MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN TWO WILTSHIRE PARISHES 1754-1914: GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY, CONSANGUINITY AND ILLEGITIMACY

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the Australian National University.

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CANBERRA, JANUARY 2010

Declaration

I, Catherine Linley Day, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of Archaeology and Anthropology, College of Arts and Social Sciences, the Australian National University, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institutions.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I thank my endlessly patient supervisor, Dr Robert Attenborough. He has walked the fine line of PhD supervision with considerable skill - asking me the difficult questions that I wanted to avoid and prodding me into action when I slacked off, at the same time as giving me a free rein to explore my own ideas and follow my enthusiasms where they took me. Neither too little attention was paid nor too much. I am endlessly grateful for the numerous times that I presented him with questions for which I could see no rational solution, and with barely a pause for breath he came up with a workable answer.

Prof Zhongwei Zhao was a valuable advisor and chapter reviewer. In addition, he used CAMSIM, a population simulation program, to generate a model population which I analysed for Section 6.6. Dr John Tillotson was an encouraging advisor who provided me with wise guidance on English history. His reviews of various chapters were insightful. Dr Alan Bittles was an endless source of material on consanguinity and a careful editor of chapters. In addition, he gave me enormously valuable feedback on various presentations that I gave on consanguinity in several countries. Dr Chris Wilson was an encouraging advisor and a generous host.

I thank Janice Butcher for her meticulous proofreading of every chapter and her insight. Her suggestions and questions were stimulating. In addition, Janice and her family are wonderful hosts. Dr John Pattison pointed me toward several useful references and gave helpful feedback on two chapters. Dr Rebecca Kippen reviewed several chapters and gave sound and clear advice, for which I am grateful. Dr David Lucas reviewed several chapters and helped to improve my written expression. Dr Doreen Bowdery reviewed the thesis in its entirety and commented helpfully. I am indebted to Gavin Fisher for his ideas on the differences in attitude to cousin marriage between social classes in 19th century England.

Dr Jim Oeppen co-wrote CAMSIM and provided the original parameters, which Prof Zhao modified using demographic parameters of the present research area and period. Donald Knox wrote the programs to convert the output from CAMSIM into manageable summary files. Neil Klee wrote a Visual Basic program to export data from my database in the early days of the project. Dr Terry Neeman provided invaluable advice and assistance in statistical analysis. Tony Ruggeri spent many hours upgrading my university PC to cope with the demand of all the software I was running. The UK Data Archive at the University of Essex provided the GIS data for the 1851 parish boundaries and Paul Brugman converted them into a format that I could use for this thesis. Tenset Technologies provided a discounted copy of FSpeed Pro for calculating inbreeding coefficients. Without all of this technical support I could not have analysed the massive amount of data I collected for this project, and made sense of it all.

The many groups and individuals who provided me with raw data for this project made an enormous contribution to the completeness of its coverage. In particular, I thank Yvonne Scrivener who transcribed tens of thousands of lines of data which I had photographed in England, and then coordinated other volunteers to transcribe hundreds of other parish registers amounting to millions of lines of records. Yvonne sent me every baptism,

Abstract

The aim of this project was to determine the birthplaces of spouses married in two parishes in England, how many married their relatives and how illegitimacy affected marital outcomes for all concerned. It considered the effect of religion and social class on the marital aspects of geographic mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy.

This project used a wide array of primary documentary sources that have recently become widely available to construct a database of over 22,000 individuals who lived in southwest Wiltshire in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The author arranged the individuals in family groups and traced pedigrees for several generations. Information was included on religious affiliation, occupation and other variables, enabling the researcher to consider aspects of marital choices. It quantified separately the level of geographical mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy, and then was able to consider the linkages between these aspects of marriage patterns.

Geographical mobility calculated from birthplace was higher than estimates derived from residence prior to marriage. Catholics were found to be more inbred than Anglicans, despite having a lower level of 1st cousin marriage. Social class influenced consanguinity, as did illegitimate reproductive experience and geographical mobility. Mothers of illegitimate children were less mobile than other women, and more likely to marry their cousins. Family experience, particularly that of siblings, influenced illegitimacy and consanguinity rates.

The interactions between geographical mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy were complex and acted differently depending on social class. Members of higher social classes such as farmers had greater geographical mobility and higher levels of consanguinity, whereas amongst labourers, consanguineous marriage was associated with lower levels of geographical mobility. There was an association between being the mother of an illegitimate child and consanguineous marriage, but only amongst the labouring class.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Glossary

Anglican   Church of England or Established Church, or a member of it

affine   A person related by marriage, such as a sister-in-law

banns   A notice of intention to marry, read out on three separate Sundays prior to a marriage, allowing other people to object to the marriage. From 1754, banns were compulsory for a valid marriage unless a marriage licence (q.v.) had been obtained.

Bonham   A former manor in the parish of Stourton, in which the Catholic chapel was situated

Catholic   Roman Catholic Church, or a member of it

Cambridge Group   Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure

curate   An assistant to a parson. May or may not be ordained. Not to be confused with a 'perpetual curate' who was an ordained clergyman whose salary was paid centrally by the Anglican church, and not by the parish.

demesne   Land owned and farmed by the major landowner of the area, as opposed to being rented and farmed by tenant farmers

folly   A building with no purpose other than decoration

hamlet   A part of a parish, usually a small settlement away from the main village. Gasper was a hamlet in the parish of Stourton and Norton Ferris was a hamlet in the parish of Kilmington.

index   In the context of this thesis, refers to a searchable list of records in a particular set (e.g. baptisms for a parish) which only includes the name, place and date, without any other identifying information

isonymy   Having the same name. Marital isonymy refers to spouses who share the same surname at marriage, and can be used as an indicator of inbreeding

LDS   Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (the Mormons)

legal settlement   The parish in which a person was legally entitled to reside and seek relief under the Poor Law

mantle child   A child born illegitimately whose parents subsequently married each other

marital distance	The distance between spouses' birthplaces, or residences, at the time of marriage. Exact usage depends on the study.
marriage licence	A licence issued upon payment of a fee to allow marriage without publication of banns (q.v.). Used to protect privacy, speed a marriage and/or maintain prestige. Rarely used by paupers and labourers.
minister	In this thesis, used for Protestant Dissenting clergymen, whether ordained or not
monophyletic	Having a single point of origin. For surnames, originating in one place at one time e.g. Feltham, Attenborough
New Poor Law	A law passed in 1834 that removed the responsibility of supporting the poor from the parish, and replaced it with collective responsibility at the regional and national levels
nominative record linkage	The linking of individuals by name between two or more sets of documents. For example, between church records and censuses.
Nonconformist	A member of a Christian denomination that was not the Anglican Church. Some usages included Catholics in the term, but it was most commonly used as a synonym of Protestant Dissenter (q.v.)
Overseers of the Poor	Men appointed to administer the Poor Law (q.v.)
parish	A geographical area, not necessarily contiguous, served by a church. In this thesis, the term is applied only to Anglican parishes
parish clerk	The person responsible for entering information into the church registers
parson	A generic term covering ordained clergymen of the Anglican Church, which included vicars, rectors and perpetual curates
priest	In this thesis, used only for Catholic clergymen
polyphyletic	Having multiple origins. For surnames, originating in several places at one time e.g. Smith, White, Edwards
poorhouse	Until 1834, accommodation for paupers in their own parish. Replaced by the Union Workhouse (q.v.)
Poor Law	A series of laws first enacted in 1598 and amended several times over the following centuries, providing both relief and punishment for the poor. Replaced by the New Poor Law in 1834 (q.v.)

Protestant	A collective term for Anglicans (q.v.) and Nonconformists (q.v.)
Protestant Dissenter	A Protestant who was not a member of the Anglican Church. In the present research area it included Methodists (both Wesleyan and Primitive) and Congregationalists (formerly Independent).
recusant	A person who refused to comply with the laws related to the Anglican church, such as compulsory church attendance and payment of tithes. Most often applied to Catholics, although also applied to Protestant Dissenters in the 16th and 17th centuries
Registration District	An administrative unit created in 1837 for the purposes of civil registration and census enumeration. Typically consisted of several parishes. Stourton and Kilmington were in the Mere Registration District during the 19th century. The number of registration districts in England and Wales varied between 623 and 640 in the 19th century.
smallholder	Farmer who owned a small plot of land, generally less than 5 acres and often smaller
tenant farmer	A farmer who owned his stock and produce, but not the land which he farmed and rented
TMG	The Master Genealogist, the software used to create the database for this project
transcription	In the context of this thesis, refers to a copy of a record which includes all of the information in the original record
Union Workhouse	After 1834, a central facility for accommodating all paupers from the local region, in which very limited food and comfort was provided in exchange for heavy physical labour
WSHC	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (formerly Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, previously Wiltshire County Record Office), repository of archival documents for Wiltshire

Timeline of National and Regional Events

1534   Henry VIII broke with Rome and became head of the Church of England

1540   Cousin marriage legalised in England and Wales

1601   Poor Law enacted, placing responsibility for paupers on parishes

1604   Bigamy became a criminal offence

1662   Book of Common Prayer set out prohibited degrees of marriage

1662   Act of Settlement confined paupers to their parish of legal settlement

1717   Hoare family bought Stourton, Gasper and Bonham manors

1752   Building program at Stourhead gardens began

1754   Hardwicke's Marriage Act took effect

1791   Act for the Relief of Roman Catholics, removing the requirement to attend Anglican services, and granting other benefits

1829   Act for the Relief of Roman Catholics, permitting Catholics to buy and sell land, hold public office and vote

1834   New Poor Law enacted and Workhouse System created

1837   Civil registration system began

1841   First national decennial census listing names of individuals

1850   Restoration of Catholic hierarchy in Britain

1857   Matrimonial Causes Act made civil divorce possible

1859   Railways came to southwest Wiltshire

1895   National re-organisation of county boundaries moved Kilmington into Wiltshire

1908   Incest became a criminal offence in Britain

1914   First World War began

1917   Pope Benedict XV decreed one set of rules on consanguineous marriage for all Catholics

1 Introduction

1.1 Preface

The purpose of this thesis is to examine marriage patterns in the parishes of Stourton and Kilmington in southwest Wiltshire in the period 1754-1914, in order to determine who married whom with reference to geographical mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy. It will address the questions of where marriage partners were born, who married their cousins and how often, and what was the impact of illegitimacy on marriage prospects. It will ask how religious affiliation and economic status were associated with those aspects of marriage patterns. It is hoped that by quantifying some aspects of these patterns in small-scale rural societies, and placing them in their historical, social and geographical context, some light will be shed on localised aspects of population structure in historical England.

This thesis will not consider the question of how an individual was attracted to a potential mate, on which historical data are usually silent. For this reason it will not focus on romantic love as a notion. In the 19th century and particularly amongst the middle classes, romantic love was seen as a prerequisite for marriage (Anderson 1986:286) but individual mate choices are not the subject of this thesis. Rather, this project will attempt to fill some gaps in knowledge about English marriage patterns in the 18th and 19th centuries at the community level.

1.2 The Project

This study used the technique of multi-source parish reconstitution with nominative record linkage, whereby a wide variety of documentary sources were used to establish extensive

pedigrees of all persons married in the two parishes in the research period, along with much relevant detail of their lives, such as occupation, religion, date of birth and place of birth. Similar techniques were used for Earls Colne, Essex for the period 1380-1854 (Macfarlane 1977) and Berwick St James for the period 1841-1871 (Hinde 1987). Unlike other work, in the present study individuals were traced wherever they lived, even after they left the parish of marriage.

Full details of the technique, and alternatives that were considered, are described in Chapter 3, along with a discussion of why this technique was selected. In summary, multi-source parish reconstitution with nominative record linkage was used in an attempt to overcome the limitations of some other techniques. For example, family reconstitution based only on Anglican registers may not be entirely representative of the whole population (Wrigley et al. 1997), whereas this project includes Catholics and Nonconformists. Reconstituting a single family at a time, and only whilst it is resident in one parish, is unlikely to be representative of common experience at that time, as it only considers families who were relatively immobile (Wrigley et al. 1997; Hinde 2003:168). This project aims to fill in a gap in the current knowledge about aspects of marital patterns of a religious minority, as well as that portion of the population who did not remain in the parish of their birth.

As an example of the gap in knowledge, previous studies of age at first marriage were able to determine the bride's age in only 30-40% of cases since they included only the ones who were born in the parish in which they were married (Oosterveen et al. 1980:105). Other authors have lamented their inability to trace families across multiple parishes with the resources available in the 1980s (Coleman 1984:20). By contrast, the technique used in this

project of tracing a group of individuals wherever its members went in England and Wales, overcame this problem. Age at first marriage for both bride and groom could be determined in 96% of cases (Section 4.4.1) and birthplace could be determined in almost 100% of cases after 1830 (Section 5.4.1). People moving from their birth parish presented only a small problem, and this was almost completely overcome if the individual lived past 1841, when national censuses of named individuals in Britain were conducted every decade, and records could be linked between parishes.

The need to go beyond one parish and to use more than just church records has been long-recognised (Oosterveen et al. 1980:120). A very wide variety of material is now available, which was not publicly accessible during previous studies. A veritable explosion of raw material – parish records, censuses, wills, Poor Law records – has appeared on the internet in the last decade and enabled this project to go well beyond the lives of people confined to their birth parish. The sources and their uses are described in Chapter 3.

For most of human history and pre-history, humans have lived in small scale societies. Since mate choice is one of the factors that affect population structure, it is important to understand the processes that influence this choice in one such small-scale society. This project may make a useful contribution towards filling some gaps in our knowledge, firstly by determining the overall frequency of certain patterns, but also by examining the differences in those frequencies based on factors such as religious affiliation and social class. By reconstituting extensive lineages for every spouse in two parishes, and gathering non-pedigree information about them, it is possible to not only quantify but perhaps also to explain some aspects of marriage patterns.

1.3 Marriage Rate and Age

Before progressing to the core themes of this thesis, it is necessary to understand some key parameters of marriage patterns in the region. That is, the marriage rate and the age at first marriage. Chapter 4 quantifies these features for Stourton and Kilmington. It asks how religious affiliation and economic status were associated with variations in marriage rate and age, and how this region of England was positioned demographically with respect to the rest of the country.

1.4 Geographic Mobility

Chapter 5 examines the geographic mobility of those married in Stourton and Kilmington, as well as that of their parents and grandparents. Previous research in England has indicated that marriage partners typically came from near the place of marriage, although this was affected by occupational class (Harrison and Boyce 1972). In Chapter 5, trends over time in birthplaces of people married in Stourton and Kilmington are examined, and patterns and gender asymmetries are identified.

Previous research in other regions has demonstrated that the choice of marriage partners is influenced by certain geographical features such as rivers and forests (White and Parsons 1976; Harrison 1995:49; Schürer 2002; Cesard 2007). An attempt is made to relate geographical mobility in southwest Wiltshire to natural and man-made features of the landscape.

The research area is at the intersection of three counties, so other counties were certainly within walking distance for the inhabitants. The question of whether county boundaries formed barriers for spousal movement will be considered.

Since the project produced multi-generation pedigrees, the thesis also examines the birthplace of ancestors of inhabitants of Stourton and Kilmington, and asks how trends in geographical distribution of birthplace changed over the research period.

Previous research has used residence at time of marriage as an indicator of place of birth (Perry 1969; Harrison 1995:43). However, in rare cases when both place of birth and marriage have been recorded for all marriage partners in a parish, the level of geographic mobility in the population has been shown to be much greater than if place of residence had been used (Smith and Pain 1989). This project asks how closely birthplaces of marriage partners aligned with residence at time of marriage, and adds to the knowledge on that subject.

1.5 Consanguinity

There has been no published work on the frequency of consanguinity in England using pedigree analysis (Smith et al. 1993:357). There have been studies of consanguinity using pedigree analysis amongst Scottish and Welsh isolates (Brennan et al. 1982; Williams 1986) and on island populations of European descent (Leslie et al. 1981). Whilst these studies are valuable in their own right, human populations are not typically isolated, either socially or geographically (Coleman 1984:20). The present research on rural English villages that are not especially isolated produces findings that may be more representative of other English rural parishes.

There has been work in Britain on inbreeding using the technique of isonymy (Darwin 1875; Bramwell 1939; Lasker 1983). Other early studies have used interviews and questionnaires to ask subjects to state the degree of consanguinity of themselves or their parents (Mitchell 1862; Pearson 1908; Bell 1940). These studies and the techniques employed, along with their advantages and limitations, are discussed in Chapter 6. It is hoped that this project will go some way to answering its questions by using an alternative, time-consuming, but ultimately highly informative, technique that will attempt to address the gap in data quality.

In order to examine the effect of multiple generations of consanguineous marriages, the average inbreeding coefficient for each parish is calculated from pedigrees. However, as the focus of this project is marriage rather than morbidity or mortality, any health consequences of inbreeding are not considered (Bittles and Makov 1988).

In societies where consanguineous marriage is common or preferred, the age of first marriage is often low (Bittles 1980). To what extent this applied in 18th and 19th century rural England is discussed.

In some societies consanguineous marriage is associated with a higher-than-average socio-economic status of the partners, whereas in other societies, it is only the very poorest and least literate who marry their cousins. In some places both ends of the socio-economic scale favour consanguineous marriages (Bittles 1993; Bittles 2004). This project examines the economic status of spouses in 1st cousin marriages, as well as the religion of those involved, as asks how these influence the level of consanguineous marriage. Although work has been done on these issues in other countries, they are lacking for England.

Previous research has shown that following the demographic transition in England in the middle of the 19th century, the number of lateral relatives, including cousins, in each age group decreased markedly (Zhao 1996). Chapter 6 extends that work and examines the theoretical number of available potential spouses at varying degrees of relatedness using computer simulation, in order to address the question of how the number of living cousins influenced the level of consanguineous marriage.

1.6 Illegitimacy

Chapter 7 examines the relationship between illegitimacy and marriage experience. It does not examine the impacts of illegitimacy on maternal health and infant mortality, both of which are well documented (Gill 1977; Macfarlane 1980; Higginbotham 1985). It addresses the question of how illegitimacy was associated with subsequent marriage prospects of the mother of the illegitimate infant, along with that of the father and the illegitimate child itself.

In a study using English parish registers from the 16th to the 19th centuries, a trend was identified indicating that illegitimacy was more common in some families than others. This was termed the 'bastardy-prone sub-society' (Laslett 1980a). Whether this phenomenon existed in Stourton and Kilmington is addressed.

1.7 Interaction of Factors

The influences of geographic mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy on each other, with respect to marriage, are considered. Occupations of all people concerned, their religion, the

economy of their parish, their family reproductive and marital experiences and their places of birth are all considered with respect to their influence on marriage patterns.

Previous research on English marriage patterns has often focused on a single aspect, such as geographical mobility, consanguinity or illegitimacy. By examining several aspects separately and together, this project illuminates complex interactions between factors, that may not be apparent when viewed in isolation. Links between consanguinity and illegitimacy, as well as between illegitimacy and geographic mobility, and between geographic mobility and consanguinity, are all examined.

Previous research in each of the identified aspects of English marriage patterns is discussed in detail in the relevant chapters.

1.8 The Parishes

The historical, geographical, religious and economic background of the parishes of Stourton and Kilmington is described in Chapter 2. The present section addresses the reasons for choosing these parishes as the focus for the study.

Initially, Stourton was chosen as the primary focus, and this was for a number of reasons. Firstly, Stourton has an almost complete set of Anglican parish records, stretching from 1570 to 1983. Where there are missing periods, chiefly during the Interregnum of 1649-1660, these were supplemented by Bishops' Transcripts, which were copies of the parish records made annually and sent to the Bishop. In addition, there are surviving records of Catholic baptisms and burials from 1767 to 1954, and Catholic marriages from 1837 when they became legally valid. The Anglican and Catholic records provide a complete picture of

organised religion in that parish. Detailed information on the church records is given in Section 3.4.

Almost all parishes in England and Wales have surviving copies of the ten-year censuses from 1841 to 1911, and these are all publicly available (Section 3.4.5). What is unusual about Stourton is that the census returns for 1821 and 1831 have survived, giving much greater certainty to the family reconstitution process. In addition, there are census substitutes available for Stourton for the years 1751 and 1767. These are discussed in Section 3.4.5.

An almost complete set of Poor Law administration papers survives for Stourton, including the crucial Bastardy Bonds which name the alleged fathers of illegitimate children born in the parish. Whilst the Bonds are only extant for the period 1766-1822, they provide an invaluable source for studying patterns of illegitimacy that is lacking in church records, wherein only the mother of an illegitimate child was normally named. Other Poor Law papers cover the period 1701-1863, filling in gaps in the church records and clearing up uncertain identifications. All wills and administrations[1] proved in England for Stourton inhabitants are preserved and these often shed light on ambiguous family relationships.

Whilst Stourton has excellent, well-preserved records, the question arises as to how representative the parish was of all English parishes. The unusual completeness of its records already sets the parish apart from many other parishes, and its prominent Catholic minority and restricted in-migration, which are discussed in Chapter 2, are also atypical of rural English villages of the time. To overcome this objection, the neighbouring parish of

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[1] An administration was the legal process by which the property of a person who died without making a valid will was distributed to their nearest kin.

Kilmington was added to the study. Kilmington was of similar size to Stourton but differed in three ways that are relevant to this project: (1) it was an 'open' village that did not restrict in- or out-migration, (2) its records are less complete, and (3) it had no Catholics but a history of Protestant Dissenting. Kilmington was chosen because it abutted Stourton but was different from it in ways that were relevant to this project.

1.9 Research Period

The present research focuses on marriages that took place in the two parishes in the period 1754-1914. The starting date of 1754 was chosen as this was the year in which Hardwicke's Marriage Act (An Act to Prevent Clandestine Marriage[2]) became effective. From that year onwards, for a marriage to be valid in England or Wales, it had to be performed in an Anglican church, by an Anglican clergyman, between the hours of 8 and 12 in the morning, following the publication of banns or granting of a marriage licence. The only exceptions permitted were for Quakers and Jews (Howard 1904:458). Before Hardwicke's Marriage Act, legally valid marriages included not only church weddings but also clandestine marriages (before a priest but with no other witnesses) and mutual declaration of marriage (not necessarily with witnesses) followed by consummation (Teichman 1982:25). The latter case generally had no documentary evidence and whilst it was rare, its very existence made it difficult for the present author to be certain that all marriages in the research area were included. The proportion of marriages for which registration was defective varied throughout English history (Wrigley and Schofield 1981:28). At the beginning of the 18th century it was around 5% (Wrigley and Schofield 1981:29) and Hardwicke's Act reduced the deficit further. By the 1760s fewer than 1% of marriages were unregistered (Wrigley

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[2] 26 Geo. 2 c.33

and Schofield 1981:30). This provides a high level of confidence that the present project includes all legally valid marriages in the parishes and period under study.

The end year of 1914 was chosen since the start of the First World War caused enormous disruption to the lives of marriageable people and the subsequent marriage patterns were unlikely to reflect usual practice, before or after that time. In Kilmington there were no marriages at all during the First World War. In Stourton, a number of marriages were contracted between local women and men born as far afield as Australia and New Zealand. This had not occurred before the start of the war.

1.10 Conclusions

This project uses new techniques and a previously unavailable volume of data to answer questions about the birthplace of marital partners, their genetic relatedness to each other and their illegitimate reproductive history. It attempts to fill gaps in our knowledge of some aspects of marriage patterns in historical England and to describe the impact of religious affiliation and economic status on marriage patterns during this period.

Chapter 1: Introduction

2 Background

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides background information on the two core parishes of Stourton and Kilmington, as well as the nearby market town of Mere, which is relevant to understanding marriage patterns in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914. It describes aspects of the physical landscape as well as the social environment which influenced marriage patterns in the region.

2.2 Geography

This section provides an overview of the physical landscape. The natural and built features of this area, as they are relevant to marriage patterns, will be described in more detail in Chapter 5.

The ancient parishes of Stourton and Kilmington are situated in the southwest corner of Wiltshire in southwest England, adjacent to the county boundaries of Somerset and Dorset. The term 'ancient parishes' refers to the traditional parishes that had existed more or less unchanged from the Middle Ages until the middle of the 19th century (Cunliffe 1993:328-330). Beginning in the 1840s the Anglican Church began to create new parishes, referred to as 'modern parishes', to cater for an increase in population. Parish boundaries were regularised throughout the 19th century. Throughout this thesis, the parishes referred to are the ancient ones. Until the county boundary re-organisation of 1895, parts of the parish of Stourton and the entire parish of Kilmington were in Somerset (Mayes 1995). The parish of Stourton consisted of three ancient manors: Bonham and Gasper in Somerset, and

Stourton in Wiltshire. The parish of Kilmington consisted of the village of Kilmington and the hamlet of Norton Ferris, a mile[3] from the main village.

County or provincial boundaries have been shown to be important in migration patterns in studies of other European countries. In the Netherlands (Barrai et al. 2002) and Italy (Barrai et al. 1999), studies of the distribution of surnames indicate clustering associated with provincial boundaries. In Switzerland (Rodriguez-Larralde et al. 1998) surnames were clustered by language group, which in turn was related to provincial boundaries, although not tightly. Whether county boundaries played some role in spouse preference in the present study is considered in Section 5.2.4.

County boundaries were also significant in tracing family relationships since they caused confusion to the inhabitants in the responses that they gave to various official enquiries. For example, the 1841 census asked all householders whether or not they were born in the county in which they now resided. Those inhabitants of Gasper in the Somerset part of Stourton parish who were born only a few hundred yards away in the Wiltshire part of the parish should have answered 'no', but often incorrectly answered 'yes'. Similarly, Zeals, whilst in Wiltshire, was near the border of Dorset and inhabitants frequently gave incorrect responses to this question, seemingly unaware of precisely where the county boundaries actually lay, or perhaps precisely where they had been born.

The nearest town was Mere, three miles from Stourton and four from Kilmington. Mere's population was between 2,000 and 3,000 throughout the 19th century. The nearest large town was Frome, 11 miles north in Somerset, which had between 11,000 and 12,000

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[3] Throughout this thesis, the imperial measure of miles will be used for distance calculations, since this was the unit used at the time, and modern studies of British historical demography use this unit of measure.

inhabitants throughout the 19th century. The nearest city was Bath, 24 miles to the north. London was over 100 miles to the east.
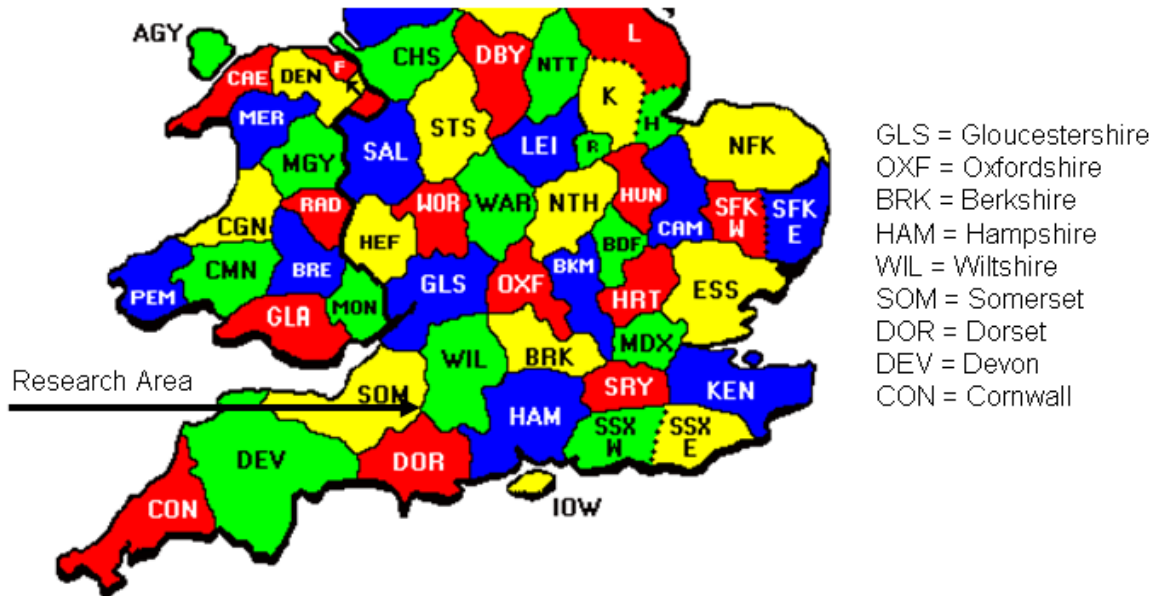
Figure 2-1 : County boundaries in southern England 1895-1974
Source: Base map from GENUKI, modified by the present author

Figure 2-1 shows the county boundaries of southern England and Wales between the boundary re-organisation of 1895 and the next major re-organisation in 1974. The research area is in Wiltshire but it is immediately adjacent to Somerset in the west and Dorset in the south.

An imaginary line drawn from the northeast corner of Wiltshire to the southwest corner divides the county into two distinct types of land. The northern portion is chalk and the southern portion is predominantly clay (Mayes 1995). The clay soil is ideally suited to dairy farming and Wiltshire inhabitants sometimes describe the two different areas as 'chalk and cheese', in recognition of the predominance of dairy products in the southern clay portion. The two types of land meet in the region under discussion, and there are a

great many springs where the chalk and clay soils meet. It is thought that the name 'Mere' is from the Saxon word *mere* meaning 'a body of water', although it could also be derived from the word *mearc* meaning 'boundary' or 'border' (Skeat 1879; Longbourne 2004) which is also applicable in this case. There are so many springs in this region that one area particularly dense in them is called Six Wells, and it is from these wells that the Stourton family derived their coat of arms. The rivers in the area and their potential to influence geographical mobility of marriage partners are discussed in Section 5.4.2.
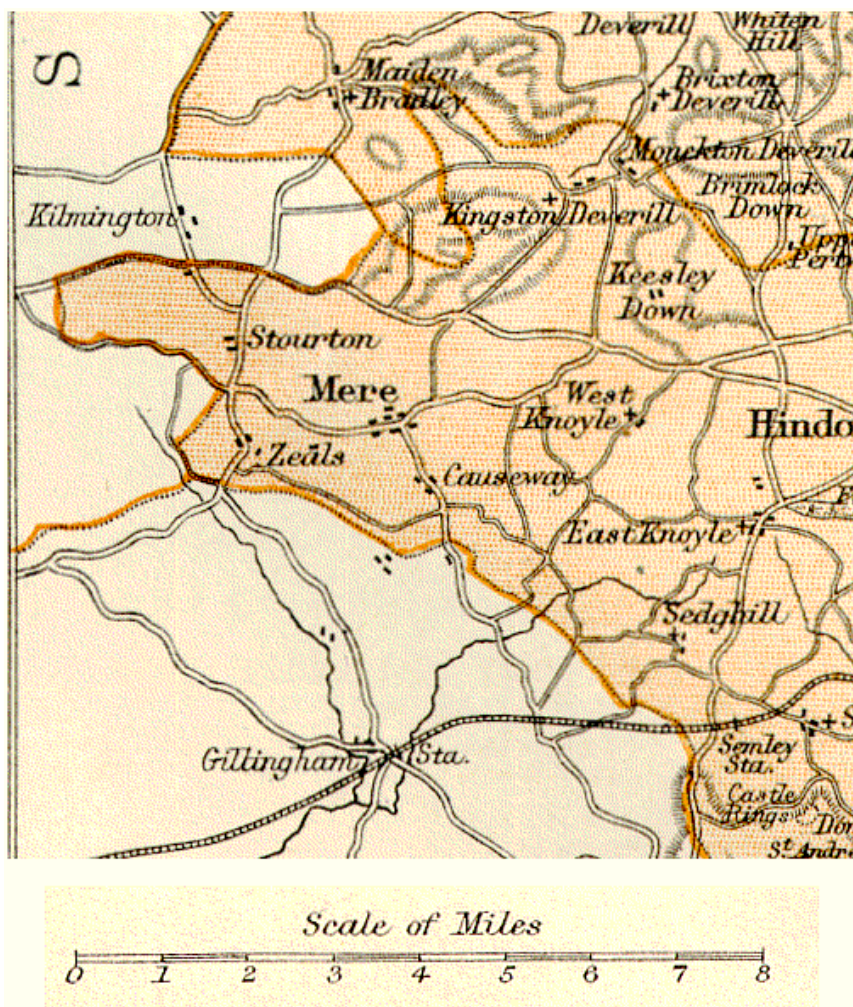
Figure 2-2: Map of part of Wiltshire from 1888 Encyclopaedia Britannica[4]

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[4] Downloaded from http://www.smilodon.uklinux.net/maps/WIL/index.html

Figure 2-2 shows the research area in 1888. The parish of Kilmington, then in Somerset, is seen jutting into Wiltshire. The railway line passing through Gillingham, at the bottom of Figure 2-2, provided the rail link to the region. The roads are drawn on the map at more or less the same thickness, but the highway through Mere was a major route from London to Exeter, whereas the roads to Kilmington and Stourton were quite insignificant. Although Stourton is shown in Figure 2-2 as lying on the road from Mere through Maiden Bradley to Frome, it was (and still is) positioned further to the west. A modern map of the area at approximately the same scale is shown at Figure 2-3, with the relative importance of the roads highlighted. The Mere Bypass did not exist during the research period, of course, but otherwise the routes of the roads and their relative importance in terms of traffic are unchanged.

Figure 2-3: Modern Google map of research area

Somerset to the west of the research area is almost entirely flat, as shown in Figure 2-4. The rest of Wiltshire to the north and east contains the Salisbury Plain, an enormous undulating chalk downland.

Figure 2-4: A view of Somerset from the edge of Stourton parish
Photo: Cathy Day

The area of the three parishes contains many hills, downs and combes. There is a large chalk escarpment to the north of Mere and east of the village of Stourton, which rises abruptly to almost 900ft at Whitesheet Hill. The hilly nature of the terrain impeded movement by foot in certain directions (Section 5.6.1).

Finally, a significant aspect of the physical landscape in this region was the enormous Forest of Selwood, which was called *Coit Maur* or Great Wood by the ancient Britons

(Rackham 1986:84). It was probably a boundary between the ancient British tribes to its east and west (Cunliffe 1993). In Saxon times it stretched from the Thames Valley in the northeast to the Vale of Blackmore, Dorset in the west (Mayes 1995:120). Figure 2-5 shows a reforested part of Selwood. How this type of forest influenced marriage patterns is discussed in Section 5.6.3.
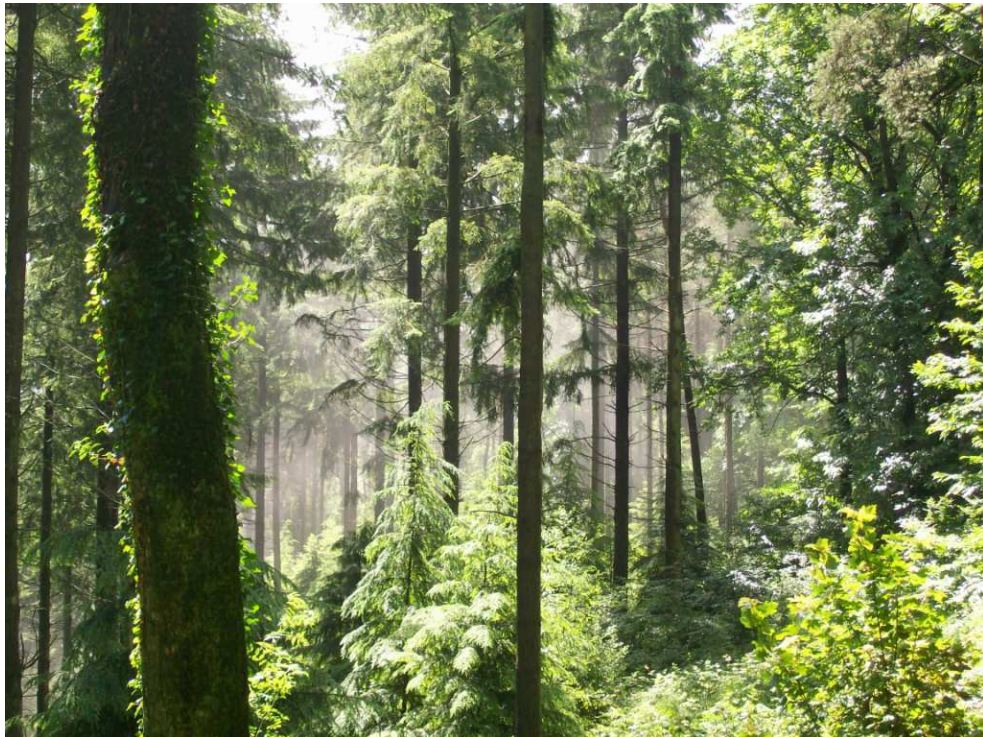
Figure 2-5 : A reforested part of the ancient forest of Selwood, in Stourton parish
Photo: Cathy Day

2.3 History

2.3.1 Early History

This region has been continuously inhabited for thousands of years. Two Mesolithic sites have been identified in Stourton (Mayes 1995:80) and Mesolithic flint cores were found north of Mere (Longbourne 2004). There is ample evidence that humans have occupied Stourton since Neolithic times (Mayes 1995) and numerous Neolithic artefacts have been found around Mere (Longbourne 2004). A Neolithic camp existed on Whitesheet Hill and it

is surrounded by barrows of the Bronze Age. A fort was built on this site in the Iron Age (Mayes 1995).

There is evidence of Roman occupation at Whitesheet Hill and Kilmington (Mayes 1995). Roman coins dating from 65 AD to 166 AD were found in Mere Cemetery in the 20th century (Longbourne 2004).

Stourton was colonised by the Saxons by the late 7th century (Mayes 1995). In 1995 the skeleton of young woman was uncovered in Mere with three pieces of fine Saxon jewellery beside her. This was identified as a 7th century Saxon burial. It is thought that part of St Michael's parish church in Mere is of Saxon origin (Longbourne 2004).

The area is steeped in tradition about its role in ancient British affairs. The legendary King Arthur is supposed to have defeated the Saxons nearby in 495 AD, and in 878 AD King Alfred of Wessex is supposed to have gathered his army to defeat the Danes at nearby Penselwood (Watkin 1989). A folly called Alfred's Tower was built between Stourton and Kilmington to commemorate Alfred's victory at that place (Mayes 1995:69).

Local people are well-versed in folk culture surrounding these nation-building events. During my fieldwork in January-August 2007 and July-September 2008, locals were keen to point out the stone where King Alfred allegedly gathered his forces, or Alfred's Tower, or explain about King Arthur's legendary association with the area. They have a strong sense that this area is 'special' to Britain.

The parishes of Stourton, Kilmington and Mere were all identified in the Domesday Book (Williams and Martin 1992) indicating that they were well-defined and long-established communities by 1086 AD.

2.3.2 Mediaeval Era

The Stourton family was an ancient family of warriors who had prospered by success in battle and by aligning themselves with the eventual winners in disputes over the crown. They claimed descent from a semi-mythical giant named Botolph and claimed an ancient connection to the land through having helped King Alfred defeat the Danes in the 9th century. In the 14th century the family purchased the manors of Bonham and Stourton and took the name of the parish as their family name, becoming the Lords Stourton (Stourton 1899). The significance of this family's influence on marriage patterns will be described in Section 2.4.1.

In 1243 the Manor of Mere was granted to Richard, Earl of Cornwall. In 1337 the title became Duke of Cornwall, and was held by the eldest son of the King of England. The land was inalienable, so could not be sold, and reverted to the Crown whenever there was no son of the sovereign (Longbourne 2004). For this reason, the manor of Mere has been linked to the Royal Family without interruption for eight centuries, and is still owned by the present Prince of Wales. As the manor could never be sold, this also provided stability in ownership, and this may have contributed to economic and political stability.

2.3.3 The Arrival of the Hoare Family

In 1717 Henry Hoare of Hoare's Bank in London purchased the manors of Stourton and Bonham from the (by then) impoverished Catholic Stourton family (Hutchings 2005:39).

The Stourton family subsequently moved to Yorkshire. The Hoare family demolished the old 'Stourton Castle' and built Stourhead House, filling it with precious artwork and furniture. Beginning in 1721, successive owners developed the magnificent Stourhead Gardens (The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty 1985). This is now recognised as one of the most beautiful pieces of artificial countryside in England (Bettey 1986:211). Sir Richard Hoare was created 1st Baronet Hoare in 1786 and the title was passed to subsequent owners of Stourhead (Hutchings 2005).

The Hoare family turned the parish of Stourton into a closed village. English rural villages can be classified as 'closed' or 'open'. A closed village had one proprietor who owned almost all the land and the number of labourers' cottages was strictly limited by the land owner (Mills 1959; Holderness 1972; Spencer 2000). The most tightly controlled closed parishes were ones with a single landowner who was also resident in the parish (Mills 1959), as was the case in Stourton. The landowners spent money beautifying the village (Holderness 1972; Spencer 2000). In a closed village, the churchwardens tried rigorously to exclude paupers from obtaining a legal settlement there and attendance at Anglican church services was often monitored and reported on (Spencer 2000; Wilson 2007:201). The limitation on labourers' cottages and strict enforcement of the settlement rules prevented itinerant labourers from settling in a closed village. Stourton fitted the description of a closed village very well. In 1812 Sir Richard Colt Hoare had all the cottages between the church and the pleasure gardens demolished because they looked unattractive and spoiled the view (Hoare 1792-1842). Figure 2-6 shows the village today with no cottages to spoil the view in that direction. The Stourhead Annals are full of detail about the beautification of the village (Hoare 1792-1842). In 1855, the head of the Hoare family owned all of the

labourers' cottages in Stourton parish, as well as 28 out of the 43 rateable properties (Churchwardens of Stourton 1835-1868). Only two additional labourers' cottages were built in the period 1838-1855, so that it was virtually impossible for a new labourer to move into the village. There was a rigorous attempt by the church wardens to exclude non-parishioners from the parish, with large sums of money spent on court cases against other parishes in an attempt to have paupers removed from Stourton (Churchwardens of Stourton 1701-1863).

Figure 2-6: View of Stourton - church on left, folly in rear, inn on right
Photo: Cathy Day

Some would argue that the key factor in determining whether a parish was closed or open was not land ownership but rather the exercise of power (Spencer 2000:90). Even with this

definition, Stourton was very much a closed village, with the parish's Poor Law papers demonstrating the keen and personal interest that successive heads of the Hoare family had in excluding non-local paupers (Churchwardens of Stourton 1701-1863).

There have been objections raised to the classification of parishes as open or closed, but they have revolved around questions of the purpose of closure and the mechanisms by which it was achieved (Spencer 2000:90) rather than whether or not they existed. Another objection to the classification is that closure was a process and that land ownership was not fixed in time (Spencer 2000:88). Whilst this is true, it does not apply to the research area in the period under consideration, as the entire parish was owned by one family from 1717 until it was handed to the National Trust in 1947. Since the National Trust is now the major landowner in the parish, it operates almost like a closed village to this day. Kilmington was progressively purchased by the Hoare family over two centuries, but the majority of the land purchases were in the second half of the 19th century (Hoare 1792-1842) when the Poor Law rating system, which was said to have created closed villages (Mills 1959), was revoked.

There is also discussion about whether the closed entity was the village or parish (Spencer 2000:92). In either case, the label fits Stourton since the village of Stourton and the hamlet of Gasper, both within the parish, were all effectively closed to potential paupers.

Only 23% of the villages of Dorset, Somerset and West Wiltshire were closed in the mid-19th century (Holderness 1972:135). The closed nature of the parish of Stourton is significant from a demographic perspective since it limited the amount of in-migration.

The diaries of members of the Hoare family indicate the strong interest that members of the 'Great House' had in their community, with visits to the 'deserving poor' and comments on village life (Hoare 1845-1890; Hoare 1891-1918). School records show the head of the Hoare family paid close attention to the achievements of the school (Wilkins 1873-1905). Poor Law records show the attention to detail of the Hoare family in managing the lives of the poor of the parish (Churchwardens of Stourton 1701-1863).

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the Hoare family went about purchasing neighbouring land, including a great deal of the parish of Kilmington. However, they were not the exclusive owners of Kilmington and did not live there. Kilmington operated as an open village. Chapter 6 discusses the impact of the difference between open and closed villages on in-migration and hence on geographic mobility and consanguinity.

The research area was not involved in the Swing Riots of 1830, when labourers demanding higher wages burned hay ricks and threshing equipment (Bettey 1986:262-268). Although Sir Richard Colt Hoare was concerned that the fires were approaching Stourton and Kilmington (Mayes 1995:132) there does not appear to have been any destruction of property on Hoare lands, as there is no mention of damage in the Stourhead Annals (Hoare 1792-1842).

2.3.4 The 20th Century

The heir to Stourhead, Henry Hoare, was killed in action during the First World War and his parents eventually left their entire estate to The National Trust in 1947, including sufficient land and rented cottages to maintain the enormous gardens and house (Hutchings

2005). A condition of the gift was that a member of the Hoare family is always resident at Stourhead House, and the arrangement continues to this day (Hutchings 2005).

2.4 Religion

This section describes religion in the research area in the 18th and 19th century. For clarity and brevity, throughout this thesis the term 'Anglican Church' is used to refer to the Church of England or Established Church. 'Catholic Church' is used to refer to the Roman Catholic Church. The term 'parson' is used for the ordained Anglican clergyman in charge of a parish. The differences between a Rector, Vicar and Perpetual Curate in the Anglican Church were related to how they were traditionally paid from the Middle Ages until midway through the 19th century, and are of little consequence in this thesis (Webb 1980:642). In this thesis, Catholic clergymen are referred to as 'priests' and Protestant Dissenting clergymen as 'ministers'.

2.4.1 Religion in Stourton

Anglican Church in Stourton

The parish church of St Peter's in Stourton was established in 1291 and at the Reformation it became part of the newly-established Church of England. Since it was compulsory for all adults to attend an Anglican service at least twice a year until 1791 (Church 1996), St Peter's was the hub of the community. The Hoare family were committed Anglicans and influenced village religious life. Of the six charities that operated in Stourton in the 19th century, four required that the 'deserving poor' be communicant members of the Anglican Church to receive assistance (Wiltshire Family History Society 1983). Prior to the New

Poor Law[5] of 1834, the Poor Law was administered through the Anglican Church, and until 1858 the Church also administered deceased estates. Churchwardens were responsible for a wide range of activities from maintenance of the church building and paying bell ringers to road maintenance, hedgehog control and maintenance of the parish fire engine and its pipes (Bettey 1986:223). The influence of the Anglican Church on local affairs cannot be underestimated. Nevertheless, despite their commitment to the Established Church, the Hoare family was tolerant of the Catholic minority in Stourton and allowed some of their parishioners to worship in the 'old faith' without interference.

Of the 2,724 people born in Stourton in the period 1754-1914, 86% were baptised as Anglicans. St Peter's Anglican Church still operates today (St Peter's Parochial Council 1988).

Catholic Church in Stourton

Catholics were subjected to a wide range of persecutions and indignities from the time of the Reformation until the Act for the Relief of Roman Catholics[6] in 1829, including the inability to purchase land, hold public office or vote (Moorman 1986:312-313). From 1696[7] until 1791[8], Protestants failing to attend an Anglican church for a month were fined 20 shillings, and Catholics were fined £20 a month (Church 1996:10). Catholics amongst the lower classes of English society struggled to resist the periodic bouts of persecution, and found protection with wealthy Catholic patrons, such as the Lords Stourton. In the 17th and 18th centuries in England, Catholicism was a religion of the rich. In 1680, 7% of the

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[5] 4 & 5 Will. 4 c.76
[6] 10 Geo. 4 c.7
[7] 3 Jac. 1 c.4
[8] 31 Geo. 3 c.32

peerage were Catholics whereas only 1% of the general population professed the denomination (Bossy 1975:407). At a time when a principal practice that distinguished Catholics from Protestants was fasting, this practice had little meaning for those living at subsistence level. As Robert Mandrou observed, "For the poorest, Lent lasts all year" [quoted in Bossy (1975:112)]. The Lords Stourton, who owned most of Stourton parish at the time of the Reformation, remained faithful to what they considered the true faith. They continued to practice Catholicism despite the pecuniary and social penalties (Deverill and Deverill 1992). In 1559, the Lords Stourton established the mission of St Benedict's at Bonham in the parish of Stourton (Trappes-Lomax 1956:91) and a large Catholic sub-population grew around them. In 1676, one-quarter of all Wiltshire Catholics worshipped at St Benedict's in Bonham, and in 1767 one-sixth of Wiltshire's Catholics were considered the responsibility of the chapel at Bonham (Williams 1968). The power and influence of their Catholic patrons, the Stourton family, gave local Catholics a freedom that they did not experience in many other places in England (Snell and Ell 2000:257). At this time, Catholics tended to be concentrated in remote areas and places that had little social tension (Bossy 1975:103). This description fitted Stourton well. Chapter 5 asks if the need to remain close to a place of protection influenced the geographic mobility of Catholics.

In Wiltshire, the number of adherents to the Catholic faith declined steadily from the Reformation until the 1780s, when it began slowly to recover (Williams 1968). During the research period, 14% of people born in Stourton were baptised as Catholics. The 1850s saw an influx of Irish Catholics to England and a sudden rise in their numbers, although Wiltshire was not immediately affected by the Irish migration (Williams 1968). The census of 1851 revealed that 1.7% of the English population attended a Catholic place of worship

on census Sunday, whilst 21% attended an Anglican church and 8.7% attended a Methodist chapel (Moorman 1986:357). In Stourton in the 1850s there was a sudden increase in the number of adult conversions to Catholicism, not connected with marriage, and this may have been the result of the re-establishment of the formal Catholic hierarchy in 1850 (Deverill and Deverill 1992).

In 1884, the Catholic priest applied for a grant for the Bonham Catholic school, and stated that the number of Catholics in the district was 128, comprising 66 adults, 53 children and nine babies (Stuart 1884-1901). The Bonham Catholic primary school had 33 students in 1884 and by 1901 had an average of 19 students at a time (Stuart 1884-1901), indicating that the Catholic population was in decline at broadly the same rate as the total population[9].

By 1958 numbers had dwindled again and a new Catholic church in nearby Mere had attracted some of the former worshippers. St Benedict's was closed and its assets sold to private individuals.

Catholic doctrine and clergy strongly discouraged mixed marriages (i.e. marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics). Despite this there did not appear to have been general community opposition to mixed marriage (Bossy 1975). Catholic doctrine also discouraged marriage between persons related by consanguinity or affinity, up to and including 3rd cousins. Chapter 6 asks if the prohibitions on marrying non-Catholics and relatives influenced the level of consanguineous marriage amongst Catholics.

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[9] The general population declined by 46% in 1881-1901. The number of children at the Catholic school declined by 42% in 1884-1901.

<u>Other Denominations in Stourton</u>

Throughout its history, Stourton has only ever held two places of worship: St Peter's Anglican church and St Benedict's Catholic chapel. The absence of a Protestant Dissenting chapel was unusual. Of the 312 ancient Wiltshire parishes, only 42 never hosted a Protestant Dissenting chapel (Chandler 1985). Most of these parishes without a Protestant Dissenting chapel were extremely small and only 14 had populations of more than 150 in 1811 (Chandler 1985). Stourton was the third-largest of those Wiltshire parishes without a Protestant Dissenting chapel. Closed parishes tended to have fewer Protestant Dissenters than open ones (Wilson 2007:229). A study of the religious censuses of 1676 and 1851 showed that where a parish contained both Catholics and Dissenters, the strength of Catholicism in that parish was reduced (Snell and Ell 2000:267-268). The strong influence of Catholicism in Stourton, and the closed nature of the parish, may both have contributed to the absence of a Protestant Dissenting chapel.

Of the 2,724 people born in Stourton in the period 1754-1914, only nine were baptised as Protestant Dissenters (eight Methodists and one Congregationalist). This is less than a third of one percent of the population. In each case, the baptisms took place in the adjoining parishes of Kilmington, Zeals or Mere which each hosted Protestant Dissenting Chapels.

2.4.2 Religion in Kilmington

<u>Anglican Church in Kilmington</u>

The parish church of St Mary the Virgin was established in the 14th century and the building itself has been modified many times since then, with only a single arch remaining of the original building. Unlike Stourton, Kilmington has always been overwhelmingly

Anglican, with a tiny minority of Protestant Dissenters appearing in the middle of the 19th century. Of the 2,237 people born in Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, 96.3% were baptised as Anglicans.

Protestant Dissenting in Kilmington

The first signs of Protestant Dissenting in Kilmington appeared in 1795 when Joseph Lush, a malt-maker of Kilmington, signed an agreement to set up an Independent (later Congregationalist) Chapel in Boar Street, Mere (Williams 1895). Joseph Lush died the following year, aged 71 years, and three of his daughters applied for a licence to meet for religious purposes in their own home in Kilmington in 1797 (Chandler 1985). During the Reformation, meetings for religious purposes in places other than an Anglican church had been forbidden, but in 1689, any group of people who wanted to meet for religious purposes was permitted to do so after a licence was obtained (Chandler 1985). In practice, licences were only granted to Protestant Dissenters, whilst Catholics continued to worship illegally. The independent meetings in the Lush family home in Kilmington in 1797 were the first Protestant Dissenting services in Kilmington. Services were conducted by a deacon from the Independent Chapel in Mere who rode to Kilmington each week (Tighe 1998:171).

