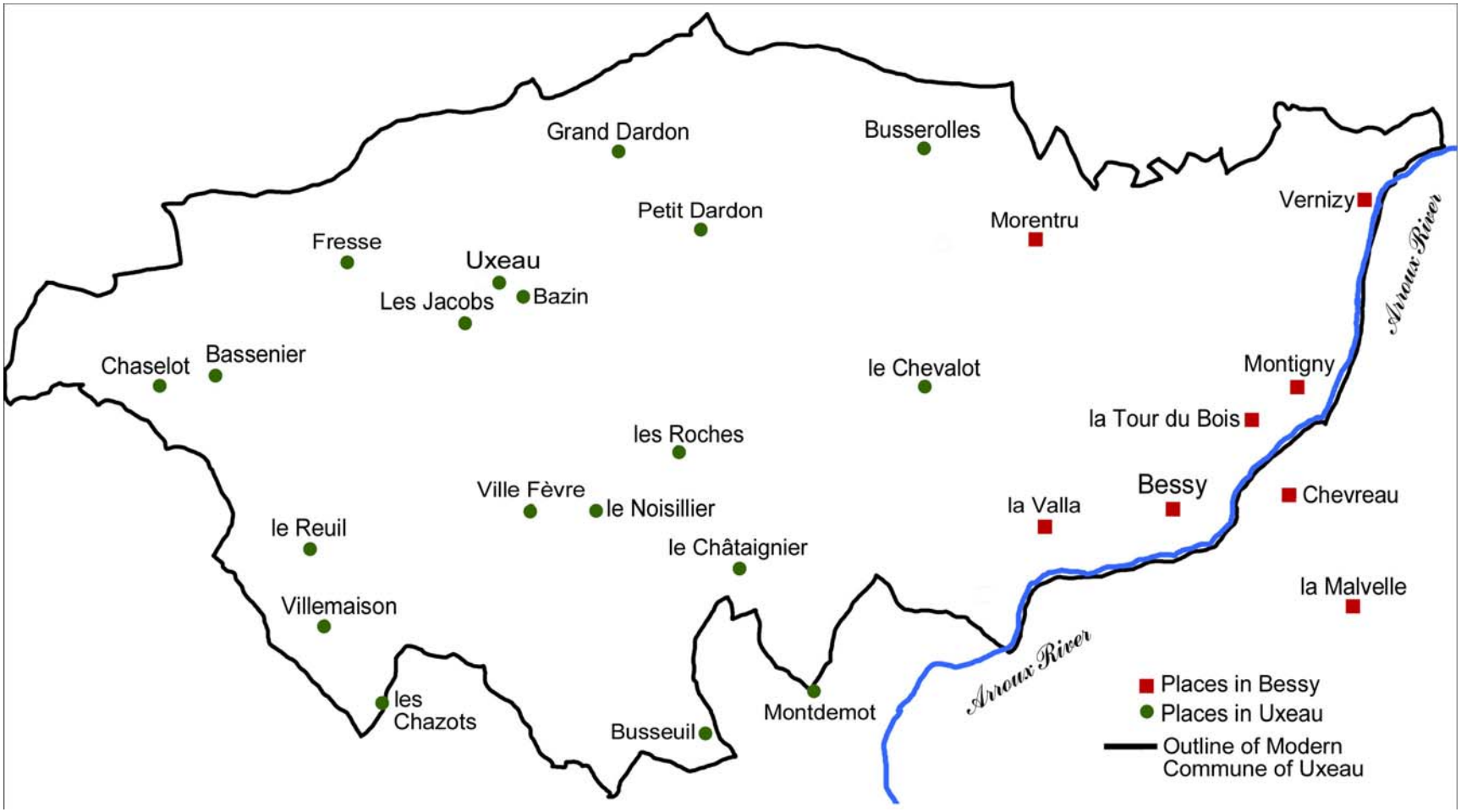


Figure 3: Places Belonging to the Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy Mentioned in the Parish Records from 1690-1700

Figure 4: Examples of Baptisms in the Parish Registers

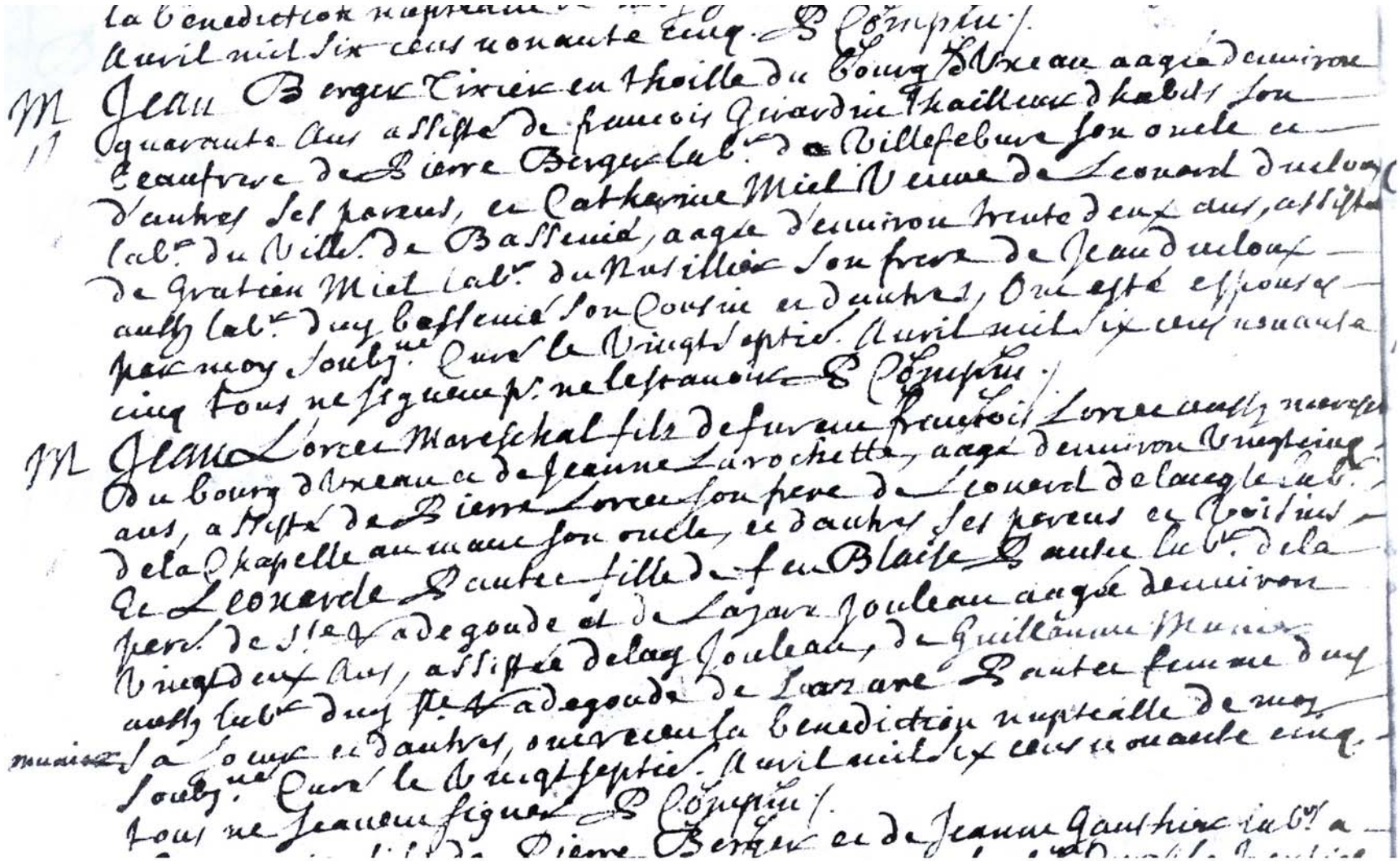
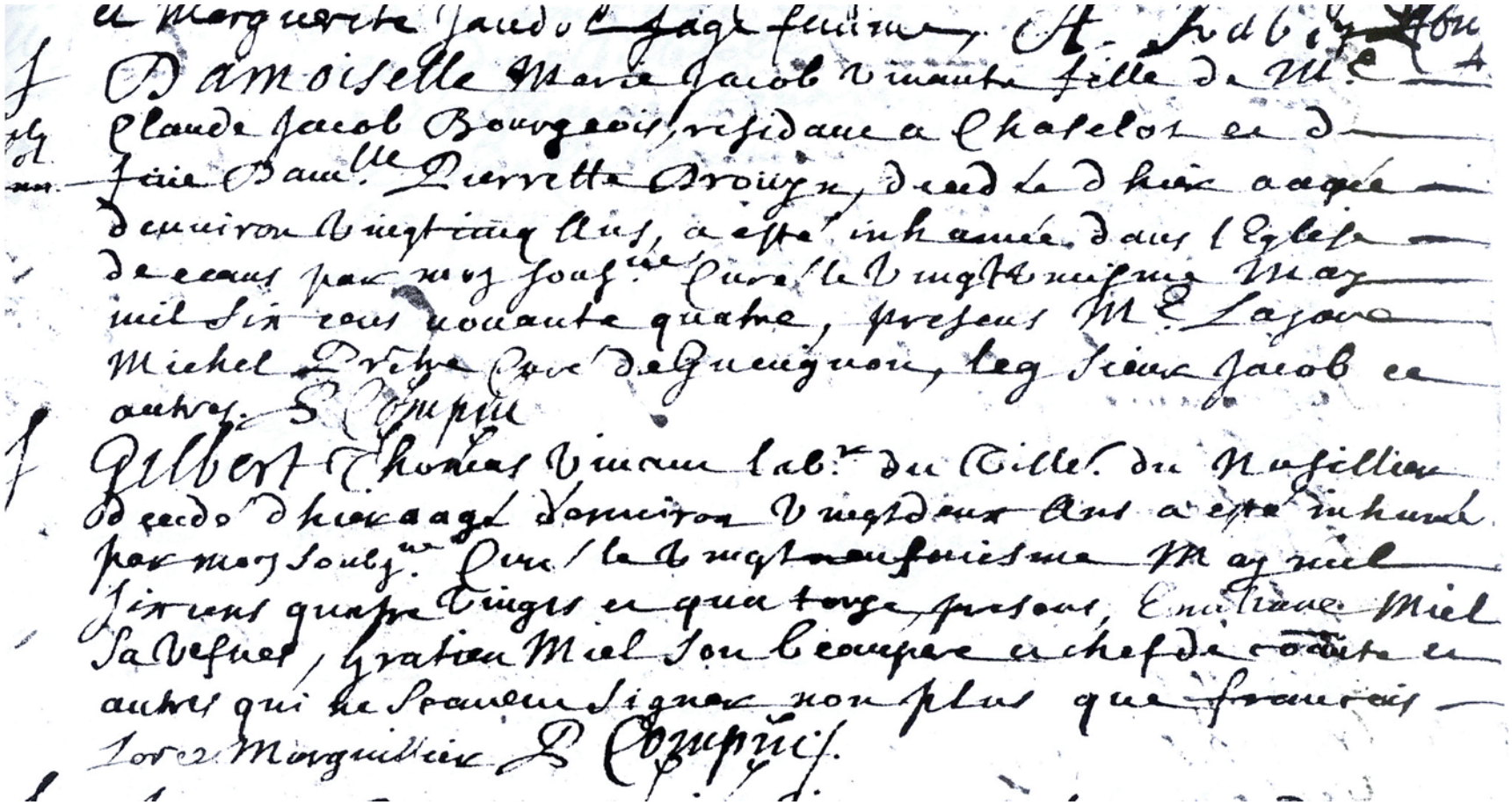


Figure 5: Examples of Marriages in the Parish Registers



Damoiselle Marie Jacob vivante fille de Me
Claude Jacob Bourgeois, residant a Chatelot et de
feue Damlle Pierrette Brouyn, decedee le dix huit a agee
d'environ vingt cinq ans, a esté inhumée dans l'Eglise
de ceans par moy soussigné Curé le vingt huitiesme May
mil six cens nonante quatre, presens Me Lazare
Michel Prêtre Curé de Guengnon, les Sieurs Jacob et
autres. S. Compin

Gilbert Thomas vivant laboureur du Tillet du Nogillier
decedé d'hier age d'environ vingt deux ans a esté inhumé
par moy soussigné Curé le vingt neufiesme May mil
six cens quatre vingts et quatorze, presens, Entraues Miel
Salvetier, Gratien Miel son le compere et chef de cette et
autres qui ne sçavent signer non plus que François
Lorez Marguillier. S. Compin.

