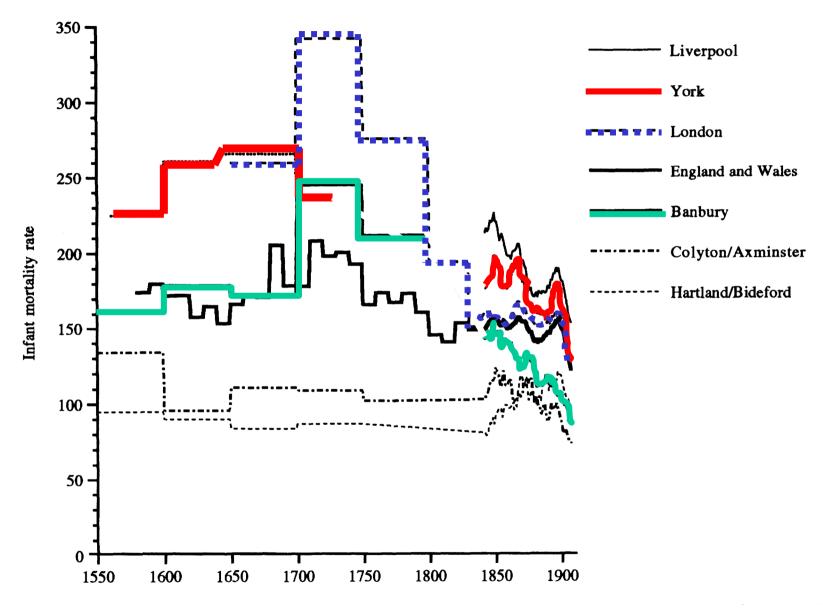
New insights into the mortality patterns of early modern cities

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Galley & Shelton 2001 Pop Stud 55: 65-77

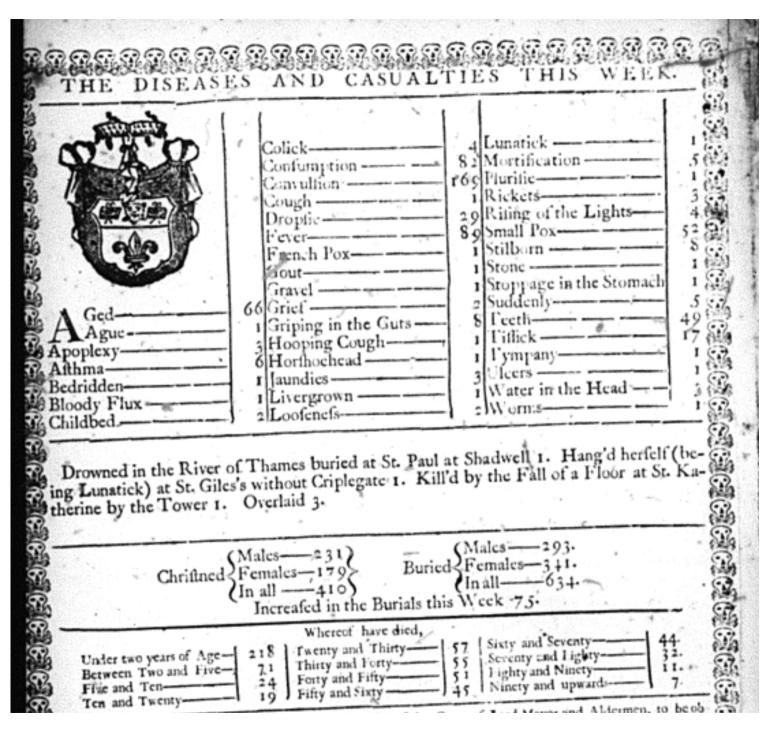
How did towns influence national mortality trends?

Urbanisation increased the population subject to high death rates

Towns were reservoirs and entry points for infectious diseases

Urban centres were dependent on in-migration to sustain their population size, and to grow