From at least 1842, the Frome Circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church visited Kilmington on Sundays and baptisms of Kilmington infants are to be found in its records from that time. In 1847, a Wesleyan Methodist Chapel was established in Kilmington and it continued to operate until its closure and sale in 1969. Over the entire research period of 1754-1914, 1.9% of people born in Kilmington were baptised as Protestant Dissenters and

another 0.6% converted as adults. Even when only the period after the construction of the Methodist chapel is considered, just 3.0% of people born in Kilmington in the period 1847-1914 were baptised as Protestant Dissenters. Although Protestant Dissenting was more prominent in Kilmington than in Stourton, the number of adherents was never large.

2.4.3 Religion in Mere and Zeals

<u>Anglican Church in Mere and Zeals</u>

The parish church of Mere was established before the Norman Conquest, and possibly as early as Saxon times (Elliott and Longbourne 2001). It was dedicated to St Michael the Archangel (Longbourne 2004). For centuries, it was the only place of worship in the market town and continues to operate today. The hamlet of Zeals was part of the ancient parish of Mere until it became a separate ecclesiastical parish in 1848. The Zeals church was dedicated to St Martin and is still in regular use (Longbourne 2004). Before 1848, Zeals infants were usually baptised at St Michael's in Mere although a minority were baptised at St Peter's in Stourton.

By 1882, the congregation of St Michael's in Mere had grown so large that a second Anglican church was required and St Matthew's was built at White Hill in the south of the parish. This operated until dwindling numbers caused its closure in 2002 (Longbourne 2004).

<u>Protestant Dissenting in Mere and Zeals</u>

The parish of Mere has a long history of Protestant Dissenting. The first licence to meet for religious purposes in Mere was granted to John Buckler in 1693 (Chandler 1985). The

denomination was not specified, but if this was the same John Buckler who was preaching in Warminster, Wiltshire in 1690, he was a Presbyterian (Rogers 1965:125). A licence for Baptists to meet in Mere was issued in 1698 and for Quakers in 1701 (Chandler 1985). There were small numbers of Quakers, Baptists, Plymouth Brethren, Presbyterians and members of the Salvation Army resident in Mere throughout the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. However, the numbers of individuals involved were insignificant in terms of the impact of marriage practices in the community. The Quakers built a meeting house in 1863 and were very influential in social matters in the town (Longbourne 2004:33), but their numbers were insignificant from a demographic perspective, generally consisting of only three or four families.

The Independent Chapel was established in Boar Street in 1795 and was later re-named the Congregational Chapel. This was formed by a group of people who objected to the involvement of government with religious matters, and who felt that there was a distinct difference between 'God's Law' and 'Man's Law' (Williams 1895). They wanted a place of worship in which they were free to choose their own ministers. They believed that the final arbiter of any issue was the Holy Bible, and not the Houses of Parliament in Westminster (Williams 1895).

Mere had a long succession of absentee Anglican parsons and this probably also contributed to the rise of Nonconformity there, as their duties were performed by poorly-paid curates, some with an indifferent commitment to their flock (Longbourne 2004). In the same year that the Congregational Chapel was built, the inexplicable and simultaneous

deaths of both the Anglican parson of Mere and his horse was also said to have led some parishioners to believe that God had left the Anglican Church (Williams 1895:5).

The Congregational Chapel thrived. In 1832 a chapel was built in Zeals to accommodate worshippers from that part of the parish and in 1868 a third Congregational Chapel was built in Mere that could seat 600 persons. It was usually filled for Sunday services in the 19th century (Longbourne 2004).

In Mere Methodists were part of the Motcombe Circuit from 1827 and were regularly visited on Sundays for worship. They became part of the Shaftesbury and Gillingham Circuit in 1873. A Primitive Methodist place of worship was built in 1846 and still operates today. There was a Primitive Methodist Chapel in Zeals from 1852 to 1973 (Jackson 1997).

Catholic Church in Mere and Zeals

In the early 19th century, such Catholic families as existed in Mere walked 3 or 4 miles to Bonham in the parish of Stourton to worship there on Sundays. Towards the end of the 19th century, their numbers and their confidence grew slightly and they began to meet in pubs and in private houses in Mere. Finally, in 1946 an old Nissen hut was 'borrowed' from the British Army and established as St Mary's Catholic Church in Mere. It still operates today and has absorbed the remnants of the Catholic flock of Stourton (Longbourne 2004:9).

Judaism in Mere and Zeals

In the present project, only one instance of a Jew being recorded as such has been noted. He was Alexander Moses Walter and he was baptised in 1837 immediately prior to his marriage to an Anglican woman. All his children were baptised as Anglicans. His father

was described as a travelling draper and thus it is probable that he was not originally from Mere. The nearest synagogue at this time was in Bath, which was 24 miles away. It is unlikely that Jews played a significant part in the marriage patterns of Mere.

2.5 Employment

In general, Stourton was a more prosperous parish than Kilmington. Although both were agricultural, agricultural wages in Stourton were higher due to its position as a closed village (Section 2.3.3). In addition, the rigid application of the settlement laws meant that Stourton had fewer paupers than Kilmington. Stourton had a surprisingly high number of local charities for its paupers, with seven different charities providing food, clothing or money to the deserving poor in the 19th century (Wiltshire Family History Society 1983). The Hoare family gave monetary gifts to the poor of Stourton from the beginning of the 18th century (Hutchings 2005:39).

Figure 2-7: Well maintained labourers' cottages in Stourton
Photo: Cathy Day

Labourers' cottages in Wiltshire and Somerset were acknowledged to be amongst the worst in the country, with the exception of closed villages like Stourton (Bettey 1986:272-273). Figure 2-7 shows a modern photograph of labourers' cottages in Stourton, indicating the general level of prosperity in the parish.

2.5.1 Agriculture and Forestry

Agriculture has always been the principal economic activity of this rural region of southwest Wiltshire, with sheep and dairy-cattle being the main agricultural livestock (Bettey 1986:197-205). Wool was an important product until the 17th century, when it began to decline. The 1831 census of Stourton showed that 63% of families[10] were employed in agriculture, whilst 22% were employed in trade or manufacture and 15% in 'other' occupations, which were not specified. Information on individuals gained from other source material (Section 3.4) indicates that the 'other' category included clergy, teachers and surveyors at one end of the social scale, but also paupers and those dependent entirely on parish relief at the other end of the scale.

In Stourton, the majority of workers were employed as labourers throughout the research period. At the time of the 1831 census, 81% of the men of Stourton were described as labourers. This proportion declined slowly throughout the research period until 50% of the adult males were described as labourers in the first decades of the 20th century.

Agricultural wages were low, and Dorset and Wiltshire had the lowest agricultural wages in the country (Perry 1969; Longbourne 2004; Wilson 2007). The typical weekly wage of a labourer in Wiltshire in the first half of the 19th century was 7-8s (Molland 1959:81).

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[10] The 1831 census asked what occupation the <u>family</u> followed, from the three categories of 'agriculture', 'trade or manufacture' and 'other', then asked separately how many <u>men</u> in the family were labourers.

However, as Stourton was a closed village, the wages of its labourers were likely to have been higher than the local average.

Due to the heavy reliance on agriculture, the agricultural depression that began in Britain in the 1870s (Bettey 1986:259) had a huge impact on the local economy. Many families migrated elsewhere in Britain, particularly the north of the country, and abroad in search of work. The population decline of the local region is described in Section 2.6.

The major employer in Stourton was the Stourhead Estate owned by the Hoare family. Workers were employed in labouring on the demesne farm and tenanted farms, in forestry or in maintenance of the extensive pleasure gardens. There was a plentiful supply of labouring work in Stourton in timber-cutting and carting (Grant 1959). Kilmington was also primarily agricultural, although there was no single employer who dominated the economy.

Markets were places where people from several miles around could meet regularly. A market was held in Mere every Wednesday, attracting villagers selling their produce from up to five miles away (Longbourne 2004:83). The right to hold the market was granted in 1408 and the market continued each week until the middle of the 18th century, then it was revived sporadically until the middle of the 19th century. The old Market House was finally demolished in 1863 (Longbourne 2004:83).

Enclosure of common land began relatively early in Stourton. A map of the manor in 1722 shows enlarged and enclosed fields with gates (Mayes 1995). The enclosure may have happened earlier than elsewhere in England in order to provide the recently-impoverished Catholic lords of the manor with rental income to offset the fines required of them for

practising their faith (Mayes 1995:129-130). The fields and pastures of Stourton were completely enclosed by the end of the 18th century and no Act of Parliament was ever proposed for the enclosure of land in Stourton (Mayes 1995).

Acts of Parliament for enclosing land were passed for Mere in 1807[11] and Kilmington in 1814[12]. Enclosure of Kilmington Common was complete by 1821 (Mayes 1995:135). From this time onwards, the number of smallholders[13] steadily decreased and ordinary villagers typically worked for a wage. By the 1830s, most of England was subject to enclosure (Royle 1987:3). The villagers of Stourton and Kilmington, like their counterparts in many parts of rural England, had to compete for the wage labour available. Without a small plot of land to provide a subsistence living, and with improvement in agricultural techniques requiring less labour, many workers migrated to large towns and cities in search of work (Royle 1987:1). This age saw the beginning of the extraordinary urbanisation of Britain. By 1801, one-third of the population of Britain lived in urban environments[14] and 8% lived in London alone. By 1851, half of the population of Britain lived in urban environments (Royle 1987:20-21). The villages of Stourton and Kilmington, like other rural areas, were emptying out as people moved to the great towns and cities in large numbers. This is reflected in the falling population (Section 2.6).

In 1834, the New Poor Law caused parishes to be united into Poor Law Unions to provide a single body for the relief of the poor. In the research area, Stourton, Kilmington, Mere and nine other parishes were united into the Mere Poor Law Union (Sidwell and Sidwell 1995).

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[11] 47 Geo. 3 c. 42
[12] 54 Geo. 3 c. 93
[13] Farmers of small plots of land, generally less than 5 acres and often smaller

[14] In this context, 'urban' is defined as a town or city with a population greater than 10,000

Parish poorhouses were demolished and a Union workhouse was built in Castle Street, Mere (Sidwell and Sidwell 1995). This influenced migration patterns to a small extent, as the poor of these parishes were moved to Mere, often against their will. Prior to 1834, the poor of each parish had been housed in the poorhouse within their own parish, and were still part of their community.

2.5.2 Industry

Wiltshire had little in the way of industry (Bettey 1986). It was entirely land-locked and had no sea or river ports. Being mostly clay and chalk, there were few mineral resources to sustain industry (Wilson 2007:157). There were few home industries, compared to other counties, due to the scattered nature of its settlements, making it uneconomic to deliver raw material and return the finished product (Wilson 2007:157).

What little industry existed was related to textiles (Wilson 2007:180). This applied in the research area throughout the 17th to the 20th centuries, with wool, linen and silk all being processed in the region.

Fulling (or tucking) is the process by which rough woollen cloth is beaten either by hand or by a water-powered drop hammer, in order to render the threads into a finer cloth that is more comfortable to wear. Stourton had a fulling mill that commenced operation at some point between 1722 and 1765 (Mayes 1995:137) and fulling of woollen cloth was still a major industry in Mere in the latter part of the 17th century, despite the decline in wool production. The linen industry flourished as the importance of wool diminished. Then the linen trade declined from the 1780s and the silk industry began to thrive (Longbourne 2004).

The raw silk, still in its cocoons, was brought from Bruton, Somerset, and unravelled. It was washed and wound onto spindles, usually by women in their own homes, or children (Mayes 1995:136). The partly-processed silk was then sent to Warminster, Wiltshire, for further cleaning and sorting, before being sent on to Crockerton for spinning (Longbourne 2004). Stourton and nearby Maiden Bradley were centres for this cottage industry by 1813 (Mann 1959). Silk factories were established in Mere by 1839 to process the spun silk and the industry reached its height in the 1860s. Figure 2-8 shows the Silk Houses at Kilmington which were probably built as a form of workhouse to provide employment for the poor (Mayes 1995). They were converted to cottages in 1850 (Hoare 1792-1842).

Figure 2-8 : Silk Houses in Kilmington, where labourers both lived and worked
Photo: Cathy Day

The silk industry employed few heads of households. It became the occupation of dependants such as wives and children, and wages were low. A girl working full-time in a

silk house in Mere earned 3/6d per week (Tighe 2002:211). Indeed, the very low wages in this area may have attracted silk manufacturers (Mayes 1995:136). In 1894, all the silk factories in Mere suddenly closed down, blaming foreign competition. Subsequently, a large number of families and individuals emigrated to Australia, New Zealand and Canada (Longbourne 2004).

The textile industry in Wiltshire and the whole of the West Country declined throughout the 19th century as the textile industry moved north to Yorkshire and Lancashire. In southwestern England, the number of textile mills fell from 205 to 147 between 1835 and 1850, whilst in the same period the number rose from 406 to 880 mills in Yorkshire alone (Royle 1987:36).

The industrial revolution in Britain began around 1780 and lasted until roughly 1880. During this time, there were enormous changes in the work of ordinary people, with an increasing number leaving home to work in mechanised factories, producing goods for a distant market (Royle 1987:97-98). There was never at any time a mechanised factory in either Stourton or Kilmington, nor any large-scale industry of any kind (Mayes 1995:136). This influenced young workers to leave their parish in search of employment (Royle 1987:65), which in turn influenced marriage patterns.

2.5.3 Quarrying

The area around Stourton and Kilmington has been quarried for greensand at least since the Iron Age. Stone from the many quarries in the region was used locally, to build the old Stourton Castle and to construct local dwellings (Mayes 1995:138). Sand, clay and chalk were also quarried here and used locally (Mayes 1995:138).

2.5.4 Service

Going into service was a common life-stage for young rural people throughout an extended period of English history. Young people went into service in neighbouring parishes, but they usually returned to their own parishes for marriage and permanent settlement (Betzig 2002). In 16th to 19th century England, it is estimated that 28.5% of households contained servants and 13.4% of the total population were in service at any given time (Laslett 1969:219). In 1851, 37% of the female workforce over the age of 15 was in domestic service (Royle 1987:91). For women, it was usually seen as a stage of working before marriage and not as a permanent occupation (Gerard 1994:10). As the 19th century progressed, fewer people entered domestic service, until the institution of domestic service had all but disappeared by the middle of the 20th century (Betzig 2002).

This form of employment is significant from a marriage pattern perspective because it involved young, single people moving away from the constraints of the parental home, and into contact with other young, single people. In addition, servants were not permitted to marry, so whilst the opportunity to mix with the opposite sex was increased, obstacles to marriage were in place. Large town centres 'pulled' young people towards them, particularly to go into service (Harrison 1995:50).

The nature of service began to change as the Industrial Revolution progressed. In pre-industrial times, most servants lived in the household of their employer and were bound to them by yearly agreements. There were mutual obligations and the employer was also concerned with the welfare of the servant. This changed as industrialisation progressed and the employer only became responsible for paying wages. Similarly, the relationship

between heads of household and their domestic servants became more of a employer-employee relationship (Gerard 1994:11).

2.6 Population

The population of Stourton was about 126 people at the time of the Domesday Book in 1086 (Williams and Martin 1992:185), and about 146 at the time of the 1377 Poll Tax[15] (Fenwick 2000b:19). It was around 260 people[16] at the time of the commencement of registers in 1570.
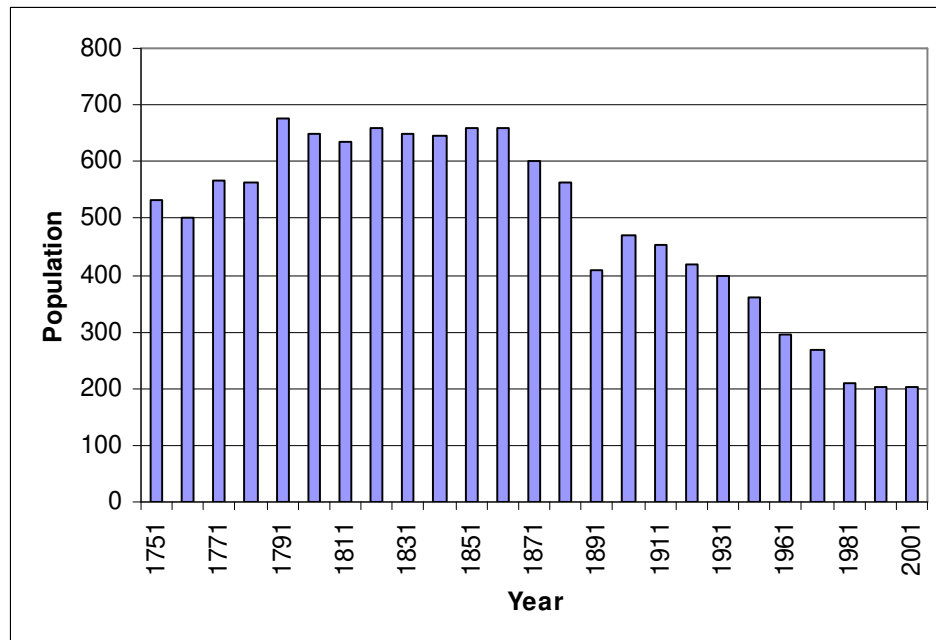
Figure 2-9 : Estimated population of Stourton 1751-2001
Source for 1751-1791: Estimated from no. of baptisms per decade. *Source for 1801-2001:* National census

Figure 2-9 shows the population of Stourton from the commencement of the current research period until the latest British census in 2001. The population of Stourton rose gently until 1791, then remained steady until the commencement of a gentle decline in

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[15] The Domesday figure of 126 was derived by multiplying the number of householders (28) by 4.5. The Poll Tax figure of 146 was derived by multiplying the number of people enumerated (72) by 2, although other multipliers have been proposed (Titow 1969; Hinde 2003:16).

[16] The population in each decadal census year between 1801 and 1841 was compared to the average number of baptisms in the Anglican church in each year. Overall, the population was 33.81 times that of the average number of baptisms. This figure was used to estimate the population in pre-census years.

1871. The decline continued up to 1981 when the population steadied. The 2001 population of Stourton was 201 people. Many of them are past or present employees of The National Trust, which owns Stourhead and most of the houses in Stourton. There are also descendants of the Hoare family, as well as some tenant farmers and their families.

Like Stourton, Kilmington was named in the Domesday Book of 1086 and had a population of about 32 people (Williams and Martin 1992:271). All but one of the parishes in Norton Ferris Hundred, of which Kilmington was a part, are missing from the Poll Tax lists of 1377 (Fenwick 2000:423) so it is impossible to know the population at that time.
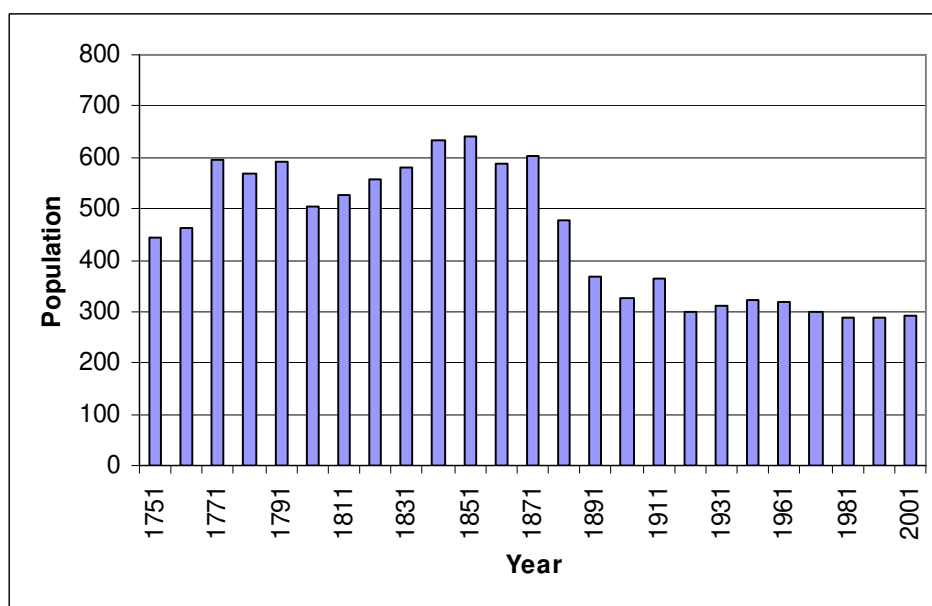
Figure 2-10 : Estimated population of Kilmington 1751-2001
Source for 1751-1791: Estimated from no. of baptisms per decade. *Source for 1801-2001:* National census

Figure 2-10 shows that Kilmington had a steady but gentle increase in population from the beginning of the research period up to 1851. At the agricultural depression began in the 1870s there was a sudden and dramatic drop in population, with the parish losing 20% of its population between the 1871 and 1881 censuses, and an additional 22% in the following

decade. From that point on the village has retained a stable population and in 2001 its population was 292, or almost a third more than Stourton.

In the 19th century, a proportion of those who left Wiltshire left England altogether. The pace of emigration from Britain to non-European destinations such as the United States, Canada, Australia and South Africa increased dramatically throughout the 19th century. In 1816, only 13,000 people left English ports permanently and in 1832 103,000 left. By 1911, 455,000 people were leaving Britain every year (Royle 1987:63). Only 18% of the people who emigrated from Britain in the period 1875-1899 were farm labourers (Royle 1987:67). Typically they migrated first to urban environments in England, before travelling abroad.

With the records currently available for this project and the timeframe available, it was not possible to provide a comprehensive survey of individuals and families who emigrated to other parts of the world. However, some anecdotal evidence might serve to illustrate the experience of some of those who left the British Isles permanently.

Throughout the records in the 19th century, mention is made of families emigrating to Canada and Australia in particular, with a handful going to New Zealand, Argentina and the United States. Emigration was sometimes voluntary and sometimes involuntary.

The latter is illustrated by Joseph Baker, whose family had lived in Stourton for centuries. Joseph Baker was born in Stourton in 1801, became a shoemaker, married and had five children. The family became poor and applied to the Overseers of the Poor for parish relief. However, the Overseers decided that a better option was to send the family to America. On 4th March 1833 one of the Overseers took the family to Bristol and there placed them

aboard the vessel *Sarah Henrietta*, "... to be conveyed as emigrants to North America" (Churchwardens of Stourton 1827-1944). There is no further record of this family known to the present author.

Arthur Dickson was also an involuntary emigrant, having been transported to Australia for seven years after he committed an offence at Wincanton (Churchwardens of Stourton 1701-1863). His widow was informed of his death five years later and she re-married.

Most emigrants were voluntary and went in search of better opportunities. Emigrants from the research area almost always went out as nuclear families, with both parents and several children emigrating at the same time. In a few cases single men emigrated. At least one illegitimate son of Sir Henry Ainslie Hoare was sent to New Zealand to manage a family property in about 1877 (Williams 2006). No cases were identified that involve elderly people migrating, or orphans being sent abroad, or of single women travelling to an overseas destination. However, this is in no way a comprehensive survey of all emigrants from the area, but rather observations about emigrants for whom records exist and have been accessed by the current author.

For the most part, those who emigrated never returned to their place of birth. Although the proportion of emigrants who returned to Britain cannot be calculated accurately (Baines 1985:126-140), estimates have been made based on the number of passengers travelling to America and the number arriving in English ports. This would imply that in the period 1861-1870 about 19% of emigrants returned to England (Baines 1985:133). Whether they returned to their original parishes is not known. In Kilmington there was one known case of a returning emigrant family. James Moger and Sarah Haskell emigrated to New York

immediately after their marriage in 1849 and their son George was born there. They returned to Kilmington in about 1855 and spent the remainder of their lives in the locality. This was unusual enough for the parson to note the fact in the register when baptising George in 1856.

2.7 Conclusions

In many ways this region of southwest Wiltshire was typical of southern England as a whole, but in other aspects there were significant differences. As in most of rural England, agriculture was the dominant economic force, although there were marked differences between the agricultural systems of the north and south.

The industrial revolution did not create large numbers of 'dark satanic mills' in southern England, as it did in the north. The processes of urbanisation and industrialisation nevertheless took their toll on the villages, with large numbers of inhabitants abandoning their ancestral homes in the late 19th century in favour of large towns and cities.

The presence of a strong Catholic minority in Stourton was unusual for southern England at this time, although there were higher proportions of Catholics in some counties in the north. Wiltshire only hosted one other Catholic stronghold by the end of the 18th century, at Wardour which was the seat of the Lords Arundel. Despite the absence of the Lords Stourton throughout the research period, the tolerance that they established in Stourton enabled their co-religionists to survive relatively unhindered.

In this project there is a both an open and a closed village. This mix will enable comparisons to be made between different types of parish control.

The region has been remarkably stable politically. Although affected by such national events as the Reformation, the Civil War and the Monmouth Rebellion, these did not cause widespread disruption locally. The region was comparatively isolated and comparatively stable.

The following chapters of this thesis will demonstrate how these factors interacted to produce the marriage patterns observable in this project.

3   Sources and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter briefly discusses alternative methods considered for this project and used by previous researchers, along with their respective advantages and disadvantages. It then goes on to describe in detail the technique of multi-source parish reconstitution used in the present project to construct genealogies and life histories, along with the sources of data and the tools used for analysis of the data.

3.2 Alternative Methods

3.2.1 Parish Register and Civil Registration Aggregation

A technique that has been used in England for more than two centuries is that of developing abstracts from aggregated records of birth, marriage or death, or their substitutes of baptism and burial. For example, the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure[17] aggregated data from 404 parishes throughout England to study a range of demographic features (Wrigley and Schofield 1981). Abstracts need not be confined to religious ceremonies and can be created from civil registration. For example, previous research has used civil registration of marriages to compare marriage rates in counties with different economies (Ogle 1890:267).

A major advantage of this technique is that it is less time-consuming than family or parish reconstitution, as individuals do not need to be identified, only counted. This in turn makes it possible to cover a very wide geographic area, including all of England and Wales in the case of civil registration.

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[17] Hereinafter referred to as the Cambridge Group

A disadvantage of using parish registers to create the abstracts is that it covers only a single Christian denomination, albeit a highly significant denomination which dominated British society for centuries. This disadvantage does not exist for civil registration records, but for England and Wales these only exist from 1837 onwards.

A second disadvantage is that it does not reflect the actual life experiences of any individual, but rather aggregates the life experiences of a group of individuals. For example, aggregating economic data for a county or region and correlating it with aggregated data about marriage rates might blur differences within the group.

Aggregated data provides detailed information on certain vital events, but the number of people 'at risk' is often unknown, and so a rate cannot be determined (Wrigley and Schofield 1981:7). So whilst aggregated data is useful for many vital enquiries, it was not suitable for to answer some of the questions raised in this project, particularly in relation to rates of consanguinity and geographical mobility over multiple generations.

3.2.2 Census Abstracts

The decennial censuses for England and Wales were abstracted shortly after they were taken, and the results have been publicly available ever since. They include a great deal of data aggregated at the registration district level (Anderson 1976). An advantage of this technique is that it covers (theoretically) every member of the population, and not just a sample.

A disadvantage is that the data are aggregated at the regional level and whilst this provides comprehensive data about past population structure, it does not inform us about the processes that led to these structures, or the experiences of individuals.

The data are also only available for each decade from 1801 to the present day. They can tell us nothing about the more distant past, and the length of time between censuses means that decades must elapse before trends can be identified.

3.2.3 Marital Isonymy

Marital isonymy occurs when two people with the same surname marry each other, and it has been used as a method of estimating inbreeding in European populations since 1965 (Crow and Mange 1965; James 1983; Lasker 1985; Crow 1989; Spuhler and Kluckhohn 1989; Rodriguez-Larralde et al. 1998; Barrai et al. 1999; Jobling 2001; Barrai et al. 2002; Colantonio et al. 2003; Rodriguez-Larralde et al. 2003). The general concept is that when two persons with the same surname marry, they represent the same level of consanguinity in a population, regardless of how they are related to each other as individuals. The theory has some key assumptions:

(1) each surname was monophyletic[18] for the region studied

(2) the original founders of the population were unrelated

(3) no in-migration occurred after the initial founding; and

(4) consanguineous relations occurred equally through male and female lineages

(Crow 1980)

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[18] A monophyletic surname has only one origin, such as Feltham and Attenborough, which are highly localised place names (Guppy 1890:185). A polyphyletic surname has multiple origins, having arisen independently, such as Smith, Brown and Jones

A great advantage of this technique is that it is generally cheap to undertake and large volumes of data can be processed very quickly. In fact, one of the pioneers of the technique, James F. Crow, stated that "Isonymy provides a refuge for the impecunious investigator. Surely this is the main reason for its popularity." (Crow 1989:951)

A major disadvantage of this technique is that it is rare to find populations worth studying that meet all the key assumptions. One review of the use of surnames as markers of inbreeding in human populations pointed out that most studies using isonymy are undertaken on isolated populations and these may not be typical of human experience (Colantonio et al. 2003). There would be few communities in historical England that were completely isolated and were founded by unrelated people.

Another disadvantage of the technique is that it does not take into account multiple cases of inbreeding in a family. For example, if two cousins marry and produce children, then their own grandchildren marry and produce children, the resulting offspring will be more inbred than isonymy would indicate.

Reviews that have compared the results of isonymy studies with those of pedigree analysis and/or marriage dispensations have shown that isonymy over-estimates the rate of inbreeding (Lasker 1985:37; Rogers 1987; Pattison 2001). The differences have been attributed to remote inbreeding, incomplete pedigrees, polyphyletic origin of surnames, immigration, virilocal residence patterns and sample composition.

Finally, marital isonymy is only useful in estimating the level of consanguinity in a population, and cannot be used to answer the other questions in this project. Nevertheless,

since so many studies on inbreeding have used isonymy to estimate the inbreeding in a population, isonymy is used as a point of comparison in Section 6.3.2.

3.2.4 Marriage Dispensations

The Catholic Church has banned marriage between people of varying degrees of relatedness throughout the past millennium (Section 6.2.2). These were not standardised for the entire Catholic world until 1917 (The Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1995). Catholics were required to seek permission in writing to marry their relatives (Goody 1983) and the dispensations granted by the relevant Bishop were preserved in the diocesan archives. These dispensations have been used to estimate consanguinity in many Catholic countries in Europe, as well as in Central and South America. McCullough and O'Rourke (1986) provide a thorough review of the many previous studies using Catholic marriage dispensations to estimate consanguinity.

An advantage of this technique is that the records are carefully preserved and easily accessible. They also go straight to the heart of the question of consanguinity, and do not require extensive analysis and interpretation.

This method has the disadvantage that it only applies in predominantly Catholic countries. In addition, it is likely that it under-reports the true extent of consanguineous marriage because (1) ordinary people unconcerned about large inheritances are unlikely to know all of their cousins up to the prohibited degrees; and (2) there was an incentive to hide the genealogical relationship of a related couple in order to avoid paying the required fee for the dispensation. A study in four French villages in the period 1850-1865 compared the results of marriage dispensations with pedigrees and determined that marriage

dispensations under-estimated the level of consanguineous marriage by between 12% and 59% (Bourgoin-Vu Tien Khang 1978).

Catholic marriage dispensations are not a useful tool to research consanguinity in England, because England has been a predominantly Protestant country since the Reformation, with short periods of Catholic supremacy. In 1783, just 1% of the population of England was estimated to be Catholic, and most of those were in Lancashire. By the 18th century, Catholicism in England had become a religion predominantly of the wealthy, and those they protected (Bossy 1975:112). Thus, it is not likely that Catholic marriage patterns were representative of English marriage patterns in general. For this reason, it was not appropriate to use Catholic marriage dispensations as the source for this project.

Nevertheless, the present author expended considerable effort in attempting to locate the applications for Catholic marriage dispensations for Stourton inhabitants, which would have provided details of the reasons for the applications. This search was ultimately unsuccessful. It is possible that they exist but have not been located, or that they were destroyed some time in the past.

From the time when Henry VIII broke with Rome in 1534 until he overturned the prohibition on cousin marriage in 1540, English people wanting to undertake a consanguineous marriage required a dispensation from the new Church of England hierarchy. The records of these Protestant marriage dispensations have been analysed (Smith et al. 1993) and are discussed in Section 6.3.1.

3.3 Multi-Source Parish Reconstitution

3.3.1 Overview

This project used the technique of multi-source parish reconstitution. Historical records of actual events such as baptism, marriage, residence on census night, apprenticeship and so on were used to reconstruct the genealogical and in some cases economic relationships between individuals. Individuals were described by name, occupation, religion, birthplace, literacy and a range of other factors. This technique is an extended version of the technique of family reconstitution (Wrigley et al. 1997), but uses multiple documentary sources to overcome some of the limitations of that technique (Macfarlane 1977) by utilizing nominative record linkage (Hinde 2003:279). These are discussed in detail below.

Family reconstitution uses Anglican parish registers to reconstitute nuclear families in a single parish. Parish registers of Anglican baptism, marriage and burial records have been kept since 1538, but with varying degrees of quality and completeness. The Cambridge Group selected 26 sets of parish registers from throughout England, had volunteers transcribe the data for the period 1580-1837 and then re-constituted families by linking baptisms, marriages and burials for individual families. With this technique they were able to determine a wide range of demographic data for individuals, parishes, counties and England as a whole, although their reconstitutions ceased at 1837, immediately before the most profound changes in British demography.

A strength of this technique is that it examines the actual demographic experiences of real families, rather than unlinked demographic events derived from aggregated data, which are

discussed in Section 3.2.1. It enables the data to be examined in fine detail, in order to more accurately determine the individual processes that shaped the national-level trends.

A disadvantage of this technique is that it is extremely labour-intensive (Hinde, 2003:167). Thousands of hours of work are required to reconstitute a single parish. This in turn makes it an expensive technique, when personnel must be paid for their labour.

A limitation of family reconstitution is that it does not enumerate the population 'at risk'. Without knowing how many people are members of a population, it is not possible to calculate rates for demographic events like birth, death and marriage (Zhao 2008).

Another disadvantage is that the data may not be representative of the English population, by virtue of it being confined to a single denomination, the Anglican Church (Zhao 2008). This is especially relevant from the 18th century onwards. Whilst the level of religious Nonconformity in England was negligible until the late 18th century, it rose rapidly from the 1780s, at the same time as the importance of church affiliation was dwindling in the general population (Wrigley and Schofield 1981:89-96). It is estimated that in the period 1830-1839, 6.7% of baptisms were in Nonconformist chapels (Wrigley and Schofield 1981:92).

Table 3-1: Percentage of marriages by denomination in England and Wales

	1844	1864	1884	1904
Civil	2.6	8.1	13.1	17.9
Anglican	90.7	78.2	70.7	64.2
Catholic	1.7	4.8	4.3	4.1
Other Christian	4.8	8.7	11.6	13.1
Jewish	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.7

Source: Registrar-General (1967:212)

Table 3-1 shows the religious denomination of marriages in England and Wales for selected years in the 19th and 20th centuries. The percentage of all marriages in England and Wales which took place in Anglican churches declined sharply from over 90% in 1844 to 64% by 1904. The decline has continued unabated to the present day. At the same time as the Anglican Church was declining in importance as a place for marriage, there were rises in proportions for both non-Anglican Christians and for people choosing a civil, non-religious ceremony.

By contrast, in multi-source parish reconstitution as used in the present project, the data sources were not limited to Anglican church records. This project utilised a wider array of data sources, which are detailed in Section 3.4, and linked individuals from one record type to another. The advantage of using this wider array of data sources is that it produces more accurate family groupings, with less uncertainty about the relationships between individuals. For example, there might be two marriage records of men named John Edwards within a short period, and two baptisms of infants with that name some twenty to thirty years earlier. Using Anglican records only, the researcher would have to rely on an educated guess as to which infant baptism matched with which adult marriage record. Using additional data sources such as census records and wills, the researcher can accurately identify which John Edwards is which, and assign subsequent generations to the correct lineage.

It also enables the researcher to include people who were not Anglicans, or did not participate in the usual Anglican ceremonies such as baptism.

The wide array of raw data newly available on the internet and in other electronic forms (Section 3.4) has meant that although only the two parishes of Stourton and Kilmington were fully reconstituted, the inhabitants could be traced wherever they went – to neighbouring villages, distant cities and in some cases, even abroad. This gave a much clearer idea of an individual's life history than would have been possible if the records for only one parish had been used, as in previous studies (Wrigley et al. 1997). It allowed individuals to be followed, and their ancestors traced, regardless of whether they remained immobile in their home parish or moved away. The usual process of family reconstitution, on the other hand, only traces people resident in their parish of baptism.

A major advantage of the enhanced technique is that individuals can be securely linked into complex genealogies, rather than merely into nuclear families. This has made it possible to identify genealogical relationships between marriage partners, whether at the level of 1st cousins or more distantly. This is crucial for the measurement of consanguinity and is also important in examining the influence of family experience on illegitimate reproduction. In addition, people who were not part of recognised families could be included for some calculations. For example, an unmarried person present in the village and recorded in the census, communicants' list or settlement examinations could still be considered as a potential marriage partner when considering potential spouse availability. This type of person would be missed in the more standard form of family reconstitution.

The major disadvantage of using multiple data sources for reconstitution is that it is even more time-consuming than standard family reconstitution (Hinde 2003:167). The multi-source parish reconstitution process with nominative record linkage for this project

occupied the author full-time for three years, including gathering the raw data. The resulting database includes information on over 22,000 individuals and 4,000 marriages. Whilst every marriage that took place in the parishes of Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914 was included, it is of course only a tiny fraction of the total marriages that occurred in England in that period[19]. To extend this project to other communities would be worthwhile and rewarding, but very labour-intensive.

 In summary, this technique uses multiple data sources as well as data from multiple parishes to link individuals in multiple relationships. How this was achieved is described in the next section.

3.3.2 The Reconstitution Process

The reconstitution process consists of two basic phases: data collection and data processing. Only when the reconstitution process is complete can data analysis begin.

The data collection phase for this project began in Australia. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints[20] has microfilmed hundreds of millions of documents relevant to tracing genealogies of people of all denominations, principally in North America and Europe, including Great Britain. They are mainly baptism and marriage registers over a century old, but also include census and other records. Copies of these microfilms are available throughout the world for a small fee to any researcher who requests them. In the present project, many records on these microfilms were accessed in Australia before the fieldwork phase of the project.

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[19] For example, there were 111,481 marriages in England and Wales in the period July 1837-June 1838. Source:(Registrar-General 1840:1)

[20] Usually referred to as the Mormons. Hereinafter referred to as LDS.

Records on microfilm were either transcribed verbatim into Excel spreadsheets, or a précis was made of the key features of the record that were relevant to this project. For example, in Bastardy Examinations, it was not necessary for this project to transcribe every detail recorded of how the conception of the child took place, who consented to what and the relative 'moral character' of the parties. The crucial pieces of information for this project were the relevant dates and the identifying information of all the parties involved.

When all the relevant records that were available on microfilm in Australia had been accessed, the fieldwork began. Original paper records in the appropriate county record offices were accessed in England during fieldwork conducted in Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset between January and August 2007 and between April and June 2008.

Original paper records viewed at record offices in England were either transcribed verbatim into Excel spreadsheets or photographed at the record office. Later, photographed records were transcribed into spreadsheets either by the present author or by a team of volunteers interested and experienced in family history in southwest Wiltshire. These transcribed records were later put on the internet for free public use[21].

Millions of line-by-line transcriptions for hundreds of other parishes in Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset were downloaded by the present author from file-sharing websites of family historians, which are described in Section 3.4. These were combined into a single baptism index and a single marriage index. The original full transcriptions were retained. The consolidated index meant that millions of records of baptisms and hundreds of thousands of records of marriage could be searched simultaneously. For example, if there was no

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[21] Full transcriptions are available online at http://www.freereg.org.uk/

independent information on a person's birthplace, the consolidated baptism index could be searched for hundreds of parishes in Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset. In a similar way, the marriage index could be searched for an earlier or later marriage of an individual, or the marriage of parents or grandparents. The two indexes contained Anglican, Catholic and various Protestant Dissenting records, as well as workhouse records of birth.

The second phase of the reconstitution process was data processing, including record linkage. Information from the relevant data sources was used to create new individual records in the database described in Section 3.5.2, or to add further information to records already in the database. For example, an individual record might be created in the database from a marriage certificate, then other information about the individual's baptism, children, occupation, residence, death and burial might be added to the record as these were processed.

Records were created for every person who was married in Stourton or Kilmington in the research period, as well as every person who was baptised in either of the parishes (regardless of birthplace) or born in either of the parishes (regardless of where they were baptised, or if at all). Records were created for every person who was present on census night in either of the parishes (Section 3.4.5).

Four generation pedigrees were then traced for all people married in Stourton or Kilmington in the research period, using the wide array of data sources described in Section 3.4. Genealogies frequently extended to nearby parishes and further afield.

When an individual who married in Stourton or Kilmington was widowed at the time of marriage, their previous marriages, and any children thereof, were traced. All marriage partners were traced until death, and any subsequent geographic moves, additional children and later marriages were recorded.

The most frequently used data sources were church, census and civil registration records (Section 3.4). Other sources of data described in Section 3.4 were used when the required information (for example, birthplace, marriage date or parentage) could not be determined from the three main data sources, or where contradictory or ambiguous data had been acquired. When data sources provided contradictory information, one version of the information was selected based on the relative reliability of the data sources, although the alternative version was also stored in the database. For example, if a man claimed that his birthplace was Stourton but his Catholic baptism record specified his place of birth as Penselwood, then he would be recorded in the database as having been born in Penselwood, with Stourton as an alternative birthplace. In analyses in this project, only primary birthplaces or dates were used and alternatives were ignored.

Some people had a great deal of information entered about them into the database, including religion, literacy level, state of health, pedigree, level of inbreeding, criminal history, occupation and economic circumstances, whilst others had only a single item of information, such as date of baptism or presence in the parish on census night. The level of detail sought was dependent upon the analysis for which they were a subject. For example, someone who was a spouse in a marriage in Stourton or Kilmington would have extensive information sought and recorded about them, whereas a person who played a more

peripheral role, such as being a witness at a wedding, or being a godparent to a child, might have little information recorded.

The sources of data described in the next section were entirely documentary. No biochemical or genetic testing of descendants or any human biological material was undertaken. It was assumed that the father of any child was the man who believed it to be so. Modern evidence suggests a paternal discrepancy[22] rate of between 0.8% and 30%, with a median of 3.7%, across a range of studies, with younger and poorer parents more at risk (Bellis et al. 2005). No attempt has been made to allow for paternal discrepancy in this project.

3.4 Sources of Data

3.4.1 Overview

The parishes at the focus of this research were predominantly Anglican, with minorities of Catholics in Stourton and Methodists in Kilmington (Section 2.4).

Baptism records were located for 96.4% of the 4,940 people who were known to have been born, or claimed to be born, in Stourton or Kilmington during the research period. All of the Christian denominations represented in Stourton and Kilmington practised infant baptism, although the spiritual threat to an infant dying unbaptised was more significant for Catholics. That is, Catholics believed that the soul of an infant who died unbaptised would be sent to Limbo, the highest level of Purgatory. There was more confusion amongst Anglicans and Protestant Dissenters about the fate of the soul of an unbaptised infant,

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[22] Paternal discrepancy occurs when a man who believes that he is the biological father of a child is not actually the biological father.

especially in the 19th century (Chadwick 1970: 250-260; Macfarlane 1980:78-79) and this was translated into lower sense of urgency in having an infant baptised. So there is a high degree of confidence that all Catholic infants in Stourton and Kilmington were baptised and therefore captured in the project database, although the potential exists that Anglican and Protestant Dissenter infants may have been missed, especially if they died in infancy. However, the use of multiple data sources greatly reduces this possibility.

Of people born in Stourton in the period 1754-1767, there were 20 for whom baptism records could not be located. These 20 were all Catholics: the Catholic baptism register did not begin until 1767. However, all of those people were recorded in the 1767 Catholic census (Section 3.4.5) and thus their birthplace and parentage could be accurately determined, despite the lack of baptism record. Therefore pedigrees and ages for Catholics could be determined as well as for Anglicans at this time. Although some Catholic infants who died between 1754 and 1767 did not have their parentage determined by the present author, these are of no importance in determining aspects of marriage patterns.

3.4.2 Anglican Church Records

Table 3-2 shows the periods covered by existing and publicly available Anglican records for each parish, and transcribed by the present author or others. More recent records are not publicly available.

Table 3-2: Existing Anglican records for Stourton and Kilmington

Parish	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
Stourton	1572-1915	1578-1935	1570-1983
Kilmington	1596-1954	1582-1931	1582-1944

The Anglican records are not complete for the entire time period listed in Table 3-2 but the gaps can often be filled by reference to the Bishop's Transcripts[23]. The remaining gaps in the sequences are listed below.

Table 3-3 : Missing Anglican records for Stourton and Kilmington

Parish	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
Stourton	1590-1592, 1687-1690	1590-1592, 1691-1693	1599-1609, 1617-1622, 1685-1690
Kilmington	1636-1638, 1644-1655, 1671-1704, 1706-1707	1637-1638, 1640-1645, 1671-1704	1642-1654, 1671-1704

As Table 3-3 demonstrates, the Kilmington registers have more gaps in the sequence than the Stourton registers. This was possibly due to the parson of Kilmington often being non-resident, with church functions being performed by a curate. The lack of continuity of leadership may have contributed to the gaps in the Kilmington records.

The biggest deficiency in the Kilmington records is the gap from 1671 to 1704, which probably represents an entire register book missing. Since it covers a whole generation, this is a significant loss for tracing ancestry of people from Kilmington. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are no missing entries for the study period of 1754-1914.

Although there was wide variation between parishes, the interval between birth and baptism for Anglicans increased over time. In the 17th century the median time between birth and baptism was 8 days, and this rose to 30 days in the period 1791-1812 (Midi Berry and Schofield 1971:458). This increasing delay between birth and baptism may have led to

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[23] Each year on Lady Day (25th March) all of the past year's baptism, marriage and burial records for a church were copied out and sent to the appropriate bishop, in this case Salisbury. These were called Bishop's Transcripts and are now preserved in the relevant county record office, in this case at Chippenham.

under-representation of births, since the increasing delay meant that more infants were at risk of dying before baptism. However, as the present project is focused on marriage, the potential under-representation of unbaptised infants does not affect the integrity of the results.

In addition to baptisms, marriages and burials, for Stourton original records survive of Anglican lists of communicants (people who were eligible to receive Holy Communion and regularly partook of the sacrament), catechists (people aged 15 years and over who were preparing to be confirmed) and people who were confirmed by the Bishop on a given date. These are held at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre (WSHC) and were photographed as part of the author's fieldwork. The combined lists of Anglican and Catholic confirmations and communicants provided an almost complete list of people resident in Stourton aged over 15 years in the 18th century, although the completeness of the coverage declined as the 19th century progressed.

In order to construct comprehensive genealogies of persons living in the core parishes, it was necessary to access records from surrounding parishes. Due to the remarkable growth of family history as a hobby, and the extensive use of the internet to share genealogical information, there is a wealth of reliable raw material available online. It was crucial, however, to distinguish between the sources of information and to understand their completeness and accuracy.

For example, the Dorset Online Parish Clerk[24] project aims to transcribe all records for parishes in Dorset, including Anglican, Catholic and Protestant Dissenting records, wills,

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[24] http://www.opcdorset.org/index.htm See Appendix A for details

censuses, directories, monumental inscriptions and others. The church records are complete for the Dorset parishes surrounding Stourton and Mere, which are Silton, Bourton, Gillingham, Motcombe and Buckhorn Weston. The present author cross-checked a sample and determined that they were highly accurate.

Similarly, the FromeResearch website[25] provides complete and highly accurate transcriptions of church records of parishes within a ten-mile radius of Frome in Somerset. This overlaps considerably with the research area for this project. A related series of projects provide transcriptions of other Somerset parish records[26]. The West Country Genealogy website[27] provides indexes for the parishes of Horningsham, Corsley, Wincanton, Upton Scudamore and others.

The International Genealogical Index[28] of the LDS contains approximately 800 million records of baptisms and marriages, mainly in Europe (including the UK) and North America. Whilst this is only an index, rather than full transcriptions, and the quality of individual data sets is variable, the sheer volume of records makes this a useful source.

The findmypast website[29] has complete transcriptions of almost all Somerset marriages up to 1837, as well as all marriage licences issued by the Diocese of Salisbury. These can be downloaded for an annual subscription fee.

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[25] http://www.fromeresearch.org.uk/

[26] For example, http://groups.yahoo.com/group/BrutonSomerset provides transcriptions for parishes surrounding Bruton

[27] http://www.westcountrygenealogy.com/

[28] http://www.familysearch.org/

[29] http://www.findmypast.com/ See Appendix A for details

Other accurate transcriptions are available on CDs, and some of these have been used in this project extensively. For example, the Wiltshire Family History Society sells a CD of complete transcriptions of 13 parishes in the southwest of Wiltshire, up to 1837. These include Stourton, Kilmington, Mere, West Knoyle, East Knoyle, Hill Deverill, Longbridge Deverill, Kingston Deverill and Monkton Deverill. The present author purchased this CD and four others for Wiltshire. The National Burial Index[30] is a set of CDs that contain 18 million records of burials in England and Wales, and although it is an index and not a full transcription, it is usually sufficient to identify individuals and enable the researcher to quickly locate the full record on the internet or in transcribed spreadsheets. The LDS British Vital Records Index on CD contains 10 million baptism records in England and Wales, most of them not available elsewhere.

After the fieldwork period, whenever Wiltshire indexes or transcriptions were thought to be incorrect or incomplete, the present author requested the staff at the WSHC in Chippenham to examine the original paper record to verify the contents. In every case, an email response was received on the same UK business day.

Appendix A contains extensive and detailed lists of all the parishes in Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset for which parish register transcriptions are now available in electronic (and therefore searchable) form. They total almost 1,000 towns and villages and many more congregations of various denominations.

Figures 3-1 and 3-2 show similar information in graphical form for the parishes within approximately an 8-mile radius of the research area. Where the present author possesses

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[30] See Appendix A for details of places and dates covered

complete transcriptions for the full research period for a parish, these are coloured dark blue. Where the information is not complete, for example it does not cover the full research period or consists only of indexes and not full transcriptions, these are coloured light blue. Where no raw data of baptism or marriage records for a parish could be located, these were left white.
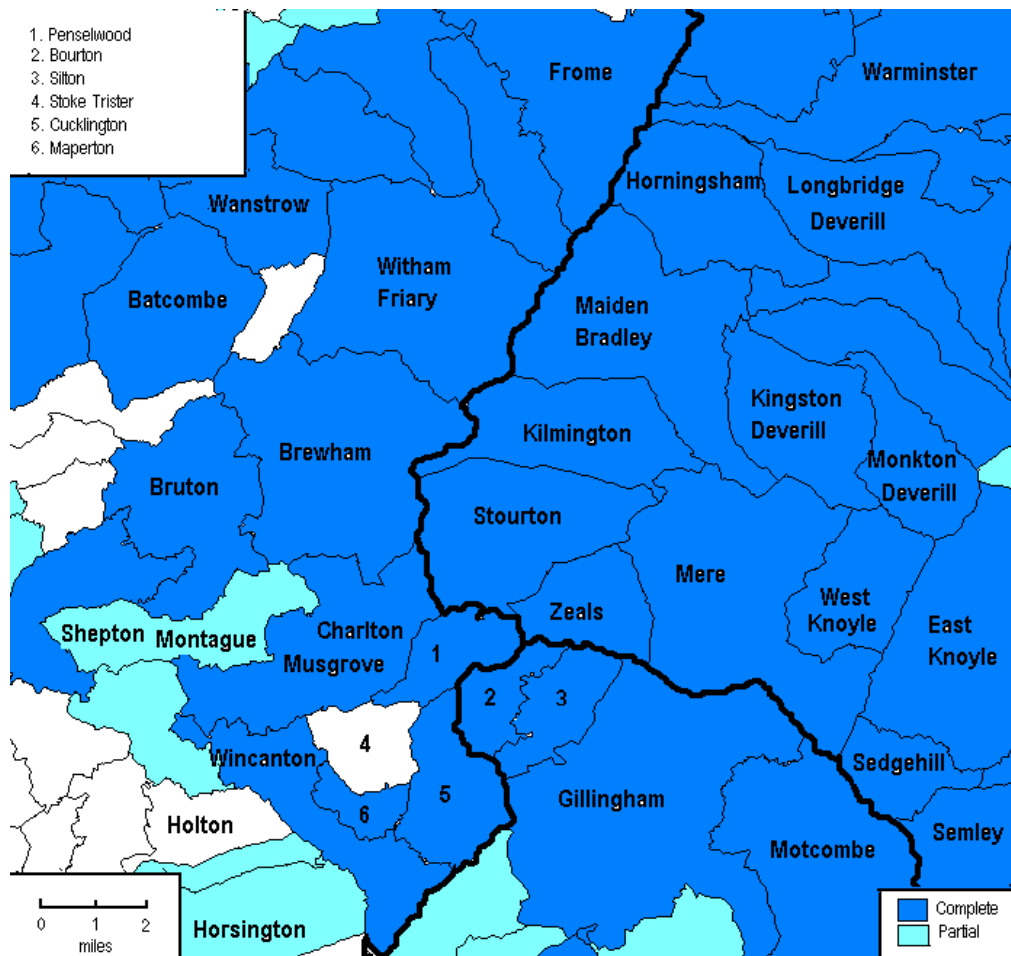
Figure 3-1 : Anglican parishes for which transcriptions of baptism records are held

Figure 3-1 shows the coverage of Anglican baptism records of parishes within approximately an 8-mile radius of the Stourton and Kilmington. The parishes for which Anglican baptism transcriptions are missing usually had small populations. For example in 1871, Stoke Trister had a population of 395 and Holton had a population of just 186.
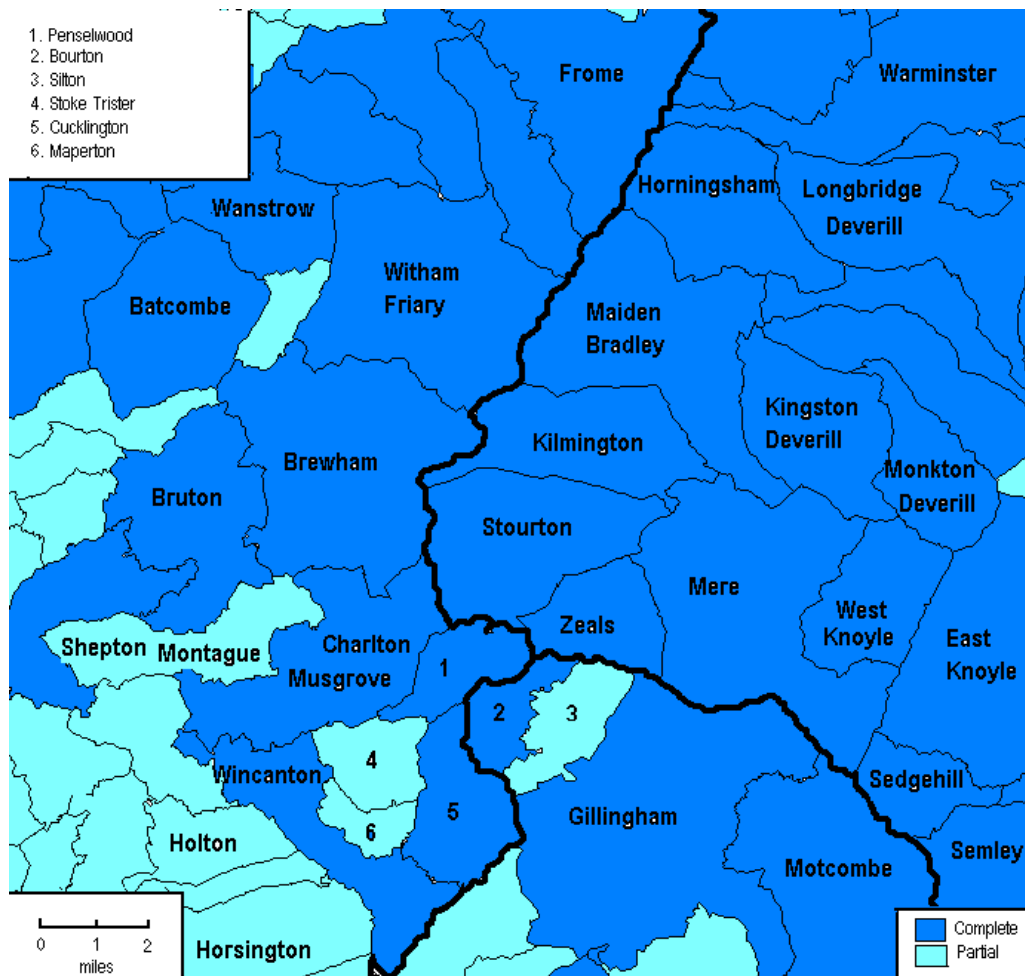
Figure 3-2 : Anglican parishes for which transcriptions of marriage records are held

Figure 3-2 shows almost complete coverage of marriage records for nearby parishes. Generally, where a parish has records listed as 'partial' in Figure 3-2, they cease at 1837, when civil registration began. In every case, marriage records could then be obtained through the civil registration system (Section 3.4.7).