Figure 6: Examples of Burials in the Parish Registers

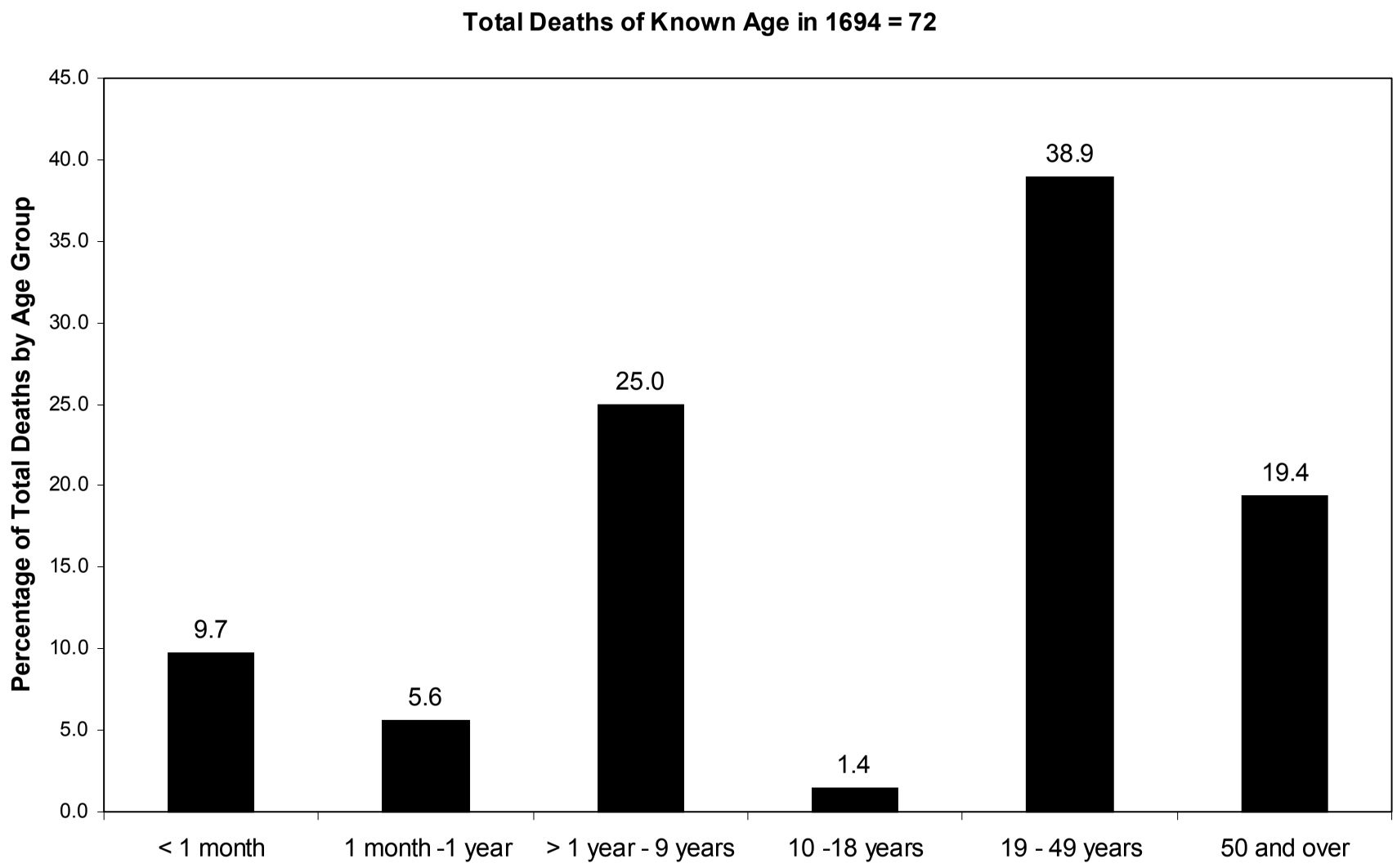


Figure 7: All Deaths of Known Age in 1694

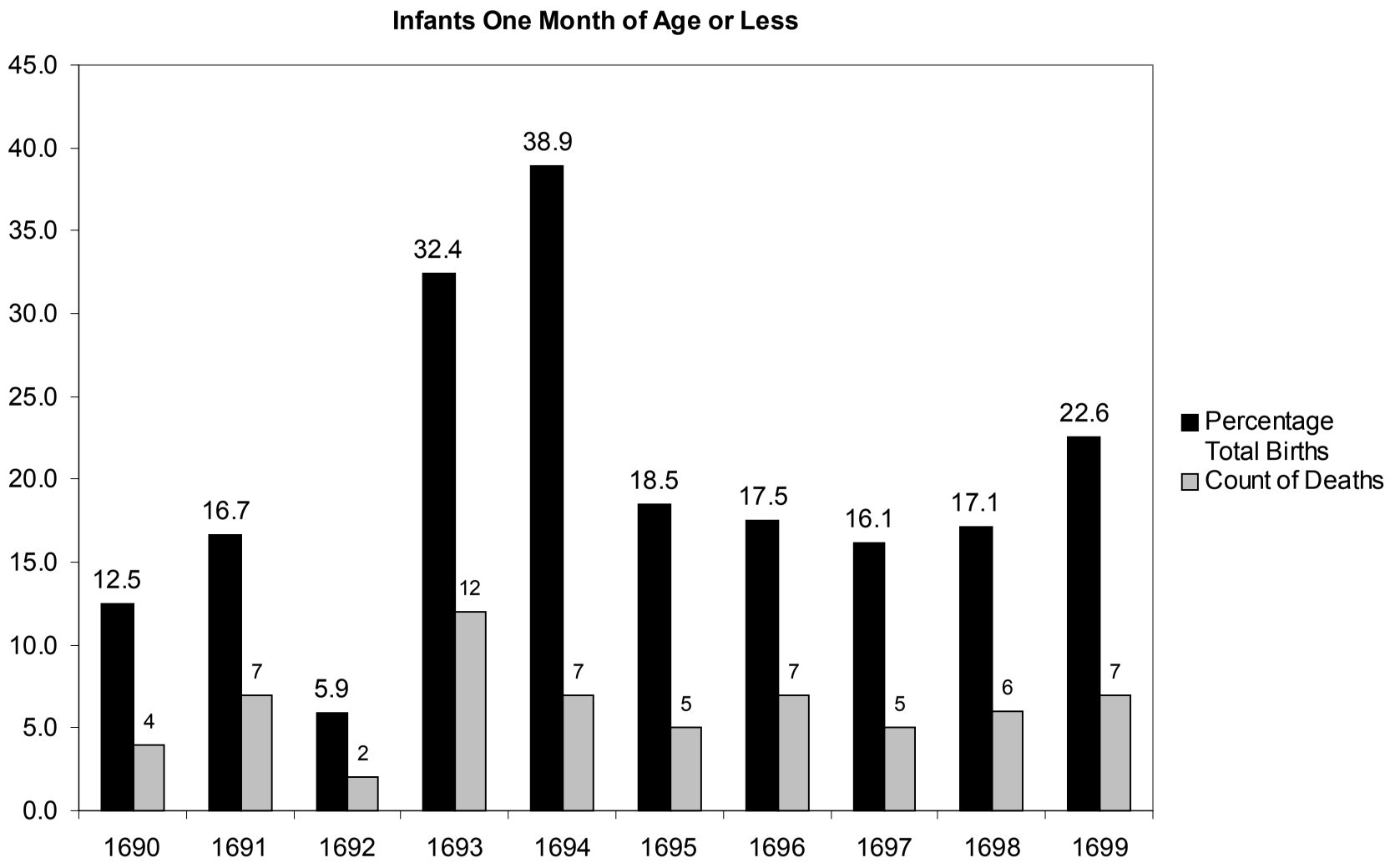


Figure 8: Children Dying at One Month of Age or Less 1690-1699

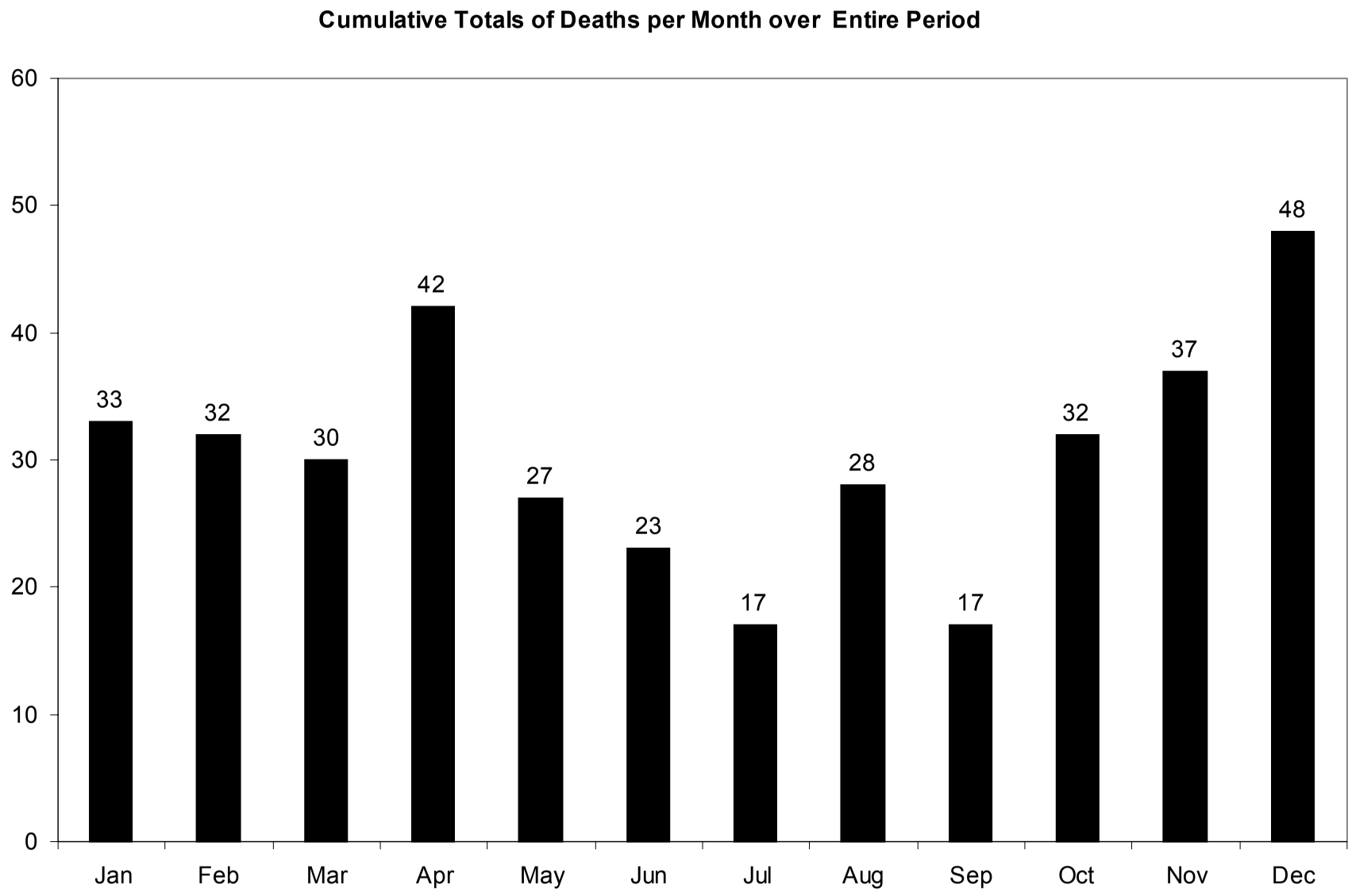


Figure 9: Deaths by Month 1690-1699

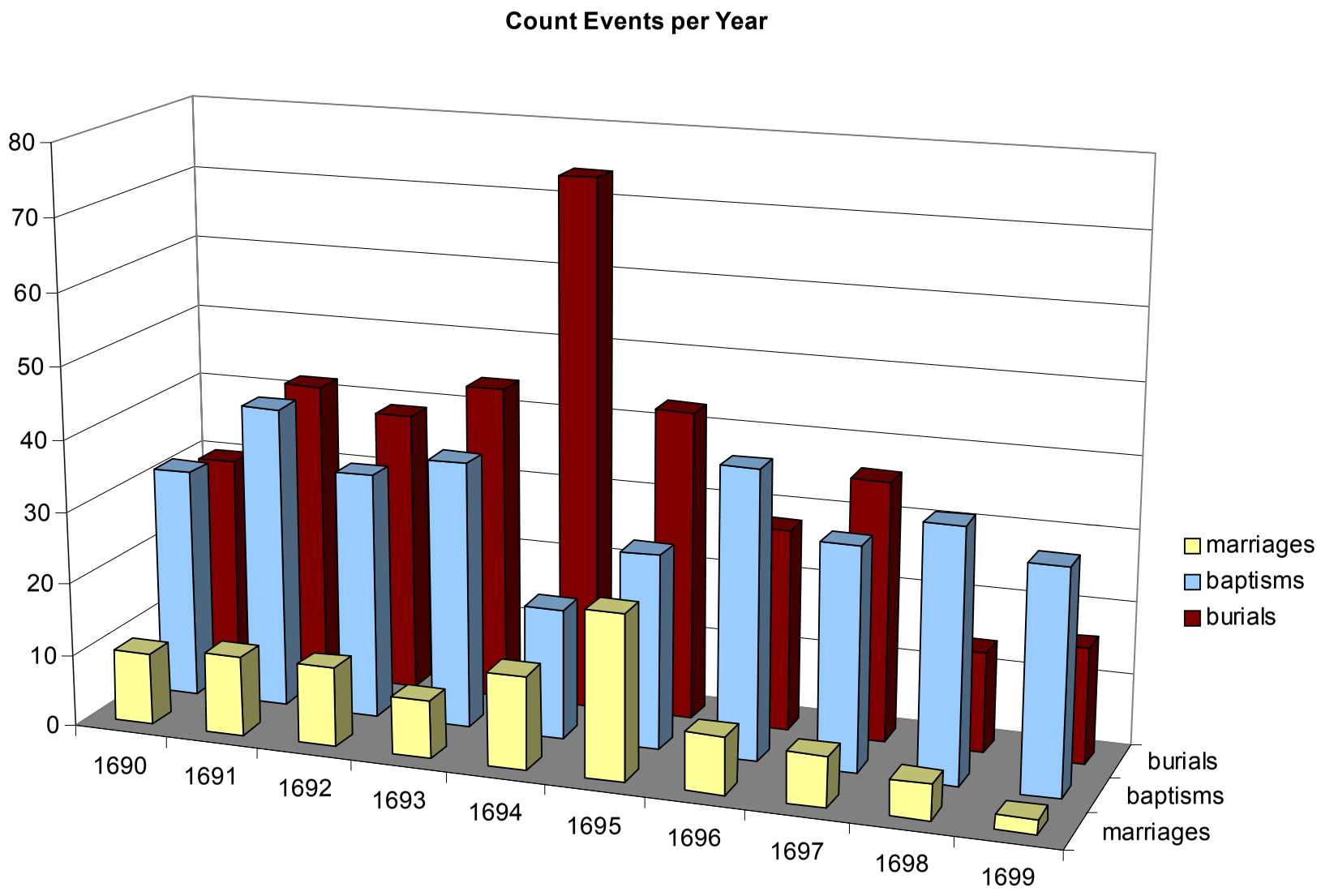


Figure 10: Vital Events 1690-1699

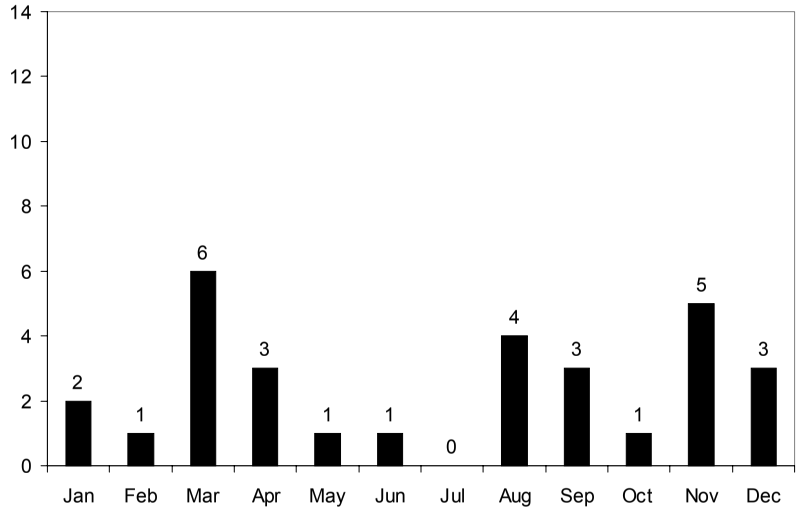


Figure 11A: Burials by Month in 1690

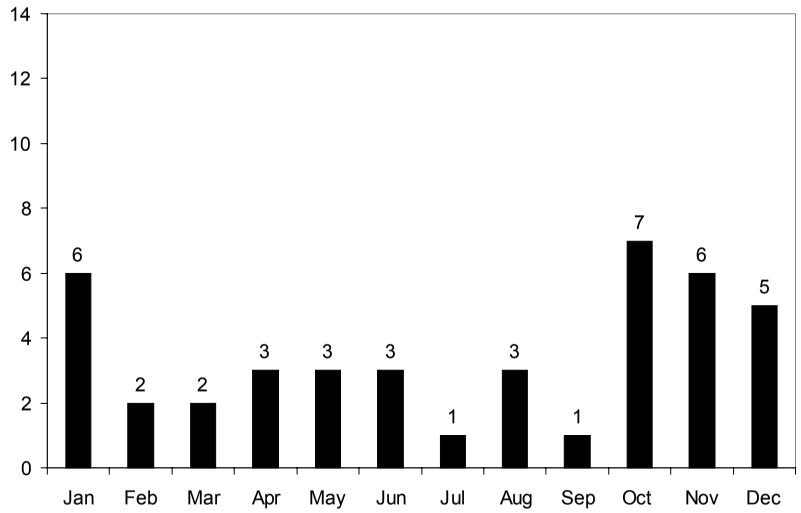


Figure 11B: Burials by Month in 1691

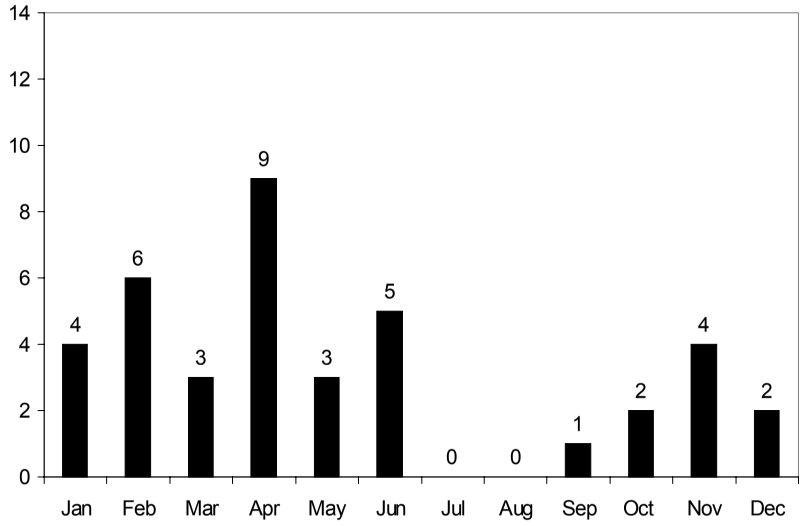


Figure 11C: Burials by Month in 1692

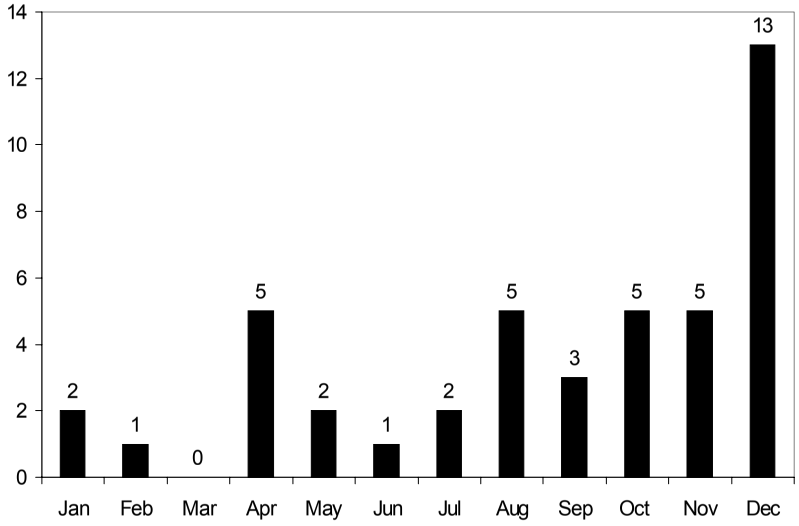


Figure 11D: Burials by Month in 1693

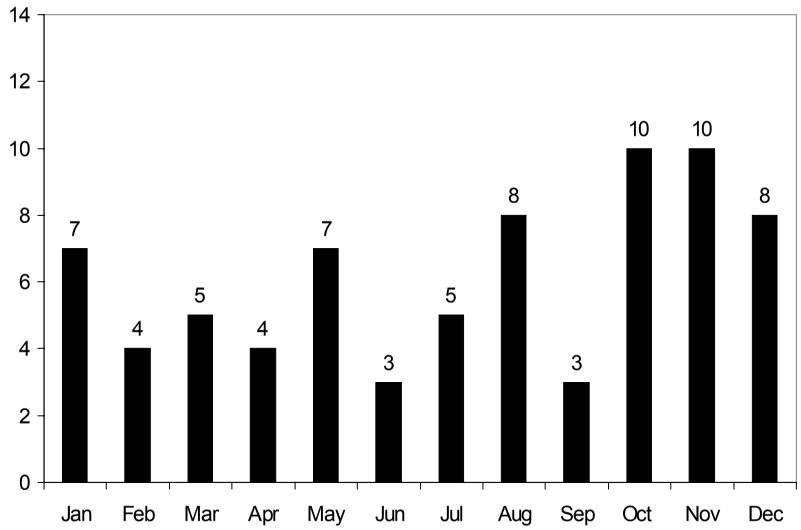


Figure 11E: Burials by Month in 1694

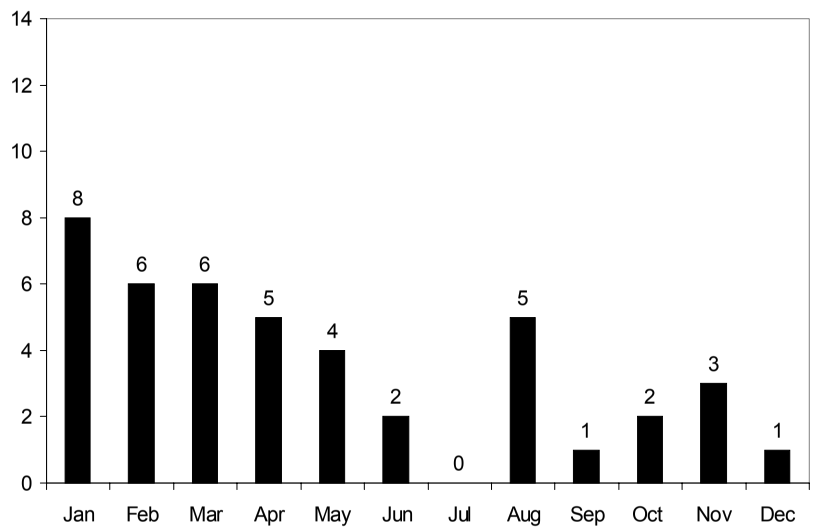


Figure 11F: Burials by Month in 1695

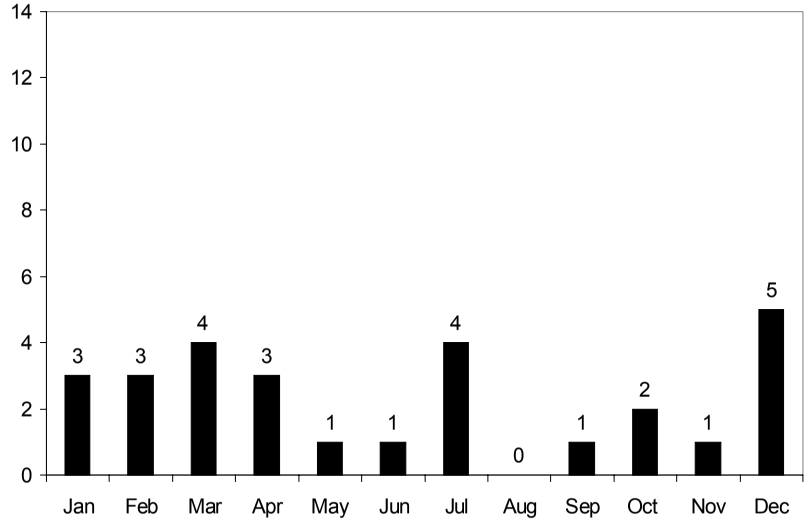


Figure 11G: Burials by Month in 1696

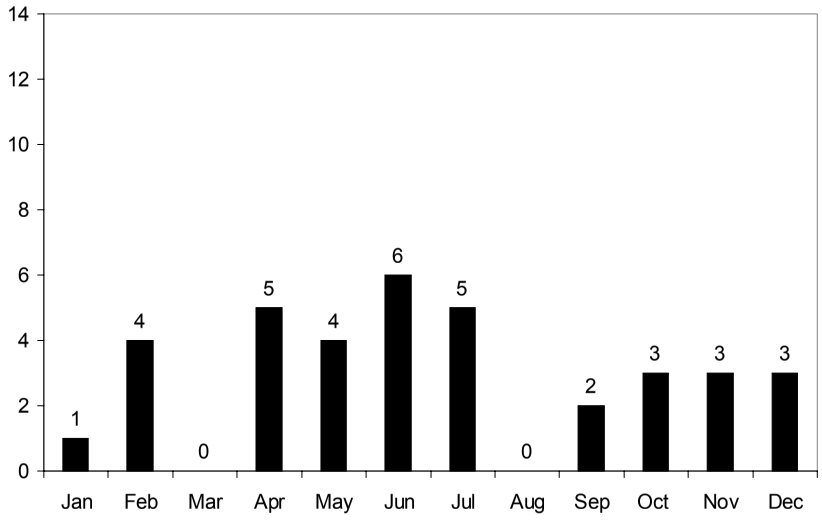


Figure 11H: Burials by Month in 1697

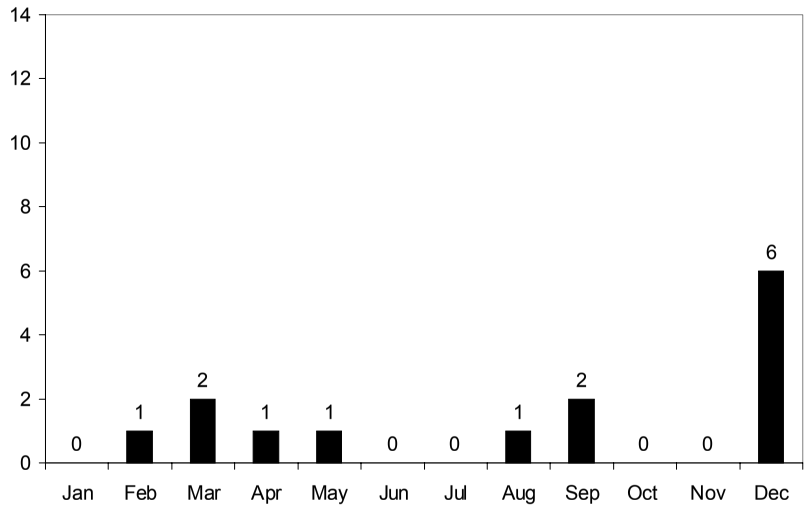


Figure 11I: Burials by Month in 1698

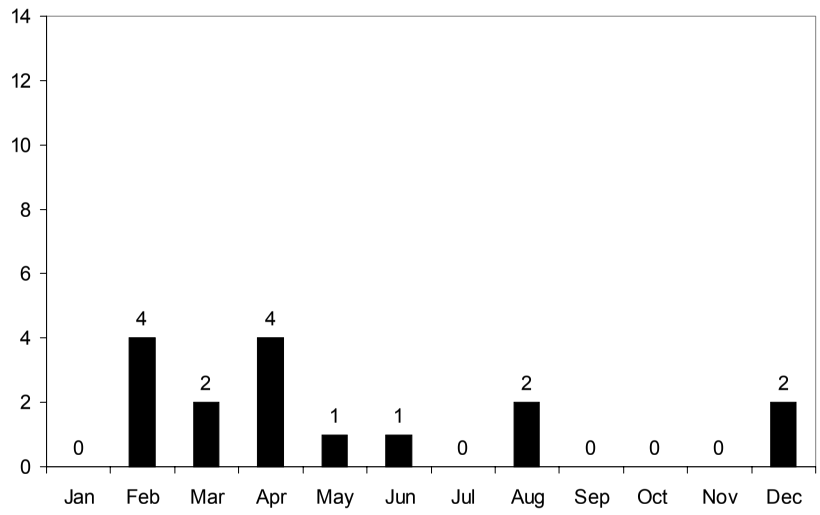


Figure 11J: Burials by Month in 1699