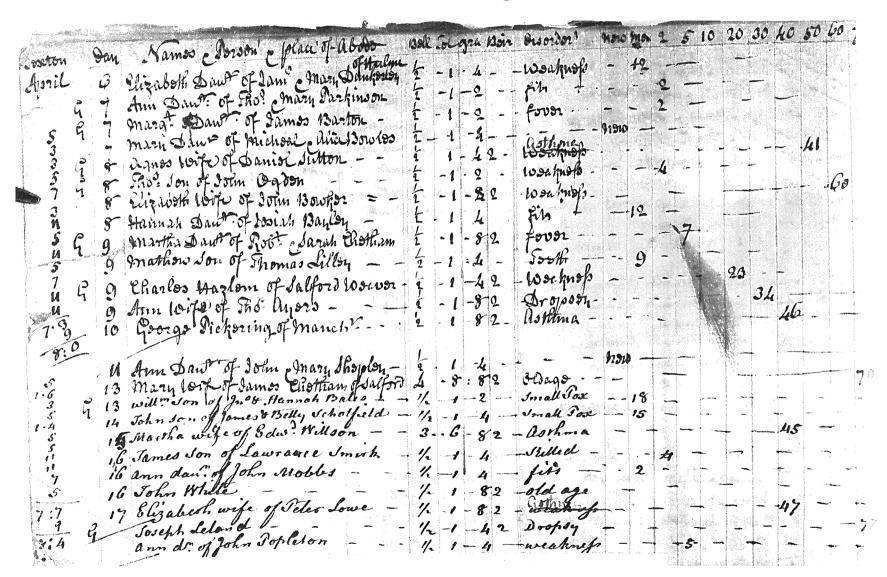
Migrants from rural areas may have been particularly susceptible to urban diseases they had not encountered previously



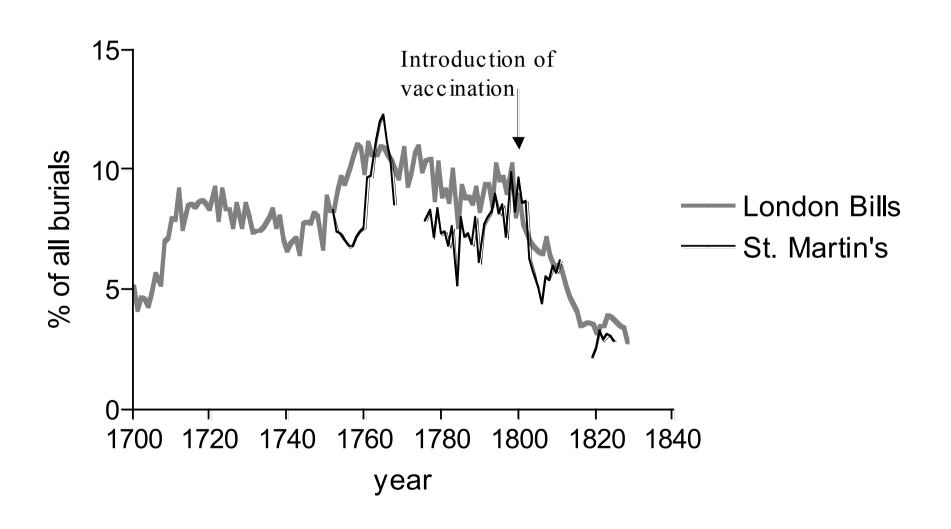
burials by cause of death

burials by age group

Records underlying the Bills can provide cause of death and age



Smallpox was the single most lethal disease in C18th London



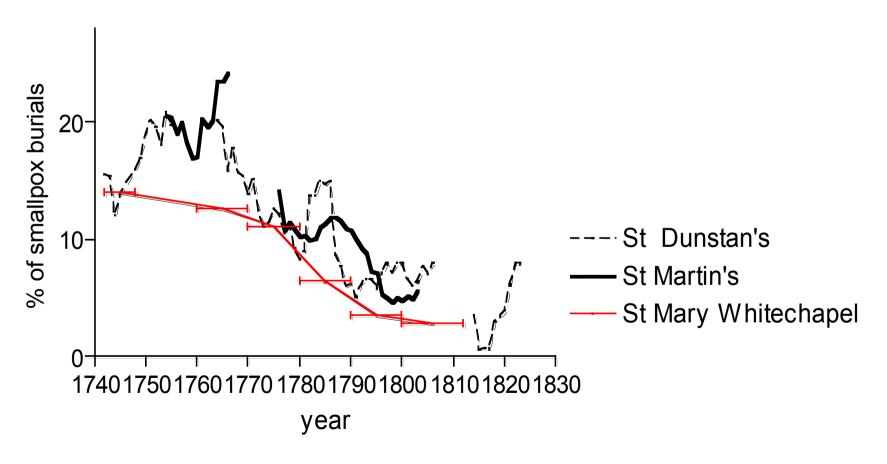
Adults were still at risk of smallpox in mideighteenth century London

Percentage of smallpox burials by age, St. Martin-in-the-Fields

Age	1752-66	1775-99
0	13.7	23.3
1-4	54.5	61.5
5-9	10.9	9.4
10-19	4.6	1.8
20-49	15.6	3.5
50+	0.7	0.6
Mean age at death (years)	7.8	3.9