In summary, there is a high level of availability of Anglican church records for parishes within walking distance of the research area.

3.4.3 Catholic Church Records

The two major centres of Catholicism in Wiltshire in the 18th and 19th centuries were the chapelries of Bonham in the parish of Stourton and Wardour in the parish of Tisbury (Williams, 1968). Both of them supported significant Catholic populations from the time of the Reformation until the middle of the 20th century. The closest Catholic centres in the neighbouring counties were Marnhull in Dorset, which was 12 miles from Stourton, and Shepton Mallet in Somerset, which was 16 miles away. Due to the small number of Catholic priests in the area, there was some overlap between the Catholic centres, with baptism records being entered by priests in a range of locations. For example, some Stourton baptisms were recorded in the Shepton Mallet records since the same priest ministered to both communities. Table 3-4 shows the existing Catholic records available for Stourton.

Table 3-4 : Existing Catholic records for Stourton

Parish	Denomination	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
Stourton	Catholic	1767-1958	1840-1958	1785-1981[31]

Catholic records were kept for St Benedict's Chapel at Bonham in Stourton from 1767 until the closure of the chapelry in 1958. Throughout the period they were kept entirely in Latin. There were occasional cases where certain events appear not to have been recorded, as indicated by marginal notes. For example, several burials were recorded out of date order with the notation "from a bundle of paper in Fr James' handwriting". There was only one period where all records were completely missing. This was from 1822 to 1824 and

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[31] Catholics were buried in the Anglican churchyard at Stourton until a cemetery was licensed at Bonham in 1853. Although Bonham Chapel closed in 1958, local Catholics still continued to be buried in the Catholic cemetery until 1981 when it was sold as part of a family home

occurred after the Catholic priest, Father Joseph Hawarden, married one of his parishioners two weeks before she gave birth to his first child. Fr Hawarden baptised his daughter in the Bonham Chapel and was shortly afterwards asked to leave the priesthood. For the next 18 months, a priest rode 18 miles from Downside Abbey at Stratton-on-the-Fosse, Somerset every Sunday to officiate at Bonham Chapel, but it appears that if he kept records of baptism and burials, they did not remain at Bonham or at Downside Abbey.

The registers up to 1868 were completely and accurately transcribed in two volumes published by the Southwest Catholic History Society, and the records after 1868 were transcribed by the present author at the WSHC from a microfiche copy of the originals, then cross-checked against a transcription made from original records in Downside Abbey[32]. The Catholic records do not cover as long a period as the Anglican records, but they contain more detailed information. The mother's maiden name was usually given at the baptism of a child, enabling the researcher to identify both parents, even when a marriage record could not be located. In addition, the Catholic records always specified the names of the godparents, or sponsors. These were usually, but not invariably, the uncles and aunts of the infant, or its grandparents. For Catholic families in the earlier years, this was sometimes used by the present author to establish family relationships. If the godparent of an infant had the same surname as one of the parents, and was born before 1767, it was assumed that the godparent was the sibling of the parent with the same surname. In several cases, more explicit information was provided in the records, as when a godparent was recorded as "Martin son of Christopher Shepherd" or "Fanny the wife of old Frank Shepherd". Each godparent was recorded in the database during the data processing phase

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[32] The author received the transcription made from the originals after completing the transcriptions from microfiche.

of the project and the implicit and explicit family links carefully cross-checked for consistency.

Catholic baptisms usually occurred within two or three days after birth. It was highly unusual for a Catholic infant to go unbaptised, and in extreme cases, when a Catholic priest was absent, the infant would be baptised in any church of any denomination, but later re-baptised as a Catholic. If the infant was in immediate danger of death, any baptised adult, such as a parent, could baptise the infant and even these emergency baptisms were recorded in the Catholic records[33]. For this reason, there is a high level of confidence that Catholic baptism records are effectively a complete record of Catholic births in the area from 1767.

The Bonham records also list all persons who were confirmed from 1767 to 1925. These have been transcribed and are useful for cross-checking purposes, to determine the religious affiliations of a family where that was ambiguous, and to determine when families arrived in the parish.

In this region, Catholic marriages were not traceable prior to the Hardwicke Marriage Act of 1754, which made marriages legally valid only if they were performed in an Anglican church under certain conditions (Section 1.9). It would appear that no records of early Catholic marriages were kept, or if they were kept at the time, they did not survive into the 21st century. From 1754 to the amendment of the Hardwicke Marriage Act in 1837, records of Catholic marriages were included in Anglican churches in Stourton, Penselwood and Mere. In Stourton, 100% of Catholic marriages at this time took place in the Anglican church, which is an unusually high rate of compliance. At Wardour in Tisbury, the other

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[33] Occasionally a burial record is seen of an infant "10 minutes old" with the annotation "the parents certify that this child was baptised before death". An unbaptised infant could not be buried in consecrated ground.

major Catholic centre in Wiltshire, the level of compliance was only 50%, with half the weddings being celebrated only in the Catholic chapel and hence legally considered invalid (Bossy 1975). For the period after 1837, the Bonham Chapel records survive and detailed Catholic records are available.

Until 1853, all burials had to take place in the registered burial grounds in the area, which meant that Catholics were buried in Anglican churchyards. In some parishes, the Anglican parsons required that Catholics be buried after nightfall but this practice declined in the early 18th century (Bossy 1975:141). In the Anglican records for Stourton, the parish clerk usually recorded that the deceased was a 'papist', 'pope-worshipper' or 'popishly affected', but they were still buried with everyone else.

In a small number of cases, Catholics from Stourton were baptised or married in other Catholic chapels in the region. The present author obtained a printed transcription of the Marnhull records, photographed the Shepton Mallet records which were later transcribed by a volunteer, and transcribed an incomplete series of records for Wardour from microfiche at the WSHC. Although the coverage of nearby Catholic chapelries is not as comprehensive as the Stourton chapelry, some gaps were filled by these records.

In summary, although the Catholic records are not as extensive as the Anglican records, and marriages in Bonham are only available after 1837, we can still be confident that the details of Catholic births, marriages and deaths are as complete as those for Anglicans in the same parishes, at least from the middle of the 18th century.

3.4.4 Other Church Records

Apart from Anglican and Catholic church records, there were a small number of Protestant Dissenting records relevant to inhabitants of the parishes under examination. Stourton never had any place of worship other than the Anglican and Catholic churches (Section 2.4.1). Table 3-5 shows the availability of records for the only Protestant Dissenting chapel in Kilmington.

Table 3-5 : Existing Wesleyan Methodist records for Kilmington

Parish	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
Kilmington	1842-1945	1900-1908	No cemetery

The records of the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Kilmington are complete for baptisms. From 1842, Kilmington was visited as part of the Frome Methodist Circuit and baptisms were entered in those records until 1868. From 1868 the Kilmington Wesleyan Methodist Chapel had its own records and these have been copied up to 1945. Burials continued to take place in the Anglican churchyard and these were included in the Anglican records. The only full marriage records available for Kilmington Wesleyan Methodist Chapel are for the brief period 1900-1908. As far as can be determined, no marriage register was kept either before or after that period. This was common in Methodist chapels, as the presence of a civil registrar was required, who officially recorded the proceedings, and many congregations felt that this was sufficient recording. Indexes of civil registration are available, as described in Section 3.4.7. The Primitive Methodist Circuit records for the research area for 1824-1950 were transcribed by local chapel members and made available to this researcher. These records cover Primitive Methodists in Kilmington who either worshipped in their own homes, or attended the chapels at Zeals or Mere.

<p align="center">**Table 3-6 : Existing Congregational records for Mere**</p>

Parish	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
Mere	1795-1837 1853-1866 1892-1896	1853-1866 1892-1896	No cemetery

Table 3-6 shows that the available records of the Independent (later Congregational) Chapel at Mere are incomplete. As for other Nonconformists, marriages between 1754 and 1837 took place in Anglican churches, and after 1837 civil registration records are available. Burials took place in the Anglican churchyard until the Mere town cemetery was built in 1856.

In May 2008, *The Genealogist*[34] website released a paid subscription service to access all Nonconformist records created prior to 1837 that are now held by the Public Record Office in Kew, London. This initiative enabled the present researcher to access an extensive collection of Quaker, Methodist and Independent records of baptisms, marriages and burials for all of England and Wales, which were not previously available.

Given the almost complete absence of Quakers and Jews in the research area (Section 2.4) and the requirement that everyone else be married in an Anglican church between 1754 and 1837, it would seem likely that there would be few, if any, legally valid marriages in this period that were not included using the church records available for the present project.

3.4.5 Census Records

The British Government has conducted a population census of the United Kingdom every ten years from 1801 to the present, with the exception of 1941, when it was cancelled due

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[34] http://www.thegenealogist.co.uk/

to the Second World War. With very few exceptions that will be discussed below, the censuses for 1801-1831 did not contain data on any named individuals (Lumas 1997:3).

All censuses from 1841 to 1911 are publicly available. They have been indexed to varying degrees and customers may purchase a subscription to view the indexes, complete transcriptions and/or an image of the original record from several online genealogical sources[35]. These websites have proved invaluable in locating individuals, especially those not resident in the core parishes on census night. For this project, in every instance, the index was used only as a finding tool and the original image was viewed before entering the relevant information in the database.

The censuses for 1851-1891 listed every person who resided in the UK on the census night, which was a Sunday in the last days of March or first days of April in each case (Lumas 1997). They contained a wealth of information of interest to demographers as well as genealogists. For every person, the census recorded the address, some construction details of the house, name, relationship to the head of the household, marital status, age, sex, occupation, whether self-employed, at home or a worker, place of birth and disability (Section 4.2.6). The information was invaluable for this project in reconstructing genealogies of people resident in the core parishes as well as places further afield.

The 1841 census had more limited information. It listed the address, name of the person, age (rounded down to a multiple of five years if over 15 years of age), the occupation of the head of the household only, and whether or not the person was born in the county in which they were enumerated. In many cases, relationships could be assumed, with an adult male,

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[35] These include http://www.ancestry.co.uk/, http://www.thegenealogist.co.uk/, http://www.englishorigins.com/, http://www.familysearch.org/ and http://www.findmypast.com/

adult female and small children nearly always comprising a nuclear family. However, this was not always possible. The question whether or not the person was born in the county in which they were enumerated was problematic in the area under investigation. The area of interest spans the borders of Wiltshire and Somerset, and is very close to the Dorset border. It was apparent from the responses given by householders that some people did not know whether or not they were born in the county.

One of the reasons given in Section 1.8 for choosing this particular part of England to conduct this genealogical project was that it still retains very good records. This applies particularly to the earlier census records. For the four censuses prior to 1841, enumerators were instructed to count all the inhabitants in various categories (e.g. males over 20 years of age), forward the totals to London and then destroy any notes taken. For the censuses of 1821 and 1831, the Stourton enumerator wrote down the names, ages, occupations and household groupings of all the inhabitants, but did not destroy these listings as instructed. These were kept in the parish chest and are now preserved at the WSHC in Chippenham. The present author photographed the original documents during fieldwork.

Stourton also had a census substitute for 1751. In that year, the Hoare family invited every inhabitant of Stourton to Christmas dinner at Stourhead, the stately home that dominated the life and economy of the parish of Stourton. A list of every family was drawn up, which provided information at least on the heads of every household in Stourton, along with numbers in their households. The list is also preserved in the WSHC and was photocopied by the present author.

In addition, a census of all known Catholics in England was conducted in 1767 and this has been preserved for Stourton. This listed every Catholic resident in Stourton, their age, relationship to each other (e.g. 'husband', 'wife', '3rd son'), occupation and length of residence in the parish. Although the names were not recorded, by thorough and tedious cross-checking by the present author, it was possible to identify over 80% of the people listed. This proved invaluable in establishing the place of birth of Catholics born before the Catholic baptismal register was created, and establishing precise ages for many family members.

Finally, in the 18th century several nearby parishes such as Horningsham and Brixton Deverill had local censuses undertaken on behalf of their respective lords of the manor. They contain a wealth of additional material of value to this project, such as genealogical information (e.g. "John White and his wife Joan, the daughter of Henry Chapman") and precise occupational information (e.g. "outdoor labourer to William Davies for the past six years"), as well as interesting social comments assessing each householder's thrift, industriousness, moral virtue and gardening ability (Wiltshire Family History Society 1994).

3.4.6 Poor Law Administration

The Settlement and Removal Act of 1662[36], amended in 1691, put the onus of caring for the poor, regardless of their faith or lack of it, onto the Anglican parish to which they belonged, and set up a system whereby inhabitants were recognised as having a 'legal settlement' in only one parish. When a person came to dwell in a parish and the Overseers of the Poor thought that the person might eventually become chargeable to the parish, an examination

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[36] 13&14 Car. 2 c.12 and 3 Will.&Mar. c.11

was held (Church 1996:73). At this, the pauper (or potential pauper) was required to provide their history to the Overseers, focusing on aspects such as when and where they were born, who their parents were, whether or not their parents were legally married, when and where the pauper had worked, including the length of any agreements, their marital status and names and ages of dependants (Royle 1987:64).

The Poor Law papers have sometimes provided the present author with the only information that revealed where a person was born, or to which particular family of a given surname they belonged. The disadvantage of Poor Law papers as a source of genealogical information was that they were not usually independently verified. That is, the settlement examination recorded just what the pauper told the examiners. In a few instances, the Overseers followed this up by checking with Poor Law administrators in other parishes, but unless the pauper was to be moved to another parish and Overseers of that parish objected, the information was generally unconfirmed.

Before the introduction of the New Poor Law in 1834, the Overseers of the Poor required the mother of an illegitimate child to name the father of the child, so that the parish might seek recompense should the mother ever seek financial support from the parish. This applied even when the mother and father were living together and the father was supporting the mother and child (Gill 1977). In Stourton, however, it appears that Bastardy Bonds were only raised when a mother actually sought parish relief. The Overseers of the Poor, despite their obligations, sometimes ignored unions that produced illegitimate children if it appeared that they would not be seeking assistance. For example, in the cases of the bigamists discussed in Section 7.8, the children were baptised as the illegitimate children of

their mother, but no bastardy orders were issued since the fathers were in stable, long-term consensual unions with the mothers.

Table 3-7 summarises the documents related to Poor Law administration available to the present researcher.

Table 3-7 : Poor Law administrative records accessed for this project

Location	Document	Dates	Content
Stourton	Bastardy Bonds	1728-1822	Parents of illegitimate children, date and place of birth
Stourton	Settlement Examinations	1701-1863	Life histories of paupers and potential paupers
Wiltshire	Wiltshire Quarter Sessions	1835-1893	Parents of illegitimate children, circumstances of conception
Somerset	Settlement Examinations	Fragmentary	Life histories of paupers and potential paupers
Wiltshire	Removal Orders	1670-1890	Name and abode of paupers and their original parish

As with other records, Kilmington is not as well documented as Stourton. In this case it is because of the destruction of the Somerset Record Office by German bombing during the Second World War and affects most parishes that are, or were formerly, in Somerset.

3.4.7 Civil Registration

Compulsory civil registration of all births, marriages and deaths began in England and Wales on 1st July 1837. After 1874, parents were legally obliged to register the birth of their child within six weeks. The minister or registrar who performed a marriage was required to register the marriage or face a fine and possible loss of licence to perform marriages.

Deaths were required to be registered within 8 days, and this was reduced to 5 days after 1874.

The vital events were recorded at a local registration office. Stourton and Kilmington were in the Mere Registration District. Indexes were prepared for each quarter, and a copy was sent to the General Registrar's Office in London. Here the indexes from every registration district in England and Wales were combined into a single nation-wide alphabetical index for each quarter of the year. This is available free of charge on the internet at the FreeBMD[37] website for the period 1837-1935, and is being continuously extended.

The FreeBMD website was particularly useful for identifying marriages that took place outside the core parishes, since it covered all of England and Wales. Searches were made using the man's given name and surname, and the woman's given name, with an approximate year based on the age of the oldest known child of the couple. It was also useful in identifying the deaths of people who had left the research area. Searches were most successful when the surname was not amongst the most common in England and Wales.

If a particular birth, marriage or death certificate was sought, FreeBMD was consulted. If the event was found in the indexes, relevant registration district, volume and folio details were then used to purchase a copy of the original certificate. The actual certificates contained useful information for constructing pedigrees. Birth certificates provided the infant's full name, date and place of birth (also the exact time, if a twin), names of both parents including maiden name of the mother, occupation of the father and details of the

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[37] http://freebmd.org.uk

informant who provided the information to the registrar. A marriage certificate gave full names for both parties, ages, occupations, abodes at time of marriage, as well as names and occupations of the respective fathers of the parties. A death certificate contained comparatively little information, giving the name, occupation, date and place of death, cause of death and details of the informant who provided the information to the registrar.

In a few cases for this project, it was necessary to purchase a birth, marriage or death certificate in order to clarify certain details. In several cases, descendants of people from the core parishes sent photocopies of various certificates that have been useful in clarifying relationships.

3.4.8 Wills and Administrations

Wills sometimes provide useful information to identify family relationships. This is particularly the case when there are several people with the same name. For example, it was not initially possible for the present researcher to identify which particular woman named Mary Edwards married Charles Gover in Stourton in 1736, since Mary and Edwards were both such common names in the area[38]. When Mary's father, John Edwards, died in 1766, he listed his children as beneficiaries, including "my daughter Mrs Gover". This enabled the present researcher to determine that the Mary Edwards who married Charles Gover was the person baptised in 1718, daughter of John Edwards and his wife Mary Evil.

Administration bonds were used when a person died intestate. These were occasionally helpful when the appointed administrator was identified by their relationship to the deceased. For example, the present author was initially unable to identify Thomas Whitaker

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[38] Of women born 1754-1799 in the research area, Mary was the most common given name, followed by Elizabeth, Ann and Sarah. Edwards was the third most common surname, after Lapham and Shepherd.

who died in Stourton in 1816 until the administration bond for his father James, who died in 1762, was obtained. Thomas was identified on the bond as a farmer of Stourton, and lawful son of the intestate deceased.

All wills of Stourton inhabitants from 1701 to 1858 were photographed by the present author. Images of all wills of Mere inhabitants that were proved between 1750 and 1824 were downloaded at the WSHC. No original wills exist for Kilmington prior to 1895, when the parish was administratively in the county of Somerset, due to the destruction of the Somerset Record Office during World War Two. Some transcriptions, précis, indexes and copies of wills exist in the new Somerset Record Office. Wherever possible, these were copied.

3.4.9 Information from Descendants

The intensive use of the internet for family history research has aided this project by having interested parties review relationships and verify conclusions from ambiguous information. Brief details of this project, including contact details for the researcher, appear on a number of websites that are likely to be visited by people researching their own family history in southwest Wiltshire. Over 500 descendants of people living in the two core parishes have asked for and received detailed information on their ancestry. In each case, the descendant was asked to review the information carefully and notify the researcher of any errors, inconsistencies or ambiguities. Descendants were encouraged to ask questions and challenge assumptions, and it was explained that this would actually aid in the research process. A concerted effort was made to ensure that descendants would not assume that anything that came from a university must be correct. This cross-checking and explaining

proved useful in the data processing phase of the project and several minor inconsistencies were corrected following review by descendants.

Descendants also sent the researcher copies of relevant documents, and photos of their ancestors, along with family trees that extended well into the 20th century. A log was kept of all enquiries, and ancestors of interest were flagged. This enabled many descendants to be put in touch with distant cousins of whom they had previously been unaware. Occasionally the new-found collaboration of distant relatives produced new information for this project.

3.4.10 Minor Sources

Finally, a wide array of minor source material was used. These items were not systematically analysed, but were examined individually when circumstances called for it. The information contained in the minor sources varied from as little as a name and date, to extensive life stories and genealogical information. Minor sources used in this project included:

- <u>Apprentices of Wiltshire</u> – a listing of Wiltshire apprentices, their trade, master, parish, age and dates of apprenticeship (Wiltshire Family History Society 1998)
- <u>Salisbury and Winchester Journal</u> – a local newspaper that sometimes included marriage notices of relevant people, along with some details of crimes committed by Stourton and Kilmington inhabitants (Heaton 2002-2009)
- <u>Monumental Inscriptions</u> – gravestones of the Stourton, Bonham, Kilmington, Penselwood and Mere cemeteries, which sometimes clarified family relationships, photographed *in situ* by the present author

- Transcriptions of Monumental Inscriptions – on microfiche (Wiltshire Family History Society 1989) or online at http://www.findmypast.com/

- Burke's Landed Gentry – pedigrees of aristocrats, which were used to determine the relationships of the Hoare family of Stourton and Fox-Strangways family of Kilmington (Townend 1972)

- Catholic Recusants, English Catholic Nonjurors, Presentments – lists of Catholics from 1660 to 1783, providing information on name, religion, family relationships and some economic information (Estcourt and Payne 1885; Williams 1968; Bossy 1975)

- Land Tax Assessments 1766-1832 – names of heads of households. Transcribed by the present author from LDS microfilm # 1526851

- School Rolls – names and ages of schoolchildren, plus occasional additional information such as emigration, death or illness. Originals photographed by the present author at WSHC

- Military Records – Public Record Office index is available online at http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/ and provides information on soldiers who survived to pension, including name, age, former trade, parish and regiment.

- Emigration Records – indexes of passengers migrating to America between 1790 and 1920, including spouses' names and ages of children, available at http://ancestry.co.uk/

- Foreign Censuses – of people emigrating to the United States and Canada provided dates and places of birth, religion, occupation, family relationships and dates of

emigration, online at http://ancestry.co.uk/ for the United States and http://automatedgenealogy.com/census/ for Canada

- Quarter Session Rolls – names and parishes of criminals and their victims, fathers of illegitimate children, including their names, trades and short life histories, available online at http://findmypast.com/

- Lease Documents – normally given for 'three lives' which were specified, along with ages and relationships, photographed by the present author at the WSHC

- Ilchester Gaol Inmates – names, ages and parishes of prisoners in Ilchester Gaol, available online at http://www.somerset.gov.uk/archives/database/Prisoner.htm

- Charity Lists – names, parishes and religion of recipients of local charities (Wiltshire Family History Society 1983)

- Published Local Histories – several published works of local or family history, provided small amounts of useful information that connected families, or identified individuals (McGarvie 1990)

- Biographies – particularly those of the Hoare family of Stourton (Hutchings 2005), and the unrelated painter William Hoare (Victoria Art Gallery 1990), as well as the Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online at http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html

- Personal papers – diaries of members of the Hoare household, unpublished transcriptions of which were provided to the present author by The National Trust of Great Britain

- Estate papers – in particular details of Stourhead estate, including information on building, planting and staff movement, unpublished transcriptions of which were provided by present members of the Hoare family

- Trade Directories – including lists of all Anglican clergymen with their parishes, date and place of birth, date of death and parentage available online at http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/index.html, as well as more standard directories listing tradesmen and their addresses such as Pigot's Trade Directory
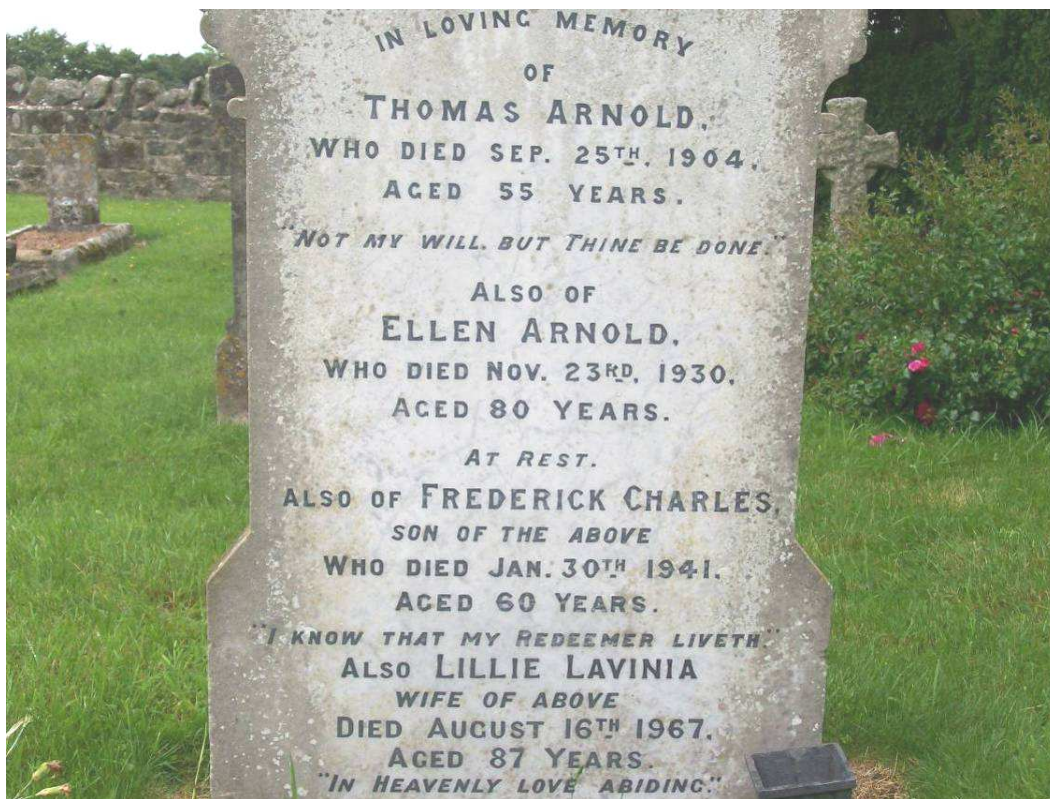
Figure 3-3: A monumental inscription giving family relationships
Photo: Cathy Day

Figure 3-3 shows an example of a monumental inscription in a churchyard. These sometimes clarified family relationships, when individuals were described as 'loving son of ..' or 'beloved wife of ..' another individual. However, the expense of these was well beyond what a labourer could afford.

3.5 Analysis Tools

3.5.1 Overview

After the raw data were collected, they were entered into the database (Section 3.5.2). When data entry was complete, analysis could begin. For this project, a range of software was used to perform different analyses.

3.5.2 The Master Genealogist

Several genealogical programs were reviewed for this project, and The Master Genealogist (TMG) was selected as the best for the type of work required. It is a genealogical program that is designed for family history research, but is flexible enough to be modified for the type of work required for this project. For example, an unlimited variety of fields and flags could be created, such as inbreeding coefficient and level of literacy, in addition to the standard ones supplied with the program, such as baptism date and name.

Every individual in the database has a record that contains, as a minimum, their name and date of birth. Surnames were standardised into one form for each name. For example, Shepherd, Sheppard and Shephard were all spelt as Shepherd in the database. This enabled families to be tracked across multiple generations, regardless of the literacy level of the individuals. Given names were also standardised so that, for example, Betsy, Betty and Lizzie all became Elizabeth, although the alternative name was also recorded. The standardisation of names enabled more effective record linkage than if the spelling in each original record had been retained.

When a precise date of birth was not known for an individual, it was calculated from the age given in sources such as census, burial, Poor Law or marriage records. Where there was

no independent estimation of date of birth, it was assumed that the individual was born in the year in which they were baptised. Where there was no record of baptism, year of birth was estimated from year of marriage, as 25 years for a first marriage for men and 23 years for women (Wrigley et al. 1997:134). However, all birth dates that were estimated and had no corroborative evidence were flagged as such, and were not used in calculations of age at marriage. Over 96% of brides and grooms married in Stourton or Kilmington in the research period had a year of birth accurately determined.

Most individuals also had a record of baptism, marriage (if applicable), burial and estimated date of death, which was calculated from the burial date. For those living in the 19th century, there were records of their address at the time of the relevant censuses, and the age given for them at that census. In some cases the age given to the census enumerator was not correct. It was usually possible to determine a person's occupation from census records.

Each individual was linked into their family, so that parents, children, spouses and siblings could all be viewed rapidly. The linkage was a manual process with the author taking each record and determining whether the individual already existed in the database (for example, an individual in a marriage may already have existed in the database from a baptism record). Where there were ambiguous links, a rational choice was made as to the most likely linkage, with an annotation in the database indicating the source of doubt and the reason for the choice.

The process of resolving ambiguities depended on the source of the ambiguity (for example, was there doubt about the name of the individual, or their age, or parentage, or birthplace?), the documentation available (for example, was the person recorded in a single

marriage record, or in multiple censuses, or in less useful documents?) and the availability of records that might resolve the ambiguity (for example, if a source indicated birth in a place for which baptism records were missing, alternative records of baptism were not sought but the assumption was made that this baptism record was also missing). In some cases, the resolution of ambiguities rested on the author's knowledge of frequency of surnames in the research area. For example, if an individual had an unusual combination of names such as Ferdinando Prendergast and a baptism or marriage record was found in a remote place with no obvious connection to the research area, the individual was allocated to that record. This was not the case with common combinations of names such as John Edwards and Ann Shepherd, which were not allocated to records unless there was independent information to substantiate the link, such as a census record indicating a birthplace and age. The majority of locally-born people whose parentage could not be accurately determined had common name combinations such as those above.

In the case of conflicting information from different sources, the author made a choice based on the likelihood of the information being true and the usual veracity of the record. For example, a person might state in a settlement examination that they were born in Stourton, but if they were baptised in Kilmington without the parson noting a different abode, all of their older and younger siblings were born in Kilmington and there was no evidence that their parents had left Kilmington around the time of the individual's birth then a choice would be made that they had in fact been born in Kilmington, despite what was declared on the settlement examination. Different records had different levels of reliability. For example, a marriage record with a precisely recorded age was considered more reliable in determining a year of birth than a burial record with age at death listed, and

information on age was often exaggerated for elderly people in censuses and burial records, so these were sometimes discounted. In Poor Law records such as settlement examinations, there were strong incentives to provide information that would lead to granting of settlement in a parish, such as claiming birth there, or claiming that one's parents were married. Similarly, there was an incentive for children to exaggerate their ages when working in silk factories, since wages were paid according to age. Thus, the reliability of each class of record needed to be considered when resolving conflicting information.

For this project, a number of 'flags' were assigned to individuals in order to sort them into categories relevant to the project. A flag is a record for an individual that only contains a single character. All flags are listed in Table 3-8.

Table 3-8 : Flags used to categorise individuals in TMG in this project

Flag	Explanation
Sex	Male, Female or unknown sex[39]
Multiple Birth	Twin, triplet or more
Descendant Interest	A descendant was interested in this particular individual
Religion	Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, converted from Anglican to Catholic, etc
Marriage Group	Married 1st cousin, etc; Alternatively, did not marry, died in infancy, etc.
Inbred	Inbreeding coefficient of the individual
Illegitimacy	Whether born legitimately or not
Parent of Illegitimate	Number of illegitimate children of the individual
Home	Number of children at home for mothers of illegitimate children (Section 7.7.1)

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[39] Only four individuals in the database of over 22,000 people had a sex unknown to the researcher. One was identified in Poor Law papers by parentage, date of birth and place of birth, but not sex. The other three were identified in burials simply as 'the infant child of…' and the parents' names.

Marriage of Parent	Whether parents of illegitimate children were unmarried, widowed or later married
Criminal	A criminal conviction
Poor	Classified as poor by the Overseers of the Poor
Literacy	Illiterate, able to write their name, higher level of literacy
Occupation	Category of occupation, such as L=Labourer, F=Farmer
Web	Whether the individual's record should be displayed on the internet copy of the database

The flags for Multiple Birth, Descendant Interest, Criminal, Poor and Literacy were not used in analysis of the data, but were an aid to correctly identifying people of the same name. The flag Web was used to protect the privacy of individuals born less than 100 years ago.

Flags were also used to colour-code certain attributes of individuals. For example, records of parents of illegitimate children were coloured pink and those who married consanguineously were coloured yellow. This colouring assisted in initially identifying patterns in the data. A sample TMG screen from one individual is shown at Figure 3-4.
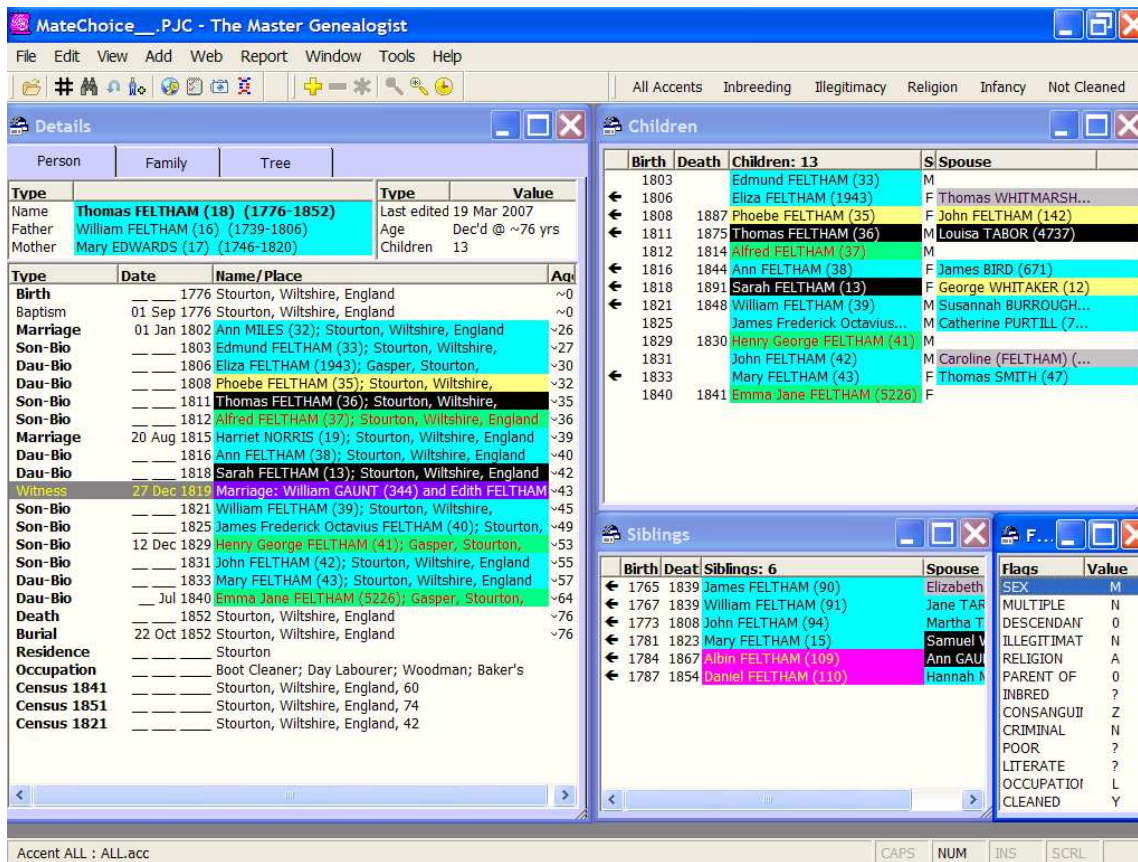
Figure 3-4 : A sample page from TMG

The individual in Figure 3-4 is Thomas Feltham and his ID number (18) is listed after his

name. His birth, baptism, death and burial information are listed, along with his occupation,

his residence and his age given at each of the censuses. His 13 children by two wives are

listed, along with his parents (above) and siblings (on the right). Clicking on the field

'marriage' would provide detailed information from that marriage record, including any

identifying information, names of witnesses and so on.

TMG has a range of tools embedded within it that assisted in analysis of the data. One tool

is called Distribution of People Report. A simple report can be produced for a filtered group

of people (for example, all people married in Stourton 1800-1850) using a single field or

flag (for example, place of birth). TMG calculates the numbers and percentages. TMG also

provides List of People Reports, which give any detail specified for any group of people. For example, it could produce a list of all people who were present in Kilmington on the night of the 1841 census, along with their inbreeding coefficient. This could be used to determine the average inbreeding coefficient for the village at different points of time.

In many cases, the data from TMG were exported from that program and imported into another program for further analysis. These are described in the sections that follow.

A copy of the database in the form of webpages is available online at the time of writing at http://arts.anu.edu.au/dayca/ As this version was intended for general public interest, it does not include some details which may cause discomfort in descendants such as inbreeding coefficient and the names of living descendants. For privacy reasons, this version does not include any person born after 1908 unless they are known to have died.

3.5.3 FSpeed Pro

Although TMG has a relationship calculator that will provide the genealogical relationship between any two individuals, it can only do this for pairs of people, not the entire dataset simultaneously. For this reason, it was necessary to acquire an inbreeding coefficient calculation program. After a review of available options, FSpeed Pro by Tenset Technologies was purchased.

To calculate the inbreeding coefficient of all people in the database, TMG was first used to export the unique numerical identifier (ID) of every person, plus the IDs of that person's mother and father. These were exported from TMG to a text file, then imported into FSpeed Pro. FSpeed Pro calculated all inbreeding coefficients and displayed them in a table. The

present author then cross-checked any identified records with an inbreeding coefficient greater than zero, to ensure accuracy. A sample page is shown at Figure 3-5.

Figure 3-5 : Sample screen from FSpeed Pro

In the sample screen in Figure 3-5 are displayed the IDs of each individual and their parents[40], along with number of siblings, number of offspring, the inbreeding coefficient expressed as a probability of homozygosity by descent, the number of generations found, the number of full generations (e.g. two parents, four grandparents), the number of ancestors found, the number of unique ancestors, the number of common ancestors and the computer processing time required.

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[40] Fathers and mothers are listed as 'sires' and 'dams' since the software was originally designed for use with animal pedigrees

The advantages of using this software are that it is extraordinarily fast and it is highly accurate. To date, no errors in inbreeding coefficients have been identified, even in cases where multiple genealogical relationships were involved.

The sole disadvantage of the program is that it calculates inbreeding coefficients, but not consanguinity as such. If a consanguineous couple did not produce any children, there would be no offspring identified as inbred by FSpeed Pro. This project is concerned with both consanguinity (genealogical relationships between couples) and inbreeding (in offspring of consanguineous unions). This problem was overcome by using TMG to identify all married couples that did not produce children, then running TMG's relationship calculator manually for each pair.

3.5.4 Graphics

The geographical analysis in this thesis is concerned with the spatial aspects of marriage patterns, including the distances between birthplaces of spouses and their distribution in relation parish and county boundaries.

The UK Data Archive (UKDA)[41] completed an extensive project to digitise all the historical parish boundaries for England and Wales. The UKDA selected 1851 as the base year for their parish boundaries, and provided digitised boundaries of the 20,000 hamlets and parishes in England and Wales at that time. In this project, the parish boundaries were input to the ANU standard GIS package, ArcMap, which was then used to provide maps for this project that required parish boundaries, such as those at Figure 3-1 and 3-2. These were

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[41] See http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/

further modified using the basic drawing program, Paint, which met the simple graphical needs of this project.

A sample of a map produced in ArcMap from UKDA data is shown at Figure 3-6.
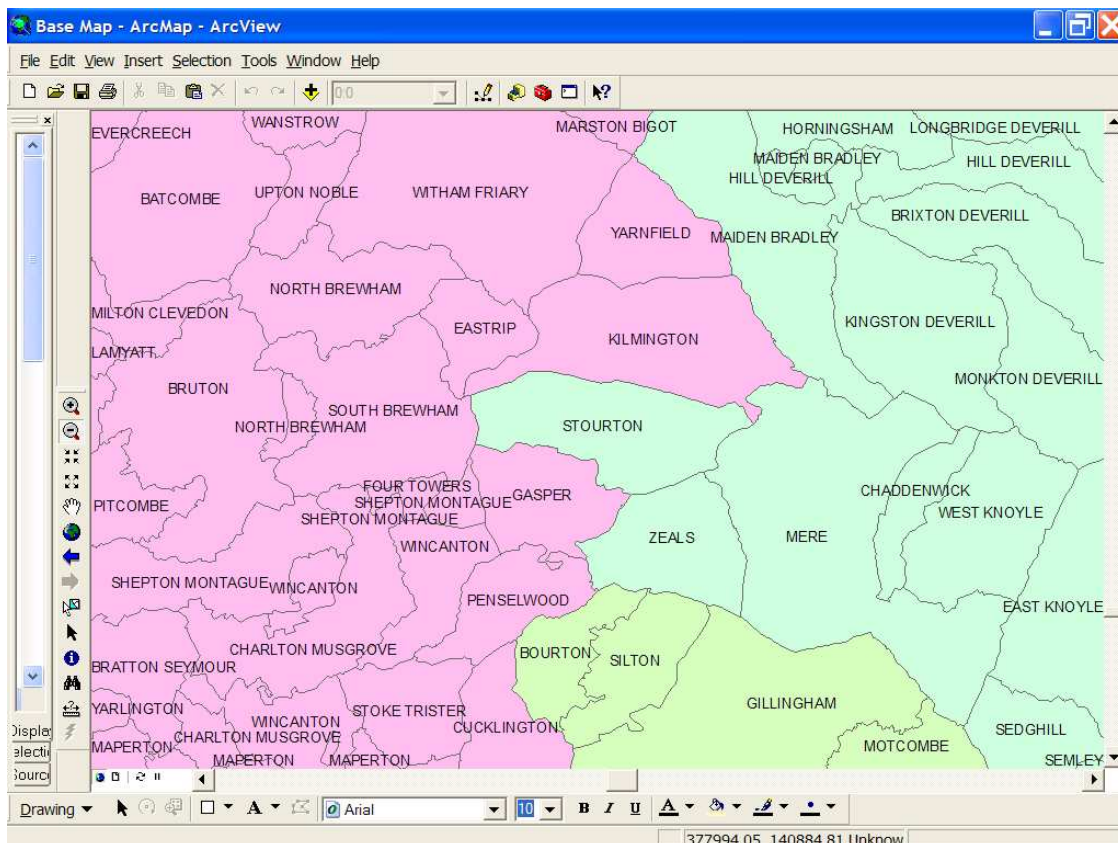
Figure 3-6 : A sample screen from ArcMap showing parish and county boundaries

In the sample shown at Figure 3-6, the three counties are coloured differently, with Somerset in pink, Wiltshire in light green and Dorset in darker green. The non-contiguous nature of some Somerset parishes can be seen. For example, both Shepton Montague and Wincanton appear in three places. These boundaries were regularised in 1895.

3.5.5 Excel

Most of the statistical calculations undertaken for this project were produced by exporting the data from TMG and importing them into an Excel spreadsheet. For example, details of birth and marriage of people married in Stourton and Kilmington were exported to Excel, along with their individual information on consanguinity and religion. These data were then analysed in Excel and relationships between consanguinity and religion were identified.

Excel generated all of the plots in this project, enabling the present researcher to manipulate the data into different visual formats to determine which were the most informative.

3.5.6 Statistical Analysis

The data analysis packages Stata v.10 and R were used for statistical analysis. Chi-squared tests were used to compare distributional outcomes between populations and Fisher's Exact Test was used when expected cell counts were less than 5.

One-sample t tests were used in some instances to compare results from the research area with those obtained for England as a whole. Binomial tests were used to compare observed proportions against an expected proportion. ANOVA tests were used to test the equality of means across more than two populations and Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to confirm the robustness of conclusions. In each case in this thesis, the type of statistical test is stated.

P-values less than 0.05 were considered to be statistically significant.

3.6   Conclusions

The technique of multi-source parish reconstitution is time-consuming and at times laborious, but it provides unique information on the lifetime events of a real population.

Due to the intensive nature of the work, only small regions can be covered by a single researcher, so one question is how far those results can be extrapolated to all of England, and over what time frame.

The wide array of original sources used to reconstitute the families of the parishes studied in this project means that no single group of married people was significantly over-represented or under-represented. This in turn provides greater confidence that the results are truly representative of this region at this time.

4 Marriage Rate and Age

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the basic demographic parameters of the research population with respect to marriage patterns. It addresses the questions of what proportion of the population married, and at what age, and how the marriage rate and age were influenced by religious affiliation and social class. It also briefly examines the remarriage rate, and the age gap between spouses. It attempts to determine the position of the parishes of Stourton and Kilmington in the wider context of English historical demography, before later chapters delve into the less-explored areas of geographical mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy, with respect to marriage patterns.

Age at first marriage and marriage rate are factors that affect not only family formation but the local and national economy, with unmarried women contributing to the labour force, and therefore earning and spending an income. Hajnal (1965) drew attention to what he termed 'European Marriage Patterns' when he demonstrated that Western Europe had features of marriage patterns that were unique amongst world societies. These included delayed marriage for both men and women, a high number of people remaining permanently unmarried, a relatively small age difference between husband and wife, the prevalence of nuclear family residence and the presence of some couples in which the wife was older than husband. He linked these patterns with the rise of Protestantism and capitalism in the West from the 16th century onwards (Hajnal 1965). Goody accepted some points of the argument but provided many counter-examples of Western European societies that refuted Hajnal's views (Goody 1983:8). How Western Europe's marriage patterns compare to the rest of the world is not considered in this chapter. Rather, the marriage

patterns of Kilmington and Stourton in the period 1754-1914 are analysed, and compared to the rest of England in that period.

There were 1,244 marriages in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914. The number of total marriages in each whole decade is shown at Figure 4-1.
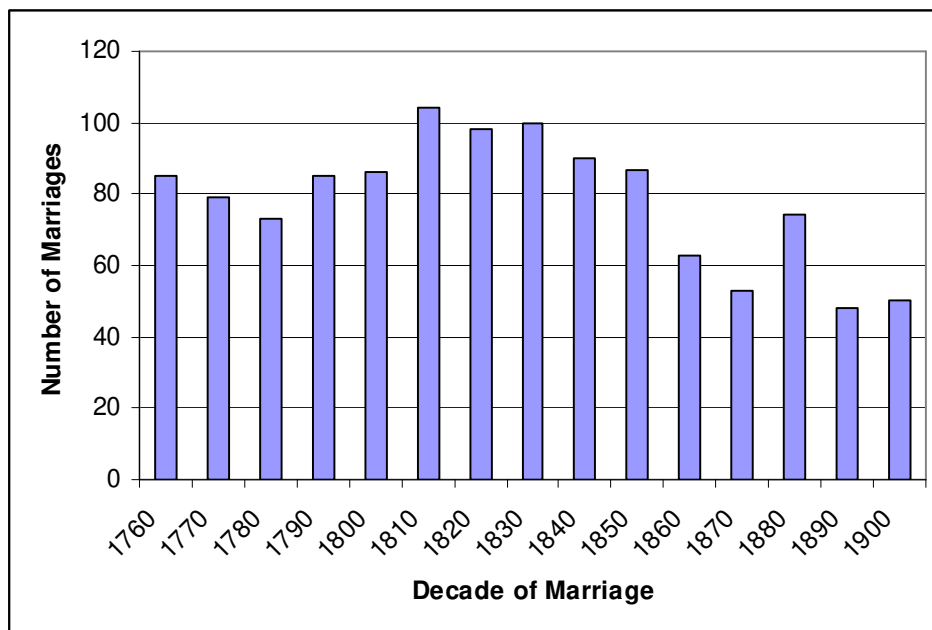
Figure 4-1 : Number of marriages in Stourton and Kilmington

Figure 4-1 shows that the number of marriages in the research area was broadly commensurate with the population changes noted in Figures 2-9 and 2-10. There was a decline in the number of marriages in the second half of the 19th century, although it was not steady. Changes in marriage rate and age over time will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2 Proportion Ever Married

4.2.1 People Born in the Research Area

One view of the marriage rate is to look at all people born in the parishes in question and calculate the proportions that were ever married and never married. Wrigley et al (1997) stated that it was not possible to determine an accurate 'ever married' rate from their data because the Cambridge reconstitutions project only looked at events that occurred within a single parish, and then the data were aggregated over 26 non-contiguous parishes. Since marriages could occur outside the parish in which an individual was born, they could not expect to identify all marriages of all people born in a given parish (Wrigley et al. 1997:171). By contrast, this project used a very wide array of data sources (Section 3.4) and was able to track the life experiences of people in a variety of subsets of the population. Although the starting point was people who were born, married or lived in the research area, they did not have to remain resident within the same parish to be included in the various analyses. There is a wider scope for capturing all marriages in this project than in single-source single-parish reconstitutions, but it is not claimed that every possible marriage of every person born in the parish was identified.

How many people in Stourton and Kilmington reached 50 years of age unmarried?

Table 4-1 : People born in research area 1754-1914 aged 50+ years, by marital state

	Males		Females	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**
Ever Married	384	91.0	373	80.2
Never Married	38	9.0	92	19.8
Total	**422**		**465**	

$\chi^2 = 20.55$, d.f. = 1, p<0.001

Table 4-1 shows that the proportion of women who remained permanently unmarried was more than twice that of men. How this compares to England as a whole is discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 People Living in the Research Area

Another view of the data is to examine the people who lived in the research area at a stated time, but not limit it to those who were born there. This enables comparisons with other studies that used census data. Figure 4-2 shows the percentage of all people aged 50 or more years who were present on the applicable census night in the research area who were never married[42]. The census questions from 1851 onwards explicitly asked about each individual's marriage status. For the earlier censuses, this was determined during reconstitution. Of individuals aged 50 years or more on census night in 1821 and 1841, fewer than 2% of men and 3% of women had a marital state unknown to the present author.
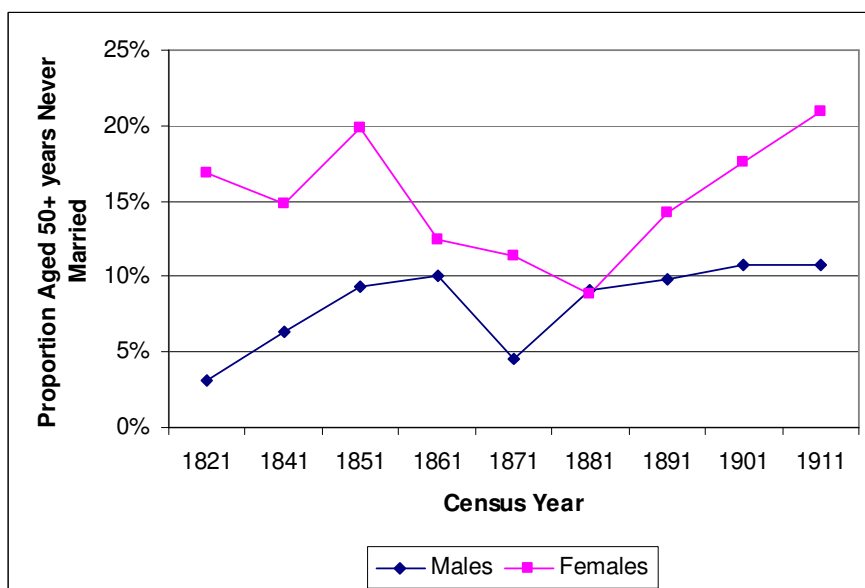
Figure 4-2 : Stourton and Kilmington residents aged 50+ years, never married

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[42] 1821 figures are for Stourton only as this census has not survived for Kilmington. The 1831 census for Stourton only named heads of households, which introduced a bias towards ever married people, so results for 1831 are not shown at Figure 4-1.