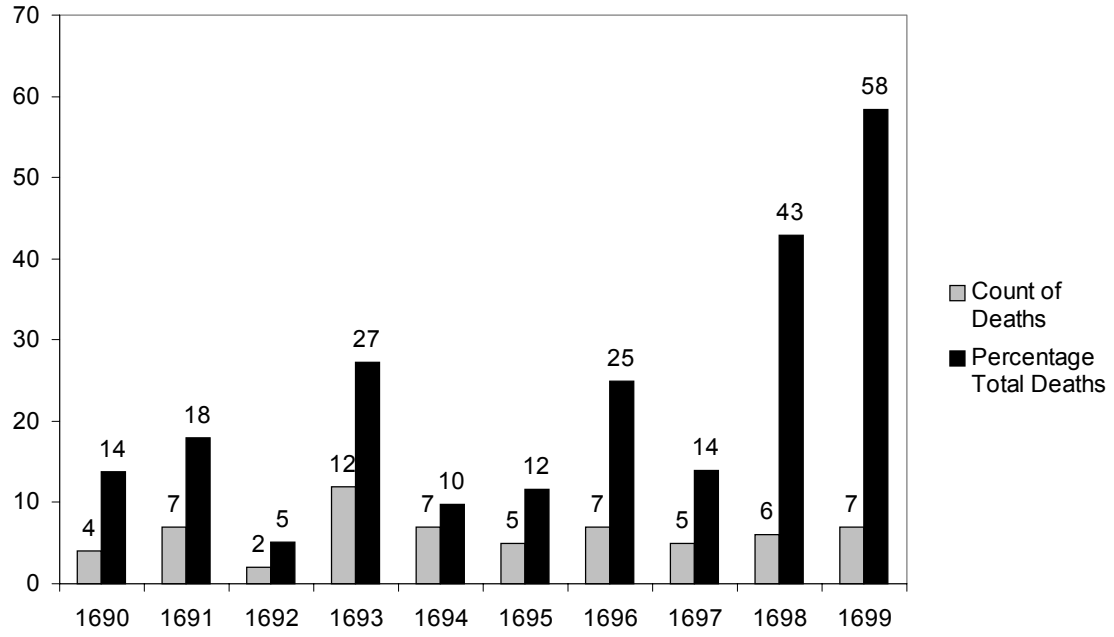


Figure 12A: Children Dying at One Month of Age or Less 1690-1699

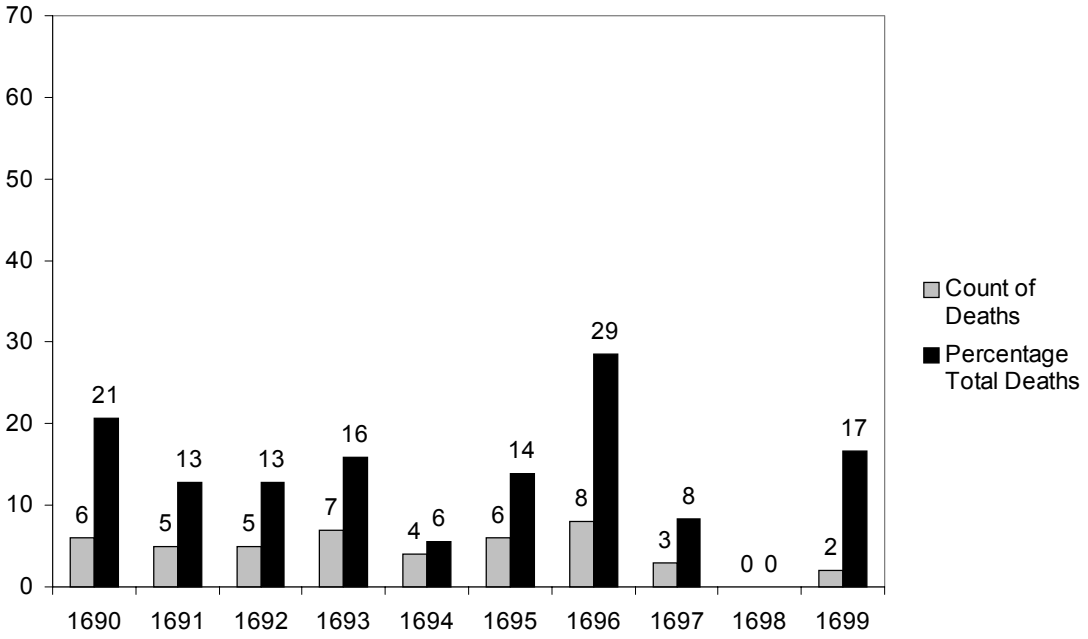


Figure 12B: Children Dying at over One Month of Age to One Year Old 1690-1699

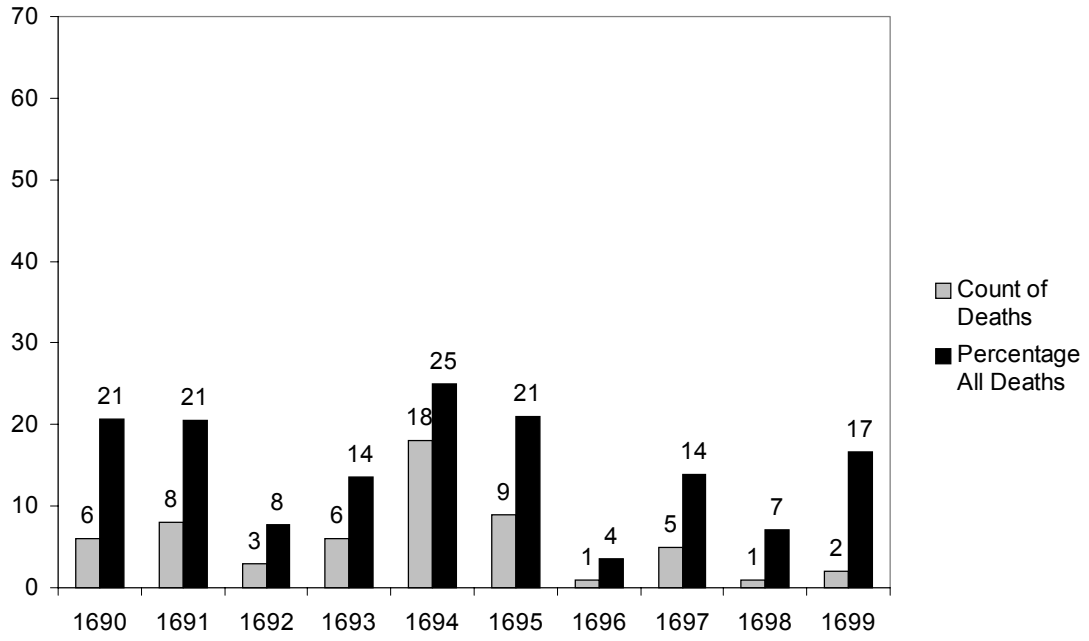


Figure12C: Children Dying at over One Year to Nine Years Old 1690-1699

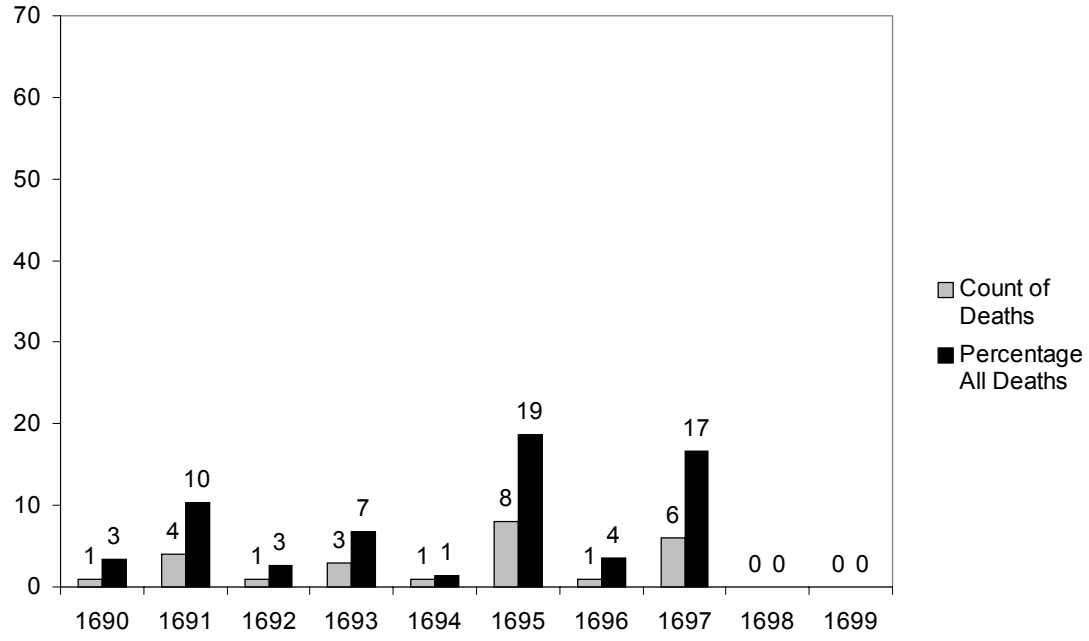


Figure 12D: Youths Dying between Ten Years and Eighteen Years Old 1690-1699

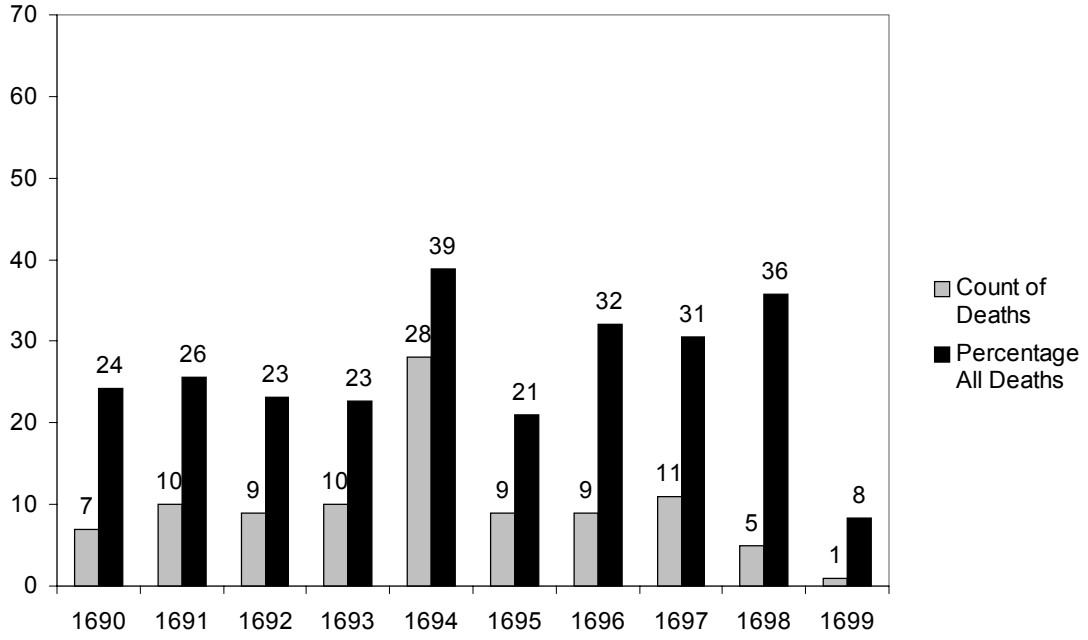


Figure 12E: Adults Dying between Nineteen and Forty-Nine Years of Age 1690-1699

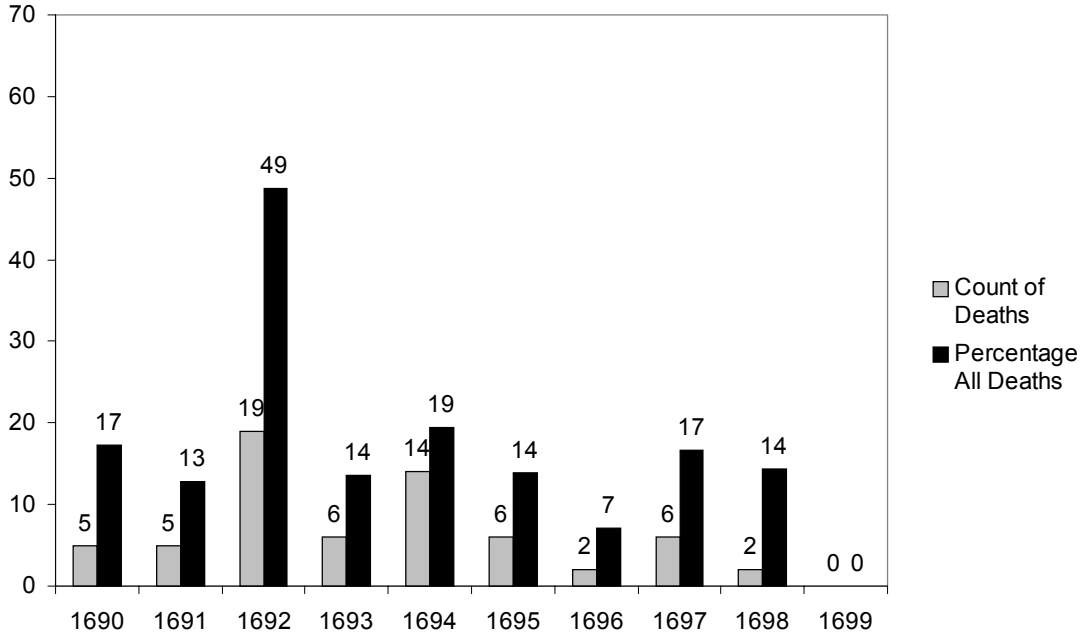


Figure 12F: Adults Dying at Fifty Years of Age and Older 1690-1699

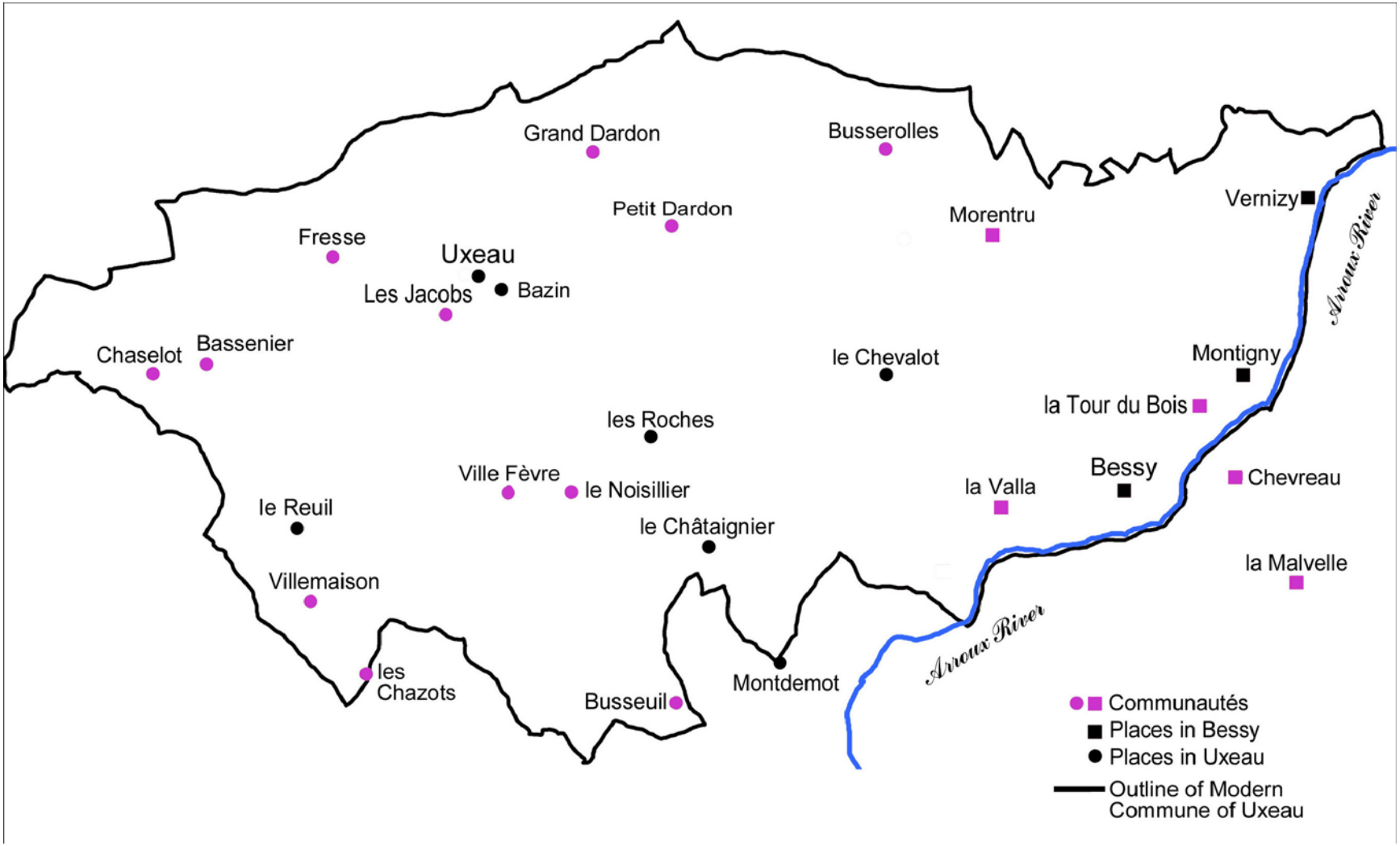


Figure 13: Places Named as Communautés in the Parish Registers for Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700

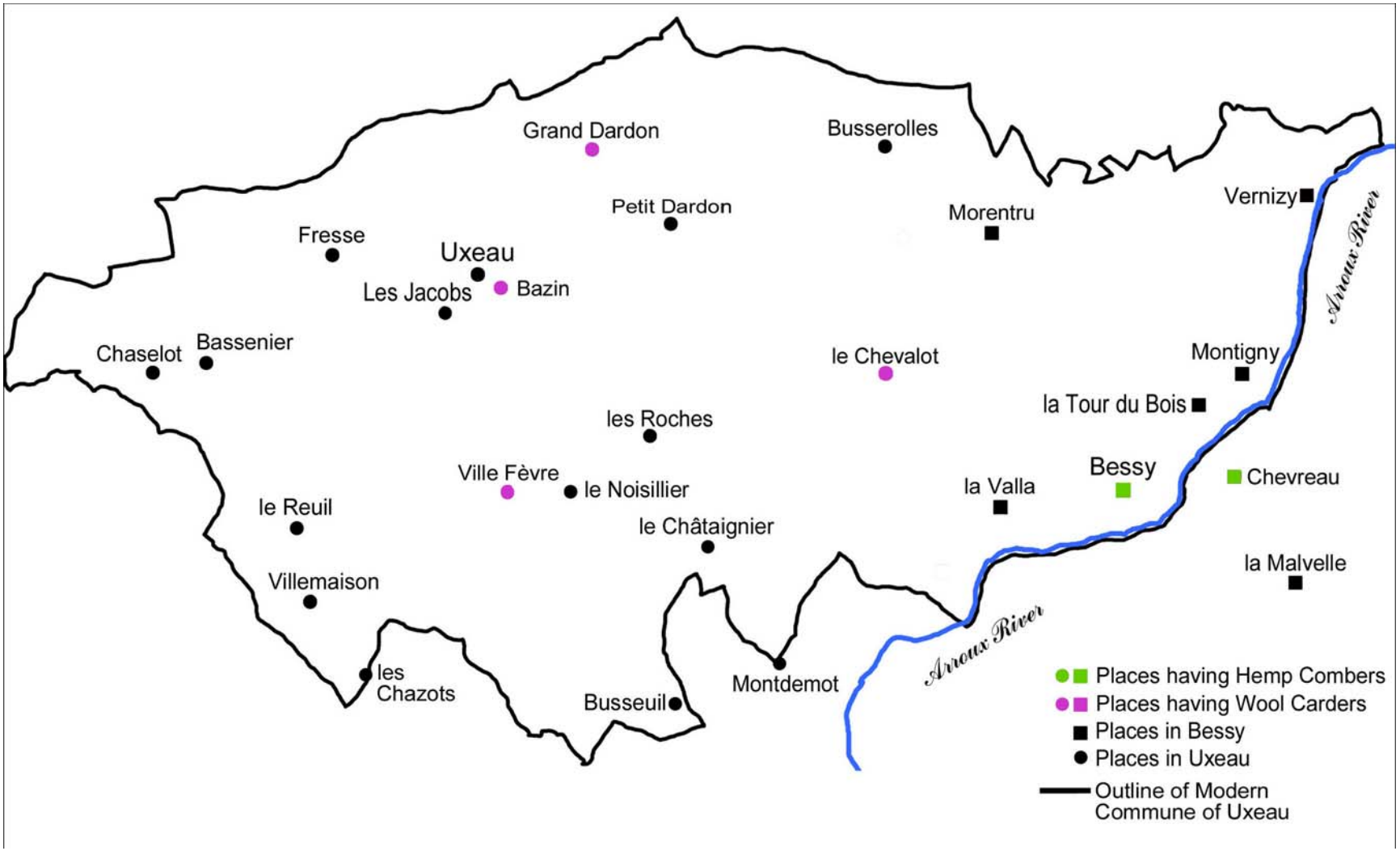


Figure 14: Places Mentioned as the Residences of Wool Carders and Hemp Combers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700

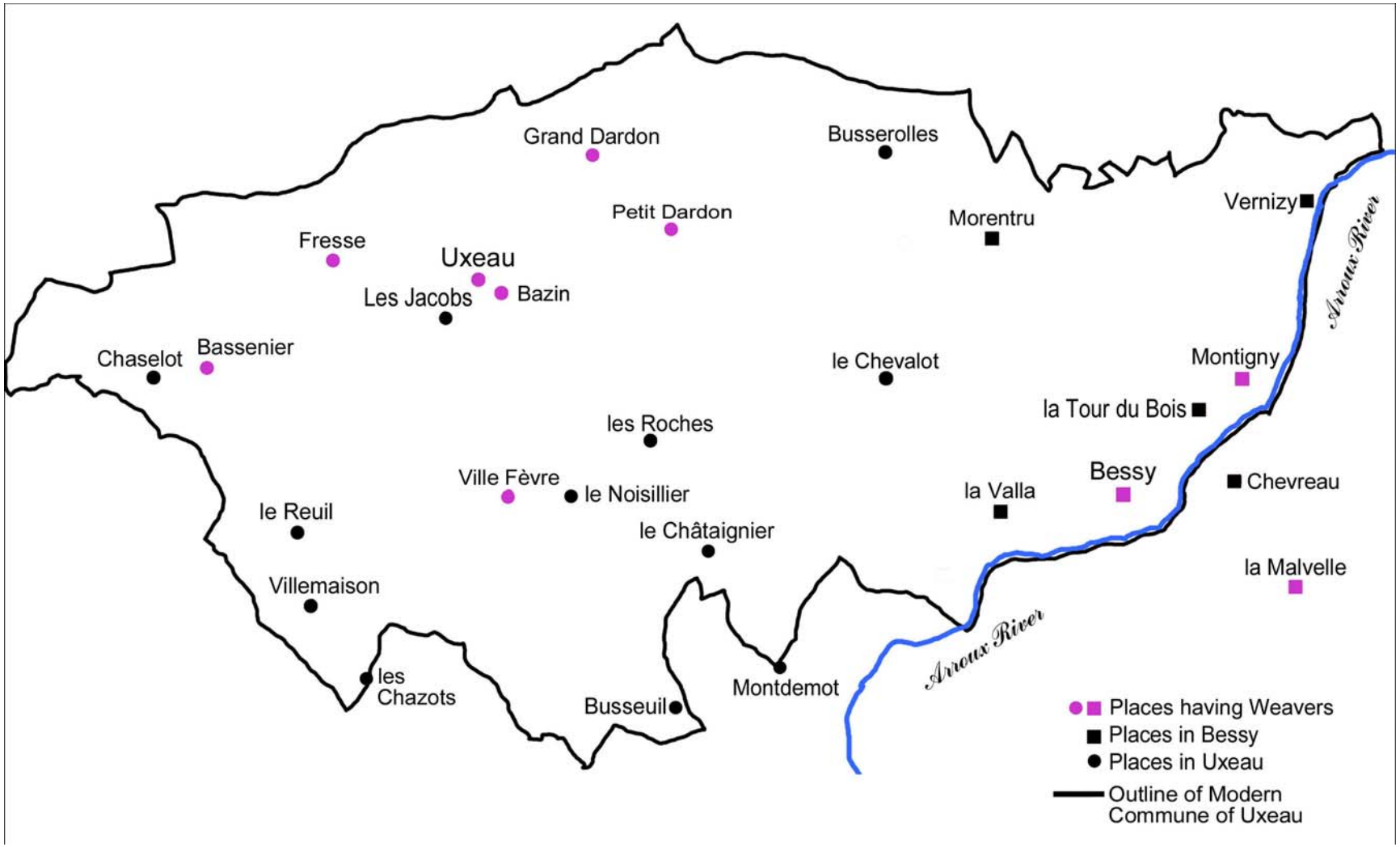


Figure 15: Places Mentioned as the Residences of Weavers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700