Adults declined as a proportion of smallpox victims from the 1770s

Proportion of smallpox burials aged 10+ years



By the mid-C18th adult smallpox victims in London were not 'typical' migrants

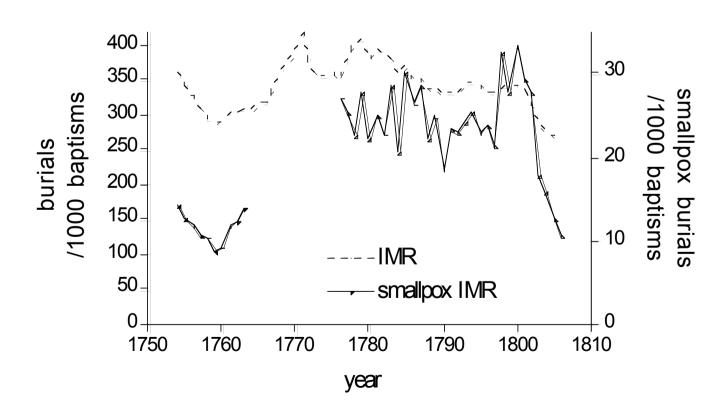
Adult victims in St. Martin's were more likely to be male less likely to be paupers suggesting they may have migrated further on average than most migrants

Implies that smallpox epidemics were frequent in rural areas near London, but still rare in many other areas in the 1750s.

After 1770 fewer migrants were vulnerable, and this reduced total smallpox mortality in London

No evidence for impact of inoculation on the urban-born

a. Total and smallpox infant mortality rates



Few adults were vulnerable to smallpox in mid-C18th Manchester

Age distributions of smallpox burials in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, and the collegiate church, Manchester

	St. Martin's	St. Martin's	Manchester	Manchester
Age	1752-66	1775-99	1753-61	1772-78
0	13.7	23.3	20.1	27.6
1-4	54.5	61.5	67.3	68.1
5-9	10.9	9.4	7.6	3.3
10-19	4.6	1.8	2.1	0.5
20-49	15.6	3.5	2.9	0.5
50+	0.7	0.6	0.0	0.0
% aged <10	79.1	94.2	95.0	99.0
N	1083	2022	725	1717

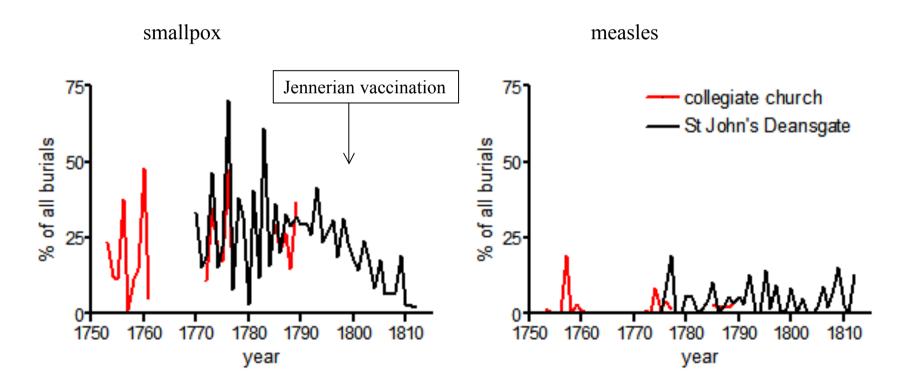
Smallpox was more lethal, and more endemic, in Manchester than in London

Percentage age distributions of smallpox burials aged under ten years of age

	St. Martin's	St. Martin's	Manchester	Manchester
Age	1752-66	1775-99	1753-61	1772-78,
				1785-89
0	17.3	24.7	21.2	27.9
1	21.8	25.6	31.3	36.2
2	18.0	18.5	18.6	19.8
3	17.0	12.9	11.8	9.7
4	12.1	8.3	9.1	3.3
5-9	13.8	10.0	8.0	3.1

Smallpox transmission could be sustained in relatively small populations

Percentage of all burials aged under two, Manchester



Conclusions

- Smallpox was a major cause of death in English towns before 1800
- By the 1750s smallpox was a childhood disease in rural areas close to London and Manchester
- The transmission dynamics of smallpox probably led to early and widespread endemicisation, and may account for the peculiar lethality of early modern towns
- Uptake of inoculation or viral change increased smallpox exposure in rural populations after 1770 and reduced the risks associated with urban inmigration
- Vaccination rather than inoculation was critical in reducing smallpox mortality amongst the urban-born