Figure 4-2 shows that women who lived in the research area were more likely to reach the age of 50 years unmarried than men, with the single exception of the census year 1881. For men, with the exception of 1821, the proportion of those never married hovered between about 5 and 10 percent throughout the research period. For women there was much more variability, from a low of 8.8% in 1881 to a high of 21.0% in 1911.

How does this compare with the rest of England? Previous studies of the marriage rate have used the proportion of those aged 45-54 years enumerated on census night. Since marital status was only explicitly stated for each individual from the 1851 census onwards, the results are nationally available only from that year.

Table 4-2 : People aged 45-54 years, never married, 1851-1911: England (%)

	Males		Females	
	England & Wales	Stourton & Kilmington	England & Wales	Stourton & Kilmington
1851	11.4	8.7	12.4	16.4
1861	10.4	12.2	12.1	8.5
1871	9.6	4.5	12.2	7.3
1881	9.5	5.8	12.1	12.5
1891	9.9	9.7	12.5	23.1
1901	10.9	8.3	13.8	18.2
1911	11.9	15.4	16.0	22.7

England &Wales Source: (Wrigley and Schofield 1981:437) table 10.4,
data extracted from Registrar-General's Reports for the appropriate years.
Raw data for Stourton & Kilmington is at Table B-1 in Appendix B.
*Exact binomial tests on each sex and year indicated no statistical difference
between England & Wales on the one hand and Stourton & Kilmington on the other*

Table 4-2 shows the percentage of never married men and women aged 45-54 years who were enumerated on each of the census nights between 1851 and 1911. With the exception

on 1861, there were lower proportions of unmarried men in this age group in Stourton and Kilmington than there were in England and Wales as a whole. On the other hand, with the exceptions of 1861 and 1871, there were higher proportions of unmarried women aged 45-54 years in Stourton and Kilmington than there were nationally. Table 4-1 showed the proportion of people born in Stourton and Kilmington who reached 50 years of age unmarried, although they did not necessarily have to live in either of the parishes. Although Tables 4-1 and 4-2 are not directly comparable because they use different categories and the test results for table 4-2 are not statistically significant. Nevertheless, there is a pattern of women being more likely to die unmarried in Stourton and Kilmington than the rest of England and Wales, and men being less likely to do so.

One possible reason for the differences between the figures for this research area and that for England and Wales could be that women who never married, or who were likely to never marry, may have stayed in their parish of birth in higher proportions than women who married, or were likely to marry. This raises the question of whether more unmarried women were born in the parish in which they were enumerated than married women.

A previous study categorised people who were aged 45-54 years at the time of the 1851 census into those who were born in the parish in which they were enumerated (locally-born) and those born elsewhere (migrant) (Wrigley 1994). How did Stourton and Kilmington compare?

Table 4-3 : Never married at age 45-54 in 1851 census, by birthplace (%)

Place of Birth	Males		Females	
	England & Wales	Stourton & Kilmington	England & Wales	Stourton & Kilmington
Locally-born	11.2	7.4	15.6	29.6
Migrant	9.5	9.5	9.3	8.9

Source of England & Wales figures: Wrigley (1994:93)

Table 4-3 shows that on the night of the 1851 census, 29.6% of the locally-born women in Stourton and Kilmington who were aged 45-54 years were unmarried, whereas only 8.9% of the migrant women of this age were unmarried. For England and Wales the figures were 15.6% and 9.3%, also demonstrating a large difference between locally-born and migrant women. Women who remained in their parish of birth were less likely to marry. This could explain the differences between the 'never married' rates for the research area and England and Wales as whole (Table 4-2). Since few people moved into the research area, but many moved out during the 19th century (Section 2.6), the higher proportion of locally-born women in Stourton and Kilmington contributed to the higher rates of women remaining permanently unmarried in those parishes, compared to England and Wales as a whole.

For men in England and Wales there was very little difference between those locally-born and migrants, with the rates being 11.2% and 9.5% respectively. For Stourton and Kilmington, there was a difference in the opposite direction, but due to the small sample size (see Table B-1 in Appendix B), little emphasis can be placed on this. Suffice it to say that the large differences demonstrated between local and migrant women were not duplicated amongst men in Stourton and Kilmington.

The difference between the national level of those remaining permanently unmarried on the one hand and that for Stourton and Kilmington on the other (Table 4-2) also demonstrates the regional variation of marriage rate in England and Wales. A previous study has shown that in the 1861 census high proportions of men and women were unmarried in agricultural areas of northern England and Wales, whereas there were low proportions unmarried in rural areas of East Anglia and the East Midlands (Anderson 1976:59). Within each region there was variability between the sexes (Anderson 1976:59). Even in 1951 there were significant regional variations: only 5.2% of men aged 50-54 years living in West Yorkshire were unmarried compared to 11.0% in Wales (Registrar-General 1951:7-10).

Civil registration figures show the same regional variability as the census figures. The average annual marriage rate per 1,000 unmarried men aged 20-46 years in 1876-1885 varied from 154 per 1,000 eligible men in Bedfordshire to 80 per 1,000 in Herefordshire (Ogle 1890:267). The current research area is near the middle of this range, with rates of 111 for Wiltshire and 127 and 106 for the adjacent counties of Somerset and Dorset respectively (Ogle 1890:267).

In Germany the proportion ever married also varied widely by region, as each region had its own legal restrictions on marriage. As marriage laws were relaxed in the 1860s and 1870s the regions with the most restrictive laws saw an increase in proportion ever married. By the 1880s, the situation had stabilised. In 1885, for the German Reich as a whole, 86% of both men and women in the age group 35-39 years were ever married (Knodel 1966:288). Although both Germany and England showed significant regional variation in proportion

ever married, the English experience of differential marriage rates by sex was not reflected in the German experience.

4.2.3 Economic Status

Several economic theories have been suggested for the variation in proportion married over time. The Registrar-General of Births, Deaths and Marriages kept a careful record of the price of wheat, meat and potatoes during the period 1837-1870 and concluded that the marriage rate amongst the 'lower classes' was directly affected by the price of wheat (Registrar-General 1871:viii). He also correlated the rise and fall of food prices with contemporary events such as war, pestilence and famine, and hence with the marriage rate (Registrar-General 1871:viii). Another measure of national prosperity was the value of British exports, and this was found to vary directly with the marriage rate (Ogle 1890). An even closer (but inverse) correlation was found between the marriage rate and the proportion of men unemployed in the period 1867-1888 (Ogle 1890). The connection between economics and marriage rate is considered to be related to the establishment of a new household, which typically followed marriage in England. A new husband would be expected to have sufficient capital to start a new household and purchase certain essential items such as furniture, bedding, kitchenware and domestic livestock (Wrigley et al. 1997:123). Since money needed to be earned and saved in order to establish the new household, good economic times put money in the pockets of potential husbands who could then afford to marry. Conversely, poor economic conditions were associated with a reduced marriage rate. However, other studies have suggested that the link between economic prosperity and the marriage rate may not have operated at all times in British history. From about the 1730s at least until the 1850s, real wages varied proportionately with the

percentage of the population who never married (Hinde 2003:190). In this period, good times meant fewer marriages, not more.

Using county-level census data centred on 1881, Ogle suggested that the crucial determinant of the rate of marriage was the availability of employment for young women, rather than young men (Ogle 1890). On the other hand, more recent analysis using data from the 1861 census at the registration district level[43] indicated that better predictors of marriage rates were the changes in agricultural relations of production (the change from small farms with live-in farm servants to large farms employing day labourers) and the proportion of women employed in domestic service (Anderson 1976:77).

Nineteenth century historians assumed that urban areas had higher marriage rates than rural ones, and that areas which were predominantly agricultural had lower marriage rates than those which were not. Analysis of registration district level data from the 1861 census showed that neither of these assumptions were strictly correct and that where correlations existed, they were weak (Anderson 1976:60). Although economics affected the marriage rate, it was not a simple association.

The following sections describe some aspects of people who were more likely to remain permanently unmarried in Stourton and Kilmington.

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[43] England was divided into 623 registration districts. As these were much smaller units than the 41 counties, analysis at the registration district level allowed more refined and geographically precise studies of the census data than county-level analyses.

4.2.4 Illegitimacy

One factor associated with a person's probability of marrying was being the parent of an illegitimate child. Was there a difference between the ever married and never married groups in the proportion who were the parents of illegitimate children?

Table 4-4 : Marital outcomes of females born in research area 1754-1914 by illegitimate repropductive experience

	Never Married		Ever Married	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**
Mother of Illegitimate Child	28	30.4	54	14.5
Not Mother of Illegitimate Child	64	69.6	319	85.5
Total	**92**	**100**	**373**	**100**

$$\chi^2 = 12.93, \; d.f. = 1, \; p<0.001$$

Table 4-4 shows that 30.4% of the women who were born in the research area and who remained permanently unmarried were the mothers of illegitimate children, compared to 14.5% of married women. So a higher proportion of permanently unmarried women were the mothers of illegitimate children than were married women. However, this is not simply a matter of cause and effect, since permanently unmarried women were 'at risk' of producing an illegimate child for a longer period (i.e. their entire lives) than married women. The marriage outcomes for mothers of illegitimate children, as well as definitions of illegitimacy, are examined in detail in Chapter 7.

There was no such association amongst the permanently unmarried men of Stourton and Kilmington. Of the 38 men who reached the age of 50 years unmarried and were born in the research area in the period 1754-1914, not one was identified in this project as the father of

an illegitimate child. By contrast, of the 384 married men born in the research area in this period, 23 (or 6.0%) had fathered illegitimate children. This difference in the marital outcomes of men and women who were parents of illegitimate children is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

4.2.5 Religion

Was the marriage rate related to the religious affiliation of the individuals? This section will consider only people who were born in Stourton, since the Catholic population of the research area was almost exclusively confined to Stourton, with only one Catholic family living in Kilmington throughout the research period, and they had moved there from Stourton. Table 4-5 shows the proportion of married and unmarried people born in Stourton by the religion into which they were baptised as infants. In this case, all the Protestants were Anglicans.

Table 4-5 : Religion of people born in Stourton 1754-1914 who reached 50 years of age, by marital status

Religion	Ever Married		Never Married	
	n	%	n	%
Protestant	345	81.9	55	82.1
Catholic	76	18.0	12	17.9
Total	421	100	67	100

$\chi^2 = 0.001$, d.f. =1, p=0.975

Table 4-5 shows that the Catholics represented about 18% of the people born in Stourton who reached 50 years of age, with no statistically significant difference in marriage rate between Catholics and Protestants.

Hajnal (1965) and Goody (1983) linked their explanations of European marriage patterns with the rise of Protestantism in Western Europe. Other authors have suggested that there is a correlation between Catholicism and the proportion of the population never married, at least in Europe. In a study of German marriage patterns in the 19th century, there was a strong association between the numbers of Catholics in a given district and the proportion of men and women aged 45-49 years who were unmarried (Knodel and Mayne 1976:139). In France in the 19th and 20th centuries, there was an association between proportions of permanently unmarried individuals of both sexes and the proportion of Catholics in the département (Watkins 1980:129-134). However, in both these studies, the association was not uniform throughout the entire district, but varied within each political division. Nor was there any attempt made to identify Catholic or Protestant individuals and determine their respective marital states.

In Stourton it would appear that there was no association between Catholicism and permanent celibacy.

4.2.6 Disability

Were some of the people who remained unmarried disabled in some way? It is difficult to quantify the level of disability in rural communities like Stourton and Kilmington, where all but the most severely disabled would be expected to work at some form of manual labour, and living at home well into adulthood was the norm (Laslett and Wall 1972). From 1851, people enumerated in the census were categorised as deaf, dumb, blind, an imbecile, an idiot or a lunatic (Lumas 1997:8). In addition, some enumerators chose to include additional details of disability. Since these details were not recorded in the pre-census

period, only people born in the 19th century, and hence lived into the census period, were examined in this section.

Of the 49 permanently unmarried women in Stourton and Kilmington who were born in the 19th century and lived to 50 or more years, four (or 8%) had a disability described in the census. Two were simply described as 'invalid', one was described as a 'lunatic' and one was reported at age 50 as having had 'cancer for 20 years'.

By contrast, of the 193 women who were born in the research area in the 19th century, lived to 50 or more years and were married at some point in their lives, six (or 3%) were listed as having a disability. They were described in census records as 'blind', 'deaf', 'infirm', 'feeble-minded', 'paralysed for 16 years' (i.e. long after she was married) and 'had scrofula[44] for 38 years' (i.e. before her marriage). So the disabled appear to have been more highly represented in the never married group than the ever married group. However, the sample is small and the result is not statistically significant[45].

Of the 26 permanently unmarried men who were born in the research area in the 19th century and reached the age of 50 years, two (or 7%) were described as having a disability. One was listed as blind and died in the Union Workhouse[46] at Mere. The other was described as 'deaf and dumb since birth'. Of the 212 married men, three (or 1%) were listed as having a disability. Two were listed as insane and died in the county insane asylum in Devizes, decades after their marriages and one was listed as deaf, presumably from army

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[44] Scrofula is tuberculosis of the lymph nodes of the neck

[45] Fisher's Exact Test: p=0.121

[46] The Union Workhouse was established in 1834 and was the place to which paupers who were unable to support themselves were sent by the Overseers of the Poor.

service. As for the permanently unmarried women, the sample is small and the result is not statistically significant[47].

Apparently, the level of reported disability was lower for men than for women. However, the categorisation of disability in the census records was not independently and uniformly assessed. It is possible that men and women may have been differentially categorised as disabled by themselves or their community. It is also possible that married and unmarried people may have been categorised differently.

Despite these reservations, it would appear that higher proportions of the never married group were disabled than the ever married group, for both men and women.

4.2.7 Homosexuality

Was homosexuality an impediment to marriage? Are we able to assess that in Stourton and Kilmington?

In the wide variety of documents consulted in this project, there was no mention of homosexuality in any of them, nor was there any indication from other evidence. There were no situations where two men lived together unless they were related. Nor were there any cases of men leaving possessions in their wills to male friends. There were no prosecutions for homosexual crimes reported in the local newspapers for inhabitants of the parishes of Stourton or Kilmington. Neither parish was mentioned in a study of prosecutions for homosexual crimes in Somerset in the period 1740-1850 (Morris 1988).

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[47] Fisher's Exact Test: p=0.093

However, for most of the research period, it is unlikely that being homosexual would have precluded a man from marrying. Until the 1870s there was no conception of 'homosexual' as a type of person[48] – homosexual acts were something that people did, rather than who they were, in a similar way to other sexual aberrations such as bestiality (Trumbach 2007:77). In rural areas, a man could have sex with another man and not lose his masculinity, much like sailors at sea (Trumbach 2007:93). The public condemnation of homosexuality was a phenomenon of the cities, rather than the countryside (Cocks 2003), so to a certain extent the reporting of it may have been limited by the fact that the research area was entirely rural.

Of the men who were convicted of sodomy in England in the period 1800-1914, none appeared to be in a domestic relationship with each other and most of them were married (Cocks 2007). Since most men of whatever sexual orientation married at some point in their lives, they would not be distinguishable from heterosexual men in the data used in this project. Presumably, some of the men in this project who remained permanently unmarried would have been homosexual, as would some of the married men, but with the data available, it is impossible to confirm.

Female homosexuality is even more difficult to identify in the research area and time period, partly because the range of acceptable domestic arrangements was wider for women. There were several cases of women in Stourton and Kilmington, particularly elderly ones, living together, with one being described as the Head of the Household and

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[48] The word 'homosexual' was invented in German in 1869 and moved into English by 1891 (Cocks 2007:135)

the other as a Boarder[49]. Middle-class unmarried women sometimes described their occupation as 'Lady's Companion' and occasionally 'Companion' was seen as the relationship to the Head of the Household on a census form, even though this was not strictly permitted. At least amongst the middle and upper classes in the 18th century, the mistress-companion relationship was often equated with that of husband and wife (Rizzo 1994).

In this project, there were several cases of unmarried women leaving their possessions to each other in wills. Living together and leaving possessions to each other would not have been publicly associated with female homosexuality. Since lesbianism was never a crime in England, there were no court proceedings to examine. Many homosexual men married women and the same applied to homosexual women marrying men (Cocks 2007). Of the very few unambiguously lesbian relationships noted in England in the 18th century, almost all involved women who were married to men (Hunt 1999).

So it would be expected that some proportion of the married and unmarried women in the research area would have been lesbians, but like their male counterparts, this is impossible to confirm with the data available for this project. In any case, homosexuality was unlikely to be an impediment to marriage at this time.

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[49] The terms that were permitted to be used in the census were strictly limited. All people who were not related to the Head of the Household had to be described as Servant, Visitor, Lodger or Boarder. A Lodger was provided a room by the Head of the Household whereas a Boarder was provided with a room and meals.

4.3 Remarriage Rate

Having considered the marriage rate in the research area, this section addresses the question of how frequently men and women remarried, and what affect the age of the individual had on their remarriage prospects.

4.3.1 Divorce

From 1698 until 1857 an Act of Parliament was required for each divorce (Howard 1904:II,102-104). The average cost for a divorce was around £1,000 (Howard 1904:II,108) which was more than an average Wiltshire labourer could earn in a lifetime (Molland 1959:81). So divorce was only available to the very wealthy and influential. After the Matrimonial Causes Act[50] of 1857 it was still a complicated and expensive process, not to mention socially unacceptable, and adultery was the only ground for divorce in England until 1937 (Wolfram 1987:79). So divorce remained very rare, averaging about 3 per year for all of England prior to 1857, then rising to 150 per year immediately after the introduction of the new Act (Wolfram 1987:88).

Remarriage of divorced persons was extremely rare in 19th century England and Wales. In all of England and Wales only 10 divorced persons remarried in 1861. This rose to 50 people in 1871 and 103 in 1881, out of a total of 197,290 marriages for the latter year (Registrar-General 1881:viii). In this project, none of the marriages celebrated in any of the churches or chapels in the research area were dissolved by divorce, and none of the remarriages followed the divorce of either party. The remarriage rate discussed in this section therefore only refers to those widowed.

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[50] 20 & 21 Vict. c.85

4.3.2 Widows and Widowers

This section examines the remarriage rate of married people whose spouses died, and addresses the questions of whether the remarriage rate was influenced by sex and/or age. Two age groups are considered: less than 50 years when widowed and 50 or more years of age when widowed. The first group was reproductively significant in that it was possible for them to bear children in the subsequent marriage. The second group are not considered likely to produce any significant number of children. It is recognised that men could father children at a much greater age than women could give birth, but for the purposes of this project, both sexes are divided at the same age for this analysis. The population for this calculation consisted of people who were married in Stourton or Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, and for whom death dates were known for both partners in the marriage. These marriages were selected because it was considered that the individuals had been successfully traced until the ends of their lives, and therefore there was a high degree of confidence that all subsequent marriages had been included. For the couple to be included in the analysis, it was not necessary that death and/or remarriage occurred within the original parish of marriage, only that they could be identified. An analysis of all marriages in this period, rather than the subset for whom both death dates were known, would have introduced a bias towards those who had remained within the research area. That is, the sample would be unrepresentative, in that it would have over-represented the less mobile fraction of the population.

A total of 653 marriages met these criteria. They were evenly spread throughout the period 1754-1850, averaging 52 qualifying marriages per decade. Thereafter, the number of

qualifying marriages declined as the year of death exceeded the range of practicably accessible death records[51]. The decade 1900-1909 had only six qualifying marriages.

It is possible that some widows who re-married were not identified, as parish registers sometimes did not include the marital status of those involved. However, where the marital conditions of the partners were not specified in the marriage records or banns, an exception was usually made for widows, who were explicitly recorded as such (Schofield and Wrigley 1981:211). Nevertheless, it is possible that a widow with a common name, such as Ann Edwards or Mary Green, may have been confused with a spinster of the same name. However, the chances of there being many cases like this are small. In the research period, banns usually gave the 'condition' of the bride and groom at marriage, and age at death was usually given at burial, assisting the researcher in identifying the correct woman. For those that lived until 1851, their age and place of birth was given in the census and this was usually sufficient to enable correct identification, even with common names.

Similarly, it is also possible that some widowers who re-married were incorrectly identified as bachelors. As men did not change their name at marriage, the risk of mis-identifying a widower as a bachelor is somewhat higher than the similar situation for women. However, due to the factors mentioned above, the numbers of misidentified widowers are likely to be negligible.

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[51] Indexes to all death registrations in England and Wales are available online at http://freebmd.org.uk for the period 1837-1935. Subsequent years, up to 2006, are available but are not centrally indexed, so they would require a quarter-by-quarter search to identify an individual death record. This would have been inordinately time-consuming.

The remarriage rate of widows and widowers was calculated for Stourton and Kilmington for the two age groups. The subsequent remarriage, where it occurred, did not have to take place in either Stourton or Kilmington.

Table 4-6 : Remarriage rate of people married in Stourton or Kilmington 1754-1914

Marital State	Widowed 16-49 years				Widowed 50+ years			
	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Did not remarry	36	28.8	76	66.1	191	91.8	201	98.0
Remarried	89	71.2	39	33.9	17	8.2	4	2.0
Total	125	100.0	115	100.0	208	100.0	205	100.0

Young males cf. young females: $\chi^2 = 33.46$, d.f. = 1, p<0.0001
Old males cf. old females: $\chi^2 = 8.28$, d.f. = 1, p=0.004
Young males cf. old males: $\chi^2 = 142.93$, d.f. = 1, p<0.0001
Young females cf. old females: $\chi^2 = 64.70$, d.f. = 1, p<0.0001

Table 4-6 shows that the remarriage rate for men aged 16-49 years was significantly higher than for women of the same age group. For people who lost their spouse before they were 50 years of age, 71.2% of men remarried but only 33.9% of women did so. In the older age group, when child-bearing and child-rearing were presumably less of a concern, the remarriage rate was more similar, although men still remarried more frequently than women. For people who lost their spouse when aged 50 years or more, 8.2% of men remarried and 2.0% of women did so.

Wrigley et al (1997:17) stated that it was not possible to calculate the remarriage rate of widows and widowers from their data since they only had information on people who were born and married in one parish, and whose spouse died in the same parish, followed by remarriage in that parish. Not surprisingly, this was not considered representative of the

common English experience of remarriage, so no attempt was made to calculate the remarriage rate. This decision is supported by the data in this project, as demonstrated in Table 4-7.

Table 4-7 : Remarriage location for widows and widowers 1754-1914

	Males		Females	
	n.	**%**	**n.**	**%**
Same Parish	60	56.6	27	62.8
Different Parish	46	43.4	16	37.2
Total	106	100.0	43	100.0

Table 4-7 shows that amongst those who remarried, 43.4% of widowers and 37.2% of widows remarried in a parish other than the one in which the first marriage took place. To have attempted to define remarriage rates from the experience of people who remained and remarried in their original parish would not have accurately reflected the marriage experience of the population.

Instead the Cambridge Group focused on remarriage interval[52] as a proxy for the remarriage rate. They reasoned that the average length of time for remarriage indicated the general desirability of the widow or widower as a potential spouse. They found that two main factors affected the remarriage interval. For women, age at widowhood was important, with younger widows taking longer to remarry than older ones. This was related to the second significant factor, which was the ages and number of dependent children. The Cambridge Group looked at the remarriage intervals of women with 0, 1, 2, and 3 or more children under the age of ten years, and found that the greater the number of dependent

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[52] The remarriage interval is the gap between the death of the spouse and the remarriage of the widow or widower.

children, the longer the remarriage interval (Wrigley et al. 1997:178). For men, there was little association between remarriage interval and either age at widowerhood or number of dependent children for men (Wrigley et al. 1997:178).

In Glasgow in 1855, 28% of widows who remarried had no living children at the time of remarriage, and 17% had never had any children. For men the figures were 25% and 13% (Drake 1981: 289). The widowers who remarried had more living children than the widows who remarried: 45% of widowers who remarried in Glasgow in 1855 had three or more living children, whereas only 21% of the widows had that many living children (Drake 1981: 289).

The evidence from English parish reconstitutions and Scottish civil registration both point to the ages and number of dependent children as important factors for women, but not for men. It would be expected that similar factors would be at work in southwest Wiltshire.

The number of widows who remarried in 1851, relative to the total number of widows, can be calculated from census data and civil registration data for that year to examine inter-county differences. For England and Wales as a whole, the rate was 109 widows remarried per 1,000 widows aged 15-44 years (Drake 1981:294). This rate ranged from a high of 176 for Staffordshire to a low of 48 for Cumberland (Drake 1981:294). The northern counties tended to have higher rates than the southern counties. For Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset the rates were 100, 88 and 79 respectively (Drake 1981:294). This places the research area roughly in the middle of the English experience of widow remarriage.

Men were not only more likely to remarry, but some individual men did so more often. Of the 2,376 people who were married in Stourton and Kilmington in 1754-1914, twelve were men who married three times and one was a man who married four times. By comparison, only six women married three times and none married four times. This trend of high-order marriages in men but not women was reflected in Scotland in 1855, when none of the widows who remarried that year had been previously married more than twice (Drake 1981:288). In Stourton and Kilmington, the men with the highest number of marriages seemed to have the least to offer their respective spouses. Eleven of the thirteen men who married three or more times were agricultural labourers; the others were a carpenter and a picture-framer. Two had fathers or brothers who had spent time in prison, one was a convicted criminal himself and one was a bigamist. Their choice of spouses seems to have been limited too. Five of the thirteen men married second or third wives who were the mothers of illegitimate children before the marriage, which is a much higher proportion than in the general population of married women (Chapter 7).

The man who married four times, Samuel Whitaker, demonstrates all these features. He was born illegitimately in Stourton in 1781 and his father was not identified. His second wife was born illegitimately and his fourth wife was the mother of illegitimate children before her marriage to Samuel Whitaker. He was an agricultural labourer with a criminal conviction, having spent two months in prison for chicken-theft. In all, he fathered eleven children by his four wives. Having poor 'prospects' did not seem to be an impediment to men from marrying three or more times.

4.4 Marriage Age

4.4.1 Age at First Marriage

After the marriage rate, the most important parameter of marriage patterns from a demographic perspective is the age at first marriage, since this is directly correlated with the fertility rate and hence with population growth. This section will quantify both the mean and median age at first marriage for the research area.

For this section, all 1,070 marriages that took place in Stourton or Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, and which were first marriages for both parties, were considered. This represents 86% of all marriages that took place in the research area at that time.

Only spouses for whom an exact birth year was known were included in the following analysis. A total of 1,030 bachelors and 1,033 spinsters had an exact year of birth known. Calculations were made on the basis of whole years: year of birth and year of marriage. No attempt was made to calculate marriage ages in terms of months or days, since most of the birth dates were known only by year (Section 3.5.2) and all the marriages had a specific known date. Subtracting birth dates accurate only to the year level from marriage dates accurate to the day level would have resulted in a downward bias, unless the assumption was made that all births took place on 30th June each year. This would have introduced unnecessary complexity without adding any accuracy. By using whole years for both birth and marriage, the calculated mean age at marriage was consistent across the population. The mean ages at first marriage for Stourton are plotted as two-period moving averages in Figure 4-3 and Kilmington is plotted at Figure 4-4.
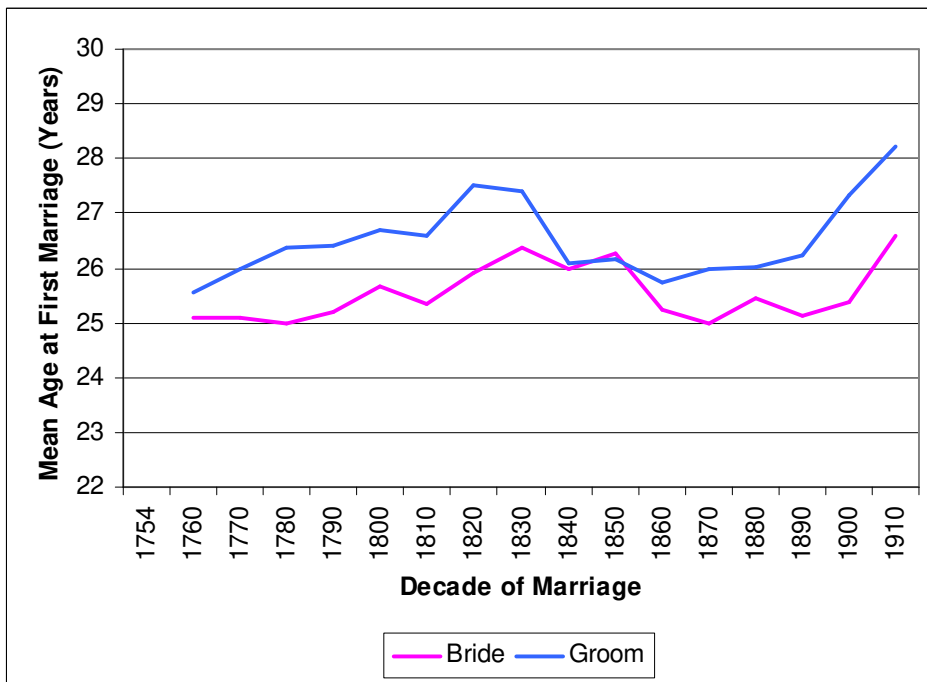
Figure 4-3 : Mean age at first marriage in Stourton 1754-1914
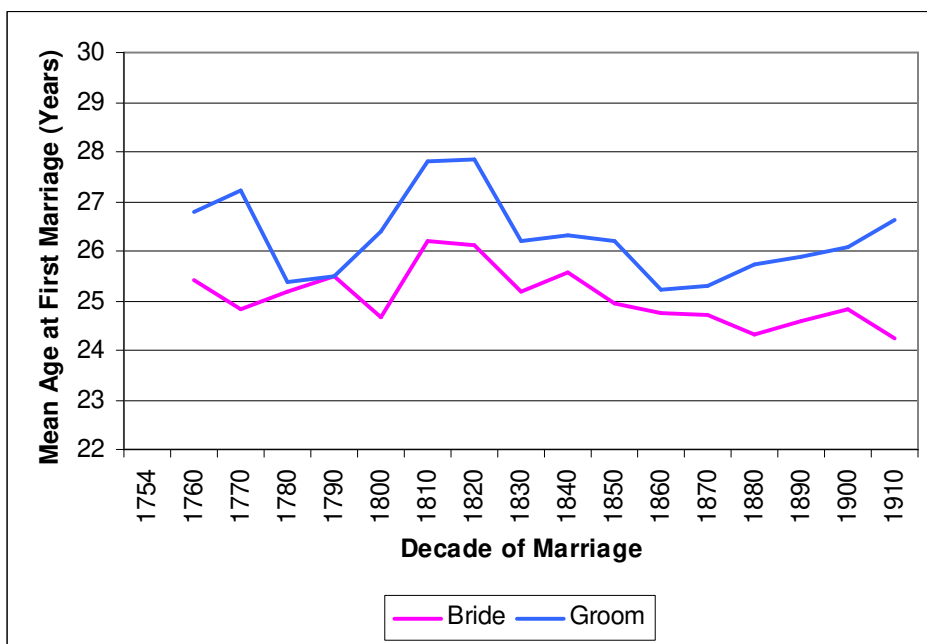
Figure 4-4 : Mean age at first marriage in Kilmington 1754-1914

Figures 4-3 and 4-4 indicate that both parishes had a higher age at first marriage for men than for women. This has been the usual pattern for England since at least 1600, with

126

grooms being older than their brides by an average of about two years, although the actual ages varied throughout the centuries (Wrigley et al. 1997:135). For each parish, the general shape of the graph for brides and grooms was similar.

Both plots show a peak in age at first marriage in the period 1810-1830, then a decline until the 1860s, followed by a rise. The mean age at first marriage can be compared to other results for England and Wales in similar time periods. The parish reconstitution studies of 26 selected non-adjacent parishes scattered throughout England only included people who were baptised and married within the same parish (Wrigley et al. 1997).

Table 4-8 : Mean age at first marriage for males: England 1750-1846

Location	Period	Other Source	Stourton	Kilmington
England[53]	1750-1774	26.0	25.9	27.4
England	1775-1799	25.6	26.6	25.7
England	1800-1824	25.3	27.1	27.7
England	1825-1837	24.8	26.1	25.9
England & Wales[54]	1845-1846	25.4	26.0	25.9

Source for England results: Wrigley et al. (1997). *Source for England and Wales results*: Reg-General (1847)

Table 4-9 : Mean age at first marriage for females: England 1750-1846

Location	Period	Other Source	Stourton	Kilmington
England	1750-1774	24.6	24.8	25.4
England	1775-1799	24.1	25.4	24.7
England	1800-1824	23.8	25.7	25.6
England	1825-1837	23.3	25.6	25.2
England & Wales	1845-1846	24.0	25.5	24.7

Source for England results: Wrigley et al. (1997). *Source for England and Wales results*: Reg-General (1847)

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[53] (Wrigley et al. 1997)
[54] (Registrar-General 1847)

Tables 4-8 and 4-9 indicate that the data produced from family reconstitutions and civil registration generally give a slightly lower mean age at first marriage than in either Stourton or Kilmington, although there were no statistically significant differences between the figures for Stourton and Kilmington on the one hand and England (or England and Wales) on the other[55].

A micro-simulation study using demographic parameters derived from early 18th century data showed that using only those people born and married in the same parish would tend to reduce the calculated mean age at first marriage. However, the author admits that in his set of parameters for the micro-simulation, he makes the explicit assumption that marriage and migration are not linked, and this is an invalid assumption (Ruggles 1992). Much female permanent migration (as opposed to temporary migration for the purposes of employment) is related to marriage. Section 4.4.2 discusses this issue further.

On the other hand, the Cambridge Group figures have been shown to be fairly consistent with the age of first marriage provided by the Registrar-General's early reports (Wrigley et al. 1997:160). Wrigley et al. argue that, although only a small percentage of marriages in the first decades of the civil registration period actually included the age of the spouses, they were not biased in any way. This may not be a true statement for all places, as the evidence from Wiltshire in the earliest years of civil registration suggests that clergy typically only recorded the age at marriage when the individual was not 'of full age'[56]. For example in Stourton, of the 81 marriages that took place in the period 1837-1855, only one

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[55] A series of two-sided t-tests were conducted for each sex, each period and each village, compared to the appropriate figure for England & Wales. The results were not statistically significant and are not reported here.

[56] 'Full Age' was 21 years, when an individual could be married without parental consent (Howard 1904:I p.466). There was no age limit to marriage with parental consent until 1928, when it was set at 16 years.

groom and five brides had a precise age recorded, and they were all below 21 years. In the adjoining parish of Penselwood, of the 46 marriages during this period, two grooms and two brides had their precise age recorded and all were under 21 years of age. In that parish, the parson did not begin recording precise ages for anyone over the age of 21 years until 1873. In the nearby parishes of Kilmington, Mere and Witham Friary, none of the parties had a precise age recorded in the same period. So whilst the parsons at Kilmington, Mere and Witham Friary were consistent in not recording precise ages, the parsons of Stourton and Penselwood sometimes recorded marital ages, but only when a party was a minor. If this trend was followed in other parts of England, the early years of the Registrar-General's reports would have had a bias towards a low mean age at marriage.

In 1871 the Registrar-General bemoaned the fact that since in a high proportion of all marriages the precise ages of the parties was not stated, it was not possible to establish a mean marriage age (Registrar-General 1871:xl). In 1851, 63% of marriages did not have the precise age of the parties listed, but ten years later it was 37% and in 1871 it was down to 29% (Registrar-General 1871:xl).

So there is evidence to support the view that the Cambridge Group's figures slightly under-stated the actual age at first marriage, but also some evidence from a slightly later period that they were reasonably accurate.
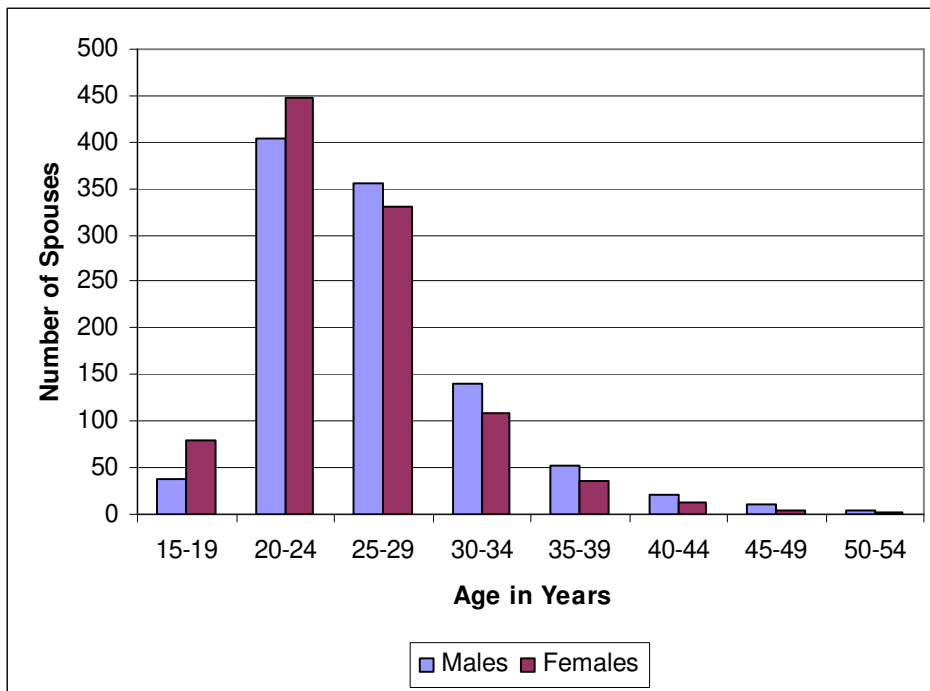
Figure 4-5: Age at first marriage in quinquennial groups: Stourton & Kilmington

Figure 4-5 plots the age at first marriage for brides and grooms in quinquennial groups. There is a long tail to the right for both sexes, but it is slightly more pronounced for males than females. Since the small number of very high ages could appreciably distort the true picture, median age at first marriage is also a useful measure (Hinde 1998:87). Median ages for Stourton and Kilmington are plotted as two-period moving averages in Figures 4-6 for males and 4-7 for females.
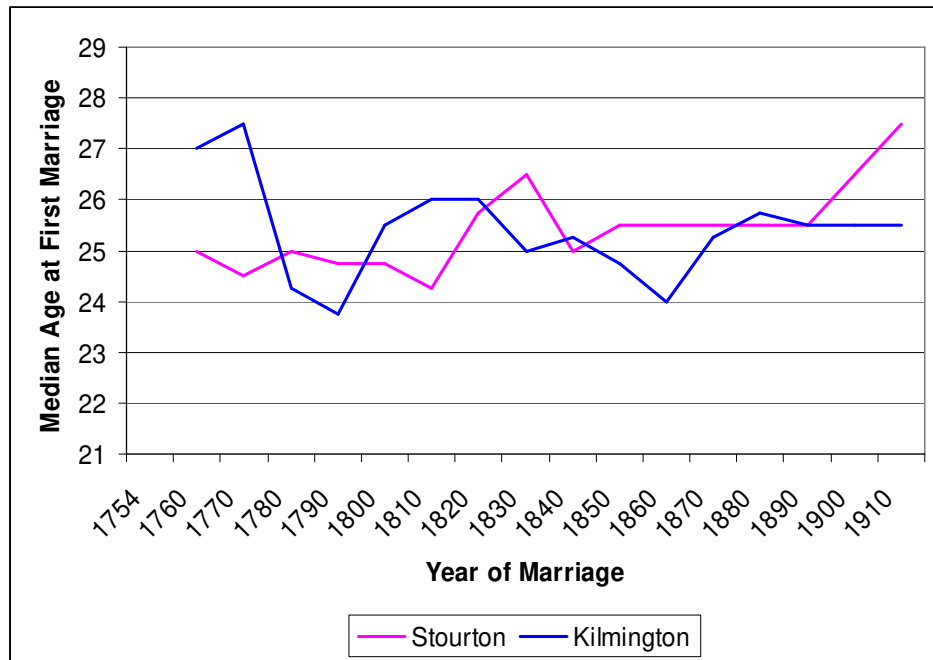
Figure 4-6 : Median age at first marriage of males 1754-1914

For men, the pattern of the median age follows the general trend of the mean age, with Kilmington having a higher age at first marriage than Stourton in the first periods but the situation being reversed for in the last two decades of the 18th century. The decline in Kilmington's mean and median age at first marriage for men in the 1780s is rapid and steep, falling by almost four years. Stourton's median age at first marriage for men rose at the beginning of the 20th century but Kilmington's remained steady.
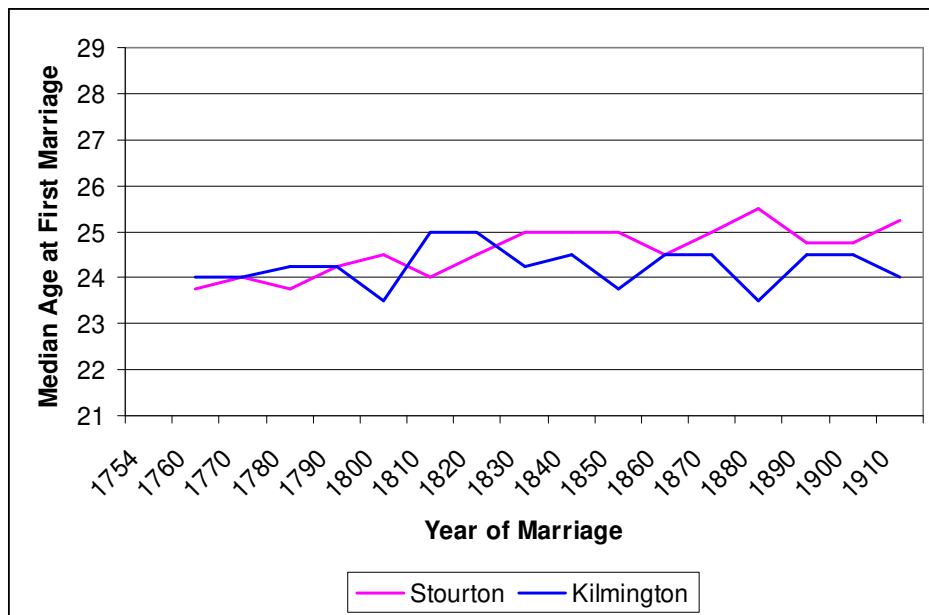
Figure 4-7 : Median age at first marriage of females 1754-1914

Figure 4-7 shows that for women, the median age at first marriage did not vary as much as that for men, being less than two years from maximum to minimum for either parish.

4.4.2 Economic Status

There were complex interrelations between economic parameters and the marriage rate (Section 4.2.3). This section asks if this was also true of age at first marriage.

The mean age at first marriage was plotted separately at Figure 4-3 for Stourton and Figure 4-4 for Kilmington. The same data is re-plotted at Figure 4-8 for grooms from both parishes and Figure 4-9 for brides from both parishes in order to compare the parishes.
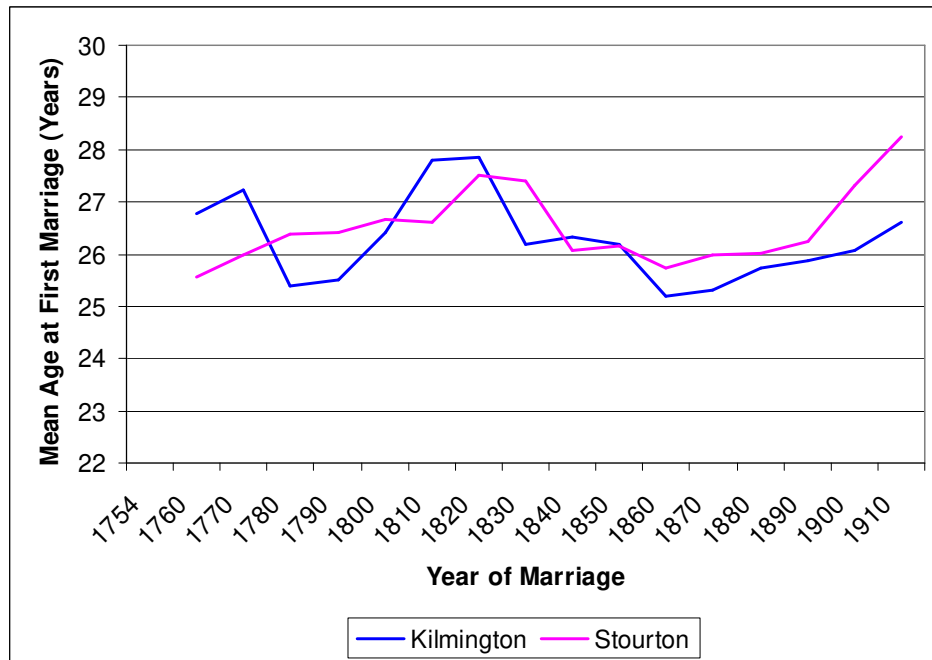
Figure 4-8 : Mean age at first marriage, grooms: 1754-1914

As Figure 4-8 shows, for most of the 160 years of observation, the age at first marriage was closely aligned between the two parishes. However, there was divergence in the second half of the 18th century, with Stourton's mean age of first marriage being initially lower than Kilmington's, then the situation being reversed.

The Hoare family acquired the entire parish of Stourton in 1717 (Section 2.3.3). The first owner, known as 'Henry the Good', was principally a banker and did not live long enough to enjoy his new Wiltshire property (Hutchings 2005:46). His son 'Henry the Magnificent' set an ambitious plan in motion to build a mansion surrounded by a magnificent Palladian garden. The period 1752-1765 was one of intense building activity in Stourton, and an enormous amount of labouring work was required to create artificial lakes and mounds, plant trees and erect numerous follies about the pleasure garden (The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty 1985; Mayes 1995). Figure 4-9 shows just one of the many follies erected at this time.

Figure 4-9: Temple of Apollo, one of the follies erected in Stourton in 1765 with a great deal of labour
Source: Cathy Day

For the closed village of Stourton this would have been an especially prosperous time and this is reflected in the lower age at first marriage in Stourton compared to Kilmington. The local labourers enjoyed a few decades of plentiful work and high wages, resulting in a lower age at first marriage for Stourton. The mean age at first marriage then increased for Stourton, but fell dramatically for Kilmington. It is difficult to see an economic cause for this decreased age at first marriage in Kilmington in the 1780s and 1790s, when that village was no more prosperous than Stourton, and perhaps less so. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the only period in which Stourton and Kilmington parish endogamy for grooms diverged significantly was in the 1770s and to a lesser extent, the 1760s (Figure B-1 in Appendix B). In these decades Kilmington experienced an influx of migrant grooms who were older than the locally-born grooms. Although the divergence may simply be stochastic variation, it would be worth further investigation into to the history of Kilmington in these decades,

including its wage labour, as well as the characteristics of its grooms, to determine whether there was an underlying cause for this divergence.

The other period when the mean age of Stourton and Kilmington grooms diverged was in the first years of the 20th century. In both Stourton and Kilmington, the age at first marriage for grooms rose, although Stourton's rose more steeply. With the decline in agricultural work available, the improvement in transportation and the relaxing of the Poor Laws, the benefits for the workers living in a closed village may have evaporated. The population of Stourton began to decline in 1881 and continued declining for a century, levelling out in 1991. On the other hand, Kilmington's decline in population was arrested in 1911 and it even grew in 1921 (Section 2.6). These changes population may indicate comparatively worsening economic prospects for Stourton. This in turn may have contributed to a higher age at first marriage in that village in the last two periods.
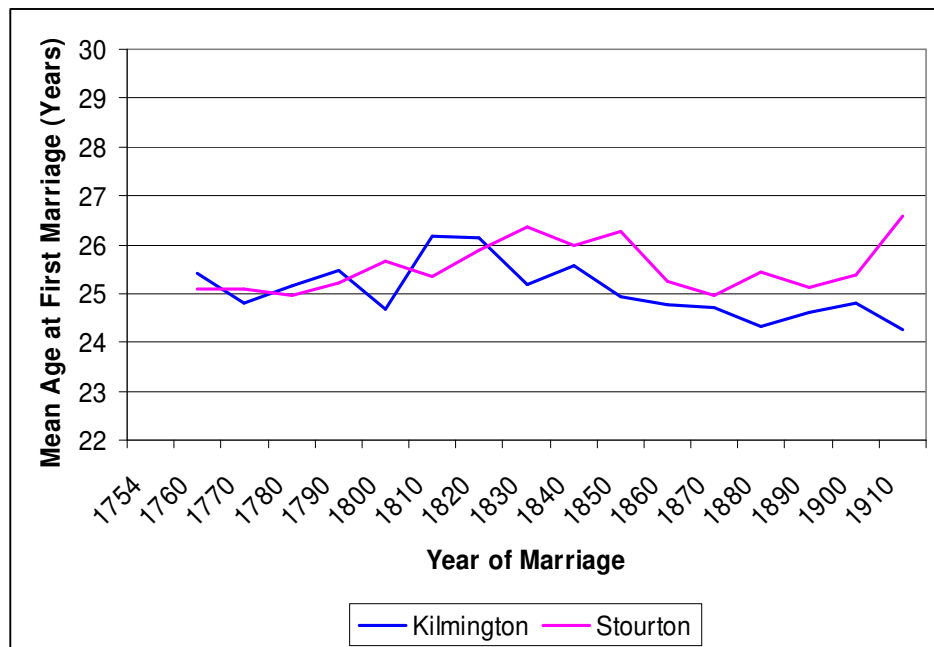
Figure 4-10 : Mean age at first marriage, brides: 1754-1914

Figure 4-10 shows that the mean age at first marriage for brides closely aligned with each other for both parishes and only diverged in the last period, 1910-1914. It would appear that brides' ages at first marriage were less affected by parish differences than the ages of grooms.

4.4.3 Religion

Section 4.2.5 demonstrated the religious affiliation influenced the marriage rate, but did this also apply to the age at first marriage? People who were married in the research area in the period 1754-1914 were categorised according to the religion into which they were born, as most conversions to Catholicism occurred at marriage, either shortly before the wedding or in the first years of the marriage. The mean age at first marriage for women who were baptised as Catholics in infancy was 24.5 years and for Protestant women it was 25.4 years. Catholic women married at a younger age, on average, than Protestant women. Part of this result is due to some Protestant women marrying for the first time at relatively late ages, which did not occur amongst Catholic women. In Stourton and Kilmington, 75% of first marriages for women occurred when the bride was aged 28 years or less. For Catholic women, 83% had married by this age. Only one Catholic woman married for the first time when aged over 35 years, whereas 46 Protestant women were married in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914 when aged over 35 years. Catholic women were more likely to remain permanently unmarried than Protestant women (Section 4.2.5). No robust conclusions can be drawn due to the small numbers involved, but the data would suggest that for Catholic women, it was early age at first marriage or no marriage at all.

The mean age at first marriage for Protestant men was 26.5 years and for Catholic men it was 26.3 years. For all men married for the first time in Stourton and Kilmington, 75% had done so by the age of 29 years, whereas 80% of Catholic men were married by that age. For men the differences between Catholics and Protestants were negligible.

4.5 Age Gap between Spouses

There were 997 marriages in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914 which were the first marriages for both parties and for which the year of birth of both parties were known. The mean age difference was 1.1 years and the median was 1.0 years. The age gap between spouses has remained virtually constant throughout at least the last 500 years of British history. The Cambridge Group reconstitutions showed a median difference of 1.5 years for the period 1750-1837 and 1.6 years for the period 1600-1729 (Wrigley et al. 1997:153).

Table 4-10 : Relative age of spouses married in Stourton and Kilmington 1754-1914

Older Groom[57]		Older Bride	
n.	**%**	**n.**	**%**
543	60.1	361	39.9

Exact binomial test p<0.001, confidence interval 0.568-0.633

Table 4-10 shows that in Stourton and Kilmington grooms were likely to be older than brides. This is consistent with previous studies. The Cambridge Group reconstitutions showed that 66% of marriages involved husbands who were older than their wives in the period 1750-1837 (Wrigley et al. 1997:153).

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[57] The Stourton and Kilmington reconstitutions calculated birthdate to a year, rather than a day, and 93 couples had the same birth year. These couples were excluded from the analysis.

4.6 Conclusions

The marriage patterns for Stourton and Kilmington were broadly consistent with those found in other studies, with a few exceptions.

Nearly everybody married at some point in their lives, although in Stourton or Kilmington there were more permanently unmarried women than the national average, particularly at the end of the 19th century. Women who did not marry often had a physical or social reason for not marrying, such as having a physical disability or having a child born out of wedlock. The same did not apply to men. However, it cannot be assumed that every woman or every man actually sought marriage (Hunt 1999).

In Stourton and Kilmington men remarried more frequently than women. This is consistent with other studies in Britain which showed that having dependent children was an impediment to marriage for a woman, whether she was a spinster with illegitimate children or a widow with dependent children from her previous marriage. Those with dependent children that did marry did so later. The same did not apply to men.