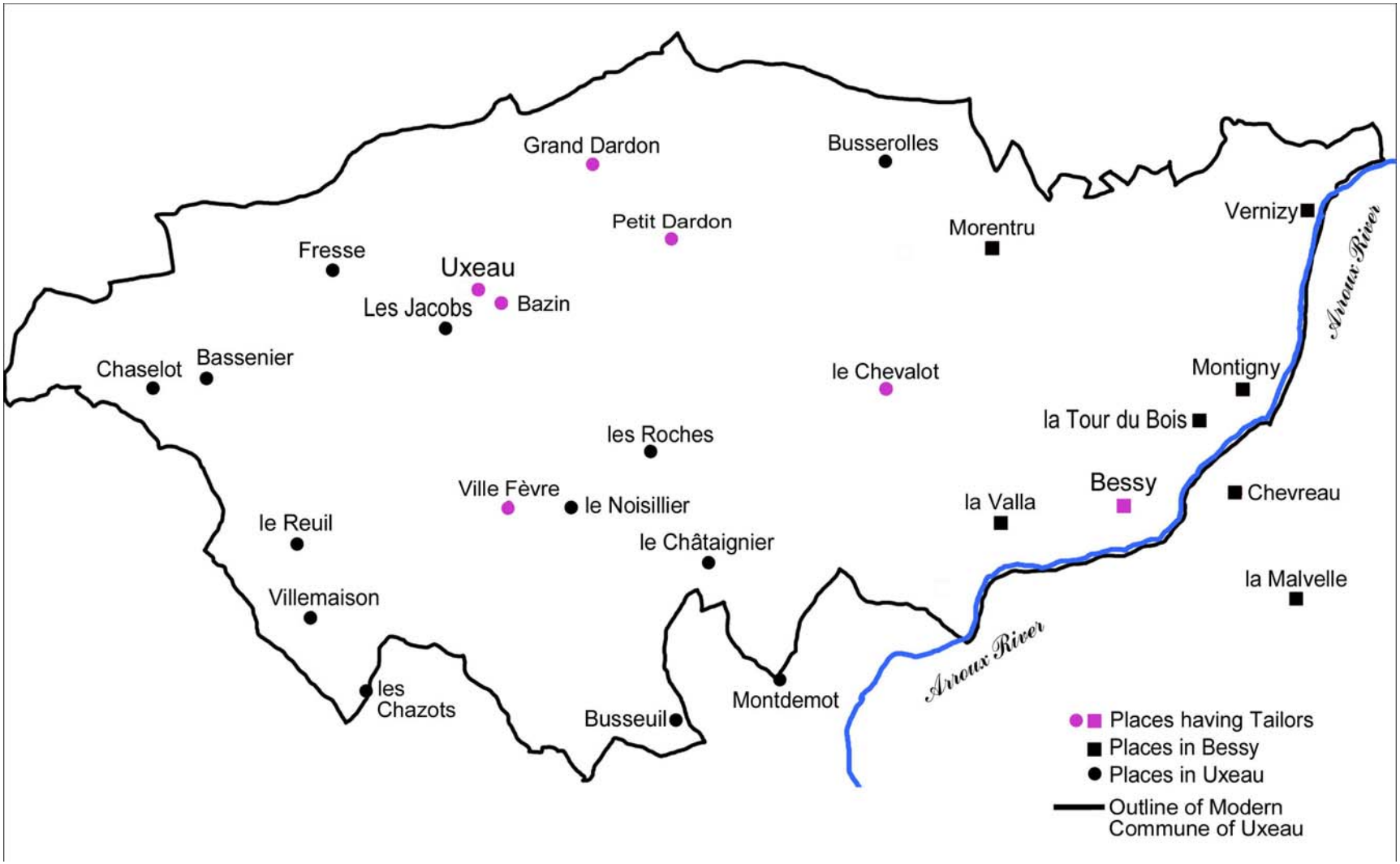


Figure 16: Places Mentioned as the Residences of Tailors in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700

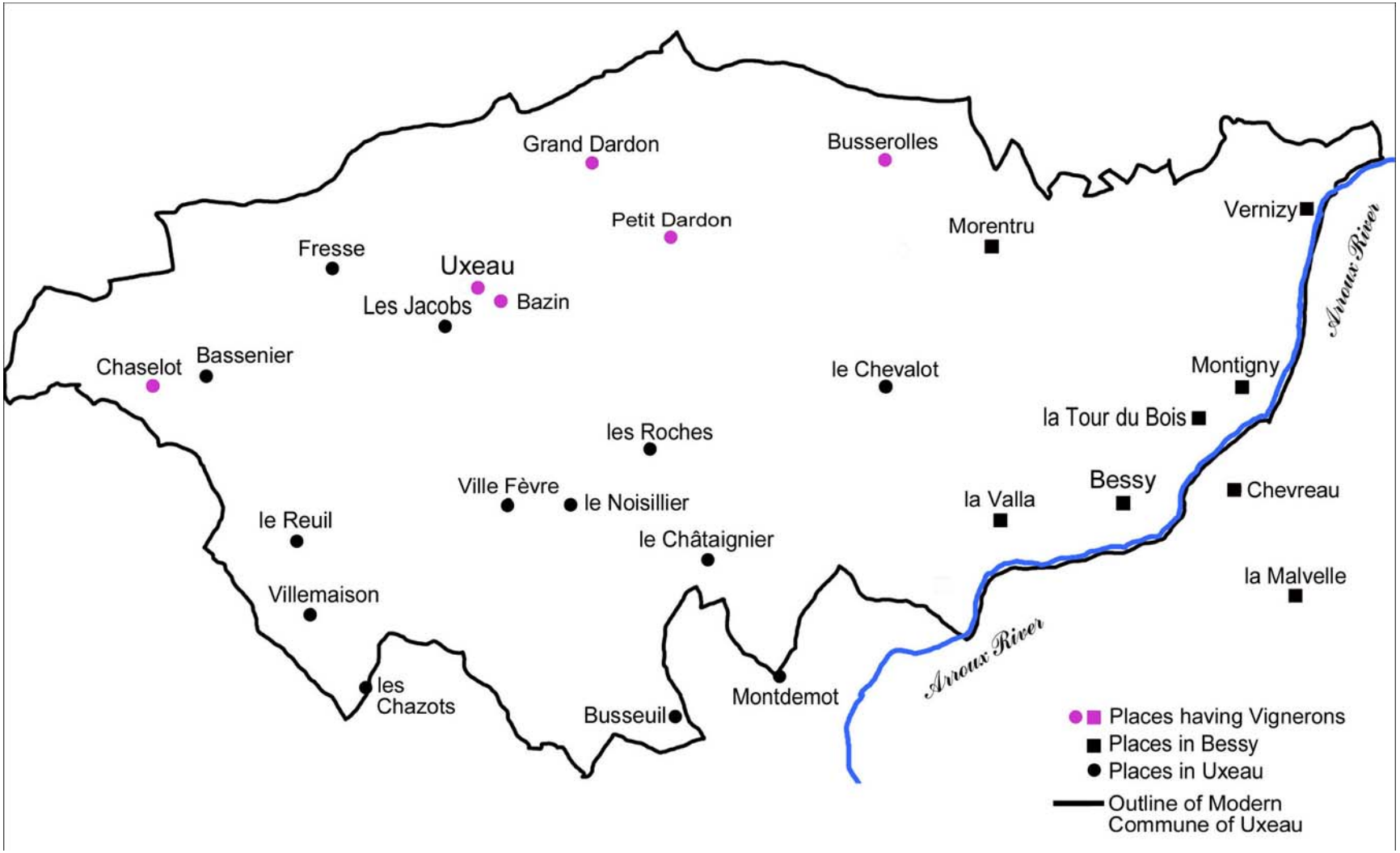


Figure 17: Places Mentioned as the Residences of Vignerons in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700

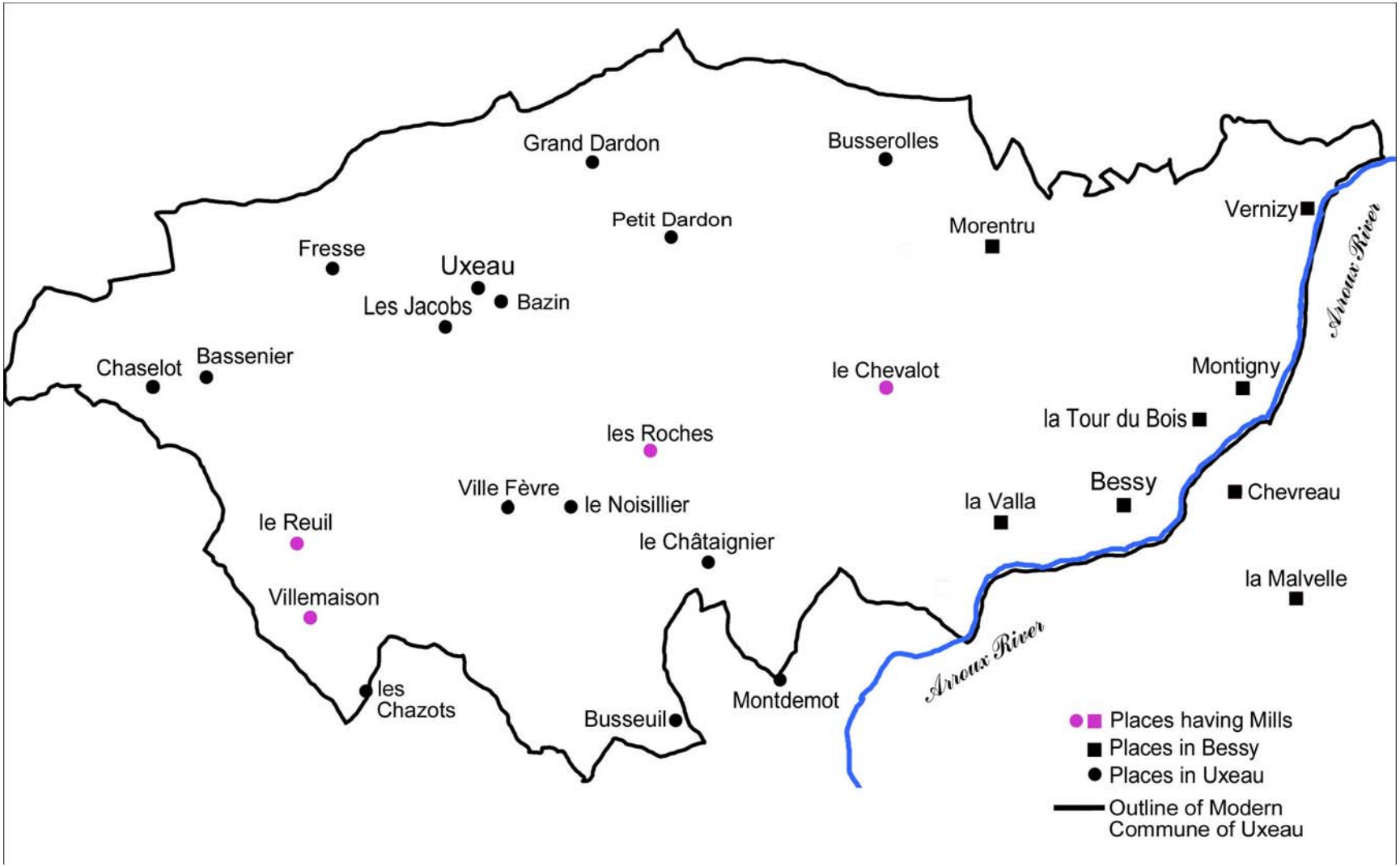


Figure 18: Places Mentioned as the Residences of Millers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700

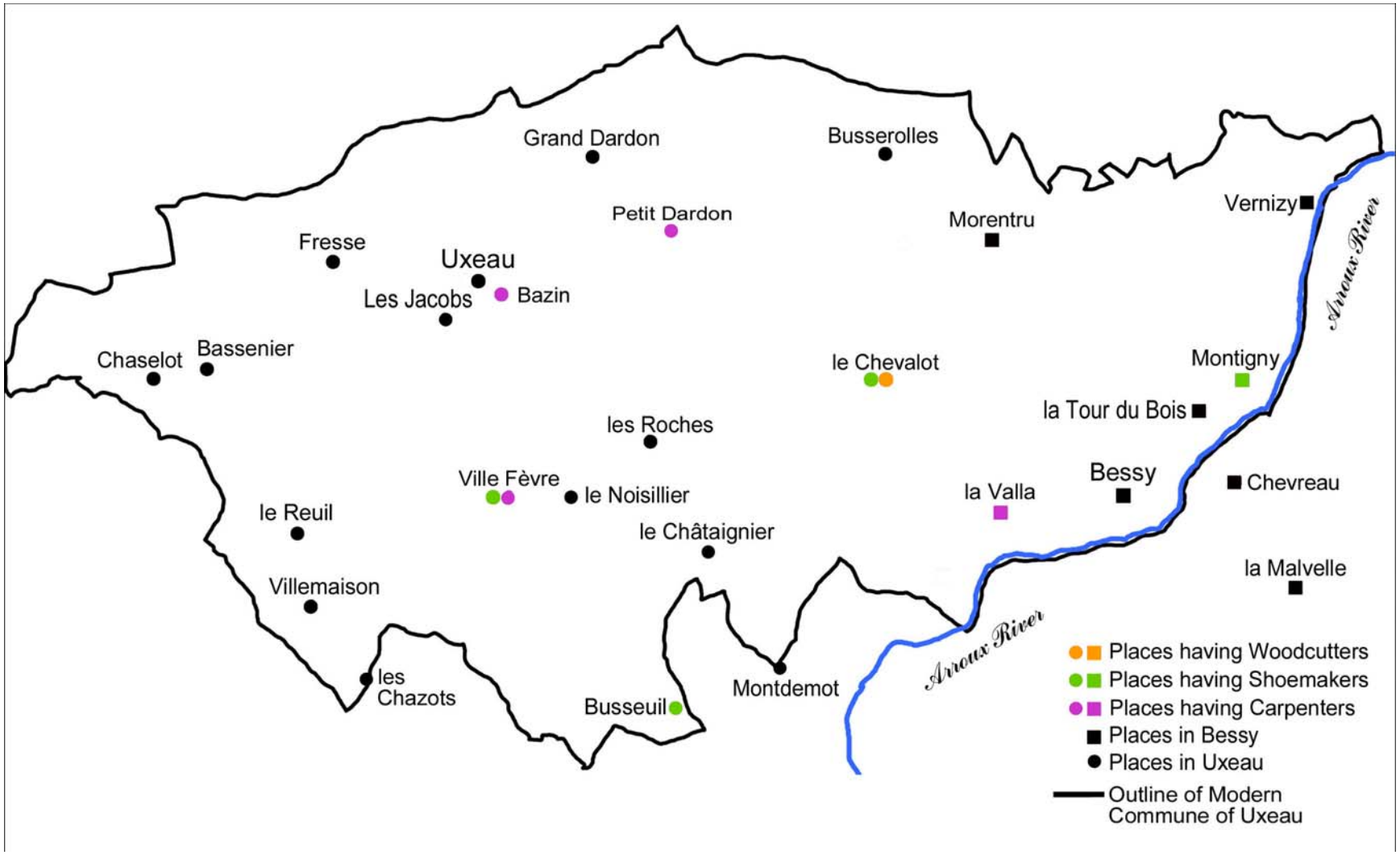


Figure 19: Places Mentioned as the Residences of Woodworkers in the Parish Records for Uxeau and Bessy from 1690-1700

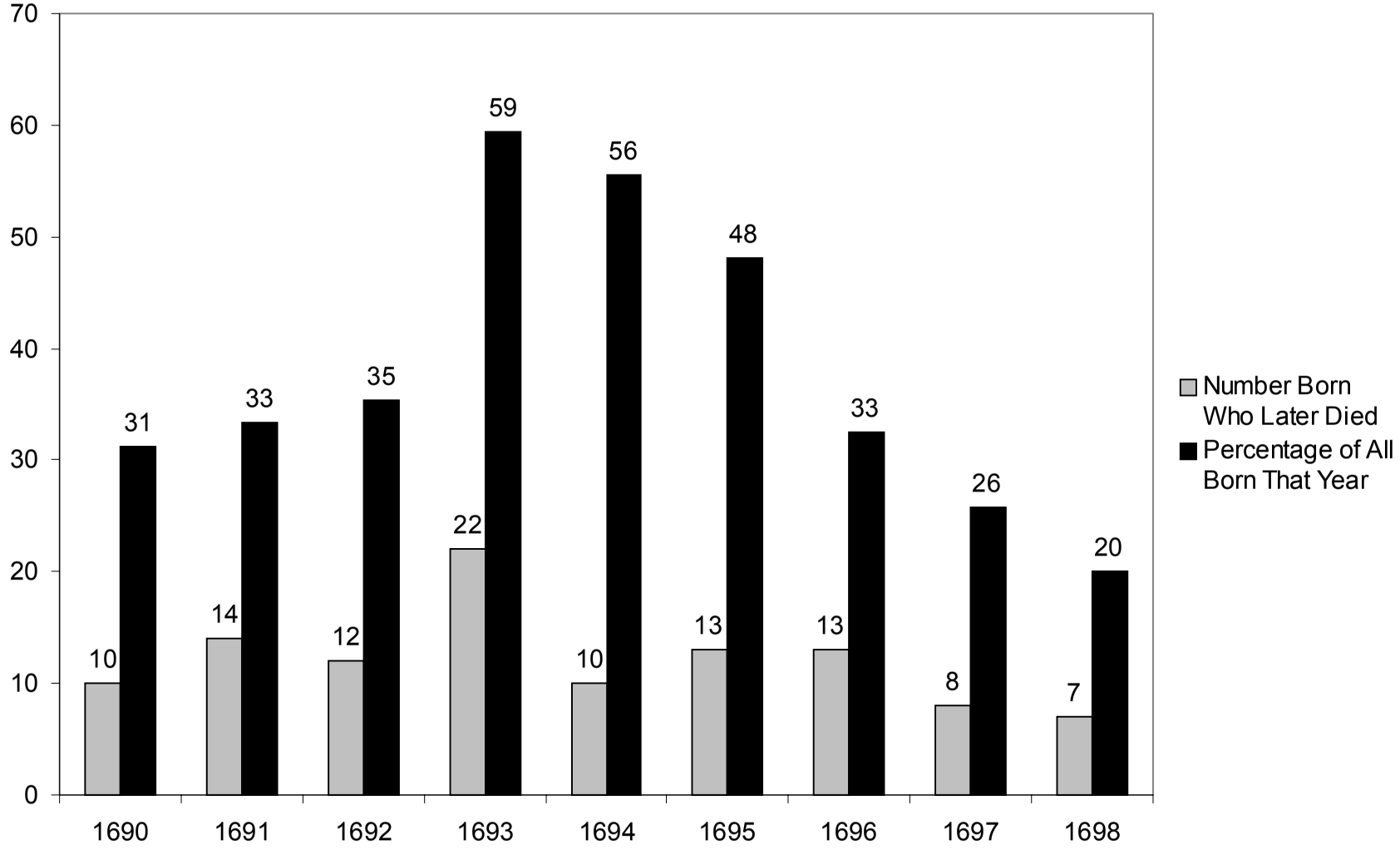


Figure 20: Percentage of Children Born Each Year from 1690-1698 Who Died under Age Three

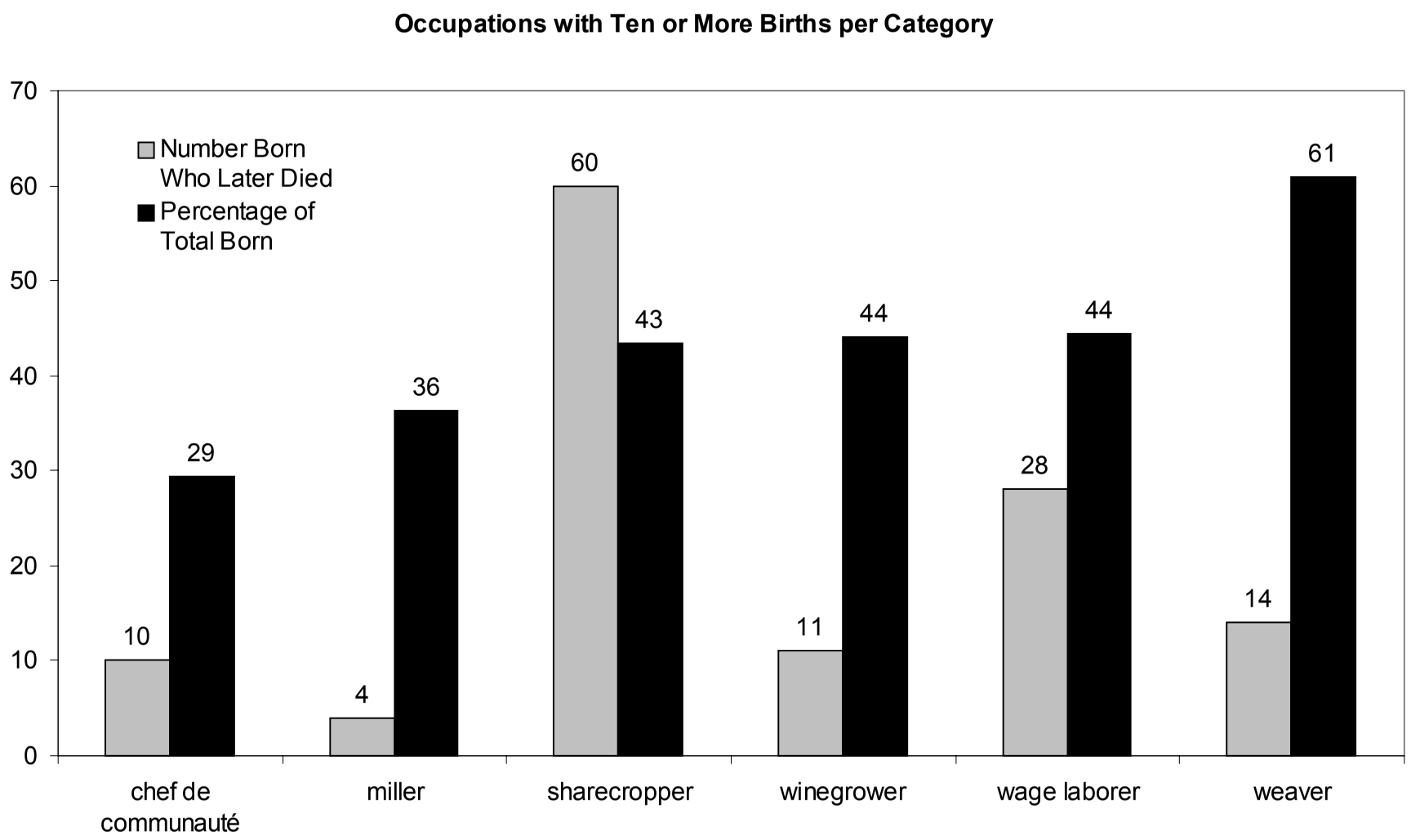


Figure 21: Percentage of Children Born to Fathers of Different Occupations between 1690 and 1698 Who Then Died by Mid-1700

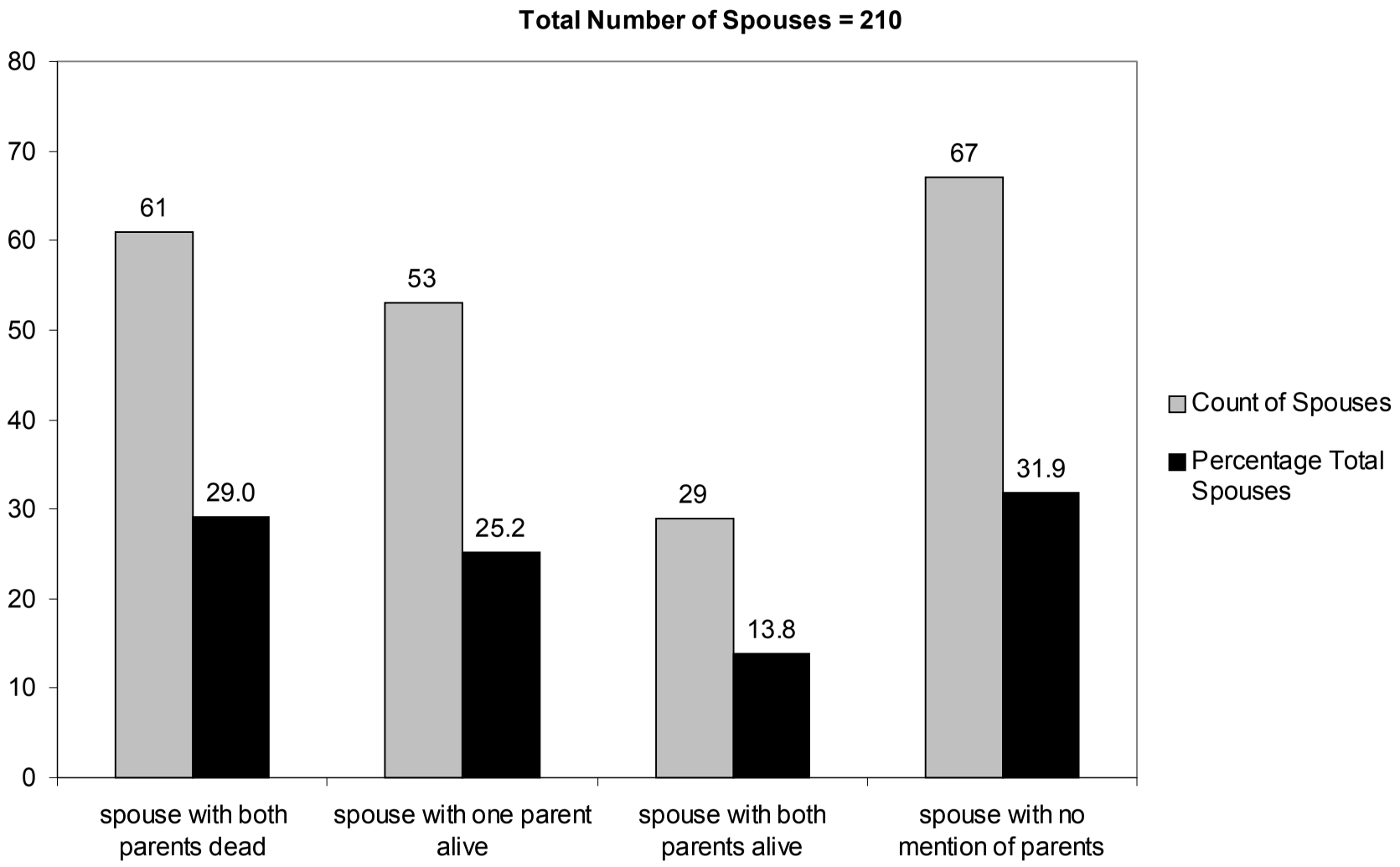


Figure 22: Parents of Spouses Marrying between 1690 and Mid-1700

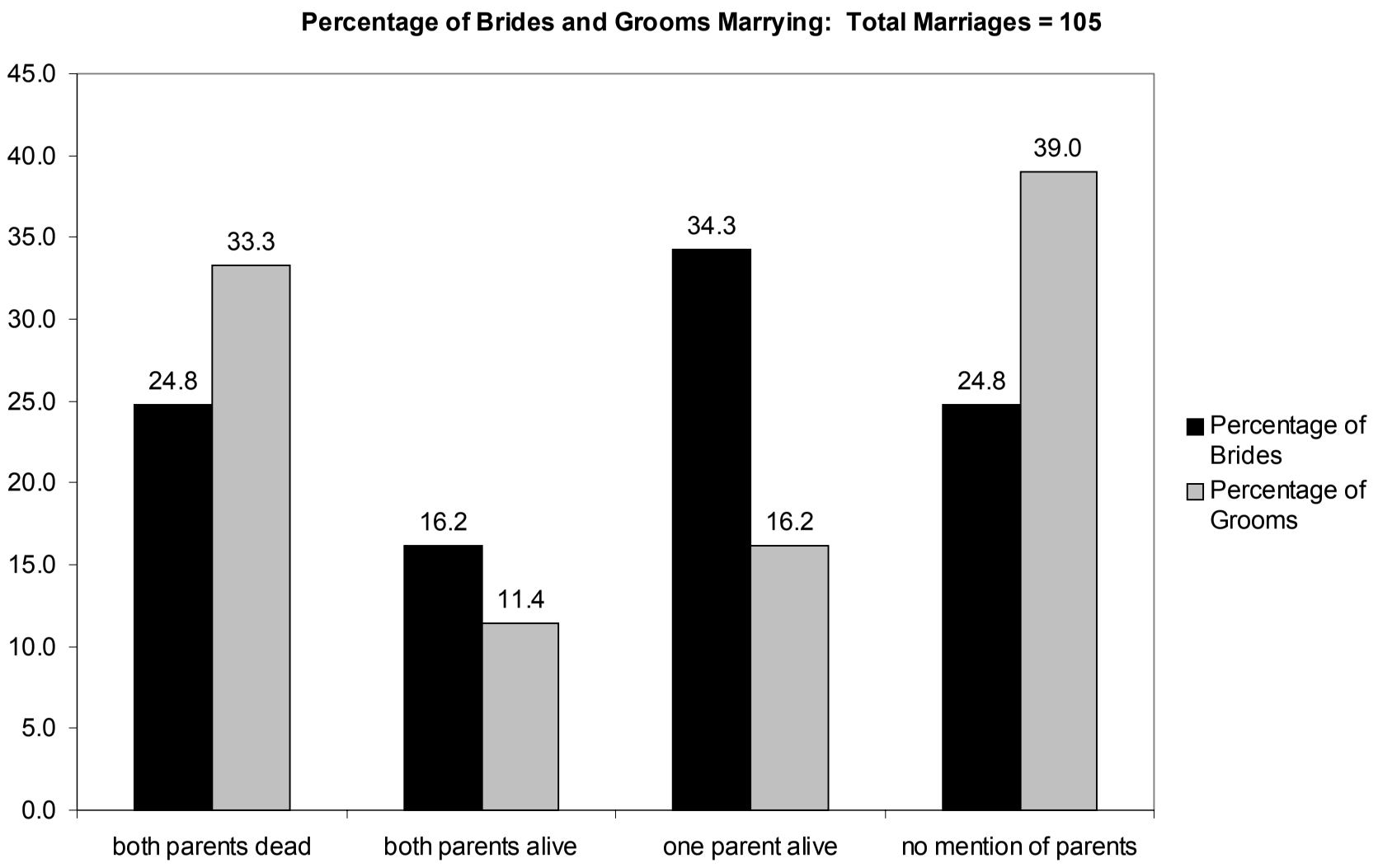


Figure 23: Parents of Brides and Grooms Marrying between 1690 and Mid-1700

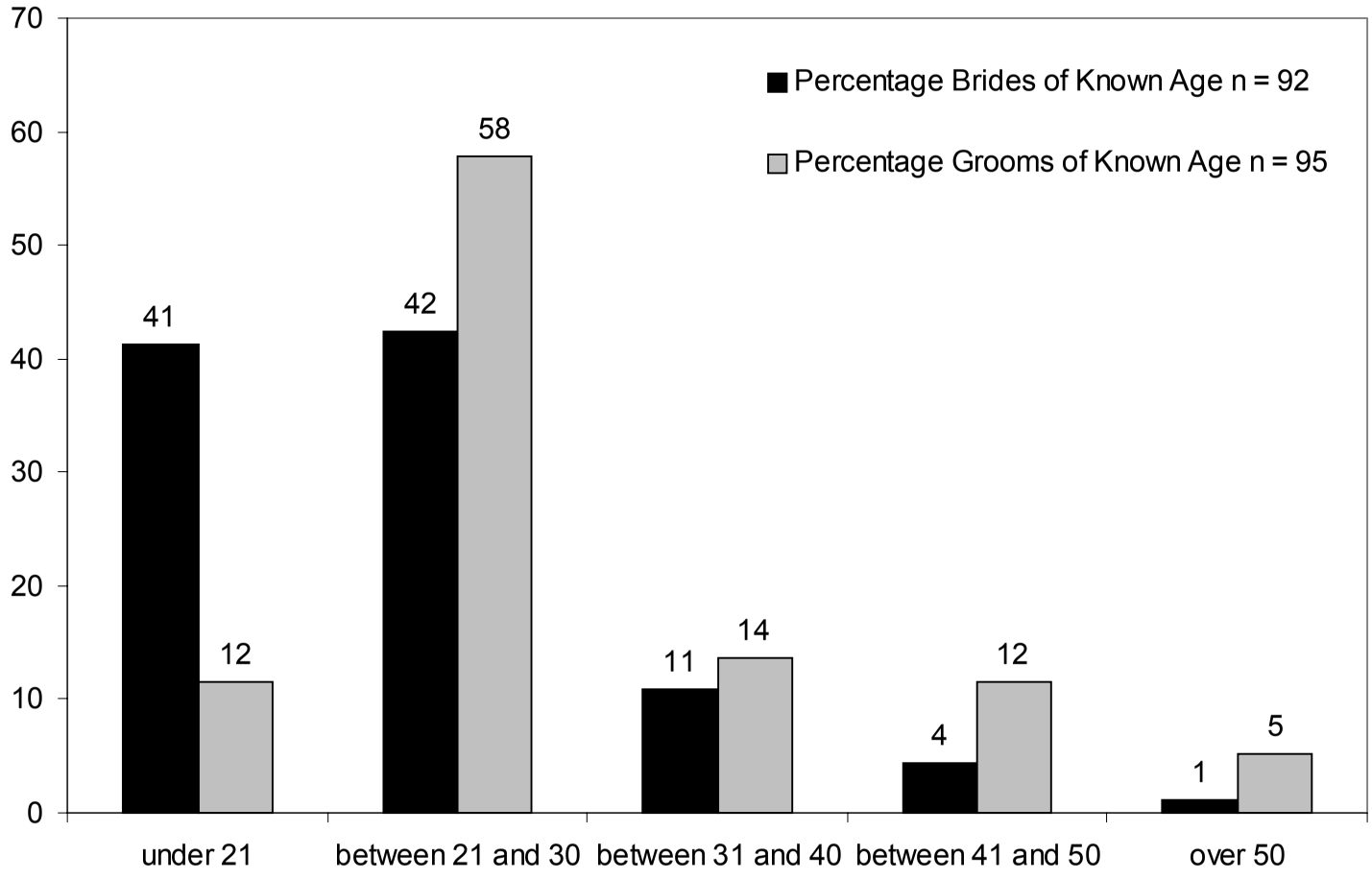


Figure 24: Age Group Percentages for Brides and Grooms for All Marriages of Known Age 1690-1699