The factors influencing marriage rate such as economic status, religion and non-marital childbearing had a similar influence on the age at first marriage. The factors that reduced the marriage rate increased the age at first marriage, although this was not true for Catholicism, which was associated with a lower age at first marriage, especially for women, but had no statistically significant association with marriage rate.

The results of this project suggest that the age at first marriage in the research area was slightly higher than national averages but this was not statistically significant. The rates of

measures such as remarriage rate for widows and the total number of marriages per 1,000 unmarried men or women indicate that Wiltshire is firmly in the middle of English demographic experience, with its neighbours Somerset and Dorset not far removed from it. This adds confidence to the use of this area of England as generally representative of the national demographic experience in a rural environment.

The differences in marriage rate and age between the research area and national averages are small enough to allow other, more complex, questions about marriage patterns to be answered using this dataset. The small differences allow Stourton and Kilmington to be representative of rural southwestern English parishes in examining issues for which other comparable data is scarce or absent, including the level of consanguinity, geographical mobility across multiple generations and the links between illegitimacy, consanguinity and geographical mobility.

5 Geographical Mobility

5.1 Introduction

Migration patterns are crucial in understanding the structure of past and present populations (Jorde 1980). This chapter addresses the question of where parties to marriages in southwestern Wiltshire were born and how far they moved from their birthplace to their place of marriage. It adopts a multi-generation perspective and asks the same question about the parents and grandparents of the marriage partners. It asks how religion and economic status influenced pre-marital geographic mobility.

No attempt has been made to separate those who were simply married in the parish and had no further connection with it from couples who were a permanent part of the community. This was because community membership could be interpreted in so many ways. Some couples were married in the parish but did not live there or have children baptised there. Some married there but then went to live in another parish, usually that of the groom. Some married in the parish and stayed for a few years, moved away, but then returned years or decades later. Still others were married in adjoining parishes but spent their entire lives in Kilmington or Stourton. To simplify the definition of the study population, in this project all couples who were married in the parish were included within the calculations, regardless of their previous or subsequent experience, whereas those who were married in other parishes were excluded.

In this chapter and the next two, contemporary views on the subject of the chapter are considered first, in order to understand influences during the research period.

5.2 Contemporary Views

In England, village exogamy increased with time during the recent past (Harrison and Boyce 1972:131). This section will briefly considers the views of local people with respect to outsiders, and hence, to exogamous unions.

England had no formalised systems prescribing endogamy or exogamy. Individuals were not prohibited from, or encouraged to, marry another person based solely on membership of a group such as a clan or moiety. For the most part, marriage partners were selected from the same social class (Bramwell 1939; Leeuwen et al. 2005) and were of a similar age, but with a characteristic age asymmetry (Section 4.4). There were no explicit systematic prescriptions for preferring a spouse from one place over another. Yet oral histories tell us that ordinary people believed that 'outsiders' were unwelcome, as they poached job opportunities and potential spouses that ought properly to go to local people (Schürer 2002:207-209).

In a study of west Dorset marriage patterns in the 19th century, some parishes were preferred as sources of marriage partners over others, in ways that could not be explained by geography, population, transport infrastructure or regional locality. These preferences were ascribed to local custom and prejudices – in some cases, people from certain villages were preferred just because this had always been so (Perry 1969).

In Essex in the period 1860-1879, there was almost no spouse exchange between the two adjacent parishes of Hatfield Broad Oak and Great Hallingbury. The owners and inhabitants had been involved in disputes over the use of Hatfield Forest for centuries (Schürer 2002:225). It would seem that these ancient rivalries influenced the amount of

social contact between the parishes and ultimately led to fewer marriages between inhabitants.

In a study of marital mobility in Northamptonshire between 1600 and 1940, certain villages were avoided as sources for marriage partners due to "…local rivalries and jealousies of great age" (Peel 1942:29). Local sayings and rhymes ridiculed certain villages and their inhabitants (Peel 1942:30). No doubt these kinds of views of other villages existed throughout rural England.

A study of the village of Elmdon, Essex in the 1960s showed that village endogamy was seen as desirable. Marriage with outsiders was less desirable (Strathern 1981). Although the views of 20th century villagers could not be considered 'contemporary', they may reflect long-held beliefs in the village. Similarly, whilst undertaking fieldwork in 2007 the present author lived in Wiltshire but occasionally travelled by bus or train to Somerset to access records. On several occasions, fellow travellers warned that 'Zomerzet folk', as they were parodied, were less friendly than Wiltshire folk and would be less helpful. Whilst random conversations in the 21st century with strangers on public transport cannot be regarded as a rigorous academic method for determining community viewpoints, they do at least provide some insight into the views on outsiders of a subset of Wiltshire people. It is ironic that these views on outsiders were communicated to an Australian, who was also an outsider, by a long margin.

In none of the 19th century examples was there a strong proscription of village exogamy, only the sense that endogamy was better, or that certain places were less preferred. This is probably related to uncertainty about strangers, and people cease to be strangers when they

are encountered in daily life, such as sharing a religious affiliation (section 5.9), or becoming resident in the parish (Section 5.3).

5.3 Birthplace versus Place of Residence

In England and Wales, Anglican parish registers have been used to estimate past marital migration patterns by equating place of residence prior to marriage with place of birth (Perry 1969; Harrison and Boyce 1972). On the basis of the National Census, birthplaces and places of residence at marriage were 'usually' found to be the same, in the 19th century at least (Harrison 1995:43). However, Smith and Pain (1989) found that, when both places were known, use of place of residence at marriage as a proxy for birth place would systematically underestimate the frequency of migration. Did this apply in southwest Wiltshire?

All marriages that took place in Stourton or Kilmington in the 19th century were considered. That period was chosen since there was greater certainty about identifying birthplaces (Figure 5-1). Marriage records were categorised as indicating whether each party was from the parish of marriage (for example, they were recorded as 'of this parish' on the marriage record) and would be considered endogamous if place of residence was used as the measure. This was compared to the level of endogamy previously calculated from place of birth using multiple sources (Section 3.4). The results are shown at Table 5-1 for grooms and Table 5-2 for brides.

Table 5-1 : Parish endogamy from residence or birth: grooms 1800-1899

Parish	Source	Endogamous		Exogamous		Unknown	
		n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Stourton	Residence	289	70.3	122	29.7	0	0.0
	Birth	169	41.1	229	55.7	13	3.2
Kilmington	Residence	258	75.4	84	24.6	0	0.0
	Birth	133	38.9	191	55.8	18	3.4

Table 5-1 indicates that parish endogamy estimated from place of residence prior to marriage substantially under-estimated the level of geographic mobility for grooms. For example, for marriages in Stourton, 70.3% of grooms gave Stourton as their place of residence and/or were recorded 'of this parish' by the parish clerk, but only 41.1% were born in the parish of Stourton. If place of residence had been used instead of place of birth, the level of parish endogamy would have been inflated by over 70%. For Kilmington, the level of endogamy estimated from place of residence was almost double that calculated from place of birth.

Table 5-2 : Parish endogamy from residence or birth: brides 1800-1899

Parish	Source	Endogamous		Exogamous		Unknown	
		n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Stourton	Residence	381	92.7	29	7.1	1	0.2
	Birth	225	54.7	172	41.8	14	3.4
Kilmington	Residence	326	95.3	14	4.1	2	0.6
	Birth	184	53.8	141	41.2	17	5.0

Table 5-2 shows the same trend as Table 5-1. The level of parish endogamy estimated from pre-marital place of residence was about 75% higher than that calculated from known place

of birth. The need to identify birthplace in order to study the genetics of a region has been identified as a significant gap in knowledge (Harrison 1995:43) and this is supported by the findings in Tables 5-1 and 5-2.

5.4 Birthplace of Spouses

5.4.1 Quality of Data

A total of 1,244 marriages took place in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914 and an attempt was made to identify the birthplace of each individual involved. The success rate of identification varied by the year of marriage, as shown in Figure 5-1.
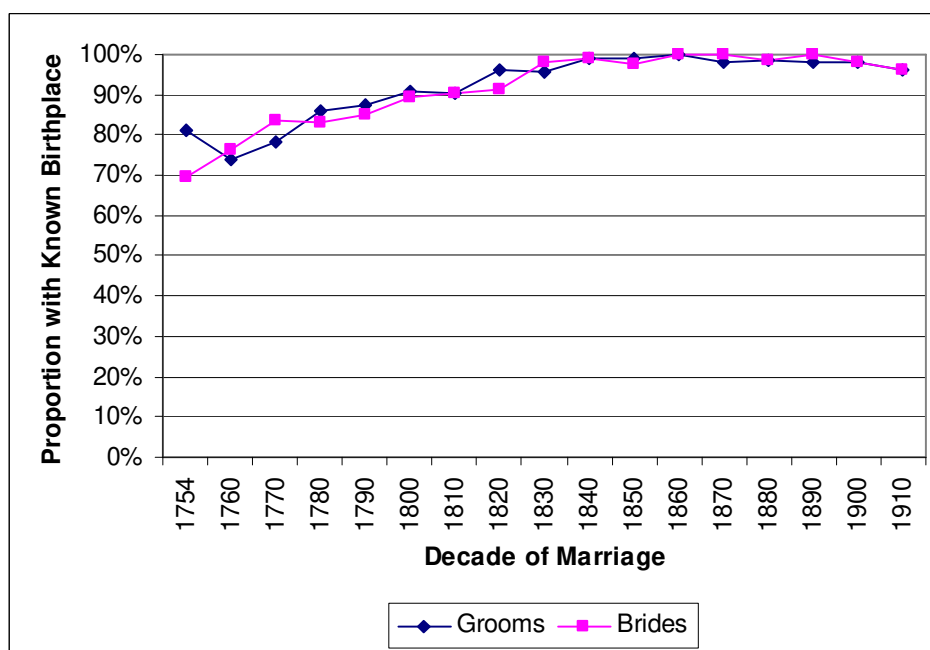
Figure 5-1 : Stourton and Kilmington brides and grooms with known birthplaces

Figure 5-1 shows that the quality of the data improved over time, as more of the people who were married lived into the census period. From 1851 onwards, the census recorded an exact place of birth (Lumas 1997:3), so if a couple could be located in a census from 1851 onwards their exact place of birth, usually down to the level of hamlet, was known. In this

146

project between 70% and 95% of birthplaces could be determined for marriages that took place between 1754 and 1830. By 1830, most of the couples were still alive in 1851, so that their birthplace could be determined even if a baptism or other record could not be located. From 1830 onwards, over 95% of the birthplaces of both bride and groom could be determined.

There was little difference in the ability to locate a birthplace for brides or grooms and so the data are very similar for each sex. This is important since a differential rate of identification of birthplace by sex might produce skewed results in later calculations. There can be a high level of confidence that there was approximately equal success in locating the birthplace of each sex throughout the period under study. In the earliest period of 1754-1759, there was a difference of 10 percentage points between birthplace identification for males and females. It should be noted, however, that the first period was truncated and consisted of only six years of observations. With fewer marriages per annum and a shorter period of observation, the numbers are smaller than in later periods and more sensitive to random variation.

There was negligible difference in the success rates in identifying birthplaces for those married in Stourton or Kilmington, and so the results for the two parishes were combined in Figure 5-1 and in subsequent analyses. Number of observations and other details for Figure 5-1 and subsequent results, as well as separate results for Stourton and Kilmington when required, are included in Appendix B.

5.4.2 Parish Endogamy

What proportion of people married in Stourton and Kilmington were born in the parish in which they married?
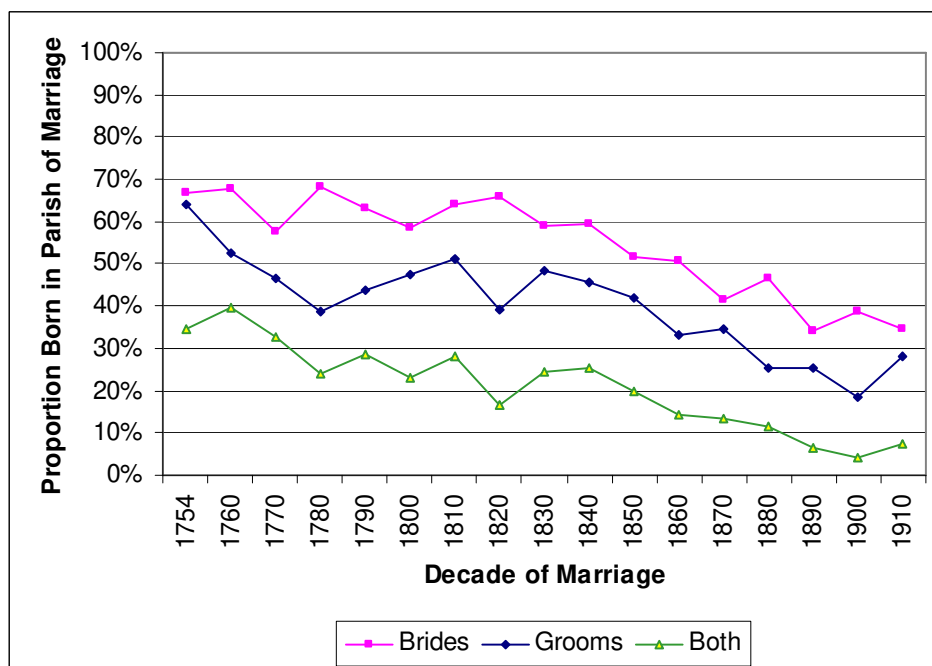
Figure 5-2 : Stourton and Kilmington grooms and brides born in the parish in which they were married

Figure 5-2 shows that for both brides and grooms, the percentage of those born in the parish in which they were married declined throughout the research period. In all decades, the proportion of brides was higher than that of grooms, which results from the widespread tradition of marriage in the bride's parish. For couples from different parishes, the traditional pattern was to marry in the bride's parish but live in the groom's parish (Harrison 1995:43). Naturally, the proportion of marriages in which both bride and groom were born in the parish in which they were married also declined, from a peak of 40% in the 1760s to a low of just 4% during the period 1900-1909.

A study of the marriage registers of 27 west Dorset parishes, which examined residence of working class people prior to marriage, showed a similar pattern of decline in intra-parochial marriages[58] from 81% in 1837-1846 to 32% in 1927-1936 (Perry 1969:124). Using Perry's periods and method on Stourton and Kilmington data[59], the comparable combined figures were 71% for 1837-1846 and 35% for 1927-1935. The proportions of marriages which were endogamous for both parties based on place of residence were similar in west Dorset and southwest Wiltshire. However the comparative figures for Stourton and Kilmington using place of birth were substantially lower, being just 25% for in the first period and 3% in the last. Again, the level of pre-marital mobility was substantially under-estimated from place of residence (Section 5.3) and the discrepancy increased as the period progressed.

In the Oxfordshire village of Charlton on Otmoor, 69% of marriages contracted in the first half of the 19th century involved both partners resident in the parish; this figure fell to 53% in the second half of that century (Küchemann et al. 1967:265). For Stourton and Kilmington the respective figures were 71% and 60%, but the birthplace results were 21% and 15%, substantially less than that produced from residence.

Other studies have shown higher levels of endogamy in the Orkney Islands (Boyce et al. 1973) and lower levels of parish endogamy in London in the 16th and 17th centuries (Finlay 1981:138). These findings are to be expected, since it involved much more effort to enter

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[58] In Perry's paper, intra-parochial marriages were defined as unions in which both parties gave their usual place of residence as the parish in which they were married. The other figures in the paper refer to unions in which one party's residence was outside the place of marriage. "Working class" was defined in the paper (Perry 1969).

[59] Although the reconstitutions only systematically extend to 1914, marriage records are transcribed and available up to 1935 for Stourton and 1931 for Kilmington.

or leave an island, and much less effort to enter or leave a neighbouring parish in heavily populated London, than the rural parishes of Wiltshire.

Other studies have shown endogamy to be more frequent in larger parishes than smaller ones (Perry 1969; Coleman 1977; Smith and Pain 1989) since the former provide a wider assortment of potential spouses. Under these circumstances, a prospective spouse does not need to travel outside their parish as frequently in order to locate a suitable partner. Both Kilmington and Stourton were somewhat smaller than the average for an English parish (Section 2.6), which was 860 persons in 1801 (Wrigley et al. 1997:20).

Was there a difference between Stourton and Kilmington? Full plots for each sex and each parish are included in Appendix B, and only one plot is shown here: a two-period moving average of the level of endogamy in Stourton and Kilmington grooms.
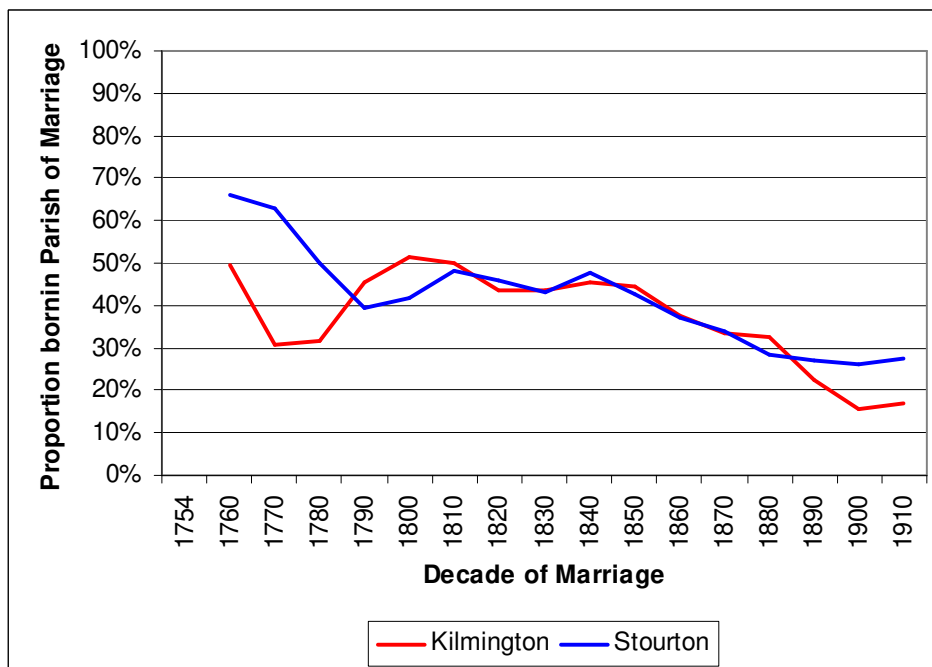
Figure 5-3: Grooms born in parish of marriage, by parish

Figure 5-3 shows that there was very close alignment between the rates of male endogamy throughout the 19th century. However, there were significant differences in the 18th century, with Stourton having a higher rate of endogamy than Kilmington. This was presumably related to the closed nature of Stourton, preventing in-migration of males. The 1760s and 1770s were also the decades when Kilmington's median age of first marriage for grooms diverged most widely from Stourton's (Figure 4-6). This was a time when Kilmington, in comparison with Stourton, apparently experienced an influx of non-locally born, older men as marriage partners. It would be worthwhile to extend the data series back at least two decades to investigate whether the differences were related to the massive building program in Stourton in the 1750s and 1760s, the passage of Hardwicke's Marriage Act in 1754, the purchase of a large part of Kilmington by Henry Hoare in 1763, or other causes.

5.4.3 Marital Distance

For those born outside the parish of marriage, the next question is 'where were they born'? For all people married in Stourton or Kilmington, the distance between the birthplace and the place of marriage was calculated. In other words, those married in Stourton had distance calculated to Stourton and those married in Kilmington had distance calculated to Kilmington. The distance was measured from the centre of the main village. No attempt was made to compensate for those born in the hamlets of Gasper in Stourton or Norton Ferris in Kilmington. The distances used represented travel by foot on roads or paths which were in use in the 18th and 19th centuries. All measurements are expressed in miles rather than kilometres, since most previous research on marital distance has used miles, and contemporary accounts also use this unit of measurement.

There were 471 grooms and 651 brides born in the parish of marriage (Section 5.4.2). A further 669 grooms and 504 brides were identified with birthplaces outside their parish of marriage. The distribution of distance to the birthplaces of exogamous spouses was then plotted for the entire research period (Figure 5-4).
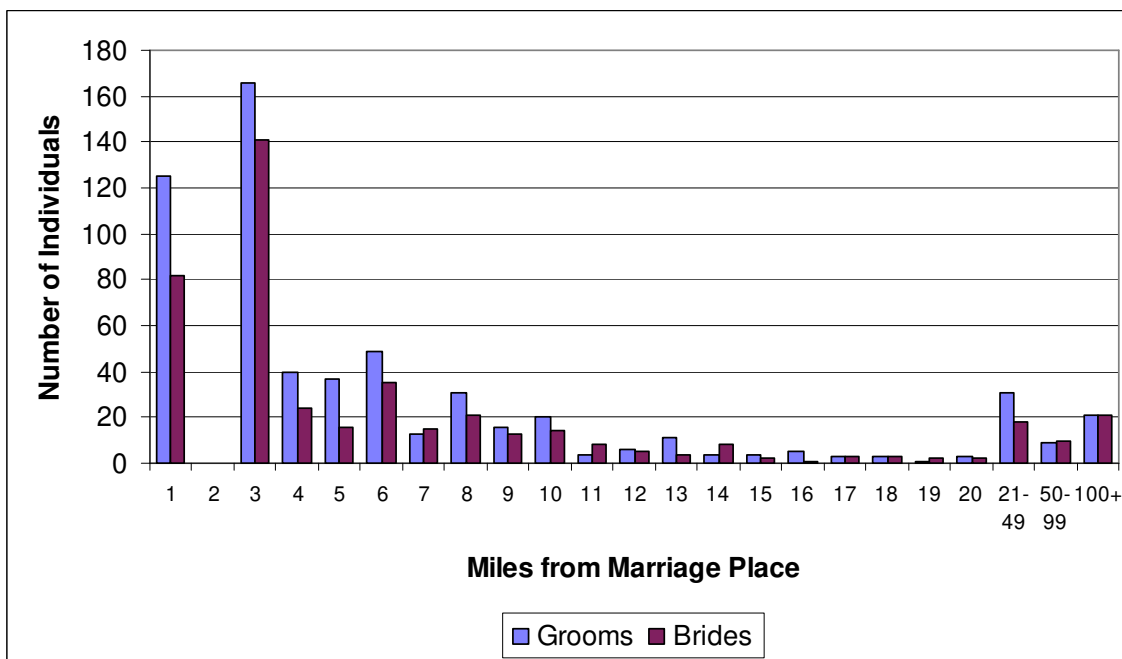
Figure 5-4 : Distance between birthplace and marriage place: exogamous marriages in Stourton and Kilmington 1754-1914

In figure 5-4, the distances are shown in whole miles, so that '1' represents a birthplace between 1 and 2 miles from the place of marriage. Birthplaces less than 1 mile from the marriage place were within the parish of marriage and were discussed in Section 5.4.2. No villages or hamlets were between 2 and 3 miles from either Stourton or Kilmington.

Figure 5-4 shows a clear break in the number of brides and grooms born 1-3 miles from the place of marriage, compared to 4 or more miles distant. There were over four times as many brides and grooms born 3-4 miles from their place of marriage as there were born 4-5 miles away. A similar result was obtained in a study of the marriage registers of 27 west

Dorset villages, with a clear break being evident at the 4-mile mark (Perry 1969:130). If the population were distributed evenly within a given area, it would be expected that there would be three times as many people in the 4-5 mile zone as there would be within the 1-2 mile zone[60], yet only one-third as many spouses came from the 4-5 mile zone as came from the 1-2 mile zone. Although the population was not distributed evenly in the research area, as demonstrated by the lack of habitations in the 2-3 mile zone, it is apparent that the larger zones, further than 4 miles from the marriage place, were contributing disproportionately smaller numbers of spouses.

The figure of 4 miles as a practical limit for most marriage partners is consistent with the transport available to the average person. At this time the most common mode of transport was on foot (Perry 1969:131; Royle 1987:8). On flat ground and unburdened by a load, the average human walks at about 3 miles an hour. Most marriage partners were born within approximately an hour's walk of their place of marriage (Figure 5-4).

The Otmoor marital distances were aggregated into 3-mile bands, and showed a similar marked decline in numbers between those born 0-6 miles away and those born 6-9 miles away (Harrison 1995:47).

Figure 5-4 also shows a noticeable discontinuity between those born less than 11 miles from the place of marriage and those born further afield. A similar result was obtained in the study of west Dorset villages using place of residence, although the second break occurred closer to 12 miles (Perry 1969:130).

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[60] Calculated from the area of a circle of given radius, less the area of the smaller concentric circle.

Distances from birthplace to marriage place for spouses was then sub-divided into five categories based on these breaks, in order to address the question of how marital distance changed over time. The categories were: those who were born within the same parish in which they married, those born outside the parish but 1-3 miles from it, those born 4-10 miles from the parish in which they were married, those born further afield within mainland Great Britain, and those born abroad.[61] The results for grooms and brides are plotted in Figures 5-5 and 5-6 respectively.
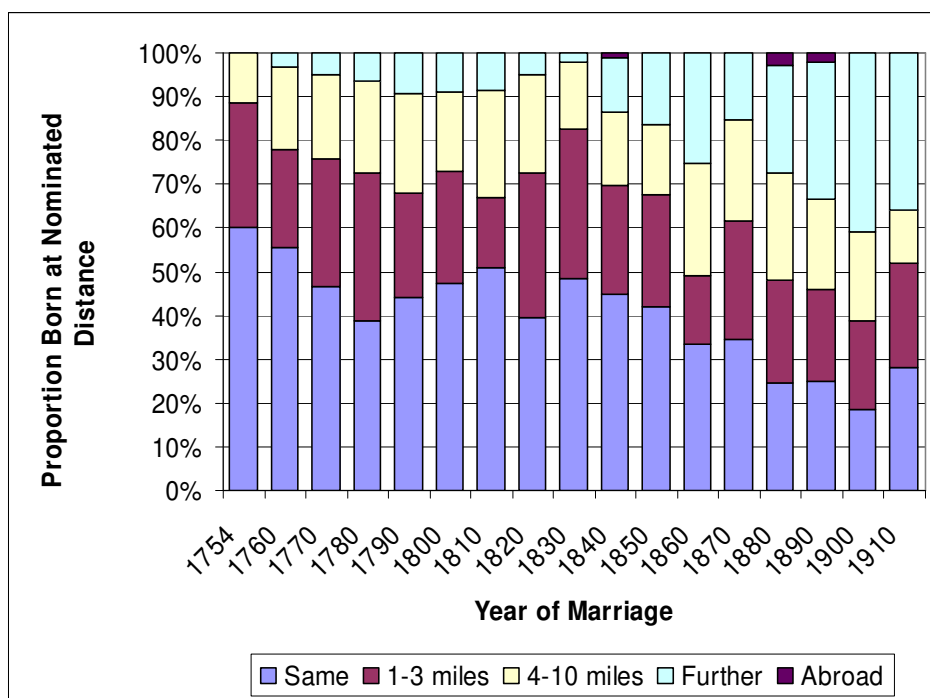
Figure 5-5: Distance from birthplace to place of marriage: grooms

Figure 5-5 shows that the proportion of grooms who were born 1-3 miles and 4-10 miles distant from their place of marriage remained approximately uniform throughout the research period. The usual mode of local transport did not undergo substantial change

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[61] For these purposes, Irish-born people were included in the group labeled as born 'abroad' since travel to England from Ireland involved a sea journey.

during this time. Bicycles were not widely available in England until 1895 and before then they were almost exclusively used by the middle-class in urban areas (Perry 1969:134). Therefore it would be expected that short-distance movement would be little changed over the research period, with most people travelling on foot. On the other hand, the proportion of grooms born 11 or more miles from their place of marriage increased throughout the research period as longer distance travel became easier and cheaper. This is discussed in Section 5.7.

In addition, the increase in literacy that occurred in the middle of the 19th century also influenced a change in marital distance. Many national schools were established in England and Wales from the 1850s and attendance at school for children became compulsory in 1871 (Davies 1909:89). The proportion of marriage partners unable to sign their names in marriage registers in England and Wales decreased from 33% for men and 49% for women in the period 1841-1846, to 14% and 19% respectively in 1880 (Registrar-General 1880:xiv). Only ten years later it had declined even further to 7% for men and 8% for women (Registrar-General 1890:viii). A literate population meant that people could read in newspapers of social events such as fairs outside their immediate home region and therefore expand their potential of finding a partner at a more distant location (Perry 1969:127). Greater literacy also meant that it was now possible to maintain a relationship with a partner at a greater distance, via letters (Perry 1969:127). On the Registrar-General's criterion of ability to sign one's name in a marriage register as a guide to literacy, Wiltshire was one of the least literate counties in England (Registrar-General 1879:xii), suggesting that rising literacy rates may not have influenced marital migration as strongly in the present research area. Although there is some evidence that the rise in literacy is

contemporaneous with the rise in marital distance, this has not been translated into cause and effect in local studies (Perry 1969:127).

Other factors that affected the inter-parish mobility of the rural working class, apart from transport options and literacy, were the type of employment (dairy workers were less mobile than other agricultural workers), the number of parishes less than 3 miles away, the distance from major roads and the railways (which influenced the number of strangers one might meet) and the distance to the nearest town (Perry 1969:126-128).

Similar effects for women are seen in Figure 5-6, which shows the distance between birthplace of brides who were married in Stourton or Kilmington in the research period.
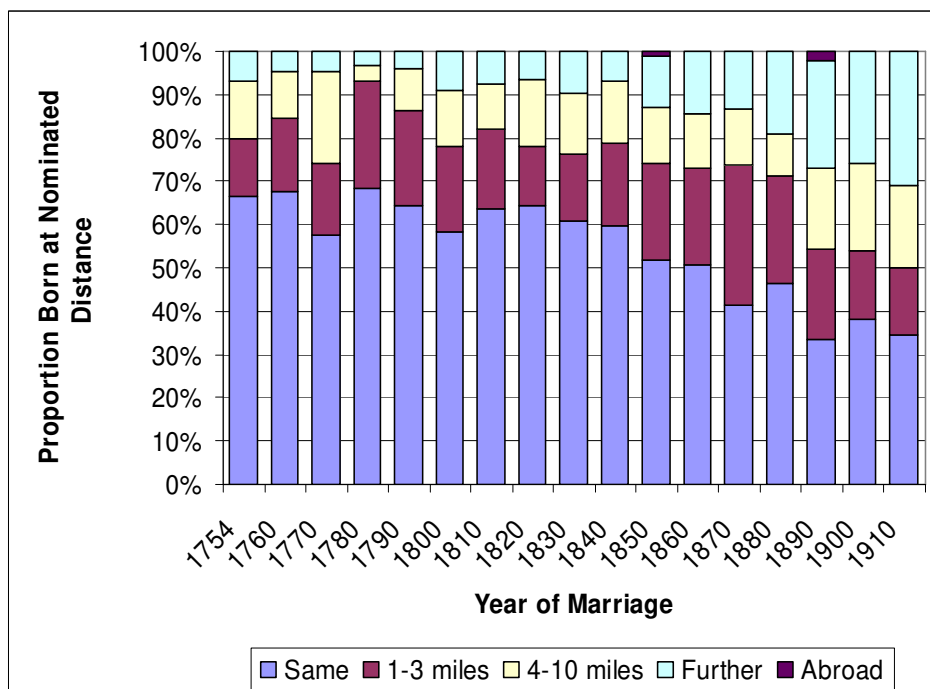
Figure 5-6: Distance from birthplace to place of marriage: brides

Figure 5-6 shows that for brides as for grooms, there was a decline in the proportion born in the same parish in which they were married, whilst the proportion born 1-3 miles and 4-10 miles remained approximately constant. The difference was made up by brides born 11 or more miles distant.

The question remains as to the cumulative distances. What proportion of brides and grooms were born less than 4 miles from their marriage place and less than 11 miles?

Table 5-3: Proportion of spouses by cumulative marital distance: 1754-1859

	Same	**<4 miles**	**<11 miles**
Grooms	41.6	65.6	82.3
Brides	54.6	70.3	81.4

Same cf. other: $\chi^2 = 39.30$, d.f. =1, p<0.001
<4 miles cf. other: $\chi^2 = 10.96$, d.f. =1, p=0.001
<11 miles cf. other: $\chi^2 = 0.17$, d.f. =1, p=0.680

Table 5-3 shows the cumulative distance results for the century 1754-1859. More brides (54.6%) were born in the parish of marriage than grooms (41.6%) but the differences began to diminish as the cumulative distance from birthplace increased. More brides (70.3%) were born less than 4 miles from their place of marriage, including being born in the parish of marriage, but the grooms (65.6%) were only a little less likely to be born so close to the parish of marriage. At the level of less than 11 miles, the differences between the sexes were not statistically significant.

In 1861, 65% of the 'breeding population' of Charlton on Otmoor who were not born in the village, were born within a 6-mile radius of the village (Küchemann et al. 1967:270). Although somewhat different criteria were used, this is similar to the results for Stourton and Kilmington.

On the other hand, a study of four small Northamptonshire parishes reported that between 70% and 95% of grooms and almost 100% of brides lived within 5 miles of the place of marriage (Peel 1942:27). The higher proportions, however, result from using 'place of residence' rather than 'place of birth', as previously discussed (Section 5.3).

Other studies have shown an historical increase in marital distance for English villages, with a more or less sudden rise in the later years of the 19th century. In his study of west Dorset marriage registers, and comparing the decades 1877-1886 to 1886-1896, Perry showed that there was a sharp increase from 10% of the population being resident outside the parish but within 6 miles of it, to 20%. Those resident 6-12 miles away increased from 3% to 9% during the same decades, and those born still further afield rose from 10% to 19% (Perry 1969:124). This was attributed to improvements in transport and possibly the increase in literacy.

With the proportion coming from 1-3 miles and 4-10 miles away remaining roughly constant, how did the median distance change over time?
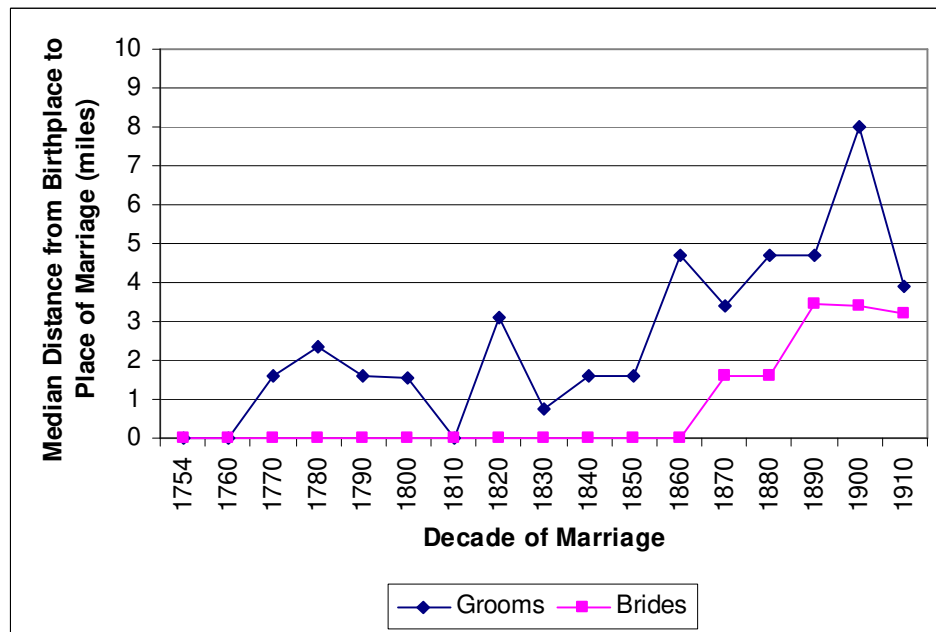
Figure 5-7: Median distance from birthplace to place of marriage: grooms and brides

Figure 5-7 shows that for both brides and grooms the median distance between birthplace and marriage place was zero in the first period, 1754-1759. For grooms this increased throughout the research period, peaking at 8 miles during the decade 1900-1909. For brides there was no change until the 1870s, despite the increasing proportion of brides born 11 or more miles away (Figure 5.5). For the entire period 1754-1869 the median marital distance for brides remained zero, and it only began increasing in the 1870s, peaking at 3.5 miles in the 1890s. At no time did the median distance between birthplace and place of marriage of brides exceed that of grooms.

In west Dorset during the half-century 1837-1886, the median marriage distance and the third quartile were all within the parish. That is, there was a marital distance of zero. For the next half-century to 1936, the median was 1 mile and the third quartile was 11 miles (Perry 1969:136). As these were places of residence rather than birth, they are likely to be closer to the place of marriage. Nevertheless, they show a similar general trend in having a

fairly static median in the first part of the 19th century and then a sudden rise. In Stourton and Kilmington the increase in median distance for grooms took place in the 1860s, and for brides it was the 1870s and then again in the 1890s. The Dorset figures place the change in the 1880s.

5.4.4 Spatial Distribution of Birthplace in Exogamous Marriages

The previous section asked how far from Stourton or Kilmington the marriage partners were born. However, people did not choose their marriage partners in a linear fashion, but selected them from the surrounding villages and hamlets on all sides. This section asks how the birthplaces of those who were born outside the parish of marriage were distributed spatially.

Firstly, the county of birth will be considered, in order to determine whether county borders formed a barrier for spousal movement. There were major parish boundary changes in England in the 19th century, with many new parishes being created by the sub-division of older ones to cope with the increase in population. In 1895 a major reform took place to regularise boundaries, since some parishes were dispersed over many non-contiguous areas, and in some cases there were parishes wholly enclosed within the boundaries of other parishes. Extra-parochial areas (areas which belonged to no parish at all) were largely abolished. Civil parishes were established and in rural areas such as southwestern Wiltshire, the civil parishes coincided with the ecclesiastical parishes. The boundaries used in the following maps are those created following the 1895 reform. In most cases the non-contiguous parts of parishes had few inhabitants and were unlikely to affect the calculations of birthplace. The most significant effect that parish boundary changes had on people's

lives was the church in which they were permitted to be married and the Anglican church to which all parishioners of a certain income, regardless of religion, were required to pay rates. Church rates were abolished in 1868 (Webb 1980:638). County boundary changes affected matters such as rural sanitation and education, neither of which was relevant to this project.

All brides and grooms with known birthplaces (including those for whom only a county of birth was known), who were born outside the place of marriage were included in the following results. Stourton and Kilmington were considered separately, as Stourton abutted Dorset which Kilmington did not. Although Kilmington was administratively part of Somerset until 1895, it was surrounded by Wiltshire along 85% of its border and was moved into Wiltshire in 1895 (Currie 1999). In all calculations in this thesis, Kilmington is counted as part of Wiltshire.
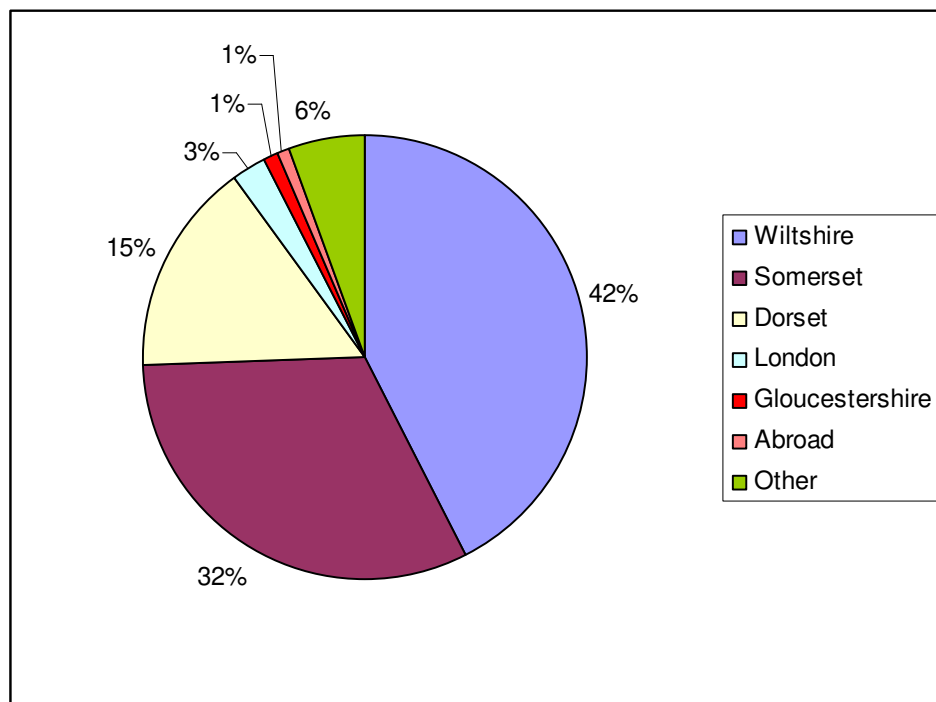
Figure 5-8 : Birth county of exogamous grooms married in Stourton 1754-1914
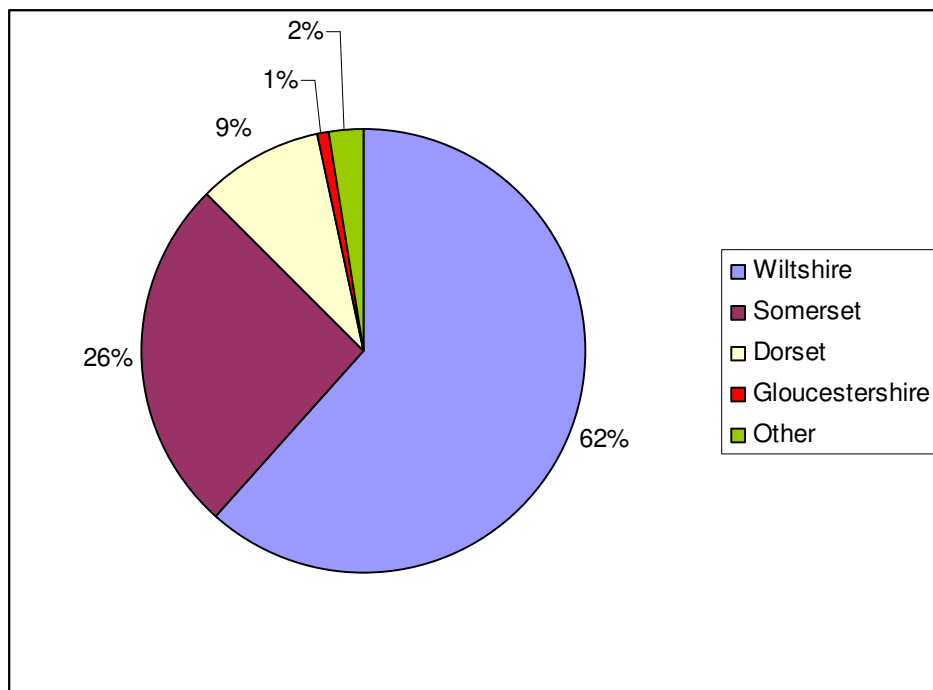
Figure 5-9 : Birth county of exogamous grooms married in Kilmington 1754-1914

Figures 5-8 and 5-9 show that there were significant differences in the county of birth of men married in Stourton and Kilmington. Despite the fact that Kilmington was administratively part of Somerset for most of its history, almost two-thirds of non-local grooms were born in Wiltshire. One of the reasons given for the county boundary changes was that Kilmington was culturally part of Wiltshire and there were close economic and family ties with that county (Currie 1999). This seems to be borne out at least in the flow of spouses.

In Stourton, more grooms were born in Wiltshire (42%) than any other county, despite a part of Stourton being in Somerset. A key difference between Stourton and Kilmington was that Stourton grooms came from a wider array of locations. A total of 88% of non-locally born Kilmington grooms came from Somerset or Wiltshire, whereas the combined total of these counties as contributors to Stourton grooms was only 74%. Three percent of Stourton

grooms who were born outside the parish were born in London, and a further 1% were born in Gloucestershire. By comparison, these places do not even reach the 1% mark in Kilmington. An explanation for this phenomenon is the economic difference between the villages. Stourton was a village dominated by the 'great house' of Stourhead and the owners of Stourhead, the Hoare family, kept a wide array of servants, including gamekeepers, stable men, ladies' maids, cooks, butlers and others. These servants were normally imported with the family from its other homes (Perry 1969:124). In other studies, 'upper indoor servants' such as butlers and ladies' maids were locally born in only 3% of cases, whereas 13% of the lower indoor servants were born on the estate (Gerard 1994:170). The higher the social status of the household, the higher the proportion of servants who were born more than 100 miles from the country house (Gerard 1994:178). Kilmington lacked a 'great house' and thus lacked servants imported from distance locations. As the other main seat of the Hoare family was in Fleet Street, London it is not surprising that in comparative terms so many London men were imported to Stourton. However, their impact on the genetic pool of the area was non-existent, at least as far as legitimate offspring were concerned. Only one of the London-born men who married in Stourton remained in the parish and this single exception produced no children. All the other London-born men returned to London or other places.

The picture for brides was similar to that for grooms.
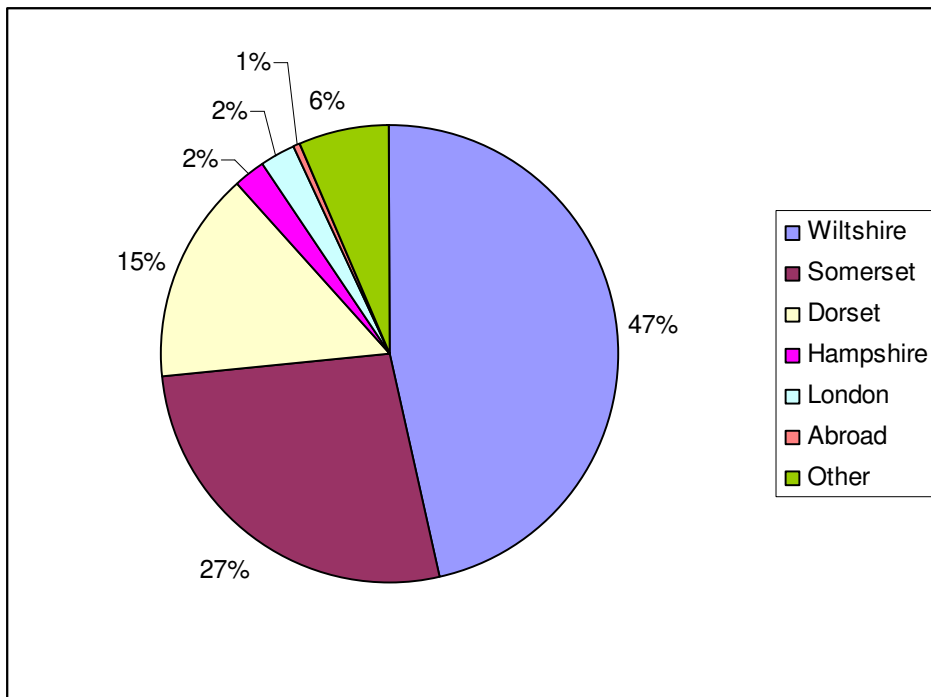
Figure 5-10 : Birth county of exogamous brides married in Stourton 1754-1914
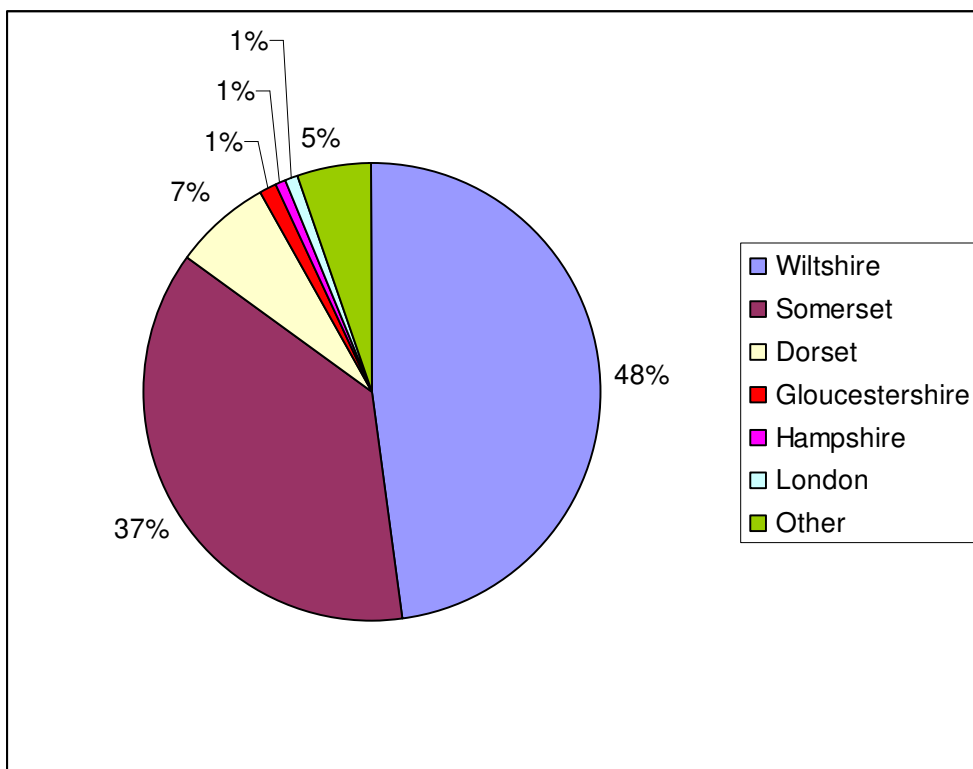
Figure 5-11 : Birth county of exogamous brides married in Kilmington 1754-1914

Figures 5-10 and 5-11 show that there more brides were born in Wiltshire for both Kilmington and Stourton. Like the grooms, there were more Dorset-born brides in Stourton than in Kilmington, which is to be expected since Stourton is closer to Dorset. Again, like the grooms, a higher proportion of non-local brides were born in Somerset and Wiltshire for those married in Kilmington (85%) compared to Stourton (74%). In Stourton there was a higher frequency of brides born abroad, in London or in Hampshire, compared to Kilmington.

Other studies have shown that county boundaries have acted as barriers to mobility, whether for purposes of residence or marriage. For example, Schürer (2002) demonstrated that in 1861 and 1871, the distribution of birthplaces of non-local people in three Essex parishes abutting Hertfordshire was skewed towards Essex. On the other hand, county boundaries were not a social barrier between Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire (Phythian-Adams 1987).

Having established that more brides and grooms in both parishes were born in Wiltshire, the next step is to ask in which parish they were born. In this section, all brides and grooms with a known birthplace outside their parish of marriage were examined. The parishes that contributed a cumulative total of more than 50% of spouses for each marriage place are shown in Tables 5-4 for Stourton and 5-5 for Kilmington, in order of the proportion of grooms born in that parish. Full details of the numbers of grooms and brides born in each parish are shown in Appendix B at Table B-3.

Table 5-4 : Non-locally born spouses by parish of birth, Stourton marriages

Parish	County	Population (1881)	Distance (miles)	Grooms Born in Parish (%)	Brides Born in Parish (%)
Kilmington	Wil	477	1.6	15.2	11.8
Mere	Wil	2,931	3.2	11.6	17.5
Penselwood	Som	420	3.6	5.9	5.4
Zeals[62]	Wil	470	1.5	5.9	3.7
Brewham	Som	350	6.2	5.2	1.7
Bourton	Dor	838	3.1	3.9	3.4
Gillingham	Dor	3,293	6.1	3.9	5.4
Witham Friary	Som	482	5.3	3.1	1.0
Maiden Bradley	Wil	591	3.9	1.3	3.0
Bruton	Som	1,849	7.1	0.5	1.3

The most frequently-occurring birthplaces for those married in Stourton but not born in the parish were Kilmington for grooms and Mere for brides. Some villages contributed unequally, in relation to proximity and size. Despite the fact that Zeals and Kilmington were almost equidistant from Stourton, and had approximately the same population, about three times as many brides and grooms came from Kilmington as Zeals. Similarly, a preference was shown for Penselwood grooms over those from Maiden Bradley. Although Maiden Bradley was more populous and only a third of a mile further away than Penselwood, it contributed less than a third the proportion of grooms compared to Penselwood. Penselwood was the most frequently occurring Somerset parish as a source for Stourton grooms and brides.

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[62] Population figure for Zeals is for 1891

Table 5-5 : Non-locally born spouses by parish of birth, Kilmington marriages

Parish	County	Population (1881)	Distance (miles)	Grooms Born in Parish (%)	Brides Born in Parish (%)
Maiden Bradley	Wil	591	3.1	16.7	11.8
Stourton	Wil	563	1.6	14.7	17.0
Mere	Wil	2,931	4.7	12.6	9.9
Witham Friary	Som	482	3.5	3.8	5.2
Brewham	Som	350	3.4	2.7	6.6
Gillingham	Dor	3,293	7.4	2.7	2.4
Bruton	Som	1,849	6.6	2.0	3.3
Zeals	Wil	470	3.5	1.7	1.4
Bourton	Dor	838	4.8	1.0	1.4
Penselwood	Som	420	5.0	0.3	1.4

For Kilmington grooms born outside the parish, the most frequently-occurring birthplace was Maiden Bradley, despite that parish being twice as far away as the next highest contributor, Stourton, at only 1.6 miles and with similar size populations. At 3.5 miles from Kilmington, Witham Friary and Brewham were equidistant with Maiden Bradley, yet they contributed one-fifth and one-sixth the number of grooms to Kilmington that Maiden Bradley did. Maiden Bradley and Stourton had approximately the same population. The birthplaces of spouses were not distributed evenly based solely on distance and population.