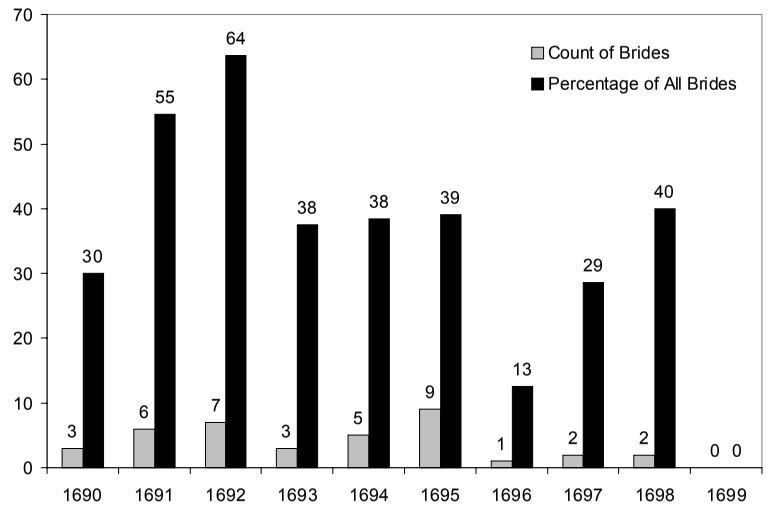


Figure 25A: Percentage of Brides under Age 21 Marrying 1690-1699

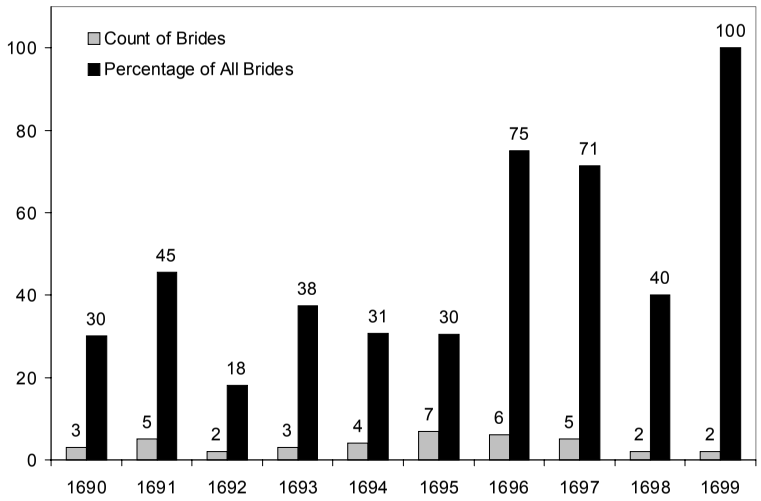


Figure 25B: Percentage of Brides Age 21-30 Marrying 1690-1699

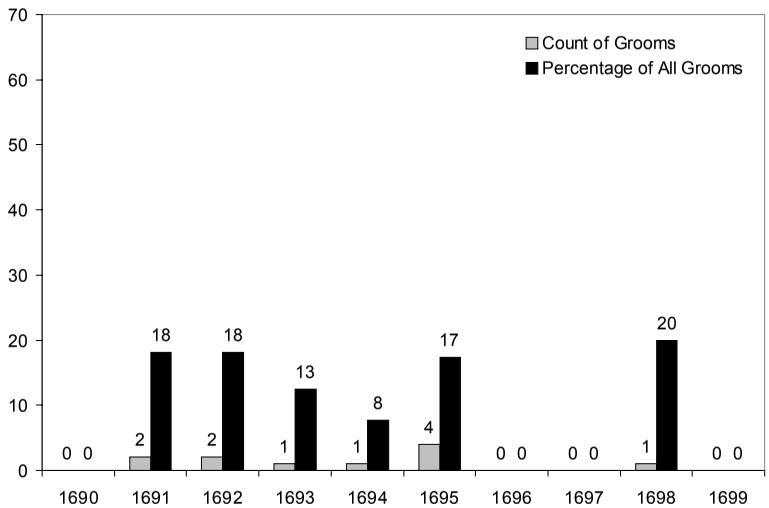


Figure 26A: Percentage of Grooms under Age 21 Marrying 1690-1699

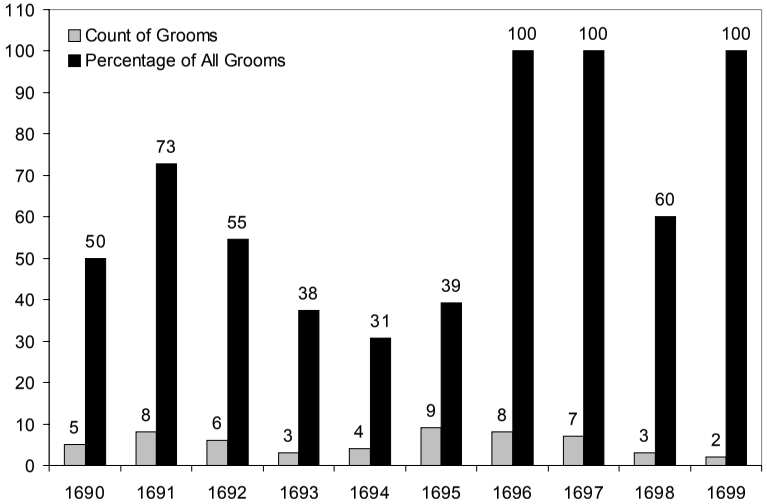


Figure 26B: Percentage of Grooms Age 21-30 Marrying 1690-1699

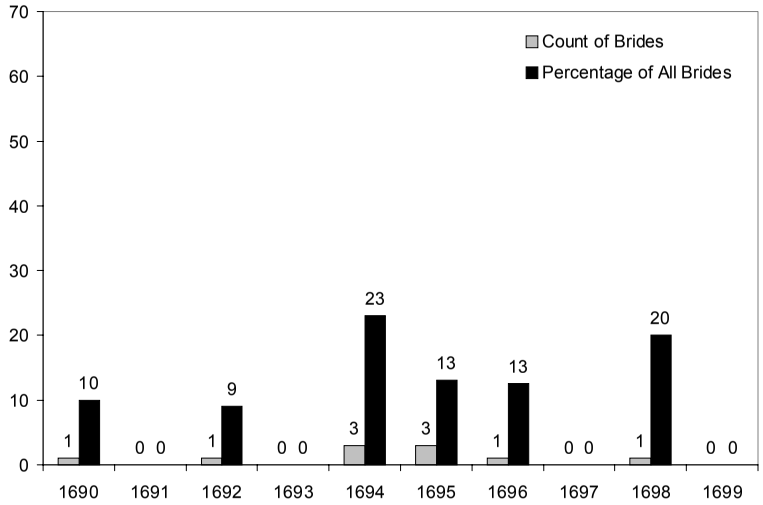


Figure 25C: Percentage of Brides Age 31-40 Marrying 1690-1699

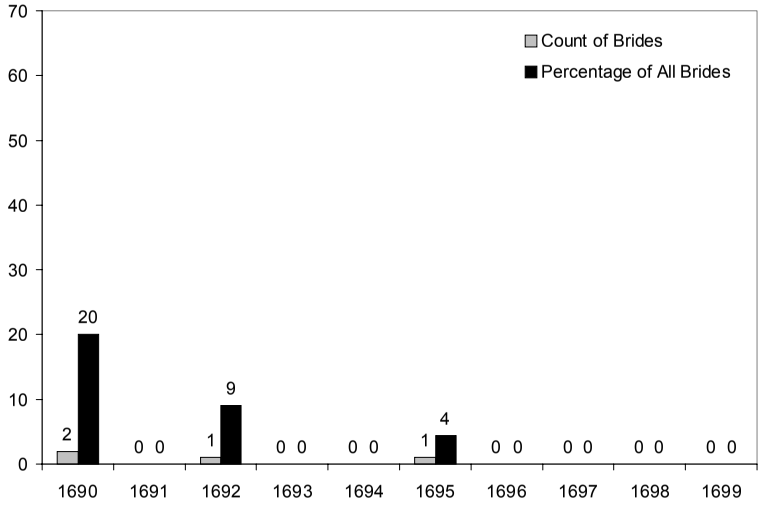


Figure 25D: Percentage of Brides Age 41-50 Marrying 1690-1699

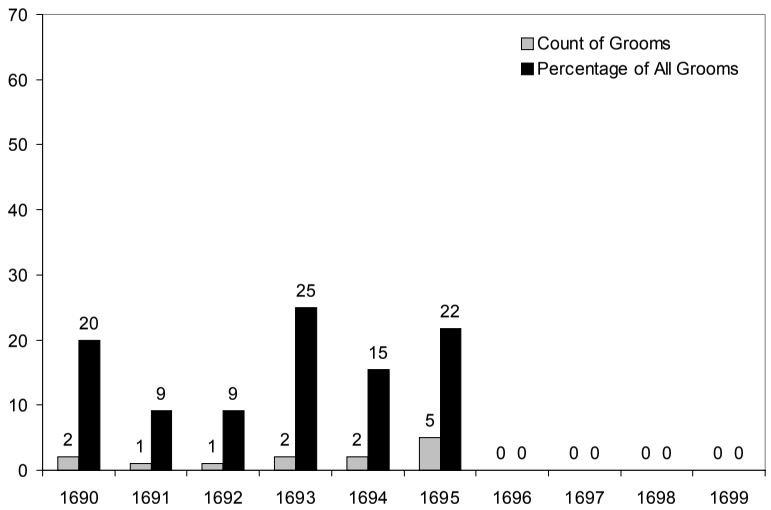


Figure 26C: Percentage of Grooms Age 31-40 Marrying 1690-1699

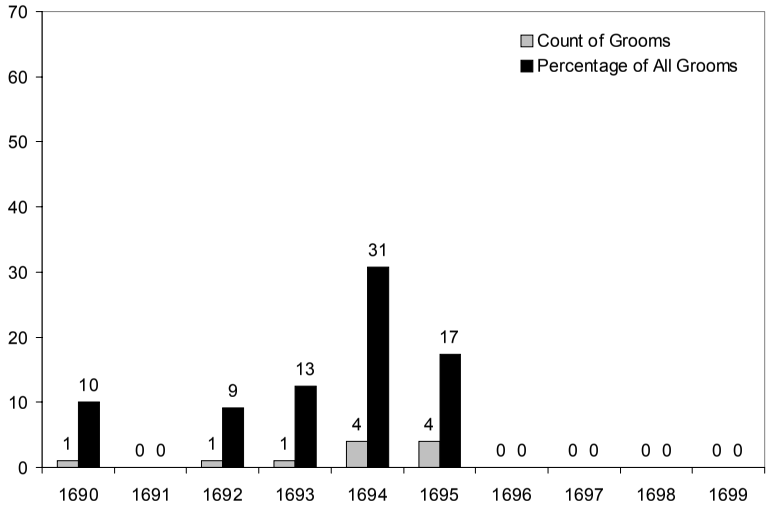


Figure 26D: Percentage of Grooms Age 41-50 Marrying 1690-1699

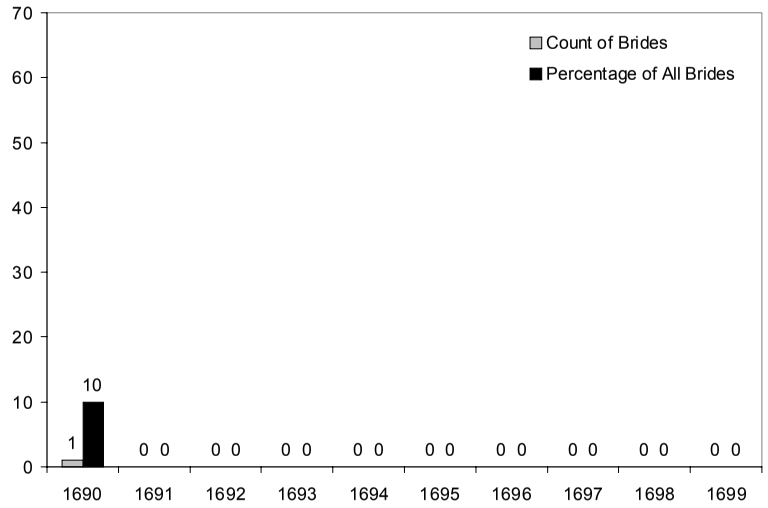


Figure 25E: Percentage of Brides over Age 50 Marrying 1690-1699

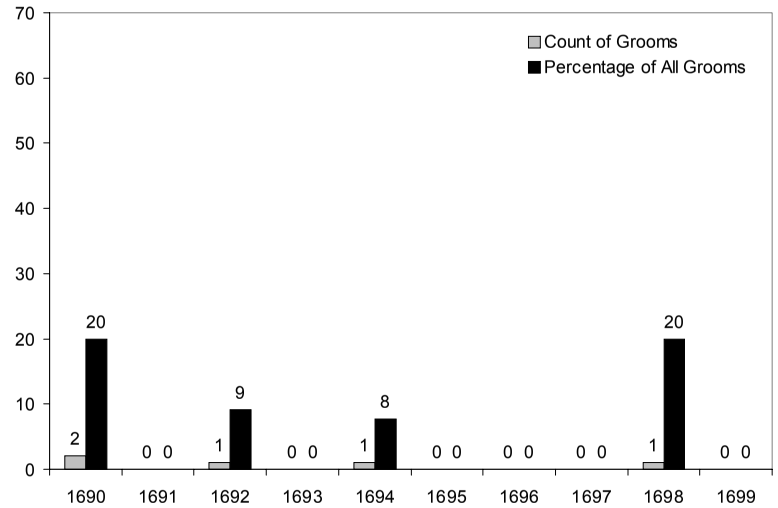


Figure 26E: Percentage of Grooms over Age 50 Marrying 1690-1699

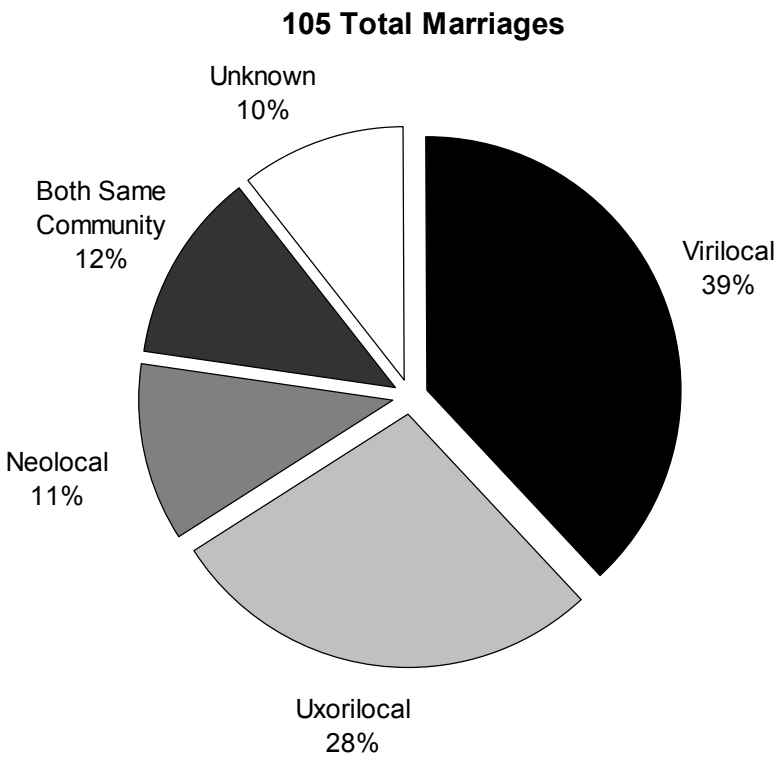


Figure 27: Post-Nuptial Residence Patterns in Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1700

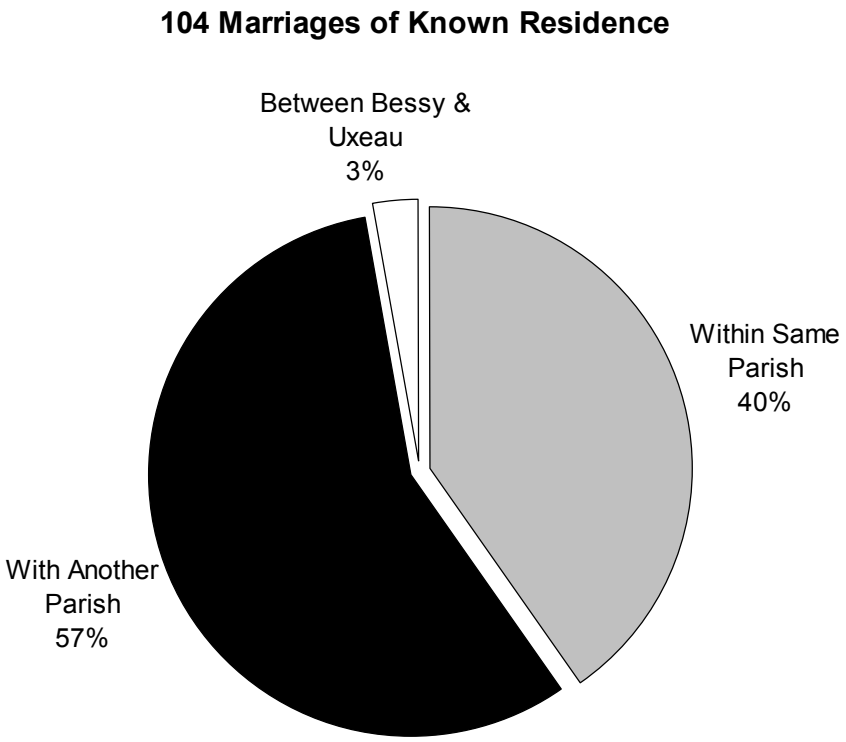


Figure 28: Marriage Alliances in Bessy and Uxeau 1690-1700

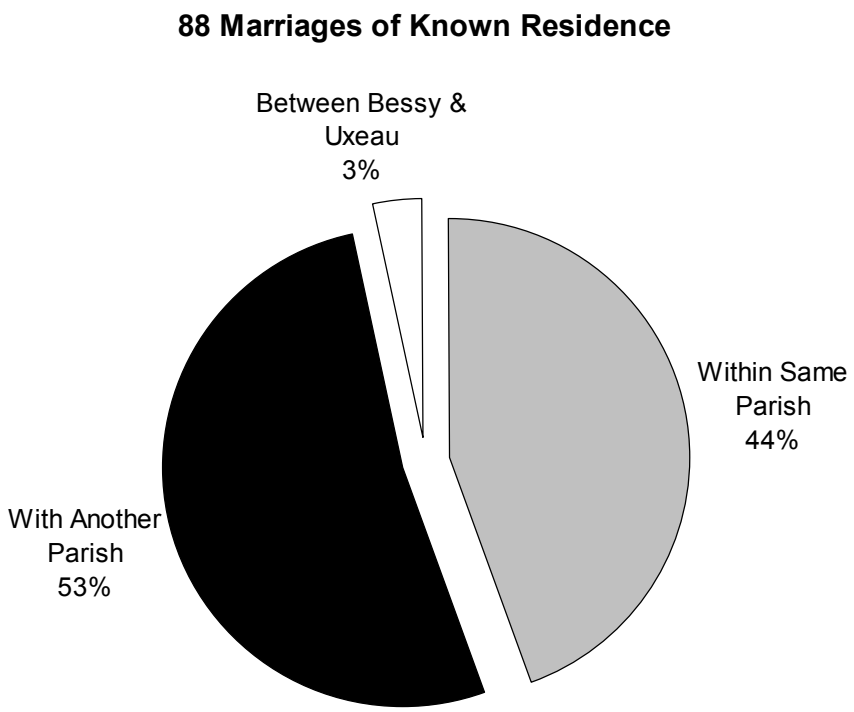


Figure 29: Marriage Alliances in Uxeau 1690-1700

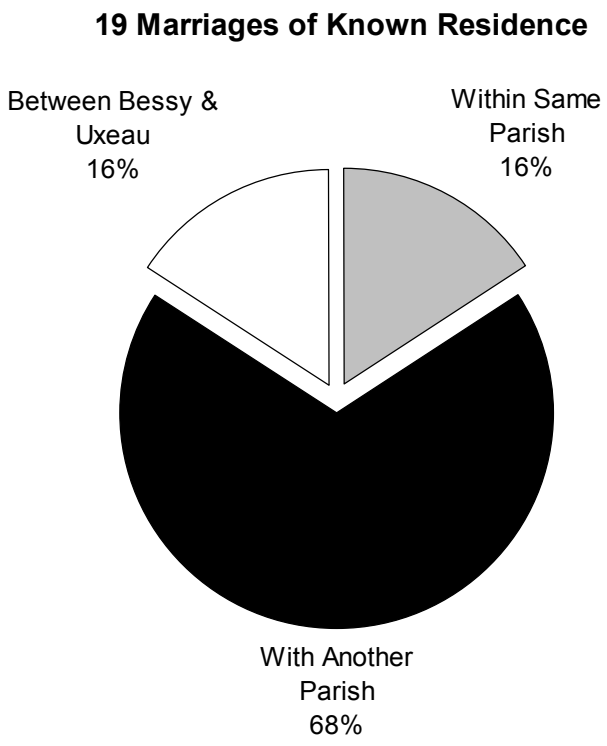


Figure 30: Marriage Alliances in Bessy 1690-1700

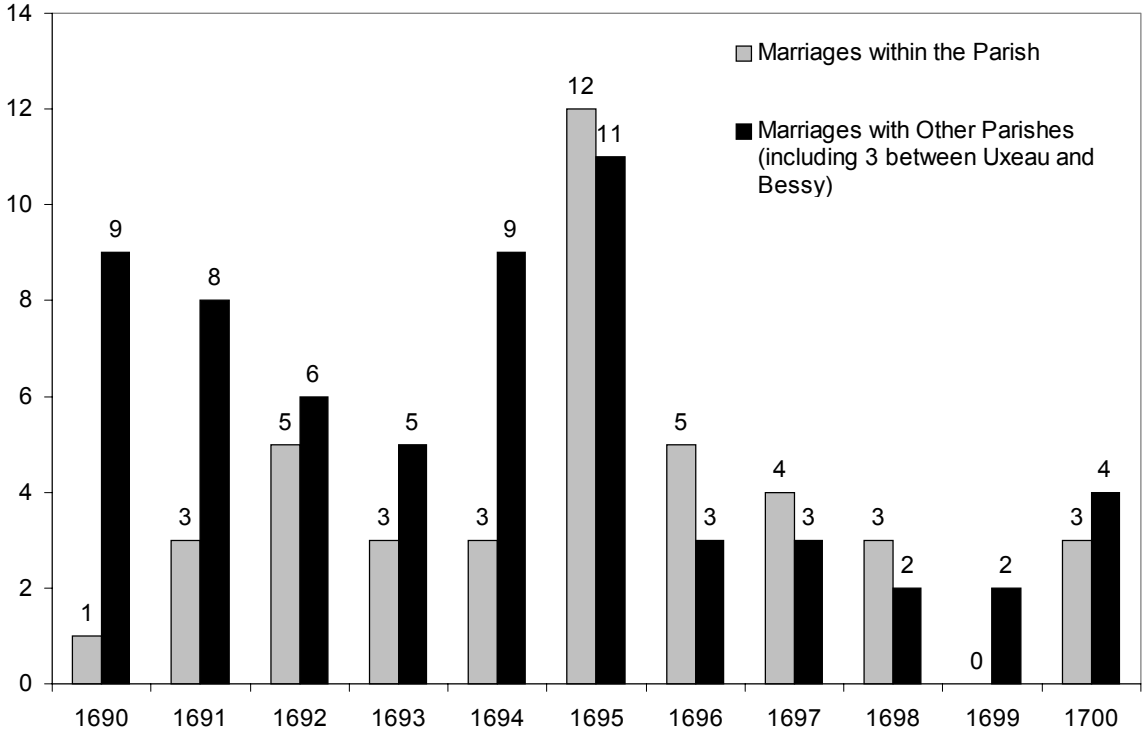


Figure 31: Count of Marriages within the Parish and with Other Parishes for Uxeau/Bessy 1690-1700

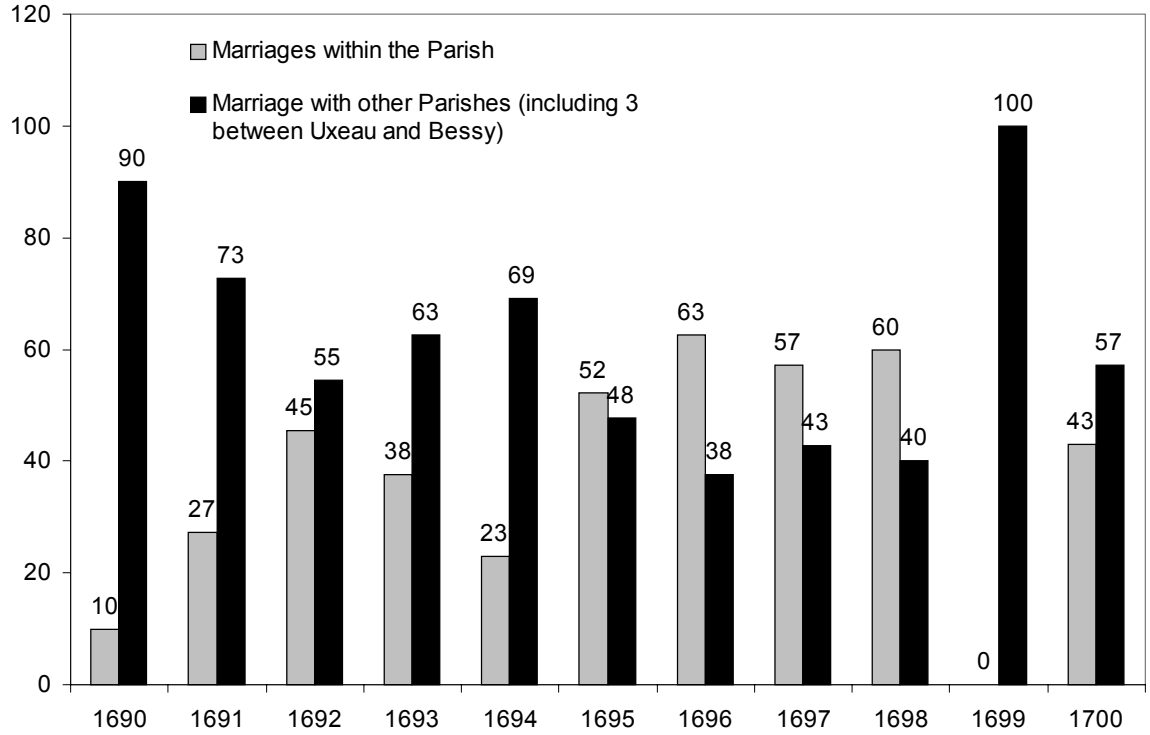


Figure 32: Percentage of Marriages within the Parish and with Other Parishes for Uxeau/Bessy 1690-1700

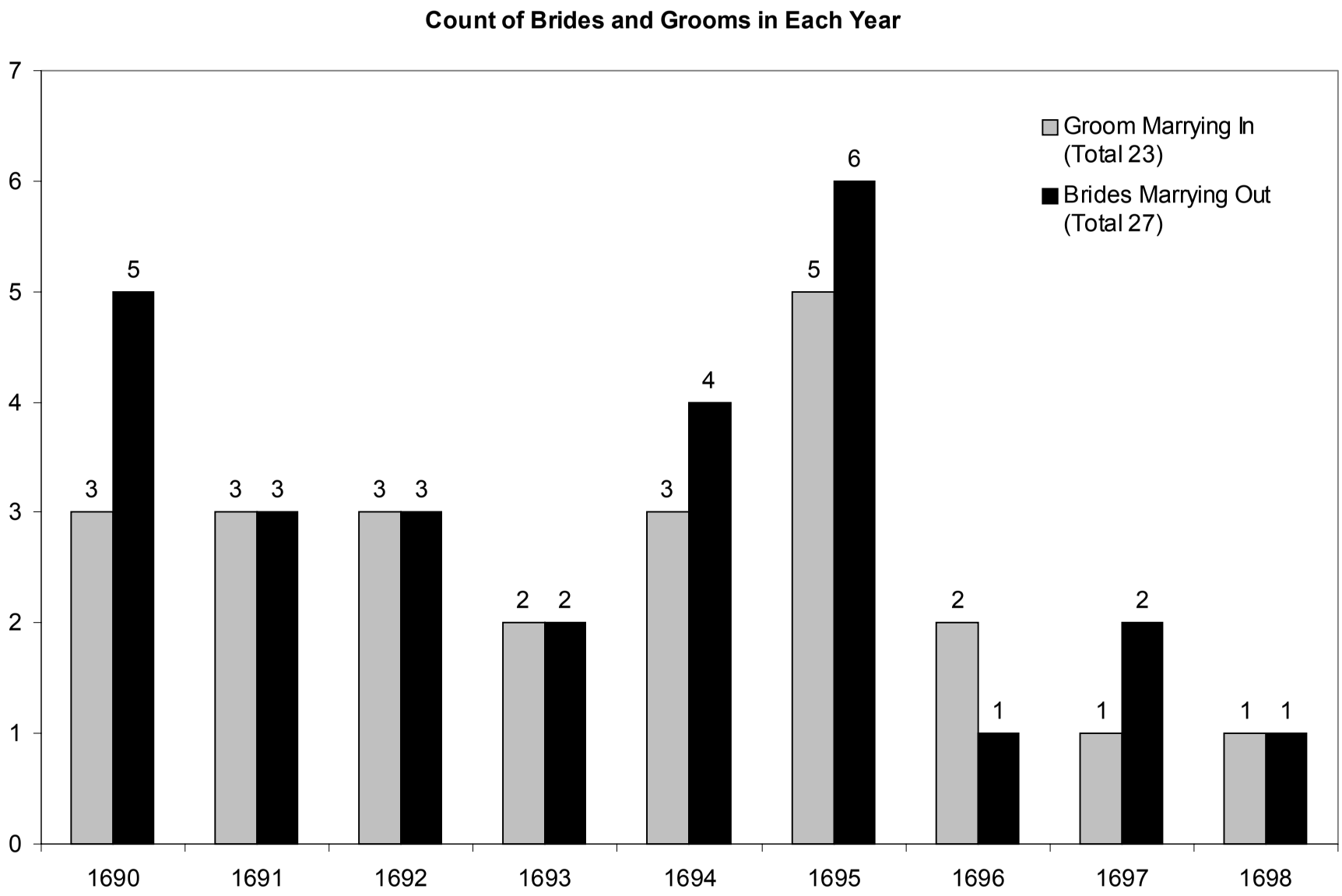


Figure 33: Brides Marrying out of Parish and Grooms Marrying into Parishes of Uxeau and Bessy 1690-1698

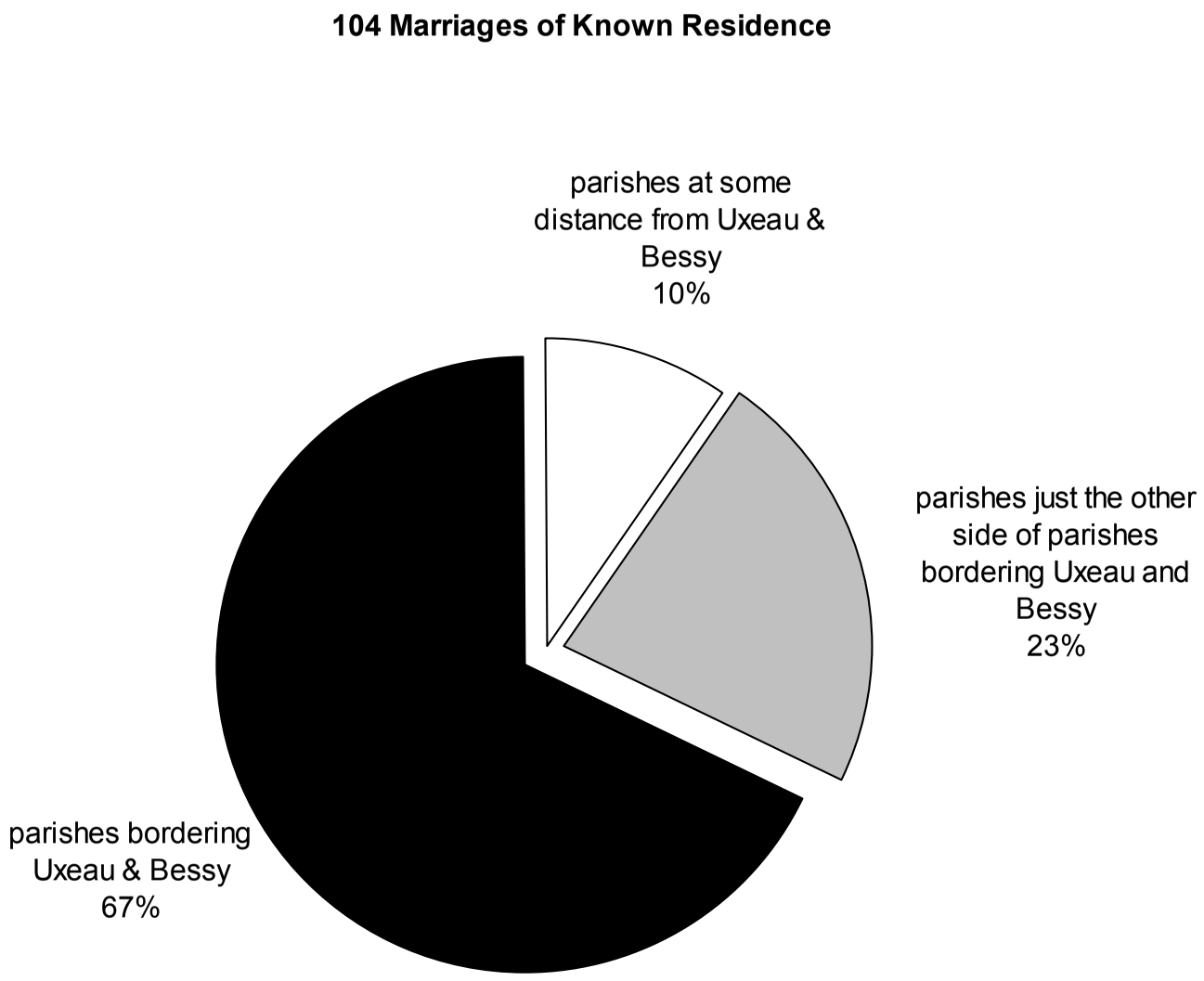


Figure 34: Marriages Contracted with Another Parish 1690-Mid-1700

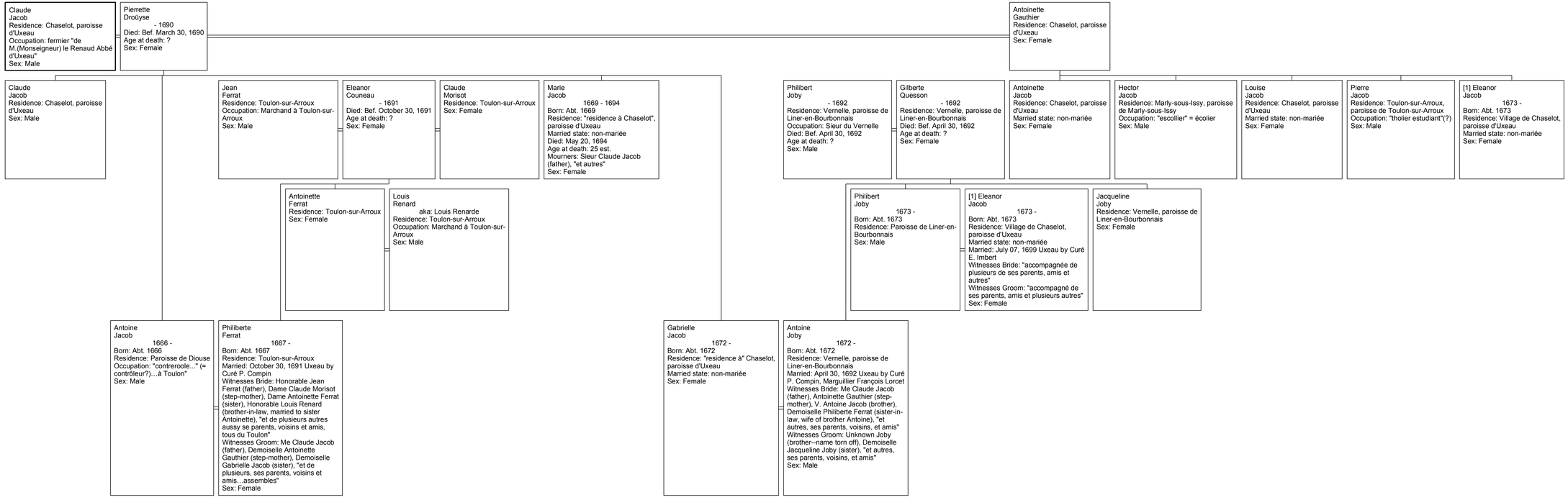


Figure 35: Descendants of Claude Jacob

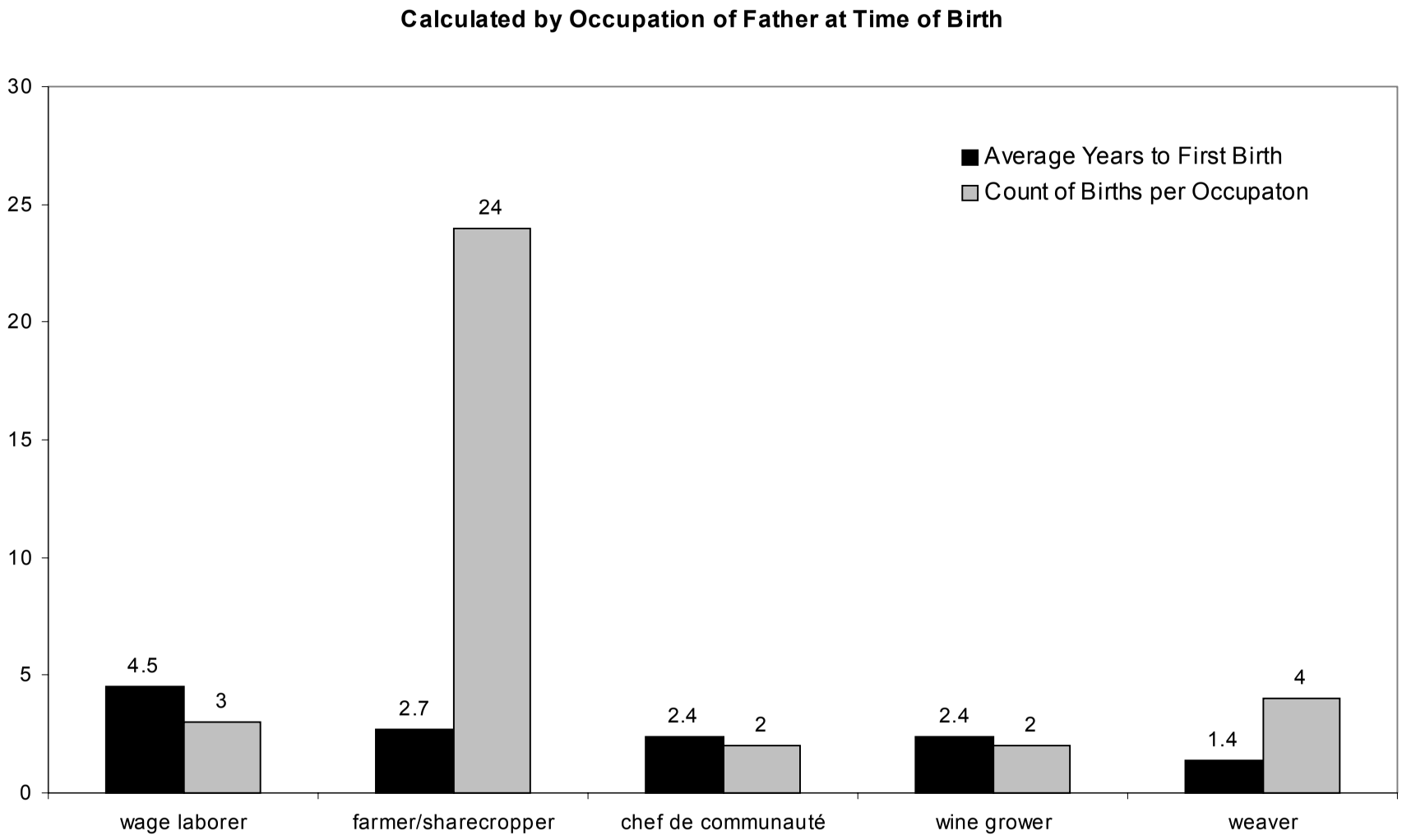


Figure 36: Average Length of Time between Marriage and First Birth for Occupations having More Than One Marriage Producing a Birth 1690-1700

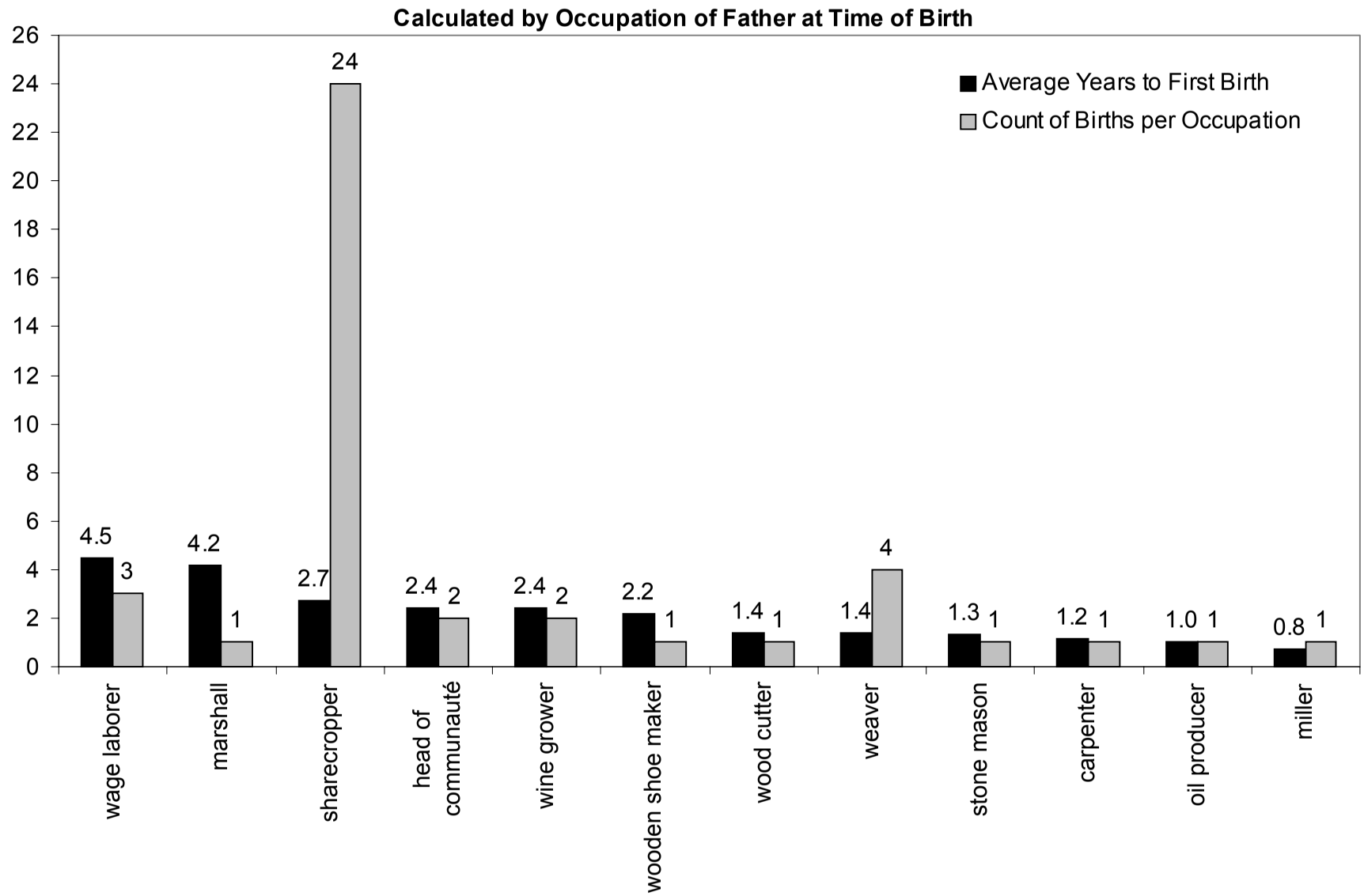


Figure 37: Average Length of Time between Marriage and First Birth by Occupation 1690-1700

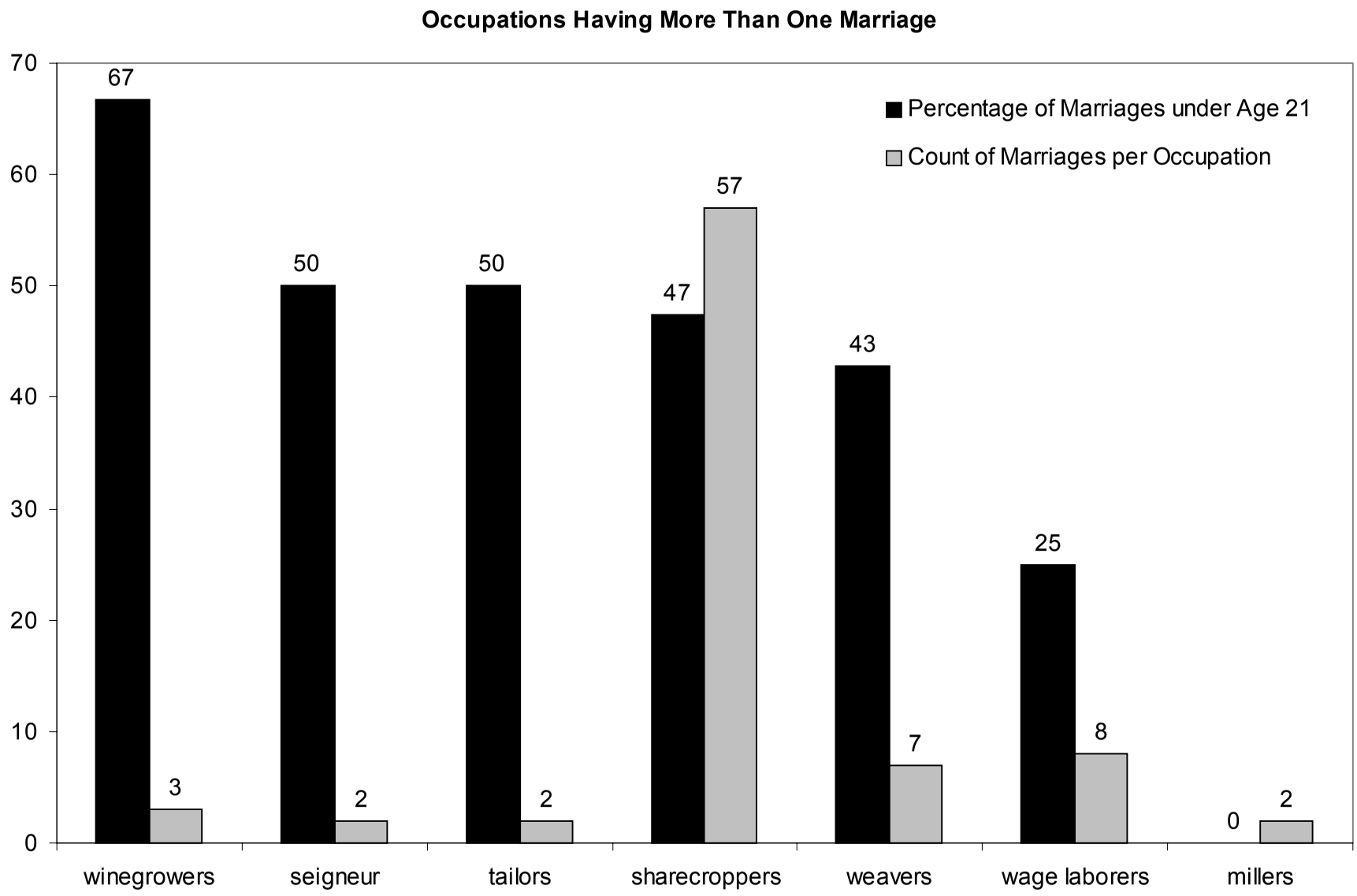


Figure 38: Percentage of Marriages with Spouses under Age 21 by Occupation

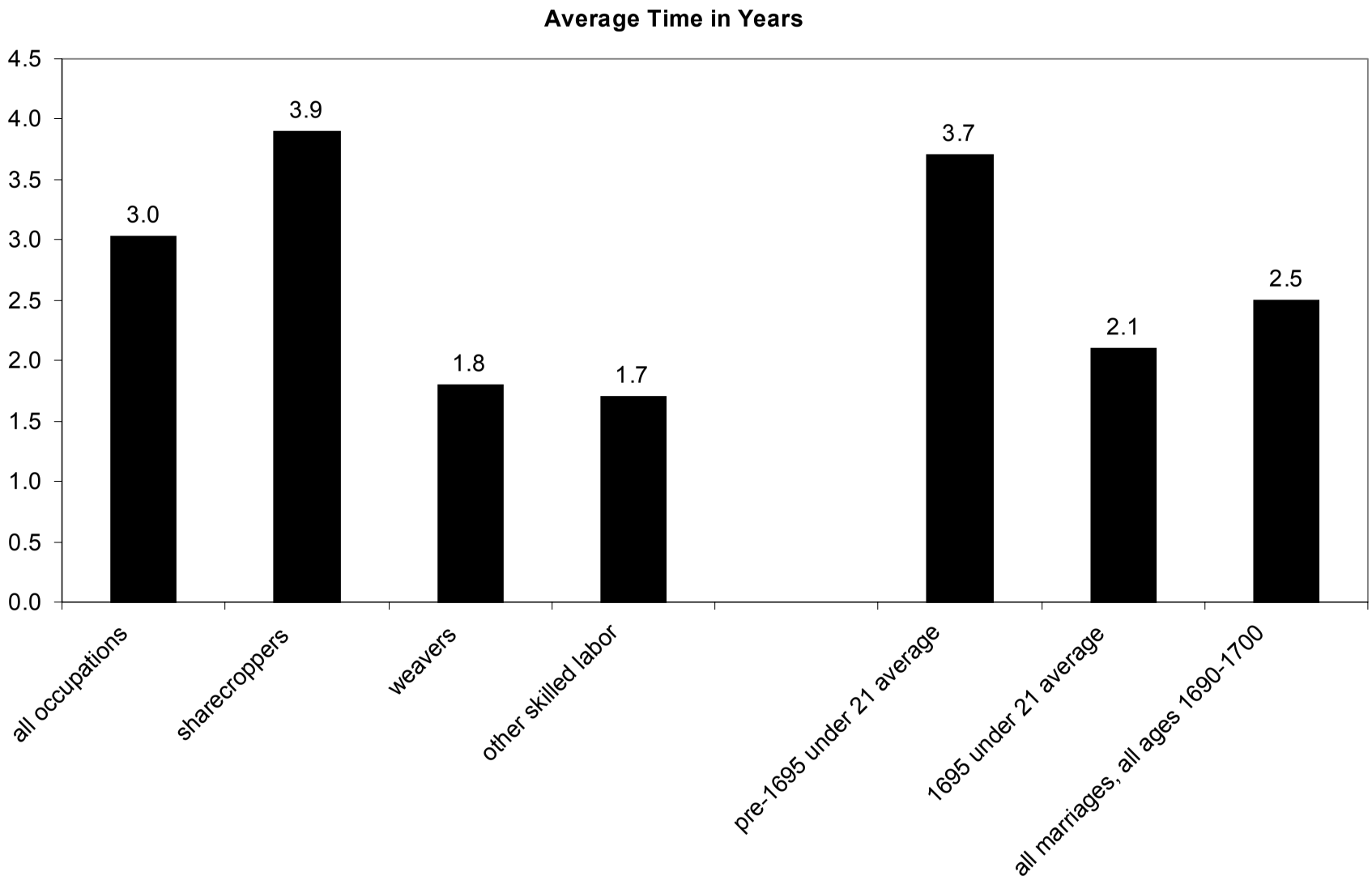


Figure 39: Average Length of Time between Marriage and First Birth for Marriages with Spouses under Age 21 1690-1700