For both Stourton and Kilmington, the contribution of grooms and brides was unequal for certain parishes. For Stourton, Kilmington contributed 15.2% of grooms and 11.8% of brides whereas Mere contributed 11.6% and 17.5% respectively. Similarly, for Kilmington the top five parishes contributed grooms and brides in unequal frequencies.

Some of the variation is related to population size and distance from the marriage place, as has been shown in relation to Charlton on Otmoor (Küchemann et al. 1967:268). A model was developed using that village which demonstrated that, after allowing for population size, the contribution of any given village was inversely proportional to the square of the distance from Charlton on Otmoor (Boyce et al. 1967).

However, some of the variation cannot be explained by these factors. Part of the unequal contribution of certain parishes is probably due to chance and random variation. It is also clear that other factors were at work in preferring spouses from certain parishes over others, such as local custom and prejudice. Other studies have shown similar preferences that cannot be explained by distance and population size in Dorset (Perry 1969:131) and Northamptonshire (Peel 1942:29-30).

The following maps display the birthplaces of spouses married in Kilmington and Stourton, with the contribution of spouses coloured to indicate the percentage of spouses born in that parish. In some cases the populations of the parishes were not evenly distributed, but this is not reflected in the maps. For example, most of the population of the parish of Mere lived in the town of Mere rather than its hamlets of Woodlands, Chaddenwick and Burton. In other parishes, the population was clustered in small groups or hamlets, some of which blended into each other seamlessly.
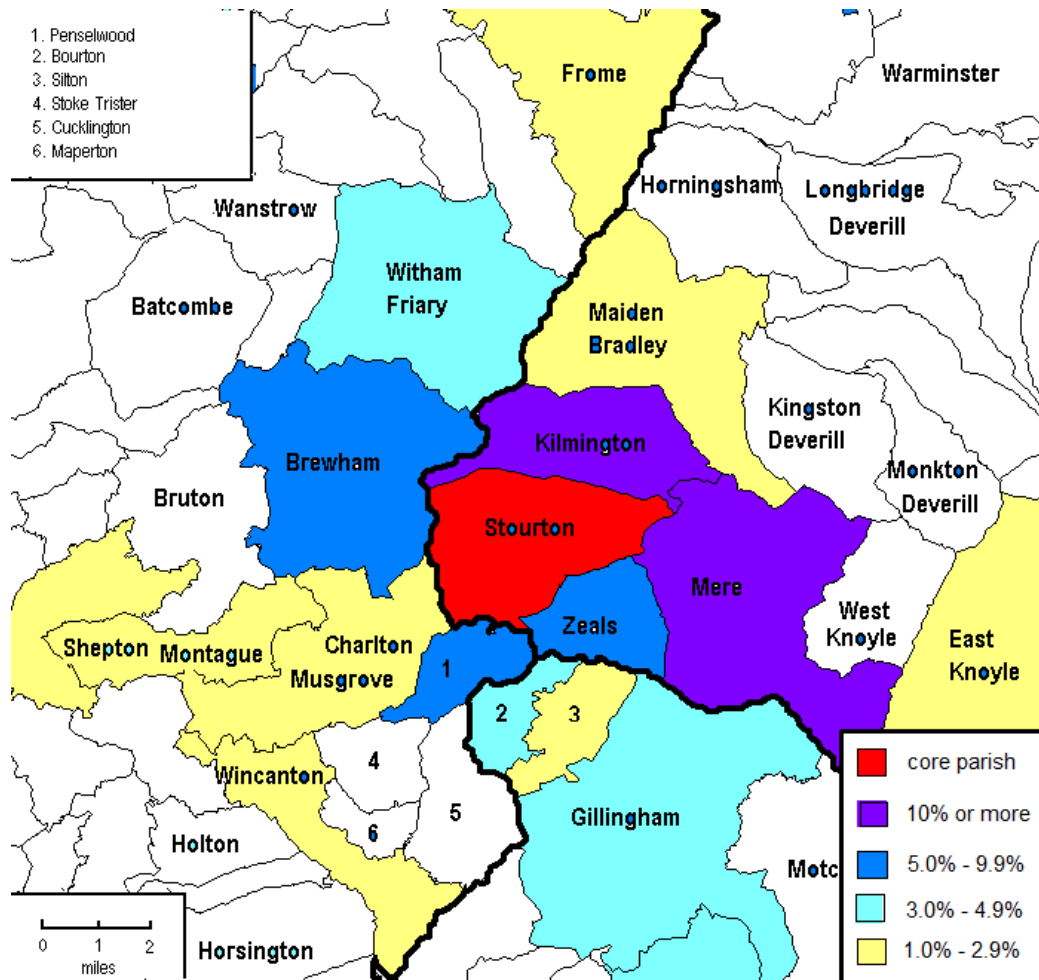
Figure 5-12 : Birthplace of grooms married in Stourton 1754-1914

As expected, Figure 5-12 shows that parishes closer to Stourton contributed more grooms than those located further away, but they do not form a series of concentric circles around Stourton. Kilmington and Mere, in Wiltshire, are the greatest contributors, followed by Zeals (Wiltshire), Penselwood (Somerset) and Brewham (Somerset). Even though Charlton Musgrove abuts Stourton, its contribution is less than that of some other parishes that do not share borders with Stourton, such as Bourton and Gillingham in Dorset.

Although Shepton Montague is 8.3 miles from Stourton, it contributed 2.3% of the grooms to Stourton, compared to Charlton Musgrove at 1.0%. The latter is on the road from Stourton to Shepton Montague and had an almost identical population size to it. The

unequal distribution is related to religion. In the late 18th century there was a small pocket of Catholics living and working in Shepton Montague but their nearest place of Catholic worship was St Benedict's in Stourton. Attending mass and other rites in Stourton brought young Catholic men from Shepton Montague into contact with Stourton women, particularly Catholics. Of the 29 Catholic men who were married in Stourton in the period 1750-1824, 22 were born in Stourton and 5 were born in Shepton Montague. However, as the 19th century progressed, the number of Catholics in England increased, particularly as a result of Irish immigration, and more Catholic places of worship were established. In the mid-19th century mass was regularly said at Wincanton by priests from Stourton and in 1881 the Catholic parish of St Luke & St Teresa was established there (Currie 1999:229). As Wincanton was only 4 miles from Shepton Montague, local Catholics began to worship there and ceased attending church at Stourton. This in turn reduced their contact with young Catholics in Stourton and so reduced their influence on Stourton marriage patterns. There were no Catholics married in the research area and born in Shepton Montague after 1850.

1. Penselwood
2. Bourton
3. Silton
4. Stoke Trister
5. Cucklington
6. Maperton

core parish
10% or more
5.0% - 9.9%
3.0% - 4.9%
1.0% - 2.9%
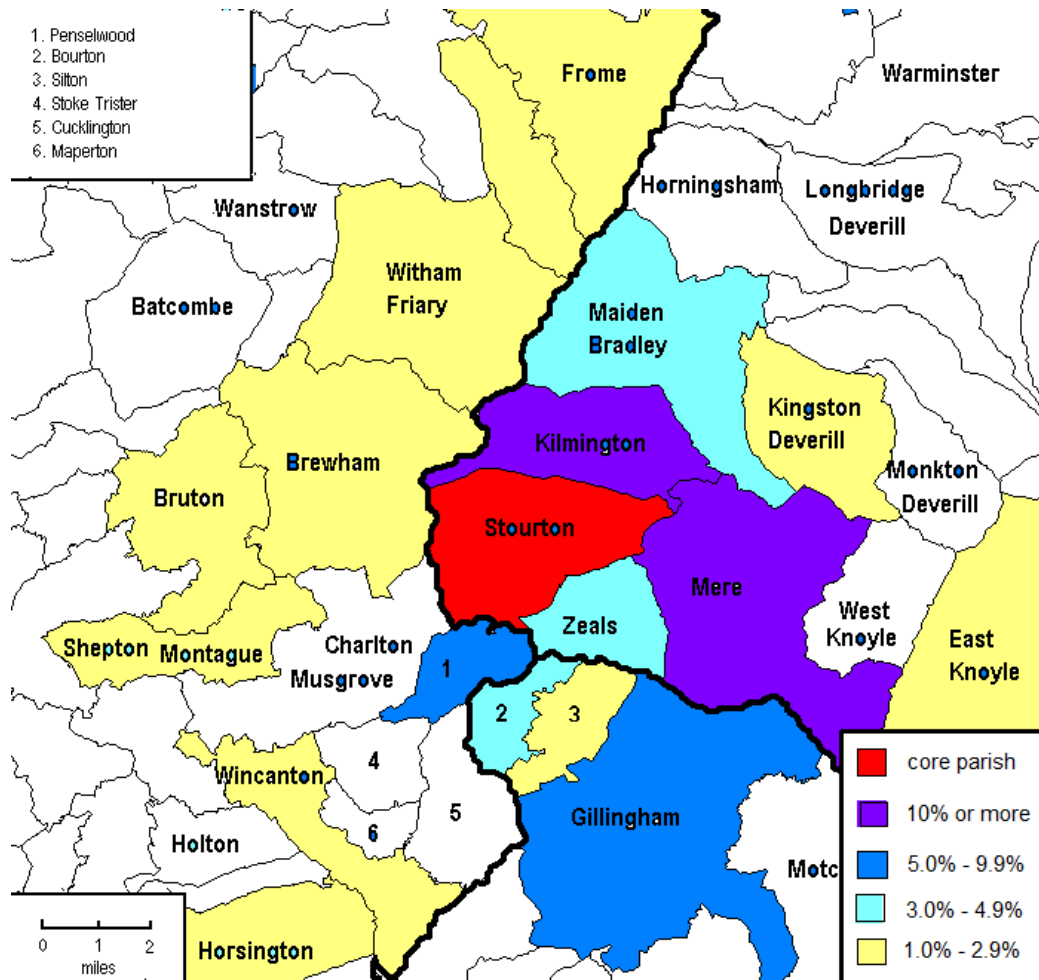
Figure 5-13 : Birthplace of brides married in Stourton 1754-1914

There are several differences between the distribution of birthplaces of brides and grooms. Figure 5-13 shows that the birthplaces of brides were spread over a wider area than the grooms and the higher frequency parishes are concentrated more tightly on a north-south axis. Only one Somerset parish (Penselwood) contributed more than 3.0% of brides to Stourton, with more brides coming from Wiltshire and Dorset. The Somerset border appears to have been more of a boundary to brides than grooms although there were still eight Somerset parishes each contributing between 1.0% and 2.9% of brides to Stourton.
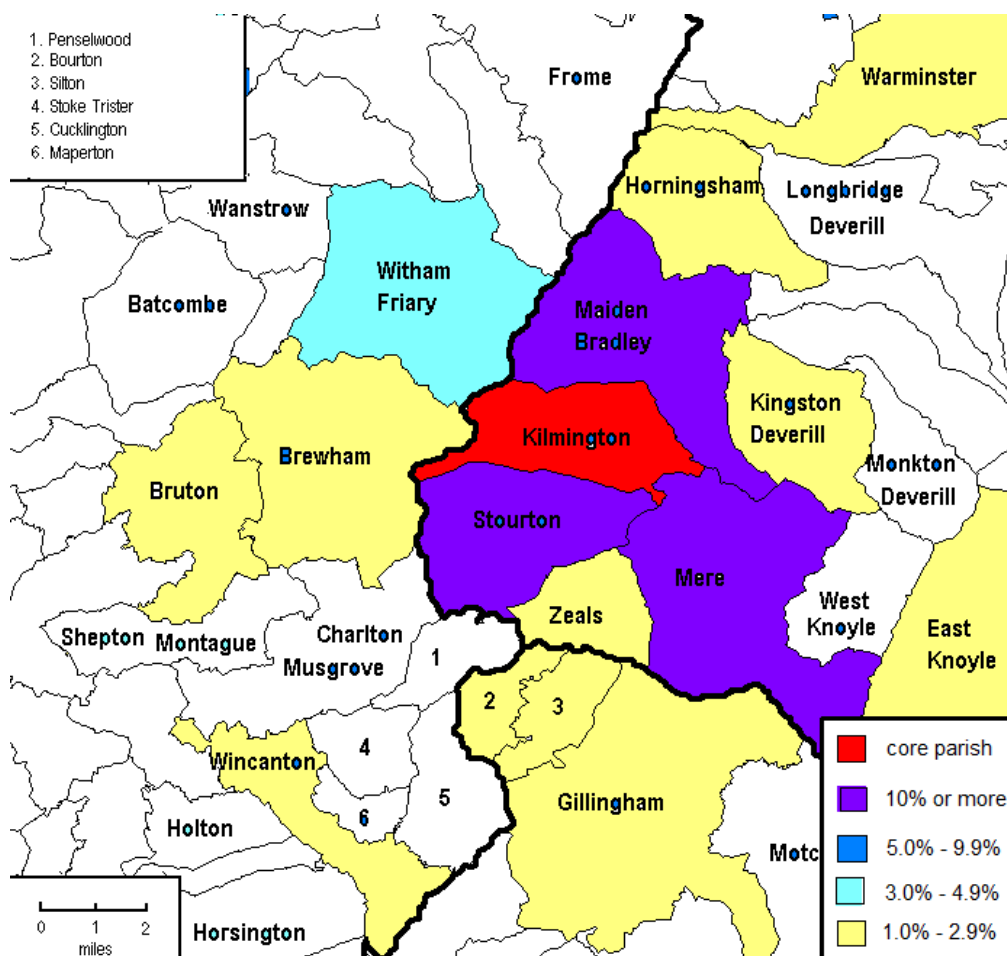
Figure 5-14 : Birthplace of grooms married in Kilmington 1754-1914

Figure 5-14 shows that the birthplace of Kilmington grooms is different again, with most incoming grooms tightly clustered in the three adjoining Wiltshire parishes of Stourton (14.7%), Maiden Bradley (16.7%) and Mere (12.6%). No parishes contributed between 5.0% and 9.9% of grooms to Kilmington and only one contributed more than 3.0% (Witham Friary). The 'gap' between Kilmington and Somerset is more pronounced than between Stourton and Somerset, with distant Wiltshire parishes like East Knoyle and Warminster figuring more prominently than closer Somerset parishes such as Charlton Musgrove. As Kilmington had no Catholic population, Shepton Montague becomes insignificant as a source for Kilmington grooms, contributing only 0.7%.
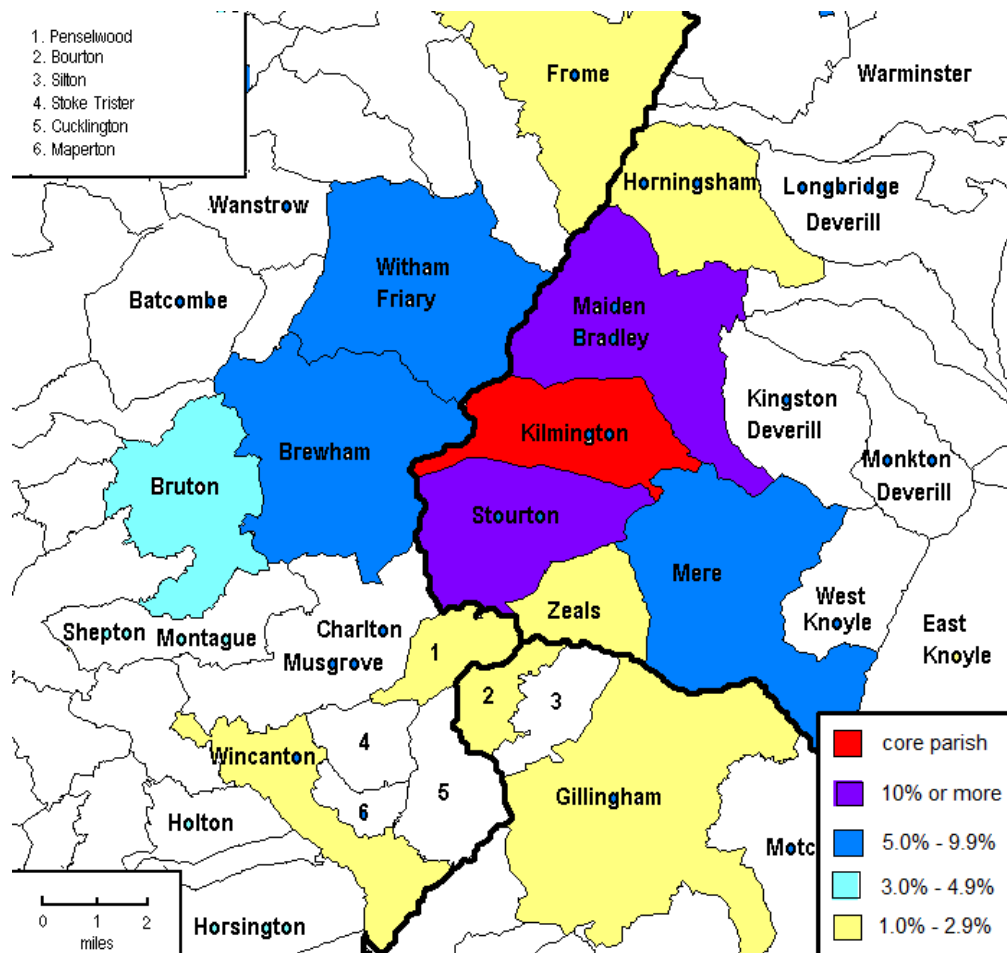
Figure 5-15 : Birthplace of brides married in Kilmington 1754-1914

Figure 5-15 shows that Kilmington brides also came from Wiltshire in higher frequencies than from Somerset, but the distinction is not as clear as that for grooms. For Kilmington, two parishes in Somerset (Witham Friary and Brewham) each contributed more than 5% but less than 10% of brides, whereas no parish outside Wiltshire contributed more than 5% of grooms to Kilmington (Figure 5-14).

In Kilmington, both brides and grooms were more tightly clustered than the comparable birthplaces for Stourton spouses. This aligns with the wider spread of birthplaces for Stourton spouses than for Kilmington spouses demonstrated in Figures 5-8 to 5-11.

It could be argued that some of these results were artefacts of the availability of records. That is, that parishes for which a better set of records were now available would show more spouses born there. This was not a problem in the present project, since transcriptions of records covered all the surrounding parishes. Section 3.4.2 showed the almost complete coverage of parishes within an 8-miles radius of Stourton and Kilmington.

5.4.5 Spouses Born at Greater Distance

In Stourton and Kilmington, 1.9% of spouses were born more than 100 miles from the research area. They generally fell into one of two categories.

Firstly, people born hundreds of miles from the research area were often professionals such as clergy or surveyors, as well as their dependants. The influence of occupational group on marital distance is discussed in Section 5.8.

The second group could be termed 'prodigal daughters'. These were women who were born at a great distance from the research area, but whose parents had originated in southwest Wiltshire. They had returned to their parents' birthplace as young women. For example, Theresa Maidment was born in Liverpool in 1859, the daughter of a Stourton-born man, William Maidment, and his Irish-born wife Honora Dillon. William's nephew and Theresa's 1st cousin, Matthias Farthing, was born in Stourton and lived with the Maidment family in Liverpool as a teenager. He married his cousin Theresa in 1880 and the couple moved to Stourton where they lived for the rest of their lives, producing 12 children. A similar phenomenon was observed in a 1905 study of the Wiltshire village of Corsley, that spouses who came from a long distance away already had a family connection to the village, although no supporting data were given (Davies 1909:262).

174

5.4.6 Spouses Born Abroad

No people born abroad were married in the parish of Kilmington in the period 1754-1914. This reflects the more narrow range of birthplaces of Kilmington spouses.

Stourton had five spouses born abroad: one groom and one bride born in France, two grooms born in North America and one bride born in Ireland. William Dennis was born in France in 1839, the son of a Buckinghamshire father and a French mother. His father was a coachman but it is not immediately clear what he was doing in France, although he was possibly serving a member of the Hoare family, who sometimes lived in France for years at a time (Williams 2006). William Dennis married his second wife in Stourton in 1881 when he was Head Gardener at Stourhead House.

The other French-born person, Lucy Isabella Drake, was born in 1827 when her father, the Reverend John Drake, was serving as chaplain to a British Army regiment in France. His daughter was married in 1857 in Stourton, where Rev. Drake had become the parson.

The two grooms who were born in North America were the sons of returning emigrants. It is not clear when John Cox came to England, although he was resident in Dorset by the time he was 19 years old and he married in Stourton in 1845 when aged 22 years. The family of the other American, George Haskell Moger, were discussed briefly in Section 2.6.

The other foreign-born person was Ann Collins, who was born in Cork, Ireland in 1865. Her family migrated to Wales in 1874 and she married in the Catholic Chapel in Stourton in 1890.

All of the people born abroad and married in Stourton were British subjects, having British fathers and, with the single exception of the French mother of William Dennis, British mothers. The contribution of non-British genes to Stourton was negligible and to Kilmington it was non-existent.

5.5 Prior Generations

The previous sections have dealt with people who were married in Stourton or Kilmington. This section will ask where prior generations were born. The birthplaces of parents and grandparents of those who were married in Stourton or Kilmington will be analysed.

In each case, calculations were made as a percentage of those with known birthplace who were married in Stourton or Kilmington. In the short period 1754-1759 almost 30% of brides and 20% of grooms had an unknown birthplace, dropping to 10% for both sexes by 1800 and almost none at all from 1830 onwards (Figure 5-1). The researcher's ability to locate the birthplace of a named person was not affected by the sex of the person – men and women were equally easy or difficult to locate. Thus there is no sex bias in the raw data. However, when examining the birthplaces of prior generations, English naming conventions must be borne in mind. That is, almost without exception in England in the 18th and 19th centuries, women took the surname of their husbands on marriage. So when an attempt was made to trace a pedigree, inability to locate the parents' marriage record usually meant that the mother's maiden name was unknown. In most cases this in turn meant that her birthplace was also unknown. However, those who were recorded in the censuses from 1851 onwards had their birthplaces shown, even when a woman's maiden

name was not known, so the birthplace data are more complete for those who lived into the census period.

For this project, the result is that there are slightly fewer observations of birthplaces for the female ancestors of a person married in Stourton or Kilmington, particularly if the ancestor did not live into the census period of 1851. The birthplaces of 3,751 grandparents could be determined, of which 1,986 were male and 1,765 were female, so the difference was not great.

5.5.1 Parents

Pedigrees of all people married in the parishes of Stourton or Kilmington in the research period were constructed, with the aim of developing four-generation pedigrees for these 1,167 men and 1,207 women, in order to answer the question of where prior generations had been born. Date and place of birth for those in the direct line were determined using a wide array of sources (Chapter 3). Birthplaces were categorised as being in the same parish in which their child was married, 1-3 miles from that parish, 4-10 miles from that parish, further afield or abroad. Results were aggregated into decades. The results are shown graphically in Figures 5-16 and 5-17 for the groom's father and mother, and Figures 5-18 and 5-19 for the bride's father and mother.
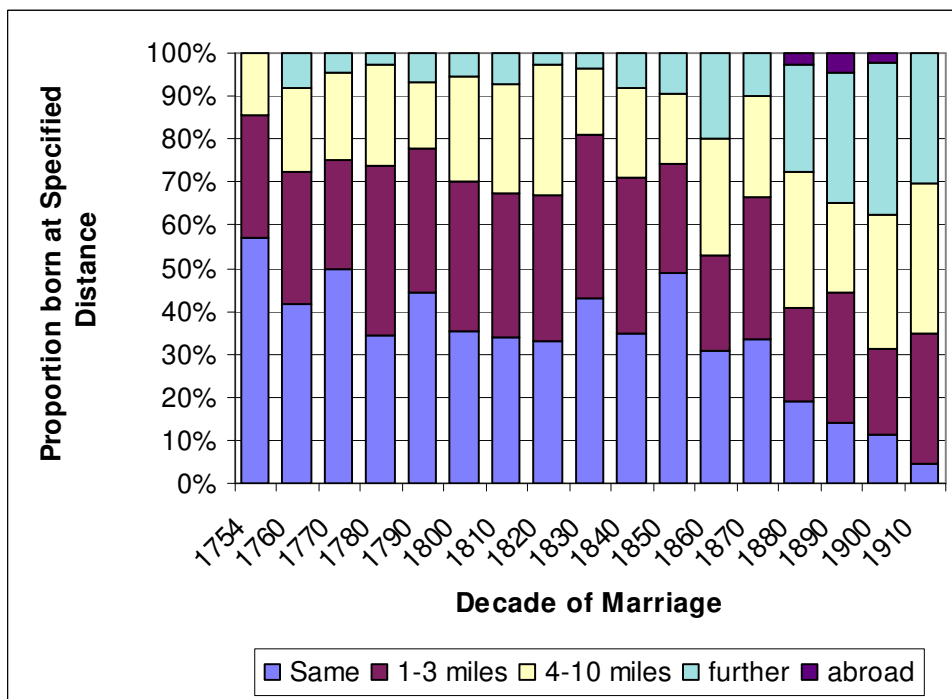
Figure 5-16 : Birthplace of fathers of men married in Stourton or Kilmington, by decade of marriage

Figure 5-16 shows that the percentage of fathers of grooms born in the same parish in which their sons were married decreased significantly throughout the research period, declining from a high of 57% in the period 1754-1759 until the final period 1910-1914 in which only 4% of grooms' fathers were born in the parish in which their sons married. This is a reflection of the decline in the proportion of grooms born in the same parish in which they were married (Section 5.2.2).

In a similar fashion to the grooms themselves, there was an increase in the proportion of fathers who were born 11 or more miles away, whilst the proportions who were born 1-3 miles away and 4-10 miles away were approximately constant.
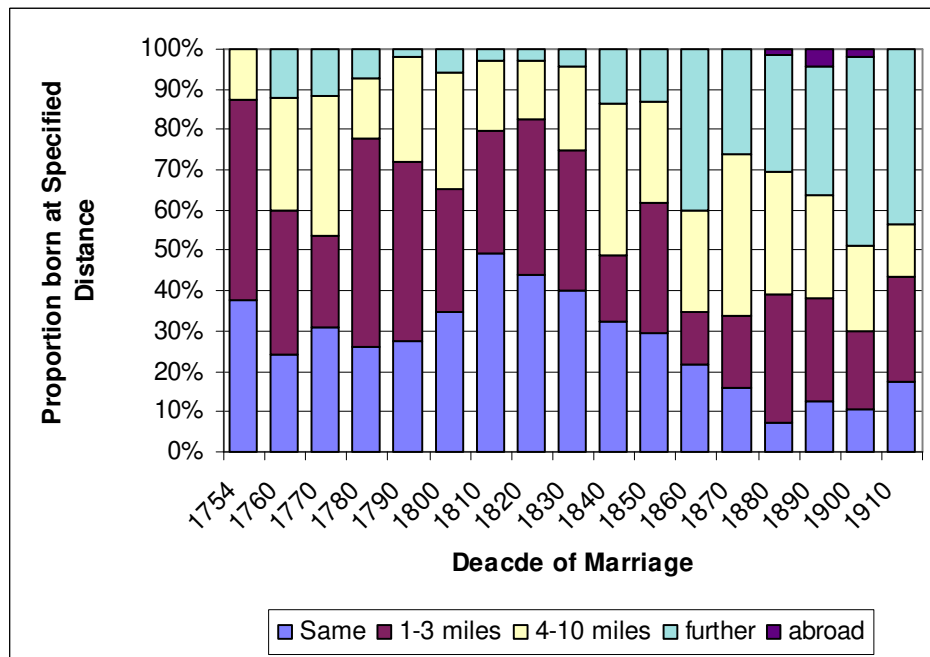
Figure 5-17 : Birthplace of mothers of men married in Stourton or Kilmington

Figure 5-17 shows that the mothers of grooms had a somewhat different pattern of birthplace from the fathers of grooms. Like their husbands, the proportion of mothers of grooms born in the same parish in which their sons were married decreased over the research period. However, the fall was less dramatic, from 38% down to 17% across the research period, and it did not display a smooth trend. There was a rise in the first quarter of the 19th century, followed by a decline. It must be remembered, however, that in the earliest periods there was a higher proportion of spouses and their parents with an unknown birthplace and that women were slightly less likely than men to have a birthplace identified if they did not live into the census period. Therefore, the figures prior to 1810 should be viewed with some caution due to the small numbers involved. From 1810 until the end of the research period the birthplace of mothers of grooms shows a similar pattern to that of their husbands, with a greater proportion born further afield as each decade passed. The

numbers of parents born at each distance band from the marriage place are shown at Table B-4 in Appendix B.

Are the same trends observed in parents of brides married in Stourton and Kilmington?
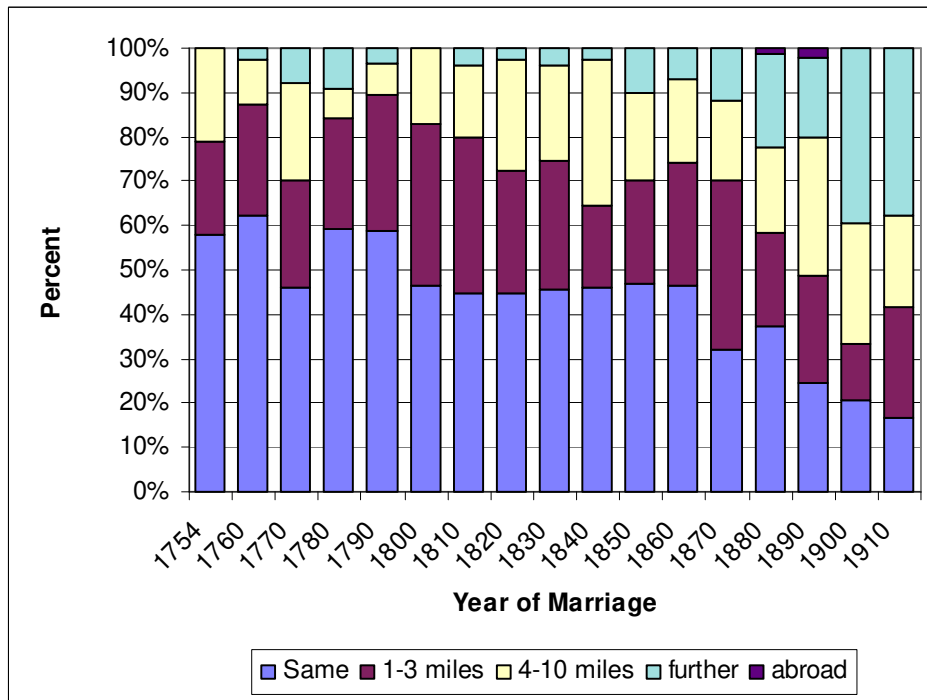
Figure 5-18 : Birthplace of fathers of women married in Stourton or Kilmington

Figure 5-18 shows that the birthplace of fathers of brides has a similar pattern to that of fathers of grooms, except that the levels of parish endogamy are higher. This is to be expected since the tradition in England at this time was for marriages to take place in the bride's parish but for the new family to live in the groom's parish (Harrison 1995:43). As this was also true of earlier generations, it would be expected that the bride's own father was more likely to reside in the parish in which he was born rather than outside of it, and his daughter was more likely to be married in that parish, although she might live in another parish after marriage.
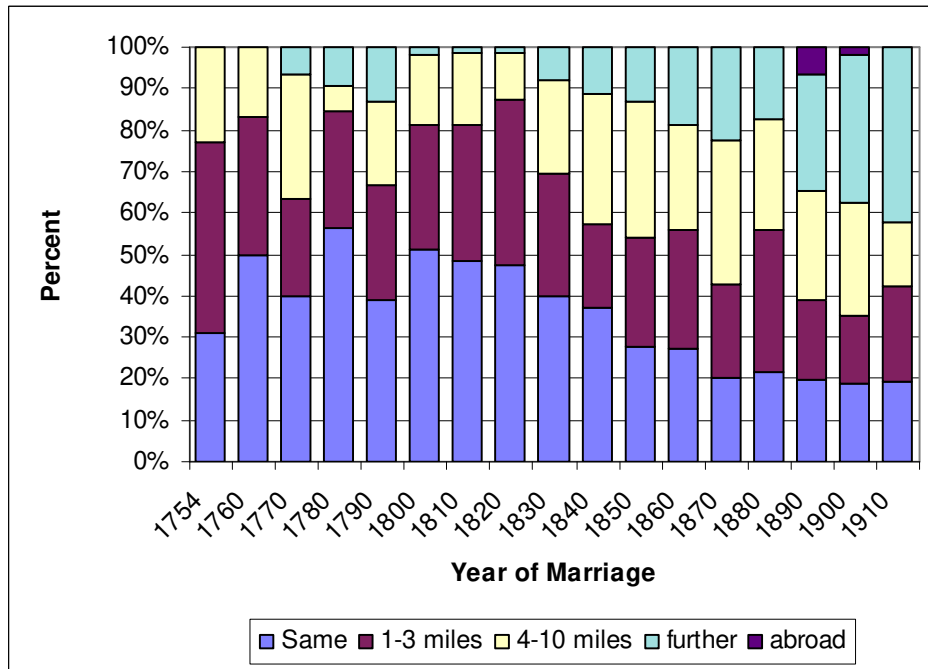
Figure 5-19 : Birthplace of mothers of women married in Stourton or Kilmington

Figure 5-19 shows that the proportion of mothers of brides born in the marriage parish, like mothers of grooms, declined in an irregular fashion. The peak was in the 1780s, whereas the peak for mothers of grooms was in the 1810s. As for the other figures, the 'gap' following the decline of those born in the marriage parish was predominantly filled by those born 11 or miles away, rather than those born 1-3 or 4-10 miles away. The numbers of parents born at each distance band from the marriage place are shown at Table B-5 in Appendix B.

Fifteen parents of people married in the period 1880-1909 were born abroad, and there were none born aboard in other periods. Of those parents born abroad, nine were born in Ireland, three in France and one each in Italy, Germany and Jamaica. All but two of the parents born abroad were Catholics.

There is a paucity of studies on birthplace of parents of marriage partners in England in the 18th and 19th centuries, so it is difficult to make comparisons with other research. In 1905 Maud F. Davies studied the people of Corsley, a scattered parish in Wiltshire about 11 miles from the present research area. She obtained information from "nearly all" households. She asked the heads of household to state, amongst other things, where their fathers and both grandfathers were born. They reported that 57% of their fathers were born in Corsley itself, 28% were born within 20 miles of the parish and the remaining 15% were born further afield (Davies 1909:262). These figures show a much higher rate of fathers born in the parish than in Stourton and Kilmington. For example, only 13% of fathers of grooms married in Stourton or Kilmington in the decade 1890-1899 were born in the same parish as their son was married. The figures are not directly comparable, since Davies questioned 'heads of households', which included married men of all ages, as well as bachelors and a few women. In addition, she relied on memory rather than objective documentation and it is possible that people were more likely to assume that their ancestors came from the immediate locality when they had no explicit information on the subject. A useful future study utilising the newly-available censuses and searchable civil registration indexes would be to examine all the heads of households in the 1901 and 1911 censuses in Corsley, and determine exactly where their fathers were born. This would shed light on whether Corsley had a much less mobile population than Stourton and Kilmington, or whether inhabitants just assumed that their parents were born nearby. This in turn would add to discussion on the geographical mobility of past populations, and the beliefs of rural people with respect to mobility.

5.5.2 Grandparents

The process for the identification of birthplace was then repeated for grandparents of all people married in Stourton or Kilmington during the research period, in order to answer the question of where they were born. The proportion of grandparents with known birthplaces increased over time, for the reasons discussed in Section 5.4.1.
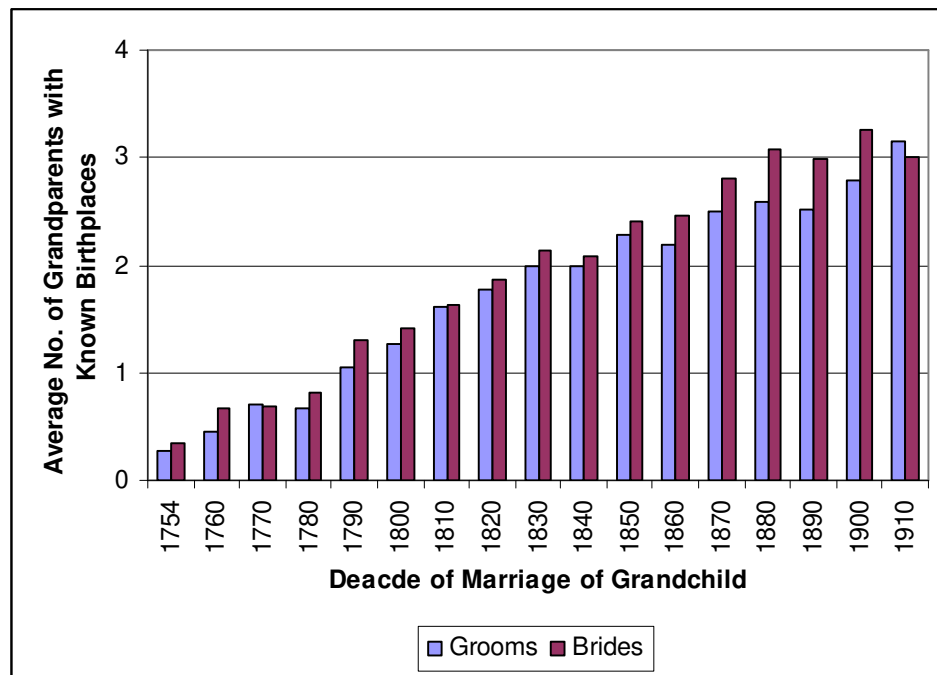
Figure 5-20: Average number of grandparents with identified birthplaces

The average number of grandparents with known birthplace of persons married in the research area in the period 1754-1914 was calculated and the results are shown at Figure 5-20. Unless there is very close inbreeding, each person has four different grandparents. The average number for whom birthplaces could be identified increased throughout the research period: from 1880 onwards brides had, on average three out of four grandparents with known birthplaces and grooms slightly less. The inability to identify the birthplace of a grandparent may be related to an inability to identify the grandparent at all. This is particularly likely to occur when the bride, groom or a parent were born illegitimately, or if

the parent was born at a considerable distance from the research area and records were less likely to be available to the present researcher.

The following results only relate to marriages that took place between 1800 and 1914, since the success rate in identifying the birthplace of grandparents of people married in the 18th century was very low (Figure 5-20) and showed a strong bias towards those who were born within the parish of marriage. In total, the birthplaces of 3,751 grandparents of people married in the research period in the 19th century and first years of the 20th century were identified, out of a theoretical total of 7,032 grandparents.

Histograms were plotted for all eight sets of grandparents: groom's father's father, groom's mother's father, and so on. The full set of histograms is presented at Figures B-3 to B-10 in Appendix B. Since so many produced essentially similar results, and there was no appreciable difference between the ancestries of grooms and brides, they were combined to reflect only the sex of the grandparent. These are shown at Figure 5-21 for grandfathers and Figure 5-22 for grandmothers.
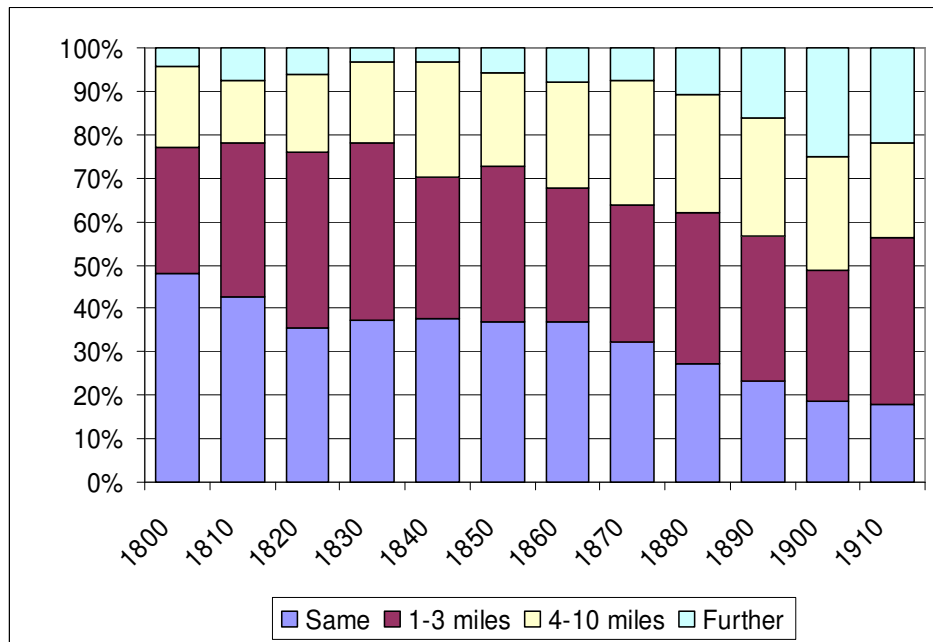
Figure 5-21 : Birthplace of grandfathers of people married in Stourton or Kilmington

The relative birthplaces of grandfathers of people married in Stourton and Kilmington in this period show a very similar pattern to that for other males: the grooms and the fathers of both brides and grooms. Figure 5-21 shows a decline in the proportion of grandfathers born within the marriage parish, with the proportion of those born 1-3 miles and 4-10 miles away remaining approximately steady. The difference is made up by those born 11 or more miles away. The trend for all the males is quite similar, although the levels vary to some extent.

Figure 5-22 : Birthplace of grandmothers of people married in Stourton or Kilmington

Similarly, Figure 5-22 shows that the grandmothers of those married in the research area at this time show a similar trend to other females, with the highest levels of endogamy in the first half the 19th century and then declining rapidly by the beginning of the 20th century. The proportions of grandmothers who were born in the parish of marriage of their grandchild are much lower than that for mothers, or for the brides themselves, which is to be expected with the virilocal post-marital residence pattern of the time.

Grandmothers born 11 or more miles from the place of marriage of their grandchild are almost absent in the first decades of the 19th century and do not reach a level above 10% until the 1870s. Although the post-marital movement of women occurred more frequently than for men, it is clear that they did not move very far, and that this was repeated across multiple generations. Nevertheless, it is possible that the virtual absence of grandparents

186

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186

born 11 or more miles away may be related to the difficulty in tracing multiple generations for those born at this distance from the research area.

There are no other reliable studies with which to compare the present results on this topic. According to Davies' informants in Corsley in 1905, 46% of their grandfathers were born in Corsley, 38% were born within 20 miles and the remaining 17% were born further afield (Davies 1909:262). In a similar way to their fathers, this seems to indicate a much lower rate of geographic mobility than demonstrated in the present project for the parishes of Stourton and Kilmington. In an age when literacy was low and an interest in family history was confined to the property-owning class, it would be unusual for ordinary workers to have much detailed information about the birth date or place of their grandparents, and so the Corsley figures may represent more wishful thinking than fact.

It appears that no grandparents of people married in the research area in the period 1800-1914 were born abroad. However, this is likely to be related to an inability to locate the birthplace of those grandparents. It will be recalled that in the period 1880-1909 a small number of parents of brides and grooms, particularly Catholics, were born in Ireland, France and other places (Section 5.5.1). The birthplace of their parents could not be established without significant research effort that is beyond the scope of this project. However, it seems reasonable to assume that the 15 parents of brides and grooms born in Ireland, France, Italy, Germany and Jamaica probably also had parents who were born abroad.

For the period 1800-1914, the four types of grandparents for the two marriage partners were grouped by distance between their birthplace and the place of marriage of their grandchild. The results are presented in Figure 5-23.
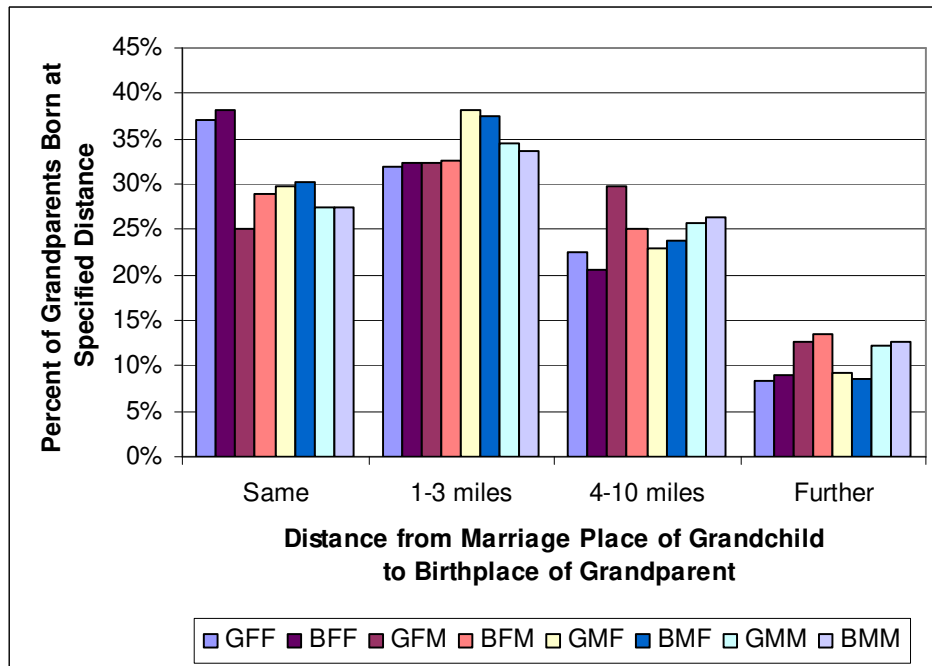
Figure 5-23: Distance from grandparents' birthplace to marriage place of grandchild, grouped by type of grandparent[63]

The grandparent most likely to be born in the parish of marriage was the bride's father's father (BFF). This is because the marriage was more likely to take place in the parish of the bride's birth, and due to English patterns of virilocal residence, she was likely to have been born in the same parish as her father, and her father was likely to be born in the parish of his father.

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[63] **GFF** = Groom's Father's Father, **BFM** = Bride's Father's Mother, **BMM** = Bride's Mother's Mother, etc

The next highest group is that of the groom's father's father (GFF). Although slightly fewer grooms were born in the parish of marriage than brides, those who were born in the marriage parish were likely to have been born in the same parish as their father.

It is apparent that the proportion of grandparents born within each relative distance-band (e.g. 1-3 miles) occurred in pairs. That is, fathers' fathers showed similar results whether they were the grandparent of the bride or groom, mothers' fathers showed similar results, and so on. Although there were differences in the proportions of grooms (Sections 5.4) and their parents (Section 5.5.1) born in each relative distance-band compared to that of brides, by the grandparents' generation, there was little difference whether they were the grandparent of a bride or groom. The exchange of marriage partners between parishes was an ongoing process, with spouses arriving and departing in approximately equal numbers, and the differences at grandparental level began to ameliorate the larger differences at the parent and spouse level. Indeed, what is perhaps most interesting in Figure 5-23 is how little each type of grandparent varied in their pattern of distance-bands. For example, in the 1-3 mile relative distance-band, there are only six percentage points between the least frequent grandparent, groom's father's father, and the most frequent, groom's mother's father.

Finally, if we consider only the unilineal ancestries (i.e. mother's mother and father's father) and combine data on these for bride and groom, the overall effect of these small changes in frequencies becomes apparent.
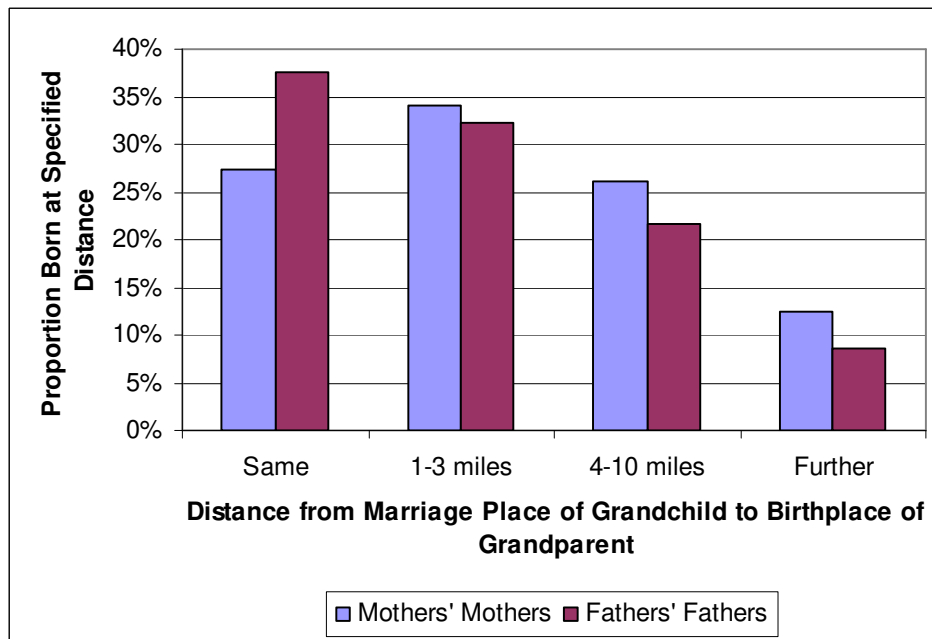
Figure 5-24 : Distance from marriage place of spouses married in Stourton or Kilmington 1754-1914, to birthplace of unilineal grandparents

Figure 5-24 shows that a spouse's father's father was more likely to be born in the parish of the grandchild's marriage than the mother's mother. For each relative distance-band outside the parish of marriage, more mothers' mothers are represented than fathers' fathers. Matrilineages travelled further than patrilineages.

5.6 Local Topography

This section examines the natural features of the landscape and asks how they influenced ease of movement on foot, and hence the potential effect on geographical mobility of marriage partners.

5.6.1 Hills and Gradients

The land around Stourton and Kilmington is comparatively hilly, with an abrupt drop towards the west in Somerset (Section 2.2). The 1895 border between Somerset and

Wiltshire coincided with the sharp drop in altitude. The following figures indicate the comparative gradient from Stourton to nearby places in four directions[64].
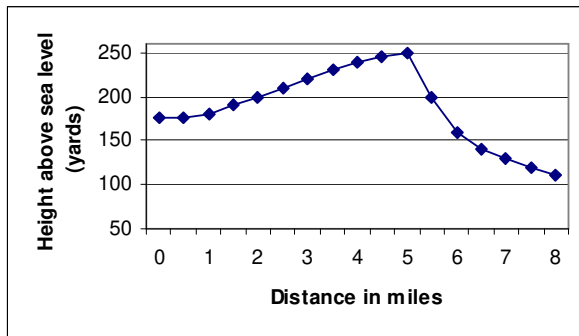
Figure 5-25 : Gradient north to Witham Friary
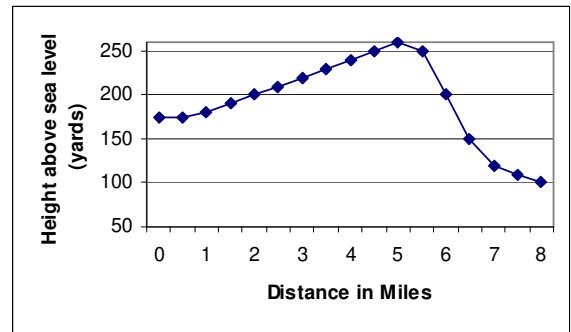
Figure 5-26 : Gradient west to Brewham
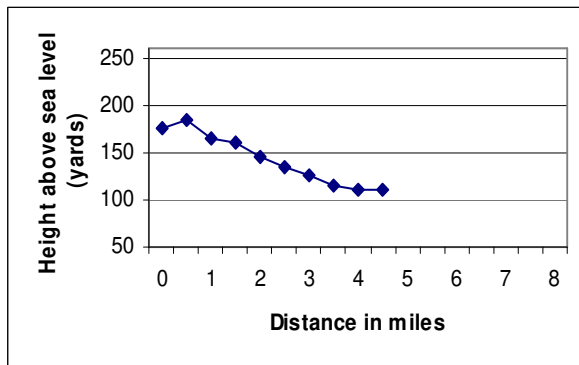
Figure 5-27 : Gradient east to Mere
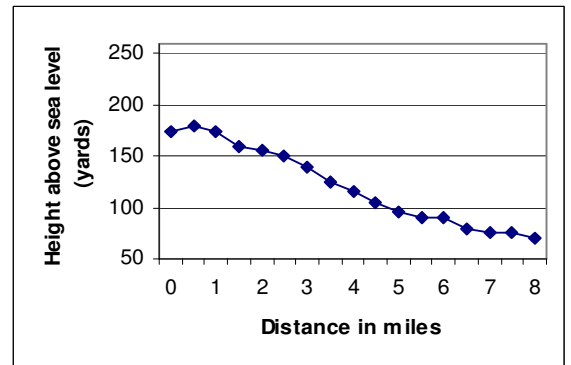
Figure 5-28 : Gradient south to Gillingham

The gradients from Stourton (and nearby Kilmington) to Somerset in the north (Figure 5-25) and west (Figure 5-26) are comparatively steep. A journey to Witham Friary or Brewham would involve climbing 100 yards up then negotiating a 150 yard decline over only three miles. The rise and fall would have been slightly less if walking through the now-forested area of Blackslough, which is no longer inhabited.

In the other directions, east into Wiltshire (Figure 5-27) and south into Dorset (Figure 5-28), the drop is more gradual and occurs over a longer distance. The effort required to walk

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[64] Elevations obtained from http://www.bikehike.co.uk/mapview.php and converted to current format by the present author

to or from Somerset in the north and west would be greater than that required to walk to Wiltshire or Dorset in the east and south. It therefore seems safe to assume that this was one of the factors which influenced pre-marital movement, causing a greater flow of people in the more easily traversable directions. This project demonstrated that for both Kilmington and Stourton, more spouses came from Wiltshire than Somerset (Figures 5-8 to 5-11).

This result is similar to that of a study of 27 west Dorset parishes in the period 1837-1936, which showed that amongst parish-exogamous marriages, there was a clear preference to select partners along a valley, rather than up and over the hills. This effect was only mitigated when the parish in question was close to a main road (Perry 1969:131).

Figure 5-29 : Great Coombe on the edge of Stourton
Photo: Cathy Day

Figure 5-29 gives an indication of the scale of the gradient to be traversed when walking west from Stourton towards Brewham in Somerset.

5.6.2 Rivers

The research area has a great deal of water (Section 2.2). Figure 5-30 shows that four major rivers rise in this area: the River Stour drains away to Bournemouth in the south, the River Brue heads due west via Glastonbury to drain into the Bristol Channel, the River Frome flows north through the town of Frome to join the Kennet and Avon Canal, and the River Wylye flows via Salisbury in the east then turns south to Christchurch. All the rivers radiate out from their sources in the research area, like spokes of a wheel.

Figure 5-30 : Map showing rivers rising in research area
Source: Original map provided by the Environment Agency of the UK, modified by the present author

Although these rivers become comparatively wide when they approach the coast, they are quite narrow near their sources in the research area. For example, Figure 5-31 shows the source of the River Brue, which is a spring only two feet wide. The brick and stone arch was constructed at the behest of Sir Henry Richard Hoare in 1841. It is so small at its source that at times the spring failed altogether (Hoare 1792-1842).

Figure 5-31 : Source of the River Brue, which rises in Stourton
Photo: Cathy Day

Similarly, Figure 5-32 shows the River Stour at Gasper Mill in Stourton. It is only about four feet wide and a few inches deep, and can easily be crossed on stepping stones. Small bridges only a few inches above the water surface, and fallen logs, cross the river at many points in the parish.

Figure 5-32 : River Stour at Gasper Mill
Photo: Cathy Day

Even in ancient times, the small rivers in this area would not have presented much of a barrier to human movement. Since they radiate outwards from the research area, rather than intersect it, they do not form barriers between either of the two core parishes and other parishes.

By comparison, the River Cherwell in Oxfordshire was also only a few feet wide and was shallow. Yet the river represented a barrier to marital movement in Otmoor, albeit a partially porous barrier, with few marriage partners exchanged across the barrier. The boundary was more 'social' than physical (Küchemann et al. 1967:270) and Otmoor residents regarded those living on the other side of the River Cherwell as not being part of Otmoor (Harrison 1995:49).

Similarly, the River Stort on the boundary between Essex and Hertfordshire created a social barrier for inhabitants of border parishes in the period 1861-1871, both in terms of inhabitants of those parishes and of marriage partners (Schürer 2002).

The layout of the small rivers rising in the research area and radiating outwards means that they do not form a barrier between Stourton and Kilmington on the one hand and other parishes on the other.

5.6.3 Forests

The research area was once part of an ancient forest called Selwood which was given legal status as a Royal Forest some time before 1175 (Mayes 1995:120). Forest laws harshly penalised people for a range of offences including enclosing land for pasture or taking firewood. Forest law applied to any village within the boundary, and Selwood included not only woodland, but also arable and common land and the villages of Stourton, Kilmington, Mere, Zeals and Maiden Bradley. Selwood was slowly deforested in large and small increments (Mayes 1995:120) and by 1670 forest law was no longer enforced (Mayes 1995). Reforesting began in the 18th century and Selwood was still substantial in the 19th century (Rackham 1986:85). There are still living Sweet Chestnut trees which were planted as part of the landscaping for the old Stourton Castle. The oldest living tree was planted in 1486 and there are several dozen living trees that were planted before 1700 (Mayes 1995:145).

When the Hoare family acquired Stourton, they set about turning it into a pleasure garden. Wanting to have a reliable source of income that would not detract from the natural and artificial beauty of the area, Sir Richard Colt Hoare set about tree-planting on a massive

scale. For example, in the period 1799-1803 an average of 32,000 trees were planted annually (Hoare 1792-1842). Sir Richard was so enamoured of planting fir trees that he wrote a pamphlet extolling the virtues of such planting for profit, when the soil was not good enough for wheat or other cereal crops. He stated that "... the growth of fir trees is so rapid as … to enable the proprietor to purchase a horse before any other plantation would enable him to buy a saddle" (Hoare 1814:3). This commitment to forestry produced extensive forests around Stourton. They still exist and Stourhead Western Estate operates as a forestry company today. As the forests were planted around existing settlements, they did not block roads or footpaths, although in at least one case a hamlet was demolished in order to allow further planting (Hoare 1792-1842). Although the footpaths through the forest would be difficult to traverse at night, most human movement took place during daylight hours (Boyce et al. 1967).

Figure 5-33 shows one of many old paths through the Selwood forest in Stourton, which were easily navigable on foot, but could not take wheeled traffic such as carts.

Figure 5-33 : Path through forest surrounding Stourton
Photo: Cathy Day

The forests around Stourton and Kilmington follow the Somerset-Wiltshire county boundary, which is also marked by the steep gradient (Section 5.6.1). As previously demonstrated, more Stourton and Kilmington spouses came from Wiltshire or Dorset than Somerset (Section 5.4.4). This direction of pre-marital movement was probably influenced both by the gradient and forests, which coincided with the Wiltshire-Somerset border.

5.7 Transport

This section will examine the man-made parts of the landscape, notably transportation routes and centres of employment, with a view to understanding how they influenced geographical mobility.

A prehistoric trackway called the Harrow Way ran across Whitesheet Hill, north of Stourton, passing through Kilmington (Timperley and Brill 1965:59). It is one of the oldest trackways in Britain (Timperley and Brill 1965:59) and originally accommodated travellers on foot and packhorse. It connected the research area with Stonehenge, 22 miles to the east, and it may have been used to travel there in prehistoric times for ritual purposes (Timperley and Brill 1965:59). From Stonehenge the Harrow Way went to London and the east coast. From Kilmington to the southeast it went to Exeter. From at least the 12th century the Harrow Way was used as a droveway, to drive animals, principally sheep, to market in Salisbury and London (Mayes 1995:141). On the now-disused trackway there are still milestones dated 1750 which show the distances to Salisbury and London.

As wheeled vehicles became more common in the 17th and 18th centuries, the main roads began to see more traffic and a great deal of damage was done to them. Turnpikes were introduced to cover the cost of road repairs, which burden had formerly fallen on the parish through which the road passed. In Wiltshire the introduction of turnpikes improved the quality of the roads and resulted in a very large increase in traffic (Bettey 1986:195-6). The main road into Mere from the east was turnpiked in the middle of the 18th century. The road to Wincanton in the west was turnpiked in 1756 and that from Zeals Green to Stourton in 1798 (Jackson 1997). Turnpiked roads were also of higher quality, and therefore resulted in reduced travelling times, which aided movement across the countryside for those who could afford wheeled transport (Royle 1987:9). The large increase in traffic and the increased ease of movement about the countryside for some both influenced the number of potential marriage partners that a person might meet.

In 1758, as coaches became a more common form of long-distance travel, the main road was re-routed to go through Mere and the town found itself on the main coaching road from London to Exeter (Longbourne 2004). This resulted in the presence of travellers and people who did not intend to stay long. This is significant from the perspective of mate choice, since it brought 'new blood' into the area. In Mere after this date, the Bastardy Bonds sometimes describe the fathers of illegitimate children as 'itinerant traveller', 'rope dancer' or 'mountebank and charlatan doctor' (Churchwardens of Mere 1721-1858). These sorts of descriptions are not seen in the more isolated communities of Stourton or Kilmington.

The use of horse and/or carriage was still beyond the financial reach of most people (Perry 1969:131; Royle 1987:8), although it was sometimes possible to obtain a lift with a horse and cart (Wilson 2007).

The central position of Mere in the road transport network is reflected in its importance as a local market town and the large numbers of spouses of Stourton and Kilmington folk born in Mere. Railways did not come to the region until 1856, with the southwest of England being amongst the last regions in the country to develop a rail network (Royle 1987:11). Even after 1859, when the second regional railway line was completed, it was more than six miles from Stourton to a railway station (Clinker 1959). To get to the nearest railway station, an inhabitant of Stourton or Kilmington would first have to go to Mere, then on to Gillingham. Whilst the age of the railways was important for the development of British trade and industry, in the 19th century it was only viable as a means of long-distance travel. Roads were still more important for short-distance travel than railways (Royle 1987:8).

For the poor, pedestrian travel was the only option until the invention of the bicycle, which began to be popular in 1895 with the mass-produced 'safety bicycle' with pneumatic tyres (Royle 1987:17). Bicycles were not commonplace in the research area until the last years of the research period.

Stourton has never been on any major road and has had little passing traffic in its history (Mayes 1995:142). Even today, the road from Mere north to Maiden Bradley and the nearest large town of Frome passes through the hamlet of Norton Ferris, rather than the village of Kilmington, and bypasses Stourton altogether (Figure 2-3). Perry's (1969:131) study of west Dorset villages in the period 1837-1936 demonstrated that the proximity of a village to major roads was an important feature influencing marital distance. These man-made features were the only factors to overcome the influence of gradient on marital distance (Perry 1969:131).

The rivers in the research area are not large enough to be navigable and there have never been any canals for transport in this part of Wiltshire. The movement of peoples and their goods was along footpaths, roads and in the second half of the 19th century, railway lines.

Most day-to-day transport for labourers was on foot until the beginning of the 20th century (Perry 1969:131; Royle 1987:8) and this is reflected in the distribution of marriage partners within walking distance of their marriage place. The coming of the railways and improved roads led to higher proportions of spouses coming from 11 or more miles away, but did not radically alter the proportions born within walking distance (Figures 5-5 and 5-6). Why did people travel? A primary reason was related to employment and the next section addresses

the question of how employment and occupation were associated with geographical mobility.

5.8 Employment and Occupation

From the 1780s onwards, parts of England with large industrial centres 'pulled' workers towards them, with the promise of higher wages and abundant work (Royle 1987:65). However, this part of Wiltshire has never been industrialised to any significant extent (Wilson 2007:180). There was a large water-driven iron foundry at Bourton, which was converted from a mill in the late 19th century (Brabner 1895). At its peak just before the First World War it employed over 200 men and boys. With no other industrial centres, migrants were not 'pulled' into the research area in search of work or higher wages.

The area was predominantly agricultural, along with forestry, quarrying and the textile industry (Section 2.5). The major movement of people into the research area, apart from marriage, was for employment on the Stourhead Estate. Gamekeepers and gardeners were brought in from outside the parish, but there were no other large-scale employers to encourage in-migration to Stourton and Kilmington.

Internal migration in England in the 19th century was fuelled by population pressure in agricultural areas on one hand, and a demand for labour in urban industry on the other, as well as improved communications between rural and urban areas (Royle 1987:59). Rural Wiltshire experienced both the 'push' away from it and the 'pull' towards the urban industrial centres in other counties, resulting in net population losses for the county in the 1840s and 1850s   (Royle 1987:59). This is reflected in the dwindling populations of Stourton from the 1880s and Kilmington from the 1890s (Section 2.6).

With fewer opportunities for paid employment in rural areas after the changes in agricultural techniques in the 1870s, more young women than men left their rural villages to enter service in large towns (Perry 1969; Royle 1987:67). A reconstitution study of the village of Berwick St James, Wiltshire indicated that nearly all females born in the parish in the period 1841-1851 had moved away by 1871 (Hinde 1987).

How were occupation and geographical mobility associated in Stourton and Kilmington? Occupations of women were rarely recorded in official documents and their participation in part-time, casual and seasonal work was generally ignored by record keepers (Royle 1987:90). Thus, only grooms will be considered in this section.

Occupations of grooms married in the research area were categorised as Elite, Farmer, Non-Agricultural and Labourer. The Elite group included members of the clergy, lawyers, surveyors, baronets and men described as 'gentlemen'. Farmers were men who farmed a piece of land, employed labourers and owned the produce, although they may not have actually owned the land which they farmed. The distinction between farmers and the elite was based on land ownership. Those who owned the land, endowed the church, bought coats of arms and stood for local government were the elite. Although they had similar values to farmers, they were a separate social class (Gerard 1994:6). The Non-Agricultural Group included shopkeepers, millers, bakers, butchers, carpenters, shoemakers, clerks and police officers. The category of Labourer included anyone described as an agricultural labourer, general labourer or day labourer, as well as those whose stated occupations required no specific skills or training. The latter group included farm servants, stable hands, under-gardeners and others.

Grooms were grouped by relative birthplace band and occupational category, and the proportion born in each of the relative distance bands was calculated.

Table 5-6 : Relative birthplace of men married in Stourton or Kilmington 1754-1914, by occupational group (%)

	Labourer	Non-Agricultural	Farmer	Elite
Same	48.9	23.3	31.0	10.0
1-3 miles	24.3	30.2	10.6	5.0
4-10 miles	17.2	19.4	31.9	15.0
Further	9.4	19.0	24.8	70.0
Abroad	0.2	0.4	1.8	0.0

χ^2 *= 120.88, d.f. =9, p<0.001. Abroad and Further amalgamated in statistical test.*

The raw data for this table are at Table B-6 in Appendix B. Table 5-6 shows that grooms who were labourers were more likely to be born locally than men in higher status occupations, with 48.9% of grooms who were labourers being born in the parish of marriage. Farmers were more likely than labourers or the non-agricultural group to be born 4 or more miles away. Seventy percent of the elite group were born 11 or more miles away. As the numbers in the elite group were small, their influence on the gene pool of the region was negligible, and indeed they often left the area without contributing anything to the gene pool.

In Table 5-6, the relative birthplace band which contained the highest proportion for each occupational group has been highlighted, and there is a clear gradient of social class with increasingly distant birthplace. The higher the class, the further away the groom is likely to be have been born.

Did this change over time? All grooms married in Stourton or Kilmington in the period 1790-1900[65] were separated into locally-born (i.e. within the parish of marriage) or migrant, and the percentage of each group who were labourers was calculated. The results are shown in Figure 5-34 as two-period moving averages.
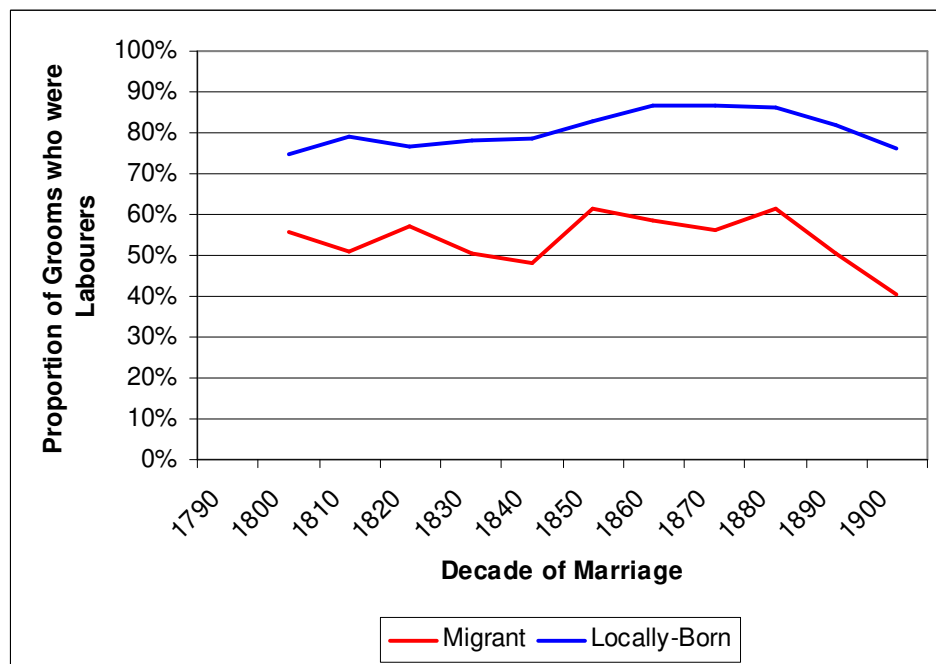
Figure 5-34 : Labourer grooms, local versus migrant

Figure 5-34 shows that although the figures fluctuated, the difference between the locally-born and migrant groups remained approximately constant. Throughout this period, the least geographically mobile grooms (i.e. those born and married within the same parish) were also members of the lowest occupational group.

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[65] The earlier and later periods were discarded as there were too few pairs of observations for meaningful comparison. In the period 1754-759 only 35% of grooms were migrants, whereas by 1910-1914, only 30% of grooms were locally born (Figure 5-2)

One early explanation of marital distances was that farmers tended to marry within carriage driving distance of their farms whilst labourers married within walking distance of their cottages (Bramwell 1939:315).

The influence of social class on relative birthplace in 18th and 19th century Wiltshire is mirrored in the results for 20th century Oxfordshire. In Otmoor villages in the 1960s, non-locally born men were, on average, of a higher social class than locally born men (Harrison 1995:39). The study team was unable to illustrate this for earlier periods as they did not have birthplace information, only information on residence at time of marriage.

The observation that social class is related to mobility was also made in Perry's (1969) study of west Dorset parishes. He excluded the middle and upper classes from his calculations of marital mobility on the grounds that his perusal of the marriage registers had indicated a much higher rate of mobility amongst the upper and middle classes, although no supporting data were provided. With more free time and more money to spend on transport, the upper classes came from further afield than labourers (Perry 1969:124).

Similarly, Davies' study of a Wiltshire village showed greater mobility amongst the fathers and grandfathers of farmers than those of labourers. Heads of householders who were farmers claimed that 48% of their fathers and 26% of their grandfathers were born in the village in which the respondents were now living, whilst heads of households who were labourers claimed 76% and 48% respectively (Davies 1909:264). Since the results were based on personal recollection, the accuracy of the figures may be queried. Nevertheless, the contrast between farmers and labourers is evident.

In a Spanish village in the period 1850-1910, the opposite effect was shown. Brides and grooms were divided into tenants and landowners, and the tenants were more mobile pre-maritally than the landowners (Abelson 1978). An important difference between this finding and that of Stourton and Kilmington in the same period is that in the latter even the farmers rarely owned land. Most of the land was owned by the Hoare family and farmers were usually tenants. Small-scale land ownership, which was uncommon in the research area in the second half of the 19th century, may have had a different impact on geographical mobility.

Table 5-6 showed the relative birthplace of grooms, by occupational group, throughout the entire research period. However, the relative social status of the occupations was not static throughout this period. Until the second half of the 18th century, many heads of householders were described as husbandmen or yeomen, when these terms would have been taken to mean small-scale farmers with access to small plots of land, or waste and common lands (Bettey 1986). However, as enclosure progressed and common lands were turned into arable land, many smallholders became wage labourers and their standard of living decreased dramatically (Bettey 1986). It is possible that some of the men referred to as 'yeomen' in the second half of the 18th century might have been smallholders with little capital, and thus, quite different from the wealthy farmers of the 19th century. It would be informative to further examine the occupations of Stourton and Kilmington men throughout the 18th century, with a view to teasing out the differences in social class and the impact on marriage patterns in this region.

5.9 Religion

Finally, the relative birthplaces of brides and grooms were considered with respect to the religion of each partner. The number of Protestant Dissenters in Kilmington and Stourton was small (Section 2.4.2) so Anglicans and Protestant Dissenters will be considered together here under the label Protestants.

The religion used was that into which the person had been baptised as an infant, and did not take into account conversions, which in this area were usually Protestant to Catholic and typically occurred around the time of a mixed marriage.

Spouses of known religion and birthplace were divided into Protestant and Catholic, and the proportion either born in the same parish in which they were married, within 1-3 miles, within 4-10 miles, further afield or abroad, were plotted in Figures 5-35 for grooms and 5-36 for brides.
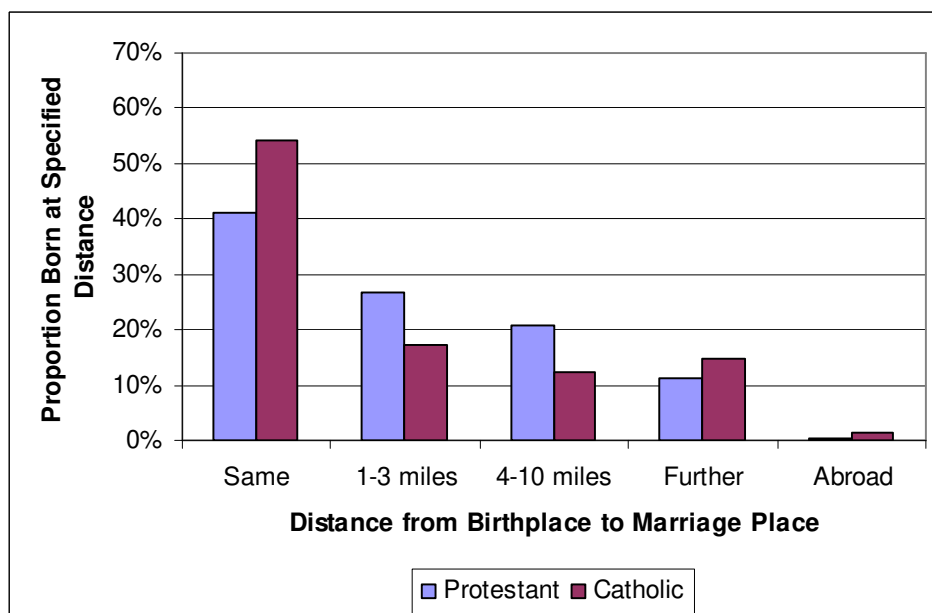
Figure 5-35 : Birthplace of grooms married in Stourton or Kilmington, by religion

Figure 5-35 shows that Catholic grooms were more likely to be born within the parish in which they were married than Protestant grooms. The lower mobility of Catholic men was related to varying degrees of tolerance found in surrounding parishes. Stourton was the only parish within 12 miles to have a Catholic chapel, and Catholics who devoutly practised their faith needed to remain near their place of worship. In addition, Stourton was actively tolerant of Catholics, probably as a result of the influence of the former owners, the Lords Stourton, who were devout Catholics (Section 2.4.1). Nearby parishes may not have been so tolerant.

On the other hand, Catholic men were more likely than Protestant men to be born 11 or more miles away, or abroad. The two nearest places with significant Catholic minorities were Tisbury in Wiltshire and Marnhull in Dorset, which were 13.2 and 12.1 miles away respectively. These contributed to the pool of Catholic grooms in Stourton. Since Catholics were in such a minority in Wiltshire, Catholic grooms were also drawn from far-flung places that had higher concentrations of Catholics, such as London and Lancashire.
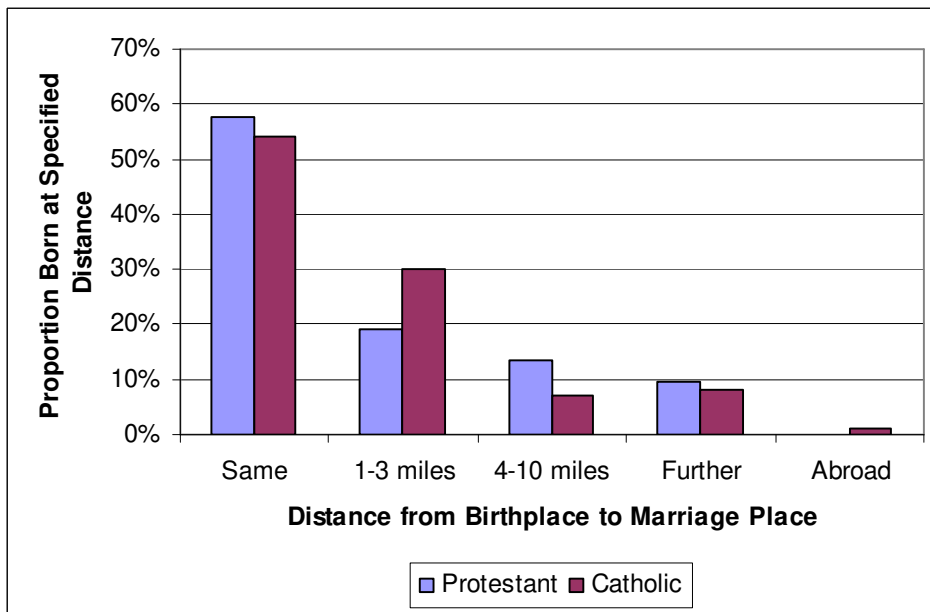
Figure 5-36 : Birthplace of brides married in Stourton or Kilmington, by religion

By contrast, Figure 5-36 shows that similar proportions of Catholic (54%) and Protestant brides (58%) were born in the parish in which they were married. The major difference is in those born within 1-3 miles from the parish of marriage, where 19% of Protestant brides were born, compared to 30% for Catholic brides. This may be a result of the greater attachment of Catholic women to their faith than Catholic men (Bossy 1975:157). When Catholic women lived outside Stourton but within walking distance of their place of worship, for example in Penselwood, they continued to worship at St Benedict's in Stourton and were usually married there. However, Catholic men who lived outside Stourton were less influenced by their church and there are numerous examples of Catholic men in Penselwood marrying a Protestant woman in the local Anglican church and having children baptised there. Although they may not have converted, some Catholic men chose not to marry in the Catholic chapel in Stourton and because they did not marry in Stourton they do not feature in the calculations used for this project. There are no cases identified in this project in which Catholic women living within walking distance of Stourton married in

an Anglican church outside Stourton and then had their children baptised as Anglicans. This differential commitment to their religion may explain the greater proportions of Catholic women married in Stourton but born 1-3 miles away, than Catholic men.

In addition, an English law enacted in 1593 which was still enforced in 1734 forbade Catholics from moving more than five miles from their place of residence once they had been convicted as Popish recusants (Church 1996:28). How far this was enforced in southwest Wiltshire is not clear but the potential penalty of losing all their property is likely to have encouraged Catholic men to remain close to home throughout their lives.

Overall, Catholics were somewhat less mobile than Protestants, although the differences were small. Throughout the period 1754-1914, 68% of Protestant grooms were born less than 4 miles from their place of marriage, including within their parish of marriage, compared to 71% for Catholic grooms. For brides, the figures were 77% for Protestants and 84% for Catholics.

5.10   Conclusions

Stourton and Kilmington showed levels of parish endogamy that were similar to other rural English villages at the time.

A number of factors affected the geographic mobility of marriage partners. A key issue was distance, with people more likely to choose partners born nearby than further away. This finding echoes that of many other studies and needs no special discussion. However, it was not simply a matter of distance measured in concentric circles. In the research area, spouses from Wiltshire were preferred, with the Somerset border creating a social boundary, albeit a

porous one. This is probably because the county boundaries coincided with significant natural features, such as the very steep incline from Somerset to Wiltshire and the forest along the ridge. These natural features aligned with ancient tribal boundaries (Cunliffe 1993:208-211) which in turn eventually became aligned with county boundaries. In the research area, rivers were not significant natural barriers to human movement and therefore did not act as barriers to spousal movement.

Some villages were preferred over others, for no apparent reason, and this can only be attributed to traditional preferences for people from those villages.

Geographic mobility was influenced by social class and religion. Members of higher occupational groups were more mobile than labourers, with the highest status group being the most mobile. This is related to having sufficient free time to travel, as well as the money to purchase transportation. At short range, Protestants were slightly more mobile than Catholics, although more Catholic grooms came from 11 or more miles away that Protestant grooms.

All this changed over time. As the countryside opened up, it was easier for outsiders to come to small villages such as Stourton and Kilmington. The well-made toll roads improved access and the railway did so further. Opportunities for people to leave also increased, with significant emigration in the second half of the 19th century. By the beginning of the 20th century, the marital options were becoming more limited for those remaining in the village, as the population dwindled.

The experiences of men and women were quite different with respect to geographic mobility. Men tended to remain for generations in one location whilst women moved between locations. The patterns of geographic mobility demonstrated in the brides and grooms of Stourton and Kilmington repeated patterns shown by their parents and grandparents.

In summary, the geographic mobility of spouses was influenced by a range of factors including local topography, occupational group and religion. In turn, geographic mobility influenced the size of the pool of potential spouses, resulting in some groups marrying their cousins, who lived in close proximity, more frequently than other groups. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

6 Consanguinity

6.1 Introduction

This chapter asks what proportion of marriages in Stourton and Kilmington were between genetically related people, and how this was influenced by the religion and occupation of the individuals concerned. It asks whether family experience played a part in consanguineous marriage formation. This chapter uses the extensive pedigrees created for this project to answer these questions. There have been studies using pedigree analysis of isolated populations in Britain, including Ireland (Brennan et al. 1982; Williams 1986; Gordon et al. 1991). However, most British communities were not isolates and the results may not be representative of other places. The dearth of good quality data on the level of consanguineous marriage in Britain has been noted by other authors (Anderson 1986; Smith et al. 1993).

This chapter begins by defining some key concepts before describing church and lay views on consanguineous marriage. The results for Stourton and Kilmington are then shown and discussed.

6.1.1 Definition of Consanguineous Marriage

Consanguinity is having shared biological ancestry and consanguineous marriage is marriage between biological relatives. Consanguineous marriage can include, for example, uncle-niece marriages, or even closer relationships. However, in the context of legally valid marriages in England in the 18th and 19th centuries, consanguineous marriages were generally some form of cousin marriage. In this project, the term consanguinity is used to cover all degrees of cousinhood, with these degrees specified wherever appropriate.

215

6.1.2 Degrees of Cousins

The English language is comparatively imprecise in its terms for kin relationships. The terms that are used, such as '2nd cousin' or '1st cousin once removed', are not well understood by all native English speakers. When conducting fieldwork in southwest England, one of the most common enquiries received by the present author from members of the public was to explain precisely what the various kin terms meant.

First cousins are the offspring of siblings. This is occasionally complicated by unusual marriage patterns. For example, the offspring of half-siblings are *half-cousins* and the offspring of couples in which a pair of siblings marries another pair of siblings are *double first cousins.* That is, they are cousins on both their mother's and father's sides. In Britain up to the early 19th century, 1st cousins were referred to as *cousins-german*, but this term is no longer used or widely understood.

Second cousins are the offspring of 1st cousins. Their grandparents were siblings. *Third cousins* are the offspring of 2nd cousins. Their great-grandparents were siblings.

The term *removed* refers to the number of generations separating the individuals. *First cousins once-removed* have a parent of one person and a grandparent of the other who were siblings. In other words, the offspring of an individual's 1st cousin is a 1st cousin once-removed to that individual. Figure 6-1 briefly shows some theoretical examples to clarify the definitions.

Charles Annie Bob Andrew Arthur Bernard Betty Adeline Adam Brian Bill **Figure 6-1 : Examples of cousin relationships**	In this example, Andrew & Arthur are 1st cousins to Bernard & Betty. Adeline & Adam are 1st cousins to each other and 2nd cousins to Brian & Bill. Andrew is a 1st cousin once removed to Brian & Bill.
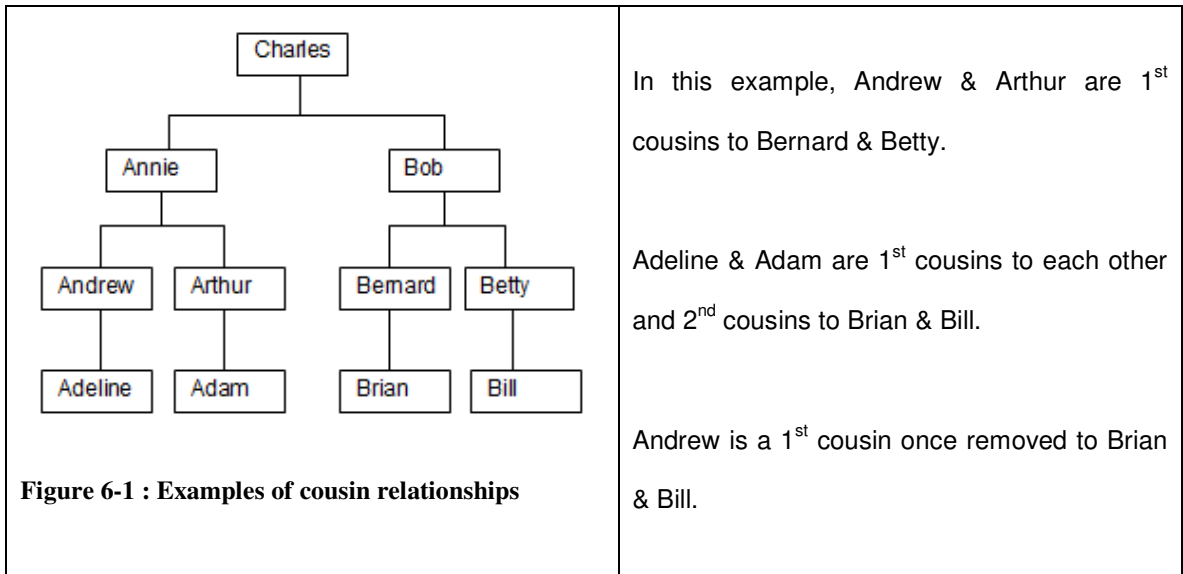
The Catholic Church uses different terminology to define kin relationships. Within Catholic ecclesiastical law, kin relationships are described in lines and degrees. The Code of Canon Law specifies Catholic doctrine on a wide range of issues, including what is a valid marriage. It states:

> Consanguinity is reckoned by lines and degrees. In the direct line there are as many degrees as there are generations, that is, as there are persons, not counting the common ancestor. In the collateral line there are as many degrees as there are persons in both lines together, not counting the common ancestor. (The Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1983: Canon 108).

Therefore, in Catholic Canon Law, 1st cousins are described as collateral relations in the 4th degree. An individual's great-aunt or great-uncle is also a collateral relation in the 4th degree, but in practice the age difference makes it unlikely that marriage would be considered. In Catholic terminology, 1st cousins once removed are collaterally related in the 5th degree.

The definitions of relationships described above are the current definitions. Prior to 1917 each Diocese made its own interpretation of relationships (Goody 1983:134-139; Brundage 1987:passim). This resulted in different levels of marriage prohibition at different times and places, which are discussed in Section 6.2.2.

6.1.3 Definition of Inbreeding Coefficient

Inbreeding occurs when an individual's parents are biologically related. It is measured by the inbreeding coefficient, which is calculated from the closeness of the biological relatedness of the parents. It is designated as '*f*' and is the probability of an individual having two identical copies of an allele by descent. The name and method of calculation were developed by Sewall Wright (1922) and most authors discussing inbreeding use this method to quantify the level of inbreeding.

In theory, *f* ranges from 0 (parents have no genetic relationship) to 1 (both parents are genetically identical). An inbreeding coefficient of 1 is therefore not possible in human populations. The inbreeding coefficient is calculated using the formula:

$$f = (0.5)^{(p+m+1)}$$

where *p* is the number of generations back to the common ancestor in the paternal line and *m* is the number of generations back to the common ancestor through the maternal line. Where there is more than one common ancestor, the inbreeding coefficient is cumulative.

For example, let us calculate the inbreeding coefficient of the offspring of an ordinary 1st cousin marriage (not double 1st cousin or half 1st cousin). There are two generations through the paternal line to the grandfather and two generations through the maternal line to the grandfather, giving a result through that ancestor of $(0.5)^{(2+2+1)}$ or 0.03125. Then the

same calculation is applied to the lines back to the grandmother, also yielding a result of 0.03125. The two results are added to produce an inbreeding coefficient of 0.0625.

Table 6-1 summarises the inbreeding coefficient of offspring of various consanguineous unions.

Table 6-1 : Inbreeding coefficient for several levels of relationship

Relationship of Parents	Inbreeding Coefficient (f) of Offspring
Uncle-niece	0.1250
Double 1st cousins	0.1250
1st cousins	0.0625
1st cousins once removed & 2nd cousins once removed	0.0391
Half 1st cousins	0.0313
1st cousins once removed	0.0313
2nd cousins	0.0156
2nd cousins once removed	0.0078
3rd cousins	0.0039
3rd cousins once removed	0.0020

It is immediately apparent that the inbreeding coefficient declines dramatically with each succeeding generation. In unions where the parents are of the same generation, the inbreeding coefficient is one-quarter of that for the preceding generation. The cumulative effect of the inbreeding coefficient is also apparent, as double 1st cousins have an inbreeding coefficient twice that of 1st cousins, and equal to that of an uncle-niece pairing.

6.1.4 Inbreeding versus Incest

Incest is a sexual act or relationship between two people who are more closely related than permitted by law or custom and thus differs from inbreeding, in degree and legal terms (Bittles 2004:38). The Macquarie Concise Dictionary defines it as, "sexual intercourse between persons closely related by blood" (Delbridge and Bernard 1988:484). The term "closely related" varies between cultures and in Australia the legal definition varies between states. These range from South Australia, which only prohibits sexual relations between parents and children and between full siblings, to Queensland which forbids sexual relations between a range of relatives including uncle and niece, aunt and nephew, step-siblings and members of the family who were adopted or fostered[66] (Heath 2005:30).

All cultures ban incestuous marriages to some degree, and most ban incestuous sex, but precisely what is defined as incest varies widely (Fox 1980:2). In England an aversion for incestuous marriage was generalised into disquiet about any marriage between known relatives. Throughout the 16th to 19th centuries when the debate raged over whether marriage to a deceased wife's sister or to a 'cousin german' was acceptable, the frequent argument was that these forms of marriage constituted incest (Trumbach 1985). In England, ecclesiastical and civil laws only prohibit marriage to comparatively close relatives such as siblings, parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles (as well as the equivalent affines and step-relations) and cousin marriage has not been prohibited since 1540 (Smith et al. 1993).

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[66] In Australia sex is regulated by state governments but marriage is regulated by the Australian government through *Marriage Act 1961* (Cth). This can lead to contradictory situations. For example, in Queensland it is legal to marry one's uncle or aunt, but illegal to have sex with them. In South Australia it is legal to have sex with one's half-siblings but illegal to marry them.

Incest was not a criminal offence in England until 1908[67]. Prior to that time it was treated as a matter for the church, as it was considered part of the church's function in regulating marriage (Morris 1991). Before 1908, marriage within the prohibited degrees was punished by the annulment of the marriage, but sexual union without marriage was treated as fornication and/or adultery, not incest (Morris 1991:235). Most of the cases that were tried in ecclesiastical courts were between affines[68] and some siblings or half-siblings (Morris 1991). Punishments for fornication and adultery were handed down by ecclesiastical courts and administered by the local parson, usually involving some form of public penance in church (Macfarlane 1980:78; Morris 1991).

Due to its illegal nature and the strong religious sanctions against it, there was a very high level of motivation to hide incestuous activity. There was such an overwhelming aversion to incest that individuals were very unlikely to make any incestuous activities known (Bittles 2004). This would make it impossible to undertake any kind of accurate analysis in this project using the data sources available and thus incest is not examined here. Where incestuous activities have come to light in other research, it has been through documents related to prosecution of the parties by the church (Morris 1991). Despite examining hundreds of thousands of records in preparing the database for this project, the present author found only two possible recorded instances of incest in parish registers. In both cases the parson who recorded the baptism of a child who was the product of an incestuous union also made a comment about the union that led to the child's conception.

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[67] 8 Edw. 7 c.45

[68] Throughout much of English history, sexual relations between affines were considered incest. In particular, whether or not a deceased wife's sister was a legally valid marriage partner was debated frequently from the 17th to the 20th centuries.

In the Anglican parish registers of the village of St Weonards in Herefordshire this entry occurs on 10th February 1826:

> Elizabeth daughter of Susan Smith, illegitimate. The father supposed to be either <u>her own brother</u> or (more <u>probably</u>) the wanton preacher who was lodging in the family!!! A wolf in sheep's clothing!!!!!

Judging by the exclamation marks, it appears that the parson at St Weonards was more concerned with the possibility that a 'wanton preacher' had fathered the illegitimate child than the mother's own brother.

In the Anglican parish registers of Selworthy, Somerset this entry occurs on 4th July 1802:

> Elizabeth, daughter of a whore whose name is Ann Southerwood, an aunt of Lake the Son, the reputed father. Such mixture seldom happens.

In this case the parson's comment that "such mixture seldom happens" indicates the rarity of reporting of incest.

One case of an incestuous uncle-niece marriage was discovered by the present author, although it was not recorded as incestuous in documentary sources. William James Gascoigne married his niece Irene Cecilia Gascoigne in 1907 in Weymouth, Dorset, and the couple lived in Kilmington for the rest of their lives. It is clear that the couple knew that they were related since William's sister Hannah, who was also Irene's aunt, lived with the couple from their marriage until her death. Hannah could not have failed to notice that her brother's wife was the daughter of another of her brothers. Their marriage is not included amongst the calculations for this project since it did not take place in Kilmington or Stourton, but their highly inbred children were included in the inbreeding coefficient

calculations since they were born in Kilmington. A feature of this relationship was that Irene was not raised with William and so possibly did not consider him in the role of an uncle. She was born and raised in London, and did not marry her uncle until her parents were dead. There is evidence that an important factor in establishing incest avoidance between individuals is being raised in proximity with each other (Fox 1980). Due to the geographic distance between them, this couple presumably had little to do with each other in childhood. Even Charles Darwin hypothesized that inbreeding was less dangerous if the couple came from different places and backgrounds (Darwin 1878:465-466). The views of Darwin and his contemporaries, along with that of the churches, are discussed in the next section.

6.2 Contemporary Views

6.2.1 The Church of England

One of the many contributing factors to the Protestant Reformation was the desire to see the 'Laws of God' take precedence over the 'Laws of Man'. Martin Luther noted that in the Biblical Book of Leviticus, marriage between certain types of relations was forbidden but the Catholic Church had extended this list to include a much wider range of forbidden relationships. He used this as one example of the 'Laws of Man' taking precedence over the 'Laws of God' in the Catholic Church (Ottenheimer 1996:68). He also argued that if God said something was a sin, paying a fee did not make it any less of a sin. When the Church of England broke from the Catholic Church in 1534, there was initially no change in the laws relating to marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity in England. Marriage dispensations were still sought and granted for marriage between cousins,

although the hierarchy was the Church of England rather than the Catholic Church (Smith et al. 1993).

In 1540, Henry VIII planned to marry Catherine Howard, who was a 1st cousin of Anne Boleyn, a previous wife of Henry. This would have been illegal under the previous laws and a law[69] was passed that proclaimed that "All marriages are lawful that are not prohibited by God's law" (Smith et al. 1993:360). This enabled Henry VIII to marry his 5th wife and permitted cousin marriage without dispensation in Britain from that time onwards. The Church of England accepted that 'God's Law' meant that the rules laid down in the Book of Leviticus were the basis for defining the forbidden degrees of marriage. Leviticus Chapter 18 Verses 6-18 provide a list of kin with whom sexual relations are forbidden. These are addressed to men and include a man's father, mother, father's wife, sister, granddaughter, father's sister, mother's sister, father's brother, father's brother's wife, son's wife and brother's wife. There is no mention of nieces, cousins, nor indeed daughters or grandmothers. There is also no mention of which relatives are forbidden to women, although it is generally understood to be the reciprocal of those relatives forbidden to men (Ottenheimer 1996:69). Some writers in the 18th century argued that the Book of Leviticus should be taken literally, that is that it referred to 'uncovering the nakedness' of relatives and hence humiliating them, rather than having sexual relations or marriage with them (Fry 1756:10-11). This was supported by the Biblical prohibition of men 'uncovering the nakedness' of their own fathers, when clearly marriage could not be meant in this instance. It was argued that God was not opposed to kin marriage, since He only created one original couple, Adam and Eve, so all their offspring had married relatives, presumably as close as

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[69] 32 Hen. 8 c.38

siblings (Fry 1756:4). Nevertheless, the Anglican Church continued to interpret these verses as marriage prohibitions.

The Anglican Church took this basic set of rules from Leviticus and turned them into *A Table of Kindred and Affinity*, which was placed in The Book of Common Prayer in 1662. The Table is specifically a prohibition against marrying relatives, as opposed to engaging in sexual intercourse. The Table of Kindred and Affinity states that an individual may not marry a range of relations including parents, grandparents, children (including step-children), nephews, nieces and equivalent affines. There is no mention of cousins of any degree (The Church of England 1662).

For the Anglican Church, these forbidden relations are final and not negotiable or dispensable. This is not the case in the Catholic interpretation of forbidden degrees, as will be discussed below.

6.2.2 The Catholic Church

Before 1917, the Catholic Church held that each Bishop and Archbishop had the right to determine what degrees of consanguineous marriage were forbidden within his own Diocese. Thus, the prohibited degrees of marriage changed several times and in many places in the past two millennia (Goody 1983:134-139). The most extreme form of prohibition was in Germany in the 16th century, when it was prohibited to marry anyone closer than a 6th cousin, or the 6th cousin of any in-laws. Godparents and godchildren were included in the calculations, making it virtually impossible to marry anyone within the community without a dispensation. Each country and many dioceses not only determined their own interpretation of how relationships were to be calculated, but also which

relationships were completely forbidden and which could be permitted with a dispensation (Joyce 1948:530; Goody 1983:134-139). England lacked a formal Catholic hierarchy from 1534 to 1850, so which marriages were prohibited and which were not was open to interpretation. During the Reformation, contemporary English records of litigation about the validity of certain marriages (and hence questions of the legitimacy of heirs or the possibility of bigamy) show that there was a great deal of confusion about precisely which relationships were prohibited (Helmholz 1990:74-77).

It was not until 1917 that Pope Benedict XV published a list of forbidden relations that was to be applied across the entire Catholic world (The Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1995). Certain types of marriages were completely forbidden, such as that between siblings or between uncles and nieces. Other types were to be avoided, but could proceed upon being granted a dispensation from the relevant bishop, and paying a suitable fee. The 1917 Code of Canon Law forbade marriages up to 2nd cousins, although 1st cousins, 1st cousins once removed and 2nd cousins could be married if a marriage dispensation was granted (The Canon Law Society of Great Britain and Ireland 1995:607). There were two types of marriage dispensation: for 'Mixed Marriage', when only one partner was a Catholic, and for 'Consanguinity or Affinity', when the partners were related by blood or marriage within certain degrees. Some marriages required double dispensation, when they were both Mixed and Consanguineous.

In England, marriages in the first or second degree were always prohibited: that is, marriages between siblings, and between uncles and nieces or between aunts and nephews.

Marriages in the direct line have always been prohibited. That is, parents and children, or grandparents and grandchildren, including any step-relations. Marriages at the third degree of consanguinity were to be discouraged, but the priest could apply for dispensation. That is, 1st cousins could marry with permission. Depending on the interpretation of the levels of consanguinity by the local priest, 2nd and 3rd cousins usually required dispensation. In Catholic England these were described as being up to the sixth degree of consanguinity.

In the Stourton Catholic records, the priest recorded the level of consanguinity of couples only between 1840 and 1850. After that, he noted only that a dispensation had been granted, although it was usually not specified whether the dispensation was for Mixed Marriage or for Consanguinity or Affinity. Usually, the priest wrote 'acatholicum' (i.e. not a Catholic) after the name of a non-Catholic partner, so it was apparent that it was a Mixed Marriage, rather than a dispensation for Consanguinity or Affinity (Day unpub.).

As in all societies, the views of the Church did not always coincide with that of the people, as will be discussed below.

6.2.3 Lay Views of Cousin Marriage

Historically in England most people believed that cousin marriage was generally an undesirable thing, being equated with incest (Trumbach 1985; Wolfram 1987:137-147). The most common belief was that it would produce idiot children, and that the offspring of consanguineous marriages and other unions were weak and feeble. In earlier times this was attributed to divine wrath. By the mid-19th century it was attributed to biological principles, although the mechanisms were poorly understood (Wolfram 1987: 137-147).

The 17th and 18th centuries saw a plethora of pamphlets devoted to the subject of kin marriage. One of the key debates revolved around marriage between 1st cousins. Pamphlets abounded pleading for a change in society's views, such as Simon Gugard's *The Marriage of Cousin Germans, Vindicated from the Censures of Unlawfullnesse, and Inexpediency* (1673), James Johnstoun's *A Juridical Dissertation Concerning the Scripture Doctrine of Marriage Contracts, and the Marriages of Cousin-Germans* (1734), John Fry's *The Case of Marriages Between Near Kindred* (1756) and John Alleyne's *The Legal Degrees of Marriage Stated and Considered, in a Series of Letters to a Friend* (1775) (Trumbach 1985). The fact that these pamphlets argued for a change in society's views indicate that there was widespread belief that cousin marriage was to be avoided, as had been the case before the Reformation.

Alfred Huth (1875), a noted biologist who married his 1st cousin, listed the commonly held views of his time on what would afflict the offspring of consanguineous marriages. These included dwarfism, cretinism, idiocy, madness, tuberculosis, "malformations", epilepsy, deaf-mutism, sterility, rickets and leprosy (Huth 1875:6-8). He then went on to examine in elaborate detail the arguments against consanguineous marriages and the empirical evidence. He attempted to demonstrate that previous studies of the subject which showed deleterious effects were all flawed and proved little. Finally, he concluded his work with a plea to permit consanguineous marriage up to the third collateral degree and all affinal marriages except those in the direct line (Huth 1875:358-359).

Interest in the question of cousin marriage increased in the 19th century. Charles Darwin requested his friend and fellow naturalist, Sir John Lubbock, to have a question inserted

into the 1871 census asking married couples if they were related by blood. Lubbock asked Parliament that since naturalists believed that 'consanguineous marriages were injurious throughout the whole vegetable and animal kingdoms' would it not be 'desirable to ascertain whether that was ... the case with the whole human race?' (Desmond and Moore 1991:575). Alfred Huth also made an attempt to have a similar question inserted into the 1881 census. In both cases, the proposal was soundly defeated in parliament (Anderson 1986:293), much to Darwin's disgust (Darwin 1871:403).

Charles Darwin married his 1st cousin, Emma Wedgwood, and there were four 1st cousin marriages in his generation of the family (Desmond and Moore 1991:447). Among the upper-middle class, cousin marriage was common and sometimes preferred. However, as a naturalist, Darwin began to be concerned about the impact of cousin marriage on the offspring of such a union (Bittles 2009). He had observed the consequences of too much inbreeding in pedigree dogs and pondered on the results of such inbreeding in humans. He began to worry about the consequences of his own choice of bride with the birth of the 'defective' baby Charles. Several of his ten children were frail or sickly and three died in childhood (Desmond and Moore 1991:575).

On reaching adulthood, Charles Darwin's son George devoted considerable effort in proving that there were no deleterious impacts on the offspring of cousin marriage (Darwin 1875) and eventually persuaded his father to change his views (Bittles 2009). Charles Darwin then opined that in plants as in humans, outbreeding was the best strategy for reproductive success (Bittles 2009). However, 1st cousin marriages could be condoned

amongst the upper classes who had been brought up in richly different environments, likening their upbringing to the benefits of plants grown in different soils. He stated that:

> … the marriages of nearly related persons, some of whose parents and ancestors had lived under very different conditions, would be much less injurious than that of persons who had always lived in the same place and followed the same habits of life. …the widely different habits of life of men and women in civilized nations, especially amongst the upper classes, would tend to counter-balance any evil from marriages between healthy and somewhat closely related persons. (Darwin 1877:465-466)

Contemporary fiction can be a window onto the views of the social class of the author. Jane Austen's novels reflect the views of the times in which she wrote and the class to which she belonged, and they show no aversion to cousin marriage. In *Pride and Prejudice*, the heroine Miss Elizabeth Bennett was appalled at the thought of marrying her cousin Mr Collins, not because he was her cousin but because he was a fool. Mr Collins, who was a parson and one day the inheritor of the Bennett family fortune, had no aversion to marrying Miss Elizabeth Bennett or her sisters and the proposed match was supported by Miss Bennett's mother. In the same novel, Mr Darcy was engaged to his maternal parallel cousin "since birth", but his rejection of her was not because they were related but rather because of her nature (Austen 1926).

In *Mansfield Park*, the object of the desire of the heroine Fanny Price was her cousin Edmund Bertram. He was clearly seen as desirable and as with all Jane Austen's novels, the heroine eventually married the right man (Austen 1903). In this case it was her 1st cousin. In *Persuasion*, Anne Elliot considered marrying her cousin William Elliot until she learnt

that he was a blackguard, and Henrietta Musgrove happily married her cousin Charles Hayter (Austen 1990).

In none of these works of fiction did the heroine or her family consider cousin marriage to be a bad thing *per se*. Although there was much cousin marriage and proposed cousin marriage in Austen's novels, the author only permitted her cousin subjects to marry if they were of strong moral character (Hudson 1992:27). This aligns with the contemporary view that moral character and virtue were hereditary traits and that cousin marriage intensified these desirable qualities (Crossman 1861).

Beatrix Potter was another upper middle class author who approved of cousin marriage. In *The Tale of the Flopsy Bunnies*, Benjamin Bunny married his cousin Flopsy and had a large and cheerful family (Potter 1909:7). In Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*, the eponymous heroine was proposed to by her 1st cousin St John Rivers, and although she ultimately rejected him, it is because she loved another man, not because of any aversion to cousin marriage (Brontë 1847). Cathy Linton, a character in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights,* married two of her 1st cousins, Linton Heathcliff and Hareton Earnshaw (Brontë 1964). In *HMS Pinafore* by Gilbert & Sullivan, Sir Joseph Porter proposed to his cousin Hebe and the opera ended with "joy and rapture unforeseen" as Sir Joseph was lauded for his decision (Gilbert and Sullivan 1878).

All of these novels are written by, for and about the upper middle class. Fiction about the working class displayed a different viewpoint, with little "joy and rapture" at cousin marriage. Thomas Hardy's novels reflect the views of labourers and their class in rural Dorset. In *Jude the Obscure*, the theme of 'wrongness' in Jude's love for his cousin

pervaded the book. It is one of the reasons that the protagonist Jude thought he was cursed.