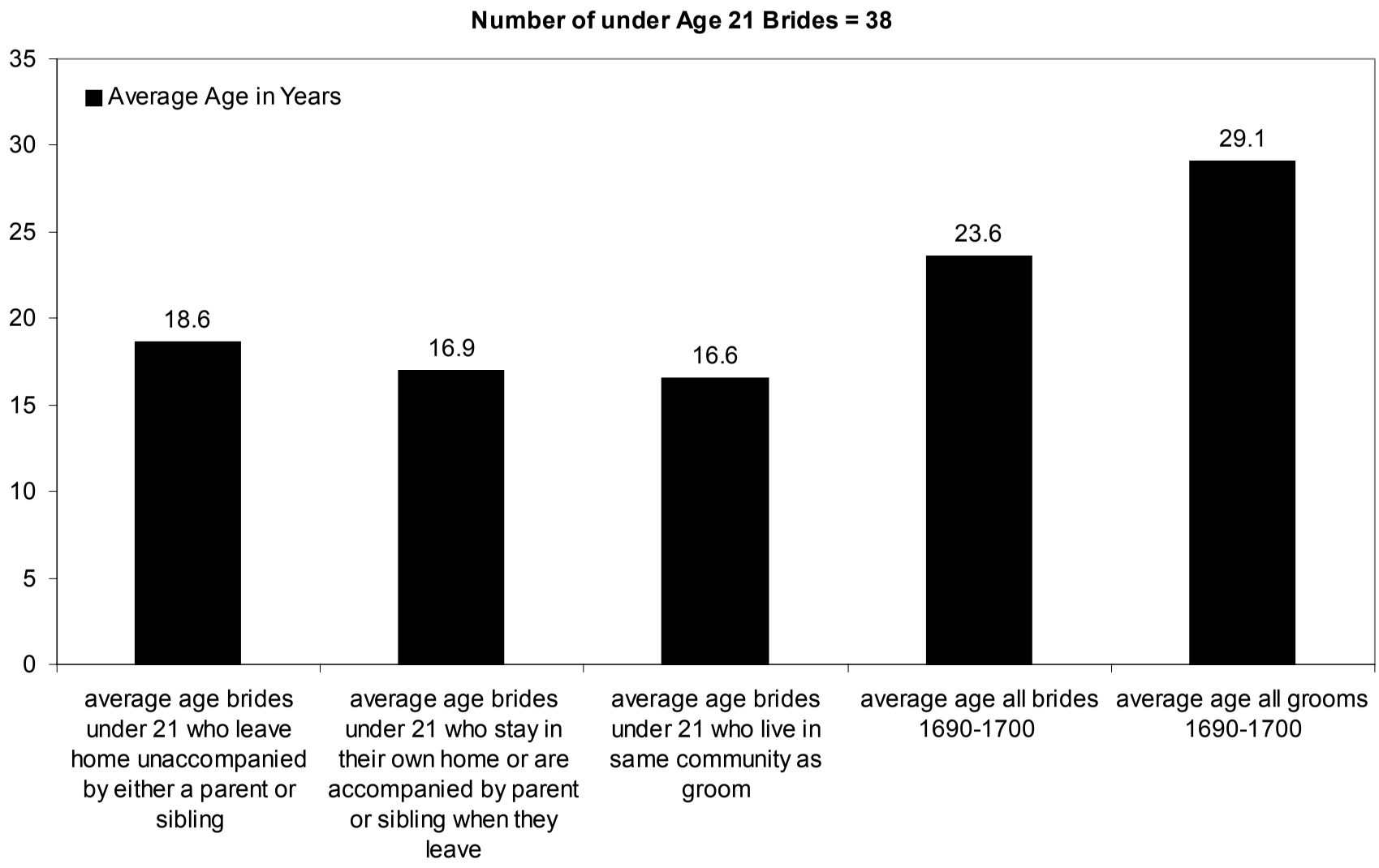


Figure 40: Average Age of Brides by Residence Pattern

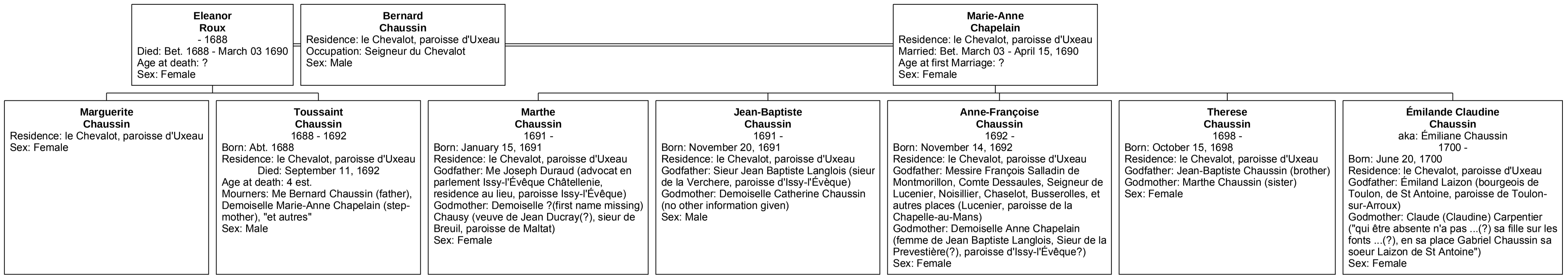


Figure 41: Descendants of Bernard Chaussin

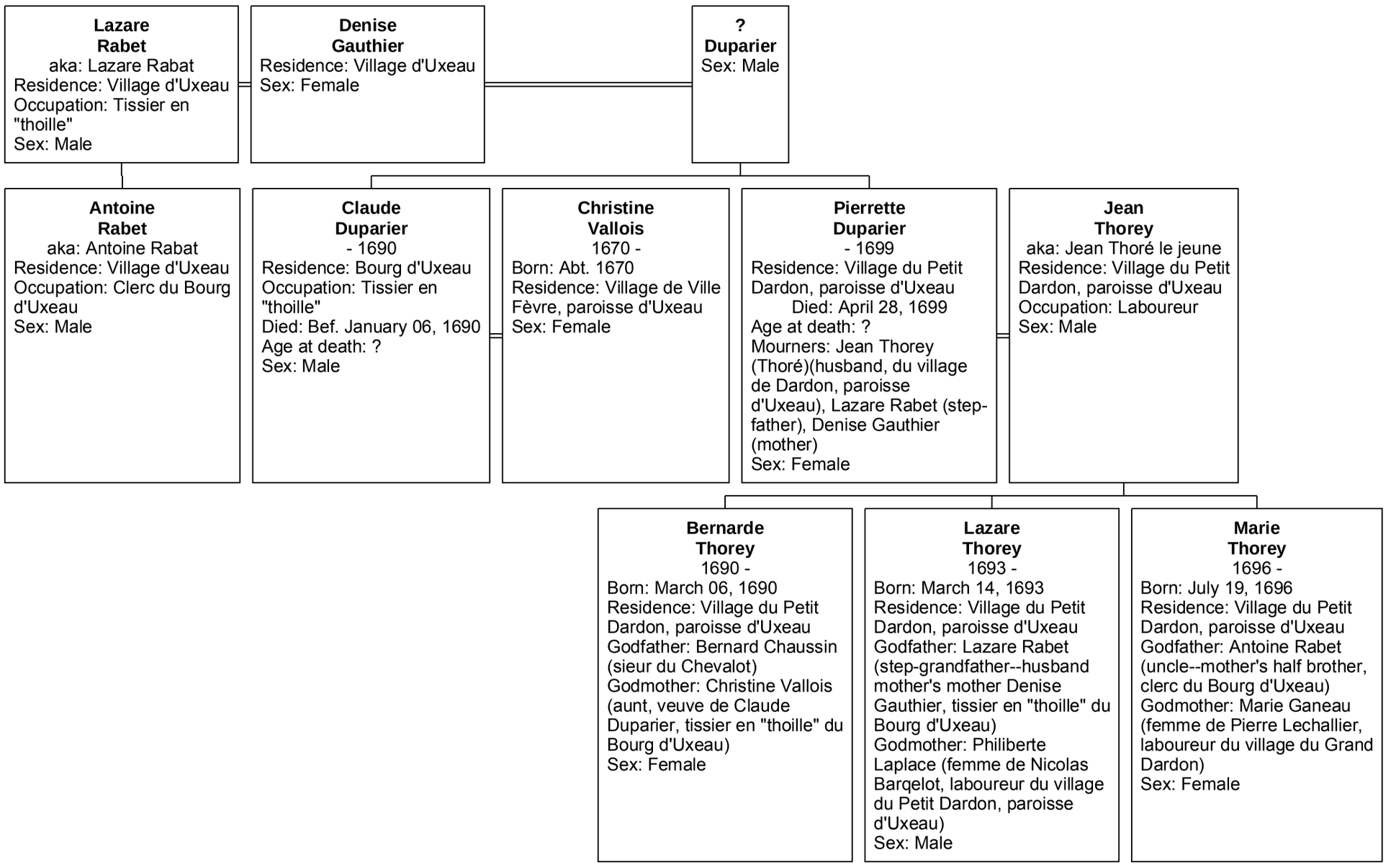


Figure 42: Rabet and Thorey Descendants

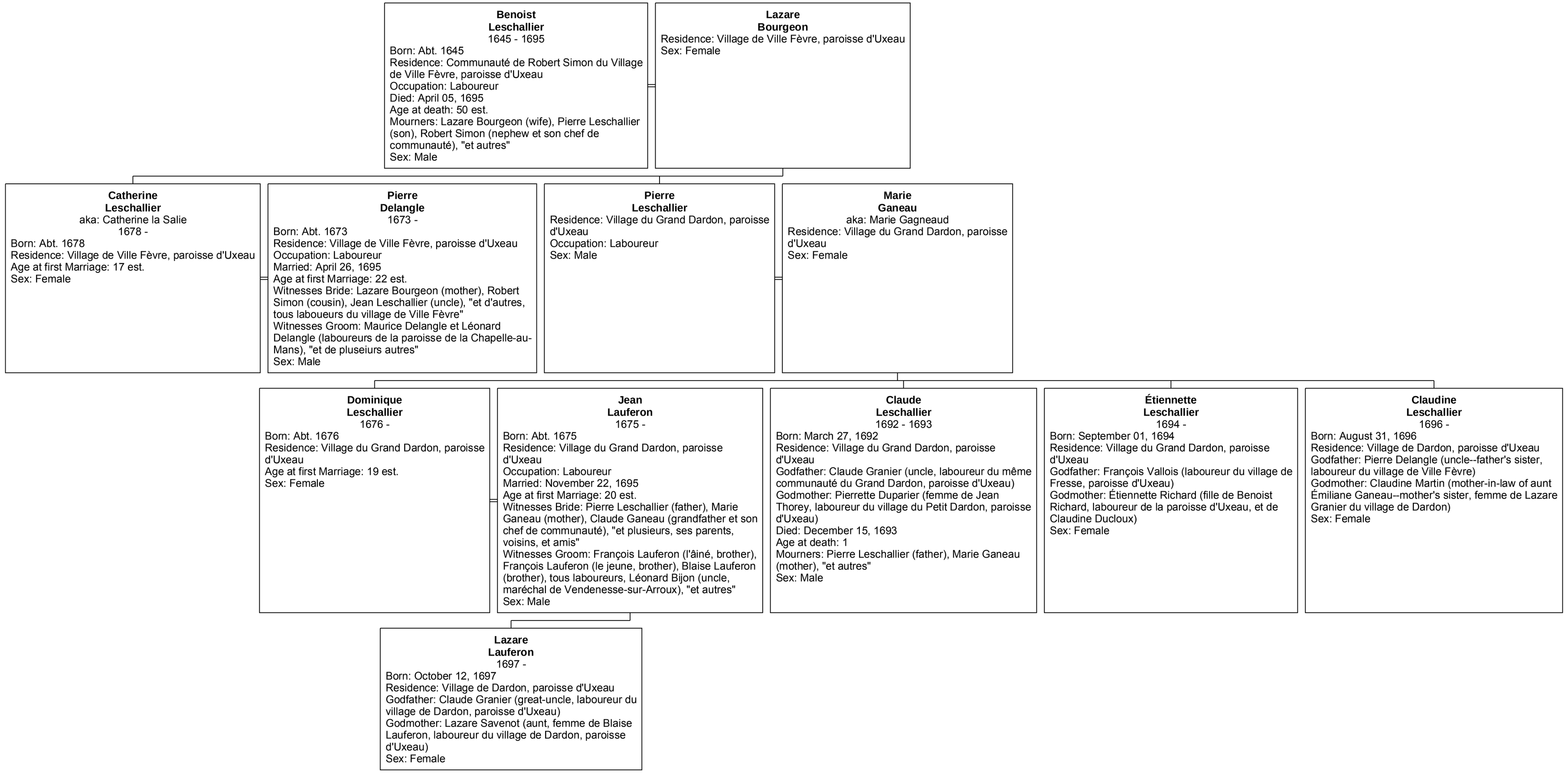


Figure 43: Descendants of Benoist Leschallier

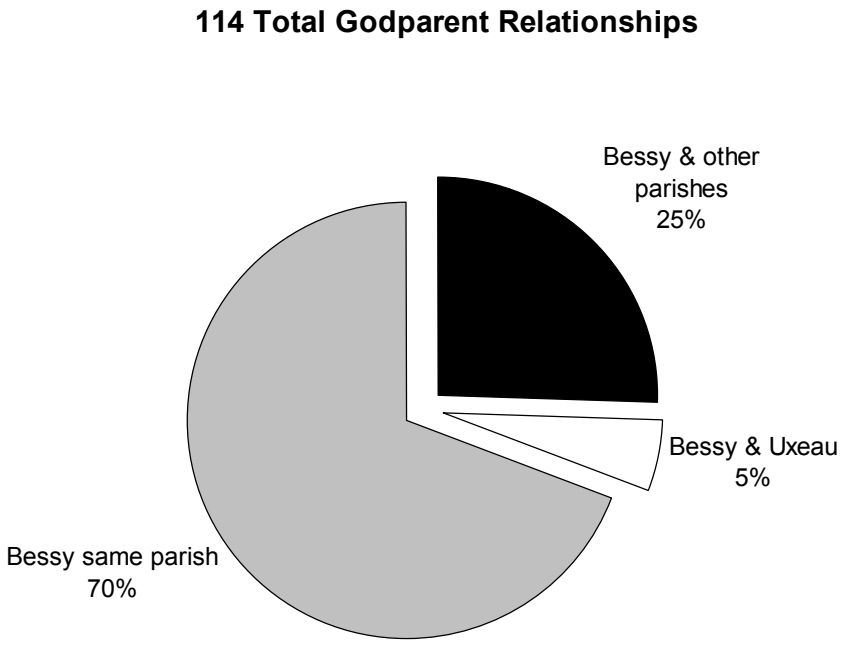


Figure 44: Godparent Relationships for Bessy 1690-1700

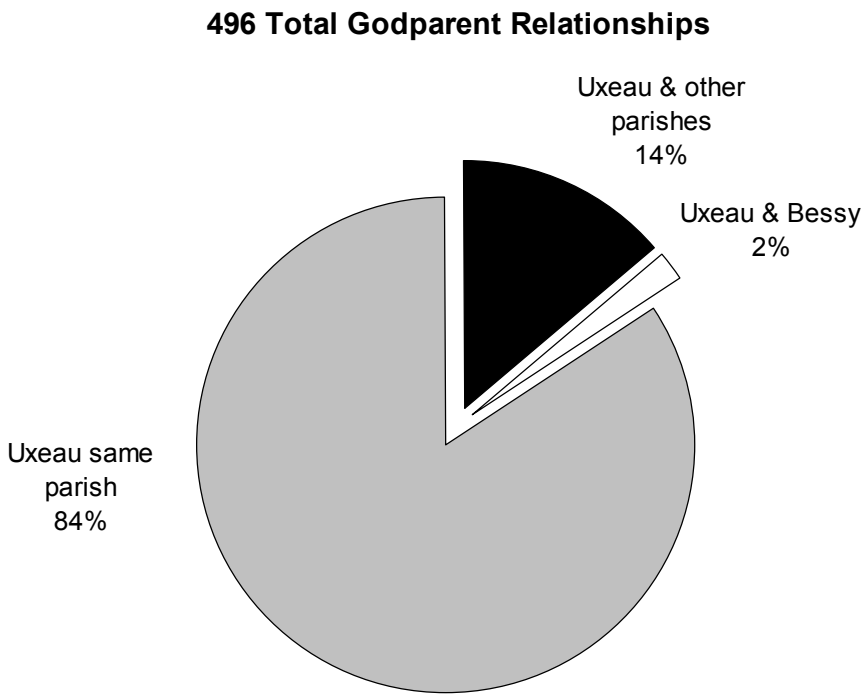


Figure 45: Godparent Relationships for Uxeau 1690-1700

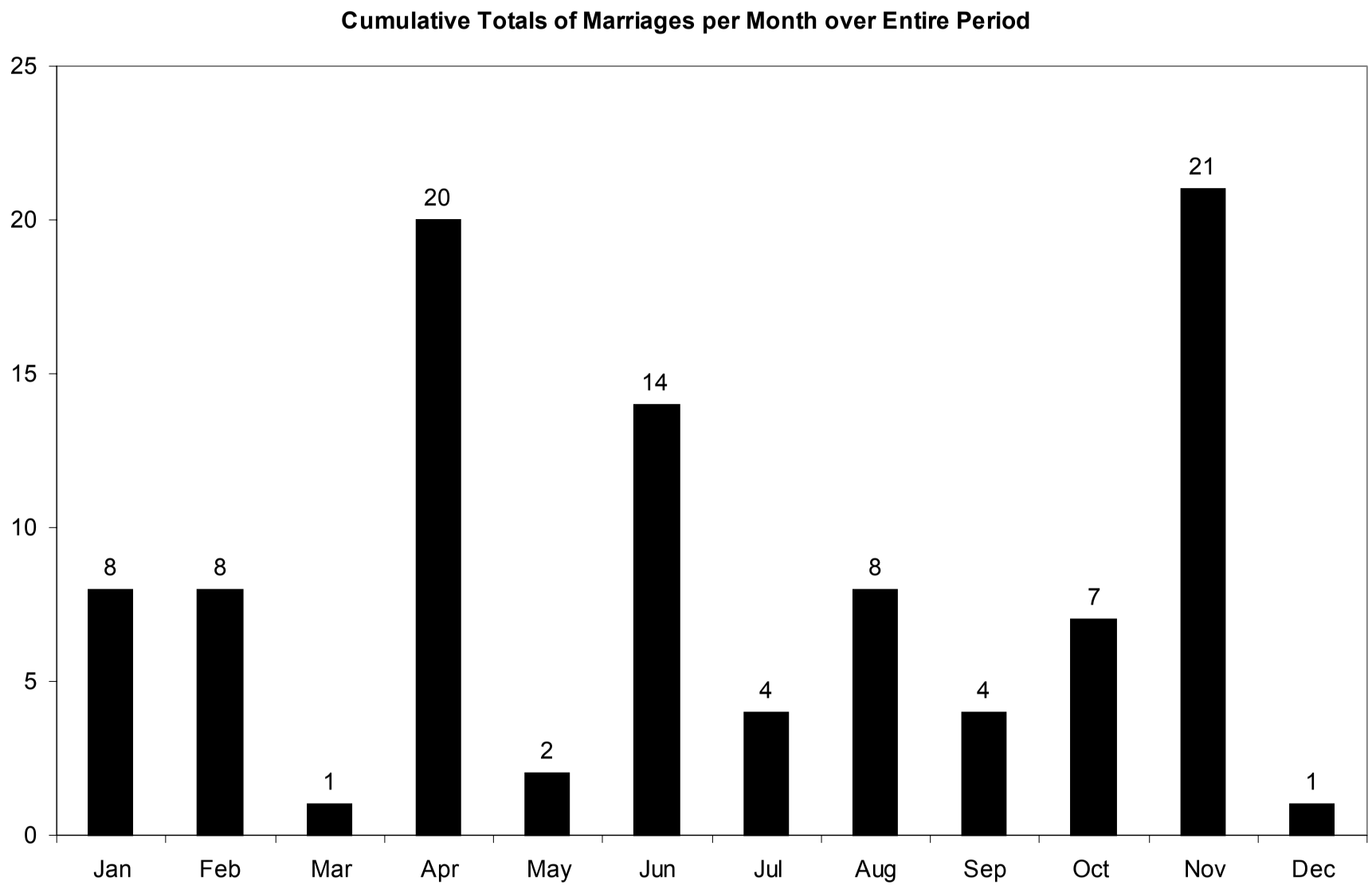


Figure 46: Marriages by Month 1690-1699

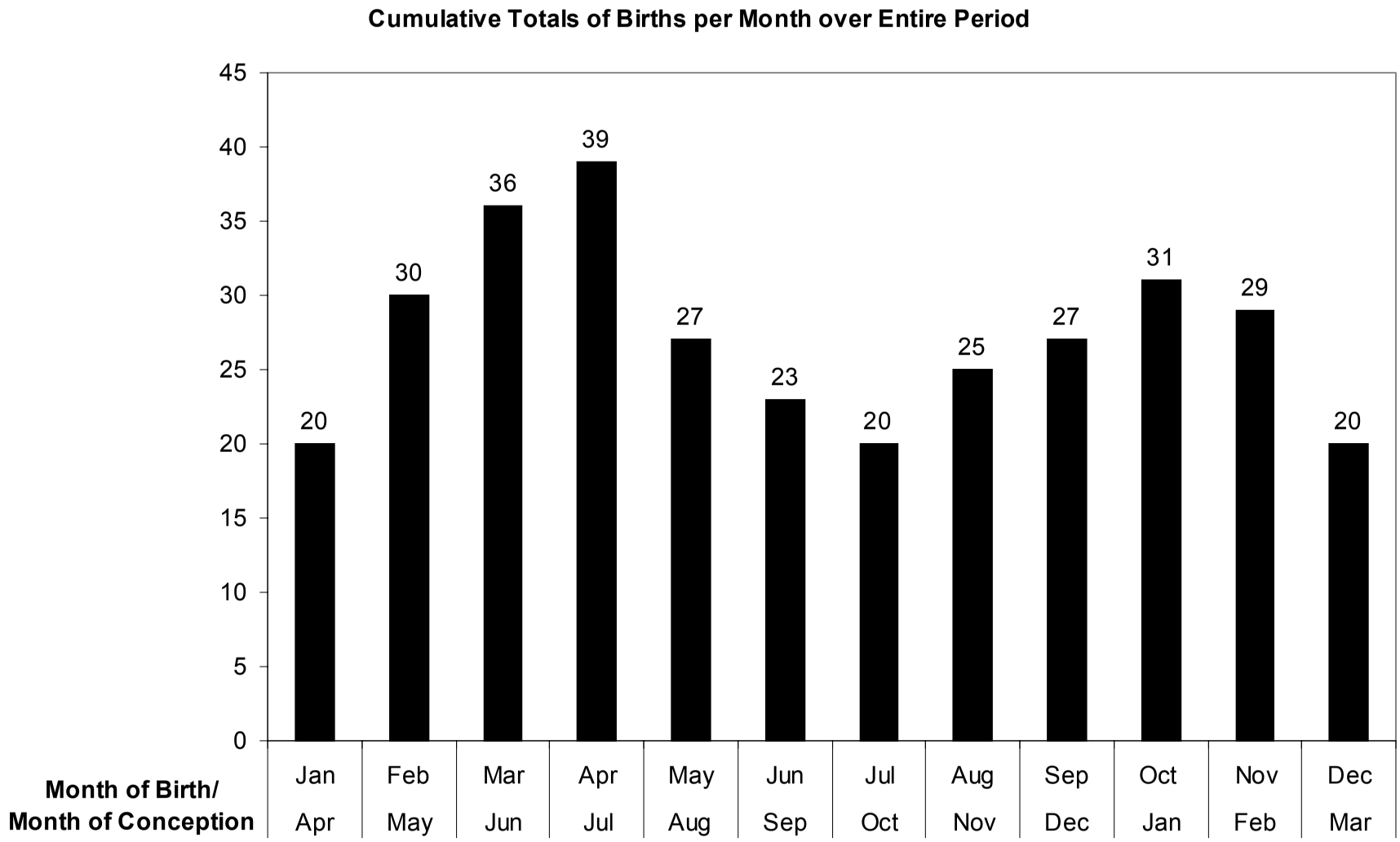


Figure 47: Births by Month 1690-1699

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