Jude thought about why he should not love Sue Bridehead:

> The first reason was that he was married, and it would be wrong. The second was that they were cousins. It was not well for cousins to fall in love even when circumstances seemed to favour the passion. The third: even were he free, in a family like his own where marriage usually meant a tragic sadness, marriage with a blood-relation would duplicate the adverse conditions, and a tragic sadness might be intensified to a tragic horror. (Hardy 1896:107)

Once Jude did marry his cousin, tragedy ensued. The concept that cousin marriage would intensify certain qualities of the parents in the offspring was a common belief in the 19th century (Crossman 1861). It was believed that since the upper and middle classes had admirable qualities such as moral virtue, it would be good to intensify these qualities, but the intensification of the perceived indolence and bad drinking habits of the working class were seen as an undesirable outcome. These views stemmed from the belief that traits such as virtue and gentility were innate and could be inherited (Crossman 1861). This is demonstrated in works of fiction in which a low-status person with admirable qualities is finally discovered to have been born into a noble family but was lost or switched at birth. For example, this was a theme in Gilbert & Sullivan's *HMS Pinafore*, Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*.

There is anecdotal and ethnographic information on the views of ordinary English men and women on the subject of cousin marriage. For example, a local history book of Devizes in Wiltshire noted:

> Wiltshire had a greater proportion of insane paupers than any other county in England and Wales - 1 in 327 in 1872. A large number of

admissions were agricultural labourers, perhaps the result of village inbreeding… (Haycock 1999:17)

The implication here was that inbreeding leads to mental illness, and perhaps poverty as well.

The inhabitants of an Essex village in the 1960s made a strong distinction between 'inbreeding', which was seen as harmful, and village endogamy, which was seen as beneficial. Even though people may have had blood relatives in nearby villages, this was not as important to the villagers of Elmdon as coming from the village. There were no special ties with blood relatives who lived away from the village (Strathern 1981).

An ethnography of a Welsh village after World War Two showed similar themes.

> There were some instances in the district of consanguineous marriages, but they rarely involved first cousins. This again was regarded as a peculiarity of one or two groups of kindred rather than a general practice, a view which accords with the evidence I collected. The purpose of such unions was 'to keep the money in the family'. (Rees 1961:79)

The belief was that this behaviour was confined to only certain families and that it was related to social class. These issues are discussed in Section 6.8 and 6.5 respectively.

Medical opinion in the 19th century was also divided on the injurious nature of cousin marriage. Some studies showed no ill-effects (Gardner 1861; Lathrop 1879) and others claimed the opposite (Cameron 1883). Most of the objections to cousin marriage were not based upon medical or biological evidence, but rather moral concerns related to incest or fear of the intensification of undesirable qualities.

In summary, cousin marriage was considered unusual, with economic considerations a key feature. People of high social standing continued to marry their cousins. Royalty in Britain, as elsewhere, frequently contracted cousin marriages, in order to 'preserve' the royal blood. Cousin marriage was to be tolerated amongst the upper classes for the sake of family fortune, and was seen as somehow intensifying their good qualities. For the labouring classes, however, it was seen as generally undesirable.

6.3 Stourton and Kilmington

This section aims firstly to determine the level of consanguineous marriage in the research area, and secondly to determine the inbreeding coefficient of the research area over time. These are, of course, closely related.

6.3.1 Cousin Marriage in Stourton and Kilmington

In this section, rates of marriage between 1st, 2nd and 3rd cousins in the parishes of Stourton and Kilmington are analysed. Although more distant relationships are detected and reported in the database from which these figures are derived, only relationships extending out to 3rd cousins will be discussed in this thesis. This is for several reasons.

Firstly, computer simulations suggest that 88% of the inbreeding coefficient of a population with strong subdivisions is accounted for by four-generation pedigrees. Where there is no subdivision in the population and all individuals in the population are free to mate with any other individual, 99% of the inbreeding coefficient is accounted for by four-generation pedigrees (Balloux et al. 2004:3024). This is because recent inbreeding events have a much greater influence on an individual's inbreeding coefficient than more distant events. Four-generation pedigrees represent marriages up to 3rd cousins. In Stourton and Kilmington in

the 19th century, 92% of the detected inbreeding coefficient was accounted for by the offspring of 2nd cousins and closer, and 98% was accounted for by the offspring of 3rd cousins or closer. This is close to the estimation of 99% for a population with no substructure.

The parish records of the Swedish Lutheran Church have been digitized by the University of Umea and extensive pedigrees constructed. Marriages for the Skellefteå region for the period 1720-1899 were extracted to determine the rate of consanguineous marriage. The study found that 86% of the inbreeding coefficient could be accounted for by 2nd cousin marriages and closer, and 95% by 3rd cousins or closer (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005). Similarly, results from a comprehensive survey of consanguineous marriages in Italy in the period 1911-1964 show that 88% of the inbreeding coefficient could be accounted for by 2nd cousin and closer marriages (Zei et al. 2005). The results for real populations are all close to the theoretical results (Balloux et al. 2004:3024).

Thus, the genetic impact of marriages beyond 3rd cousins is slight, even allowing for the cumulative nature of the effect of inbreeding. Although the data are available within the genealogical database for this project, and the inbreeding coefficient is automatically calculated for all individuals, the genetic impact of an inbreeding coefficient smaller than 0.002, represented by the offspring of 3rd cousins once removed, is negligible (Bittles and Makov 1988). The genetic and medical impacts of having an inbreeding coefficient as high as 0.0625 are usually only of major consequence when a family carries a deleterious recessive gene (Bittles and Makov 1988).

Secondly, the social implications of marriages beyond 3rd cousins were negligible. In rural England, ordinary people were unlikely to be able to identify relatives much beyond their parents' 1st cousins (i.e. their own 2nd cousins). In some cases there was a vague shared knowledge that 'we are related to the Felthams of Black Slough', but where titles and property were not involved, there was little advantage in clearly identifying more distant relations. A study of four French villages which showed that marital dispensation underestimated consanguinity indicates that the villagers were uncertain of their own relatedness (Bourgoin-Vu Tien Khang 1978). George Darwin commented on how surprised he was to discover that his fellow Englishmen knew so little of the marriages of their own near relations (Darwin 1875:158).

Finally, in order to identify relationships beyond 3rd cousins, greater genealogical depth is required than the four generations which has been the aim of this project. Where more distant relationships have been identified in this project it has been as a consequence of tracing four-generation pedigrees of marriage partners and linking them into families in which four-generation pedigrees had already been established. There has been no systematic attempt to trace all pedigrees beyond four generations, and so there is no certainty that all relationships beyond 3rd cousins were identified.

In order to determine the completeness of the data, the proportion of all brides and grooms married in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914 for whom there was complete ancestry at the parent level (two identified parents) and grandparent level (four identified grandparents) was calculated. This is plotted at Figure 6-2.
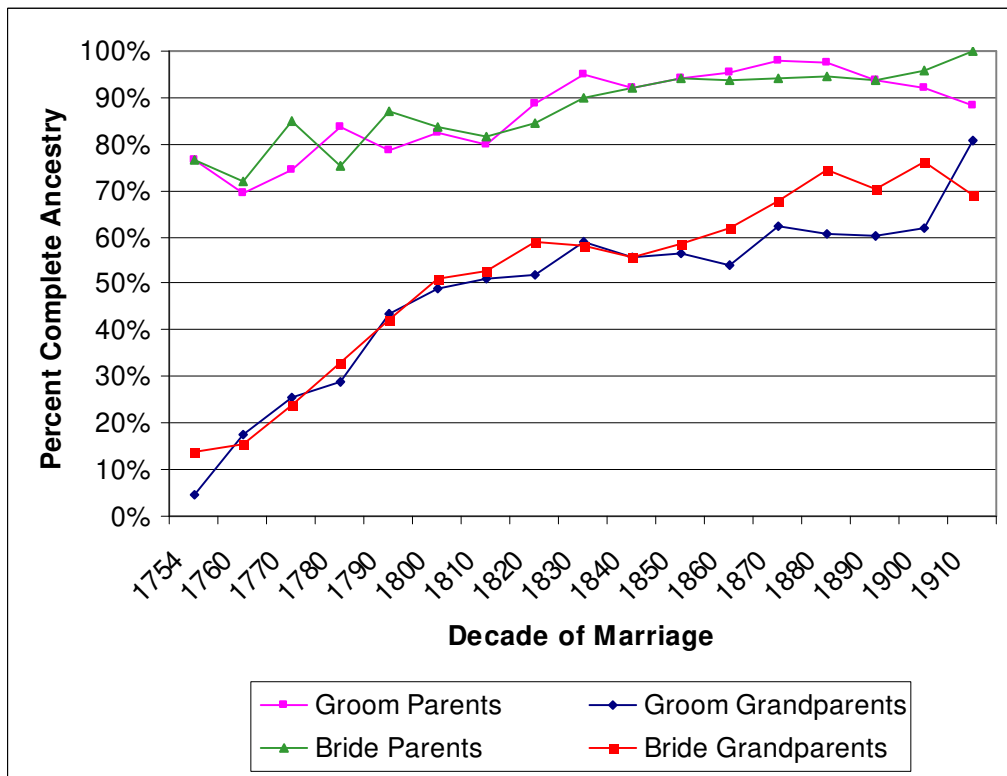
Figure 6-2: Brides and grooms with complete known ancestry at the parent and grandparent level, as a percent of all marriages

Figure 6-2 demonstrates that throughout the research period, between 70% and 100% of brides and grooms had both parents identified, and this level did not fall below 80% during the 19th century. Ability to identify all four grandparents also changed over time, varying from 5% for all four of the groom's grandparents identified in the period 1754-1760 to 80% for the period 1910-1914. Throughout the 19th century the proportion of brides and grooms for whom all four grandparents could be identified did not fall below 50%. This is comparable with an earlier study of consanguinity amongst descendants of French colonizers of St Barthélémy in the West Indies. A total of 93% of people born in the decade 1880-1889 had both parents identified, whereas only 69% had all four grandparents identified (Leslie et al. 1981). Whilst the St Barts figures refer to birth in the decade in question, rather than marriage, they show a broadly similar ability to locate ancestors.

Inability to locate a complete set of parents and grandparents may be related to a range of factors. If a spouse came from outside Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset and did not live into the census period, it may not have been possible to establish their place of birth and from there, establish their parentage. If a person was born illegitimately, it may not have been possible to identify their father. This is further discussed in Chapter 7. If an individual had a common set of names (e.g. Mary Green, John Edwards, Ann Smith) and did not live into the census period, it may not have been possible to determine which person with that name was the correct one, if no corroborating material such as wills, Poor Law papers, school logs or estate papers existed. Thus, it is possible that the portion of the population for whom complete ancestry could be determined at each level was biased towards those who were less mobile and so their records could be more easily traced, and towards those without illegitimacy in the family.

In every case where a spouse had incomplete known ancestry, it was assumed that there was no relation between the couple, whereas in reality it was possible that a relation existed. Therefore, all estimates of prevalence of consanguineous marriages in this project must be considered to be minimum figures, since presumably some couples were related in ways that were not identified by the present author.

Was there a difference in the proportion of parents and grandparents identified between the sexes? Table 6-2 shows the number of each ancestor identified for people married in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914.

Table 6-2 : Number of identified ancestors: Persons married in Stourton & Kilmington

	Groom's Parent	Bride's Parent	Groom's Paternal Grandparent	Groom's Maternal Grandparent	Bride's Paternal Grandparent	Bride's Maternal Grandparent
Male	1113	1112	834	736	898	779
Female	1109	1115	823	738	891	763

As Table 6-2 shows, there was negligible difference between the sexes in identifying ancestors, so there is a high level of confidence that the data are not biased by gender.

Due to the more complete nature of the data for the 19th century, as shown in Figure 6-2, aspects of cousin marriage in Stourton and Kilmington will be considered for the period 1800-1914. In that period, 80 out of 879 marriages (9.1%) were between couples identified as 6th cousins or closer, although this is a minimum value since pedigrees were only systematically traced for four generations. A total of 53 (6.0%) were between 3rd cousins or closer. Due to the small numbers involved, results are displayed in quarter-centuries. The proportion of 1st cousin marriages[70] is plotted in Figure 6-3. For multiple relationships, the closest relationship was counted. For example, a couple who were simultaneously 1st cousins and 2nd cousins were counted as 1st cousins.

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[70] Includes 'once removed' cousins.
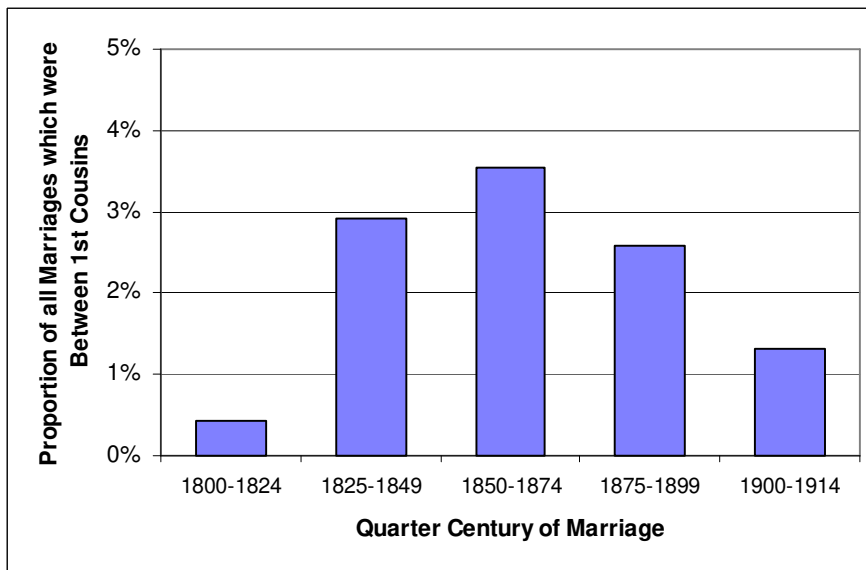
Figure 6-3 : Proportion of 1ˢᵗ cousin marriages in Stourton and Kilmington, 1800-1914

The proportion of marriages that were between 1st cousins rose during the 19th century, peaking in the middle of the century, before falling again. The results are not the effect of increasing pedigree depth, as this would have caused the proportion of 1st cousin marriages to rise over time, rather than rise and then fall. Whilst there were fewer complete known ancestries in the earliest period compared to the later ones (Figure 6-2), the increase is not of the order of magnitude of the increase in 1st cousin marriages. For example, in the decade 1810-1819, 55% of brides and grooms had all four grandparents identified, compared to 60% for the decade 1850-1859. Yet the frequency of 1st cousin marriages increased five-fold at the same time. To illustrate this, Figure 6-4 shows the proportion of 1st cousin marriages amongst people for whom all four grandparents of both bride and groom could be identified.
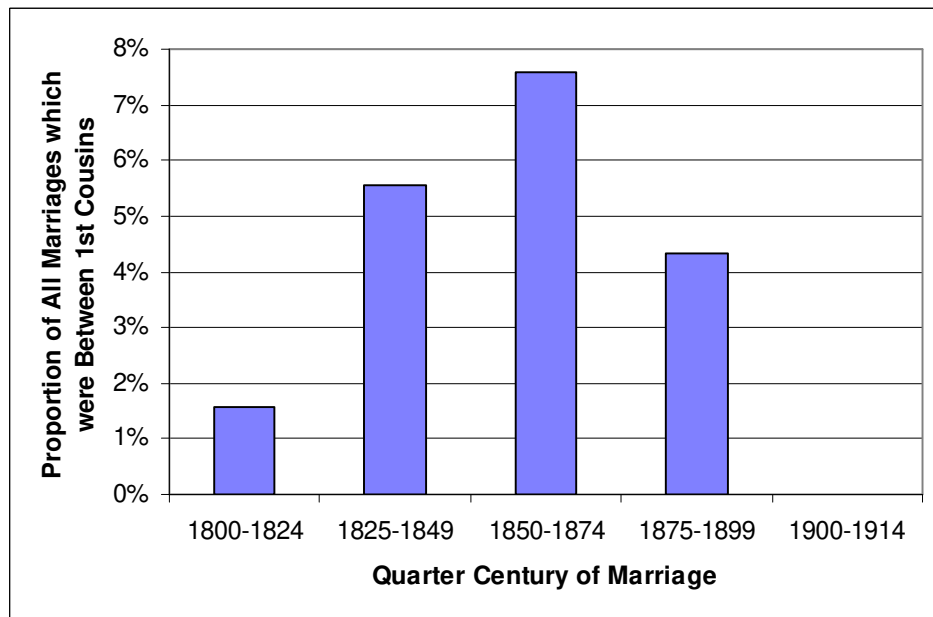
Figure 6-4 : Proportion of 1ˢᵗ cousin marriages amongst spouses with four identified grandparents, Stourton and Kilmington 1800-1914

Whilst the proportion of marriages that were between 1ˢᵗ cousins is higher in Figure 6-4 than Figure 6-3, the pattern of a rise then a fall is identical. This supports the view that the results are not merely an artefact of increased pedigree depth, since all spouses represented in Figure 6-4 have the same number of identified grandparents, and grandparents are required to identify 1ˢᵗ cousins. It is also not a case of changes in the overall number of marriages, which might obscure a change in proportions, as Figure 4-1 indicates that the total number of marriages in the research area in the first half of the 19ᵗʰ century was approximately constant, and after a fall in the second half of that century, was approximately constant again.

The proportions of 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ cousin marriages are plotted at Figure 6-5.
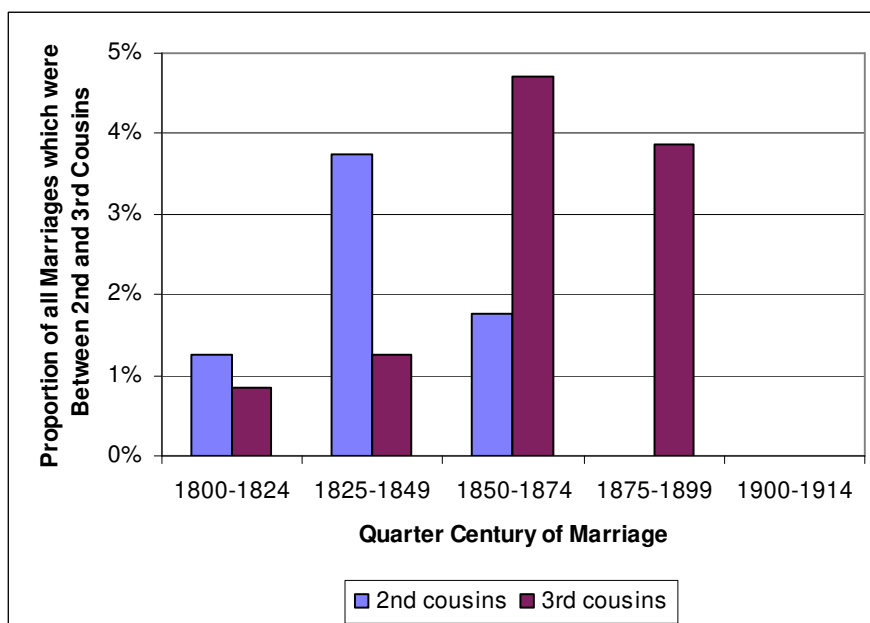
Figure 6-5 : Proportion of 2nd and 3rd cousin marriages amongst all marriages in Stourton and Kilmington 1800-1914

The proportion of 2nd cousin marriages also rose in the first half of the 19th century and peaked in the period 1825-1849 before declining and disappearing in the last two periods. Third cousin marriages rose and peaked in the same manner as 1st and 2nd cousin marriages, but disappeared at the beginning of the 20th century. Like 1st cousin marriages, the proportion of 2nd and 3rd cousin marriages did not show a consistent rise or decline over time.

The change in proportions of 1st and 2nd cousin marriages in Stourton and Kilmington, with a rise then fall of both types of marriage, was quite different from the effect observed on the Orkney island of Sanday. Between 1800 and 1924, the frequency of 1st cousin marriages progressively fell whilst that of 2nd cousin marriages progressively rose (Brennan et al. 1982).

The closed and partly Catholic village of Stourton had a different pattern of consanguinity from that of the open and wholly Protestant village of Kilmington. The proportions of consanguineous marriages in the period 1800-1914 for each village are shown in Table 6-3.

Table 6-3 : Cousin marriages in Stourton and Kilmington 1800-1914

Parish	1st cousins[71]		2nd cousins		3rd cousins		4th-6th cousins		All Marriages
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Stourton	12	2.4%	13	2.6%	11	2.2%	16	3.2%	506
Kilmington	7	1.9%	2	0.5%	8	2.1%	11	2.9%	373
Total	19	2.2%	15	1.7%	19	2.2%	27	3.1%	879

$\chi^2 = 0.25$, d.f. =1, p=0.618 for 1st cousins cf. all other marriages

Table 6-3 shows the number and percentage of 1st, 2nd, 3rd cousin and more remotely consanguineous marriages in Stourton and Kilmington. Stourton had a higher overall frequency of cousin marriage than Kilmington at each level of consanguinity, with 7.2% of marriages in Stourton involving people related as 3rd cousins or closer, compared to a total of 4.5% for Kilmington. However, the numbers are small and the result is not statistically significant[72].

The study of northern Sweden in 1720-1899 showed that 20.8% of marriages were between people related as 6th cousins or closer (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005). In Stourton this was 10.2% and in Kilmington it was 7.4%, but it is unlikely that all marriages with consanguinity in the range of 4th to 6th cousins have been identified in this project.

Key issues that affected the level of cousin marriage were geographic mobility and religion. Stourton was a closed village and in-migration, particularly that of males, was restricted

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[71] Includes three 1st cousins once removed, one marriage of simultaneous 1st and 2nd cousins and one marriage of simultaneous 1st and 4th cousins

[72] If all 1st, 2nd and 3rd cousin marriages are combined, the p-value becomes to 0.115 but is still not statistically significant

(Section 2.3.3). Kilmington did not have the same constraints on in-migration and so had a wider choice of potential marriage partners. Nevertheless, the villages had similar levels of parish endogamy (Figure B-1 and B-2), and Stourton marriage partners came from further afield than Kilmington marriage partners (Section 5.2.4). However, those marriage partners without legal settlement in Stourton did not remain in the village to contribute to the gene pool and thus influence consanguinity.

If cousin marriage occurred on a random basis, one would predict that 2nd cousin marriages would be between two and 4.5 times more frequent than 1st cousin marriages, depending on variables such as population growth and migration (Hajnal 1963). In Stourton and Kilmington this was not the case. Stourton had similar proportions of 1st, 2nd and 3rd cousin marriages and Kilmington had fewer 2nd cousin marriages than 1st cousin marriages. In northern Sweden throughout the period 1720-1899 the ratio of 1st cousin to 2nd cousin marriages was about equal, although there were changes within this time frame (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005). This indicates a preference for 1st cousin marriage compared to more distant relationships. On the Caribbean island of St Barts, there were eight times as many 2nd cousin marriages as 1st cousin marriages, indicating avoidance of close consanguinity in this isolated community (Leslie et al. 1981). In none of the mentioned studies was cousin marriage occurring on a random basis.

How did Kilmington and Stourton compare to the findings of other studies in British consanguineous marriages? No comparable consanguinity studies using pedigrees have been conducted on a non-isolated historical British population. Previous research has focused on isolates, either geographical or social, such as Orkney Islanders and groups of

Gypsies and Travellers. Others are too far removed in time from this project's period of study to be used for meaningful comparison, such as those in the 16th century and the late 20th century. So the results demonstrated for southwest Wiltshire cannot be directly compared with similar populations at similar periods. Nevertheless, it is worth examining the findings of those other studies and considering their differences and similarities.

Table 6-4 : Other studies of cousin marriages in Britain (%)

Author	Group Studied	Period	1st Cousins	2nd Cousins
Smith et al. (1993)	England (Anglicans)	1534-1540	0.00	0.01
Bramwell (1939)	Shropshire	1801-1837	1.02	
Darwin (1875)	"Upper Classes"	c.1815-1875	3.18	
Pearson (1908)	Great Ormond St Hospital, London (parents of patients)	c.1830-1900	1.30	
Mitchell (1862)	NE Scotland Village	1860s	9.24	13.45
Bell (1940)	England (parents of hospital patients)	c.1870-1920	0.61	0.10
Brennan et al. (1982)	Sanday, Orkney Is.	1880-1889	2.42	0.81
Smith (2001)	Soc. of Genealogy Members	c.1890-1912	1.12	
Pearson (1908)	Readers of BMJ	<1908	4.69	1.69
Masterson (1973)	Republic of Ireland (Catholics)	1959-1968	0.16	
Masterson (1973)	Northern Ireland (Catholics)	1959-1968	0.06	
Flynn (1986)	Rep. Ireland Travellers[73]	1967-1986	50.30	21.30
Coleman (1980)	Reading, Berkshire	1972-1973	0.10	0.10
Williams (1986)	Welsh Gypsies	1980s	14.14	22.22
Gordon et al. (1991)	Northern Ireland Travellers[74]	1989	20.30	17.70

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[73] The figure for 1st cousins is made up of 39.0% 1st cousins and 11.3% 1st cousins once removed

[74] The figures refer to the percentage of children with parents related as 1st cousins (20.3%) or "more distant cousins" (17.7%) rather than the percentage of marriages of each type. Of children whose parental relationship was known, 32.9% were the offspring of 1st cousins and 29.1% were the offspring of "more distant cousins"

Marriage dispensations from the reign of Henry VIII were used to estimate consanguinity (Smith et al. 1993). The results produced from these documents were surprisingly low (Table 6-4), with a total absence of 1st cousin marriages and a very low level of 2nd cousin marriages, even compared to modern studies. One possible explanation, as noted by Smith and his colleagues, is that the marriage dispensations may not reflect actual practice, although anecdotal evidence suggests that there was a real aversion to close consanguineous marriage in the mediaeval period (Smith et al. 1993). Another explanation proffered is that marriage dispensations were almost exclusively the preserve of the rich, and that the poor and labourers did not avail themselves of the system (Smith et al. 1993). Nevertheless, the very large differences in reported results for England in the period 1534-1540 and Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1800-1914 indicates that there was probably a change in attitude to consanguineous marriage over the intervening centuries.

George Darwin, a son of Charles Darwin, undertook the first study of consanguineous marriage in England (Darwin 1875). The younger Darwin was himself the product of the union of 1st cousins and so perhaps had a vested interest in disproving the widely held belief that cousin marriage was injurious (Section 6.2.3.). His technique was to determine the level of inbreeding in the general population, then determine the level in the population of lunatic asylums, and see if they differed. The first part of the work was determined in several ways, with the belief that using different techniques would produce a more valid answer.

One technique was to count the number of isonymous marriages reported in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, on the grounds that this would indicate a certain level of inbreeding. He readily acknowledged that this would tend to reflect only the 'upper' levels of society. He postulated that the higher the social class the greater would be the level of inbreeding, as 'upper' classes had property to protect and this could be achieved by keeping inheritances within the family. Another technique that he used was to post questionnaires to middle-class families and ask them about their own marriages and those of their parents, as to whether the partners were related or not.

Both techniques had flaws, for the reasons that Darwin himself notes. That is, using newspaper announcements as measures of inbreeding was both imprecise and unrepresentative. It was imprecise, since using marital isonymy as a technique for estimating isonymy has a number of limitations as discussed in Section 3.2.3. It was unrepresentative, as only the wealthy could afford to purchase a marriage announcement. In addition, the use of questionnaires to extract recalled pedigrees was unrepresentative as the large number of people who did not return their questionnaires may be self-selecting. That is, people without related spouses or parents may have chosen not to respond as they thought that the investigators would not be interested in their results.

Nevertheless, this was the first study of inbreeding in England, and Darwin corrected as far as possible for the weaknesses of his methods. The figure of 3.18% of all marriages being between 1st cousins (Table 6.4), is higher than either result reported for Stourton (2.4%) or Kilmington (1.9%) which is consistent with Darwin's hypothesis that the 'upper classes' would have more 1st cousin marriages than others. This will be discussed in Section 6.5.

Pearson's (1908) survey of the parents of patients at the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children produced a result of 1.3% of marriages between 1st cousins (Table 6.4). As he captured all parents, regardless of class, and it would be assumed that any person would know whether or not their spouse was also their 1st cousin, the figure of 1.3% of marriages being between 1st cousins may be a more representative figure for England. However, since these parents had sick children, it is possible that consanguinity was over-represented, compared to the rest of the population, since consanguinity is associated with a number of deleterious health outcomes in offspring (Bittles and Makov 1988).

Pearson attempted to overcome the limitations of using a population of parents of children who were already sick by requesting readers of the British Medical Journal to write in and inform him if they were married to their cousins or were the offspring of marriage between cousins. The result that 4.69% of the marriages reported were between 1st cousins seems high, and is likely to be an artefact of the technique. That is, people from consanguineous unions, as Darwin pointed out and as Pearson affirmed, were probably more likely to reply to the request, and the readers of the British Medical Journal were likely to be of the 'upper' classes, or at least the 'middle' classes.

A similar study to Pearson's examination of the parents of hospital patients was conducted in 1940 on patients at several hospitals across England (Bell 1940). A figure of 0.6% 1st cousin marriage (Table 6-4) perhaps represents a wider cross-section of the English population, than Pearson's 1908 study, but it is a generation later. The present project has shown that the level of consanguineous marriage in Stourton and Kilmington declined from a peak in the middle of the 19th century (Figure 6-3). Other studies in Europe have indicated

that the level of cousin marriage declined throughout the 20th century from a peak at the end of the 19th century (Moroni 1967; Bourgoin-Vu Tien Khang 1978; Pettener 1985; Jorde and Pitkänen 1991). So the very low levels of consanguineous marriage reported by Bell may reflect a change in the frequency of consanguineous marriage over time in England.

Another key factor in comparing these figures with those of the present project is that hospitals were only situated in cities. Since both Kilmington and Stourton were rural communities, a possible difference between the results of Pearson and Bell on the one hand and this project on the other is the available spouses from whom to choose, for rural and city folk. George Darwin tried to address the differences in urbanisation by using the technique of marital isonymy on civil registration records, which yielded a theoretical result for 1st cousin marriages of 1.5% in London, 2.0% in other urban areas and 2.3% in rural districts (Darwin 1875). His findings indicated that rural communities had more cousin marriage than urban ones, although the difference was not great. The largest city in England had the lowest rate of cousin marriage. Similarly, Bramwell (1939) used Darwin's result that 57% of the isonymous marriages in his sample were between 1st cousins, and calculated the number of isonymous marriages in Shropshire over several periods. He concluded that 1.02% of the marriages in Shropshire in the period were between 1st cousins (i.e. 57% of the 1.79% of marriages which were isonymous) (Bramwell 1939). This result is not far from that of Kilmington.

A further technique to determine levels of inbreeding in England was to examine 'birth briefs' deposited with the Society of Genealogists (Smith 2001). There may be biases towards lineages with members surviving into the 20th century (Hinde 2003:280) as well as

towards members of the middle class, as family history is mainly a middle-class pursuit. With a result of 1.12% of marriages being contracted between 1st cousins (Table 6-4), the reported level is less than both Stourton (2.4%) and Kilmington (1.9%).

The other British studies listed in Table 6-4 were conducted late in the 20th century and returned much lower rates of consanguineous marriage for mainstream communities (Masterson 1973; Coleman 1980) or much higher rates in socially isolated communities (Flynn 1986; Williams 1986; Gordon et al. 1991).

Where offspring are produced from a consanguineous marriage, they have an inbreeding coefficient greater than zero, and high inbreeding coefficients are correlated with a range of adverse health outcomes (Bittles and Makov 1988). What then was the inbreeding coefficient of Stourton and Kilmington?

6.3.2 Inbreeding Coefficient

Not every couple who lived in Stourton and Kilmington was married there, and therefore they would not have been included in the calculations in the previous sections. Conversely, not every couple who married in Stourton or Kilmington remained in that parish and contributed to its gene pool. Another view of consanguinity in the area can be gained by calculating the average inbreeding coefficient for infants born in the parish, regardless of where their parents were married, or whether they were married at all. It was calculated by determining the inbreeding coefficient of every person who was born in the relevant parish and was then averaged across all people born in that decade. Where an inbreeding coefficient was not known, it was assumed to be zero. It is likely that some people allocated an inbreeding coefficient of zero would have been to some extent inbred but to a degree not

detected in this project. This is due to the genealogical paradox that at a certain point in history, the theoretical number of an individual's ancestors must exceed the actual population, so some level of inbreeding is inevitable in the absence of significant immigration to the population (Pattison 2001). Therefore, the results shown at Figures 6-6 and 6-7 represent a minimum for each parish.
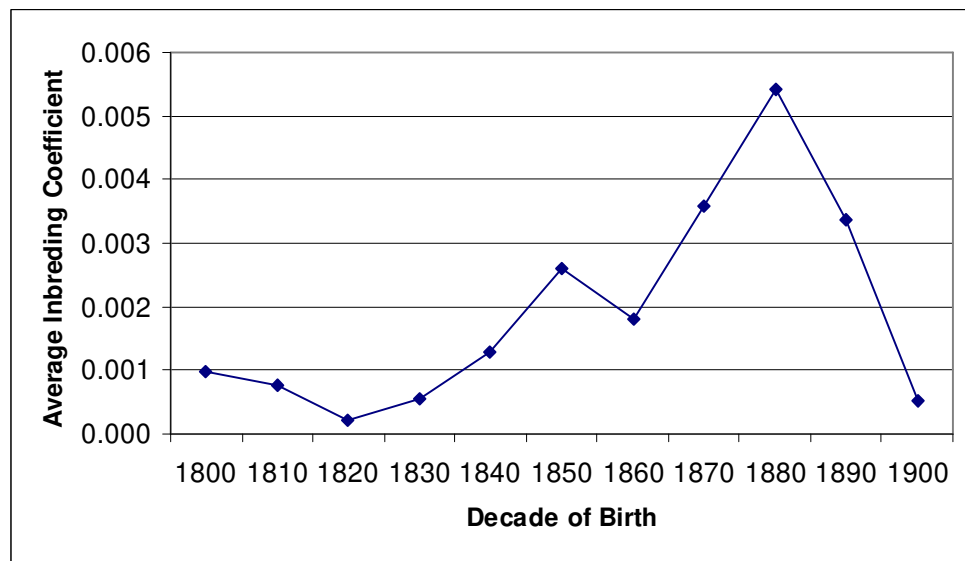
Figure 6-6 : Average inbreeding coefficient of people born in Stourton 1800-1909

Figure 6-6 shows that Stourton had an almost constant average inbreeding coefficient for the first half of the 19th century, before a significant rise, followed by a fall. At its peak in the 1880s the average inbreeding coefficient of infants born in Stourton was more than five times higher than it was in the first half the century. This follows the peak in 1st cousin marriages in the middle of the century (Figure 6-3). The decline in the average inbreeding coefficient coincides with the decline of 1st and 2nd cousin marriages.

The inbreeding coefficient of the offspring of 3rd cousins is 0.004 (Table 6.1). Figure 6-6 shows that for the decades 1870-1899 the average inbreeding coefficient of Stourton was

close to, or exceeded, that level. For the first half of the 19th century, it was close to, or

exceeded, that of 4th cousins (0.001).
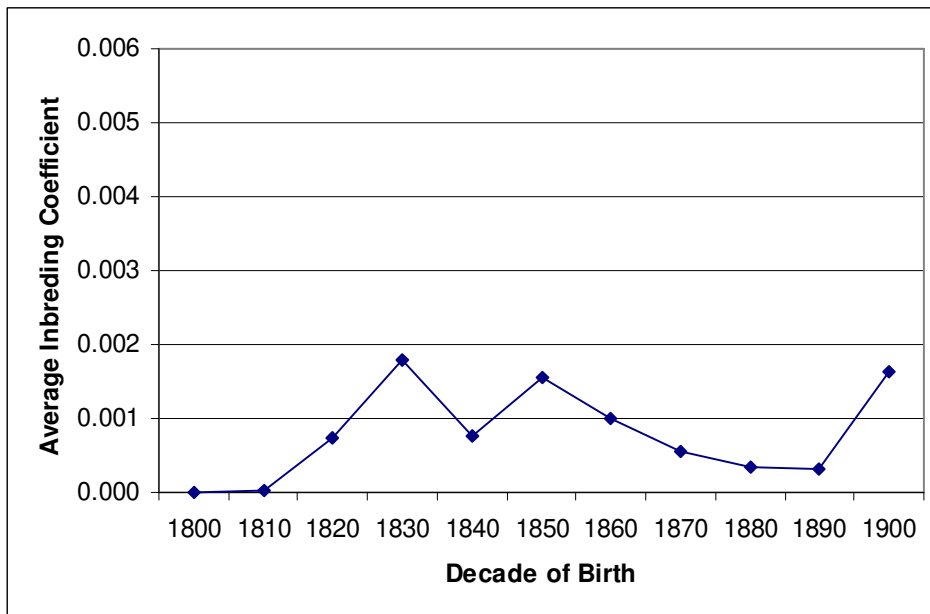
Figure 6-7 : Average inbreeding coefficient of people born in Kilmington 1800-1909

Kilmington shows a different pattern from Stourton in Figure 6-7. As in Stourton, the

average level of inbreeding increased, before dropping, but the level at its peak was a third

that of Stourton and the peak occurred in the second quarter of the century rather than the

third. The effect of small sample size can be seen by the sudden rise in inbreeding

coefficient in the decade 1900-1909. The population of Kilmington had fallen to just over

300 people, and an uncle-niece marriage had produced seven children born in the village.

With an inbreeding coefficient of 0.125, these highly-inbred children raised the average

inbreeding coefficient of the village to unusual levels for the place and period[75].

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[75] If the analysis is extended beyond the 1914 cut-off date, we find that the average inbreeding coefficient of Kilmington in the decade 1910-1920 was 0.01, double that of Stourton at its most inbred, due to the impact of this one large inbred family in a small population.

For most of the 19th century, Kilmington's average inbreeding coefficient was close to, or exceeded, that of the offspring of 3rd cousins (0.001).

Previous studies of consanguinity in Europe have indicated a rise from the 16th century to a peak at the end of the 19th century, then a rapid decline in the 20th century (Hussels 1969; Pettener 1985; Jorde and Pitkänen 1991; Bittles and Egerbladh 2005; Bras et al. 2009). Similar results are shown in Stourton in the present study, although not in Kilmington.

6.3.3 Isonymous Marriages

This section estimates the inbreeding coefficient from marital isonymy (Section 3.2.3) for this project, and discusses reasons why this might differ from that produced by pedigree. The formula for estimating the inbreeding coefficient (f) from marital isonymy is:

$$f = \frac{IM \times 100}{TM} \times 0.25$$

where *IM* = the numbers of isonymous marriages and *TM* = the total number of marriages

From pedigrees, the average inbreeding coefficient of persons born in Stourton in the period 1800-1899 was 0.0021 (Figure 6.6) and for Kilmington it was 0.0007 (Figure 6.7). Table 6-5 shows the results estimated from marital isonymy.

Table 6-5 : Isonymous marriages in Stourton and Kilmington

	Stourton	Kilmington
Isonymous Marriages	6	7
Total Marriages	461	342
Percent	1.3%	2.0%
Inbreeding coefficient	0.0033	0.0051

Table 6-5 shows that the result estimated from marital isonymy for Stourton was 1½ times higher than the rate calculated from pedigree. For Kilmington, the discrepancy was even more pronounced, with the rate estimated from marital isonymy being more than seven times higher than that produced from pedigrees.

The difference between the results obtained from isonymy studies and the actual rate based on pedigrees relates to the explicit assumptions that are made in isonymy studies (Section 3.2.3). One assumption is that all surnames are of monophyletic origin, meaning that there is only one origin for that surname in the given population. This assumption is unlikely to be met in this project. In Stourton and Kilmington, half of the isonymous marriages involved the surnames Smith, Green and Edwards, which were not monophyletic and arose independently in many parts of England. They were the 1st, 18th and 20th most common surnames in England and Wales in 1853 (Registrar-General 1853; Guppy 1890). The technique of marital isonymy is most effective in estimating the level of inbreeding when the surnames involved are rare (Lasker 1983). In addition, the virilocal residence patterns of rural England created more opportunities for the children of brothers to marry each other than for other types of cousins. Since surnames generally passed down the male line, this could also inflate the marital isonymy rate.

Other explicit assumptions for the use of isonymy as a measure of inbreeding are that each surname has a single founder within a population, all the founders of a population were unrelated and there was no in-migration or out-migration (Crow 1980). It is unlikely that any ordinary population in rural England would meet these criteria, so it is unlikely that

isonymy would produce a highly accurate measure of inbreeding. Nevertheless, it provides a useful approximation.

It is possible that the higher levels of consanguinity calculated using marital isonymy are indicative of the greater generational depth offered by the method, by comparison with pedigree studies. Since surnames began to be used in England in the 12th and 13th centuries (Guppy 1890), it is argued that isonymy analysis provides a theoretical depth of more than 25 generations, compared, for example, to the mainly four-generation pedigrees developed in this project. However, the rapid decay in the inbreeding coefficient over each generation renders the contribution of remote consanguinity to current inbreeding very small, and the contribution to the inbreeding coefficient of consanguineous marriages more distant than 3rd cousins is likely to be less than 2% of the total inbreeding coefficient (Section 6.3.1).

Finally, it is worth considering the non-static nature of surnames. Independently of spelling changes (e.g. Sheppard, Shepherd), some surnames evolved or changed quite markedly. Some of this was random, but other changes could be likened to an evolutionary selective process. For example, Smith and McRaild (2009) demonstrated a selective process against Irish Catholic-sounding first names such as Patrick and Bridget amongst the children of Irish immigrants to England. Since these names had a generally negative connotation in 19th century England, parents chose to give their children more English-sounding names (Smith and MacRaild 2009). In southwest Wiltshire at least, a similar process led to the loss of surnames with negative connotations. For example, the surname Evil was once common in Kilmington and Stourton, and several families made a deliberate and explicit decision to change it to Keevil. The Bonham Registers note that "The name of Evil was changed to

Keevil on the whim of Rev. J. Stuart!!"(Day unpub.). The concern about this surname was not confined to southwest Wiltshire. Between 1841 and 1901, the number of people in England enumerated in the census with the surname Evil halved, at a time when the population of England doubled. Other unappealing surnames that have largely disappeared in the research area are Fool, Freak, Whore and Bastard, although Coward has remained present in large numbers. In addition, some names changed almost entirely, without disappearing, in what would seem to be a random non-selective process. For example, in the research area Doggrell tended to become Doddrell at the beginning of the 19th century, and the surname Dodington split into two equally popular forms: Dorrington and Doddington. The loss of certain surnames, both selectively and randomly, may influence the rate of marital isonymy in a community.

6.4 Religion

This section examines the influence of religion on the frequency of cousin marriage. It will only consider Stourton, which had a sizeable Catholic minority, and not Kilmington, since the latter had no Catholic population. As in Section 5.9, Anglicans and Protestant Dissenters are considered together here under the label Protestants, since Dissenters were almost non-existent in Stourton and their ecclesiastical doctrine on prohibited degrees of marriage was identical with Anglicans.

All marriages in Stourton in the 19th century, whether conducted at the Anglican church of St Peter or the Catholic chapel of St Benedict, are included in the analysis. The religion into which the person had been baptised as an infant was noted and the results by religion and degree of consanguinity are shown at Table 6-6. In addition to the figures below, the

religion of six grooms and seven brides could not be determined. None were involved in consanguineous marriages.

Table 6-6 : 1st and 2nd cousin marriages in Stourton 1800-1899, by religion

	Groom					Bride				
	1st cousins		2nd cousins		All Grooms	1st cousins		2nd cousins		All Brides
	n	%	n	%	n	n	%	n	%	n
Protestant	11	2.8	9	2.3	395	12	3.1	8	2.1	384
Catholic	1	1.7	4	6.7	60	0	0.0	5	7.0	71

Fishers Exact Test *p=0.134 for grooms, p=0.028 for brides*

Table 6-6 shows that Catholics had higher overall rates of consanguinity than Protestants, and had more 2nd cousin marriages than 1st cousin marriages. The results were statistically significant for brides but not for grooms. The apparent discrepancy arises since mixed marriages sometimes occurred.

Although the cost of marrying one's cousin was the same for 1st as for 2nd and more distant cousins, it appears that the general Catholic discouragement of consanguineous marriage was applied more forcefully at the 1st cousin level than at the 2nd cousin level. Previous studies have also indicated an aversion to closely consanguineous marriage amongst Anglicans in England (Smith et al. 1993) and French Catholics on St Barthélémy in the Caribbean (Leslie et al. 1981). St Barthélémy (usually called St Bart) is a small isolated island in the West Indies inhabited by the descendants of French colonizers who arrived in the mid-seventeenth century. A pedigree analysis was undertaken for its inhabitants from 1850 to 1980. From these data, the impact of cultural behaviours such as consanguinity avoidance and failure to mate were analysed (Leslie et al. 1981). The researchers found that nearly 60% of the islanders who reached mating age on St Bart did not contribute to the

gene pool of the following generation on St Bart, either because they remained celibate (or at least unmarried) or because they emigrated from the island, usually to another nearby island. The significant issue from a consanguinity perspective is that non-maters (i.e. those who did not marry) were more closely related to their theoretical potential mates than maters were to their actual mates. This behaviour reduced the level of inbreeding on the island.

In a review of previous studies of consanguinity in continental Europe, a strong north-south cline was demonstrated, even though that also meant that there was a Protestant-Catholic cline (McCullough and O'Rourke 1986). Despite prohibitions on close consanguineous marriage, predominantly Catholic countries had higher rates of consanguinity than predominantly Protestant ones. However, this finding has been questioned (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005) since the years covered by individual studies varied so widely, and there was a substantial increase in consanguinity in Europe throughout the 19th century, followed by a rapid decline from the beginning of the 20th century. When the consanguinity levels of predominantly Protestant and Catholic countries were compared for the same time period, many of the differences disappeared (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005).

Despite having a lower rate of 1st cousin marriages than Protestants, Catholics in Stourton were slightly more inbred than their Protestant neighbours. The average inbreeding coefficient of Catholics born in Stourton in the 19th century, calculated by pedigree, was 0.0022, whilst that of Protestants was 0.0018. This is a result of the higher level of 2nd cousin marriages amongst Catholics than Protestants, and the cumulative effect of inbreeding over several generations with a small pool of potential spouses.

Between 1754 and 1837 marriages in a Catholic chapel or church were not considered legally valid in English law, so marriages were not recorded for St Benedict's until 1840. The marriages that took place at St Benedict's Catholic Chapel in Stourton in the period 1840-1899 were examined for records of marriage dispensations. Table 6-7 shows the number and percentage of marriages in the Catholic chapel for which a marriage dispensation was granted for consanguinity, mixed marriage or both, as well as those marriages for which no dispensation was sought.

Table 6-7: Marriages at St Benedict's Catholic Chapel 1840-1899, by dispensation

Dispensation	No.	%
Mixed Marriage	21	41
Consanguineous	4	8
Both Mixed and Consanguineous	1	2
Unclear	1	2
No Dispensation Sought	24	47
All Marriages	**51**	**100**

Table 6-7 demonstrates that 10% of the marriages that took place in the chapel were consanguineous, including mixed 2% which were both mixed and consanguineous. This figure is higher than that produced for all marriages of Catholics in the 19th century, but it encompasses a time when cousin marriage was increasing in the research area. A total of 53% of marriages required a dispensation for being consanguineous, or mixed, or both.

For Catholics, there were two forces at work with regard to consanguineous marriage. Firstly, they were discouraged from marrying relatives of various degrees, and their decision to enter into a consanguineous marriage would result in having to pay a fee to the

Diocese. This would tend to discourage Catholics from entering into consanguineous marriages (Section 6.2.2).

The opposing force was that the available pool of potential Catholic spouses was quite small. In Stourton, Catholics represented around 16% of the population, at a time when the declared Catholic population in England was around 1% (Williams 1968). So whilst there were higher numbers of Catholics in Stourton than in most places in England, they were still very much in the minority. Casting the net into surrounding parishes did not increase the pool of potential spouses as it would for Anglicans, since there were very few Catholics in those surrounding parishes (Williams 1968). If a Catholic chose to marry outside the faith then they would require a dispensation from the Diocese, and this would be as costly as a dispensation for consanguineous marriage. These factors would tend to encourage consanguineous marriages in Catholics.

Given that 53% of marriages after 1840 required a dispensation of one kind or another, it must be assumed that seeking a dispensation was viewed as approaching the norm, and certainly not an unusual state of affairs. So the discouragement of having to obtain a dispensation for consanguineous marriage was outweighed by the paucity of potential spouses. This ultimately resulted in a slightly higher level of inbreeding amongst Catholics than Protestants.

6.5 Occupation

How were occupation and consanguineous marriage associated? George Darwin believed that the upper classes were more inbred than the lower ones (Darwin 1875). Did this apply in Stourton and Kilmington?

Grooms in Stourton and Kilmington were divided into groups according to their occupation, using the same categories as in Section 5.8. Overall, 6.3% of grooms in the period 1800-1914 did not have an occupation identified for them and these were excluded from the analysis. None of those grooms were in consanguineous marriages.

Table 6-8 : Marriages in Stourton and Kilmington 1800-1914, by groom's occupation

	1st cousins		2nd cousins		Others		Total
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n
Elite	0	0	0	0	17	100.0	**17**
Farmers	6	6.8	1	1.1	81	92.0	**88**
Non-Agricultural	1	0.5	4	2.1	189	97.4	**194**
Labourers	12	2.3	10	1.9	503	95.8	**525**

Fisher's Exact Test p=0.120

Although the numbers are small and the results are not statistically significant, table 6-8 indicates that farmers had higher rates of 1st cousin marriage than labourers and this type of marriage was almost absent from the non-agricultural occupations. Table 6-8 seems to indicate that there were no consanguineous marriages in the elite group, but this is because none of their consanguineous marriages took place in the churches in Stourton and Kilmington. Rather, they were married in more prestigious locations such Fleet Street in London and Bath Abbey. In fact the owners of Stourton practised consanguineous marriage almost as the norm. The first occupant of Stourhead House was Henry Hoare who married his 1st cousin Jane Benson in 1702 and produced 11 children. His son Henry had six children by two wives and his youngest daughter Ann Hoare married her 1st cousin Richard Hoare in 1756. Two of Richard and Ann Hoare's six children, Henry Hugh and Henrietta Ann, married their 2nd cousins. The Hoare family habit of cousin marriage was not

uncommon for their era and class, but they do not feature in the current study as their weddings occurred outside the research area.

A study of consanguinity in northeastern Sweden demonstrated that a slightly higher socio-economic status was associated with higher levels of consanguinity (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005). A study of marriages in five Dutch provinces in the period 1870-1922 also showed that the upper classes, middle classes and farmers were more likely to contract 1st cousin marriages than other occupation groups (Bras et al. 2009). Similarly, a study of a Spanish village in the period 1850-1910 indicated that landowners were more likely to contract consanguineous marriages than tenants, although both of the identified social groups avoided 1st cousin marriage (Abelson 1978). In Japan and South India, consanguineous marriage is favoured by land-owning families, although in other parts of Africa and Asia consanguineous marriage is a feature of the poorest classes of people (Bittles 1993). This is likely to be related to two factors: a desire to keep property in the family and the restricted social network of farmers' daughters.

In rural Britain, farmers' sons usually married farmers' daughters[76], partly as the new wife was expected to already be familiar with farm routine and partly because her family was expected to contribute towards the setting up of a new farm for the young couple (Rees 1961:85). Marrying someone of the same social class also maintained prestige (Rees 1961:85). A kinship study of a West Country village in the period 1860-1960 demonstrated how some farming families moved up the social and economic scale by marrying cousins and thereby consolidating small land-holdings (Williams 1963:70-71). Bramwell (1939) opined that the social classes were endogamous because of the "caste" system in England

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[76] In Stourton and Kilmington, 64% of farmers' sons who married did so to farmers' daughters.

and the need to preserve money in the family of the upper and middle classes (Bramwell 1939:305).

6.6 Availability of Spouses

This section attempts to answer the question whether the frequency of consanguineous marriage was influenced by the availability of cousins. Did people marry their cousins in a non-selective manner, or were they preferred or avoided, marrying them more or less frequently than they occurred in the population?

Previous studies have considered the association between consanguinity rates in a region and cousin availability. An association between cousin availability and consanguinity was demonstrated in Italy in the period 1911-1964 (Zei et al. 2005) but there was no association in Holland in the period 1870-1922 (Bras et al. 2009).

The concept is that when more cousins were available during the demographic transition, due to low mortality and high fertility, more people would marry their cousins, even when the non-related population was increasing at the same rate. More cousins survived to marriage age in the middle of the 19th century, when the rate of 1st cousin marriage in Europe was peaking. Then smaller families in the second half of the 19th century resulted in fewer 1st cousins being born (Zhao 1996). With fewer 1st cousins available, it would be expected that the rate of consanguineous marriage would decrease.

To determine whether the inhabitants of Stourton preferred or avoided cousin marriage, or neither, it is necessary to understand how many cousins were available as potential marriage partners and the proportion of the pool of potential mates who were cousins. In a non-isolated population, it is impossible to define a precise pool of potential spouses

(Hajnal 1963:126). Spouses could come from hundreds of miles away, although this was less frequent than those who came from nearby (Chapter 5). Similarly, cousins could move hundreds of miles away and therefore effectively be ineligible as potential spouses. Since the research area was not isolated, the best that can be achieved is to estimate the size of a theoretical spouse pool and compare this with the number of cousins who formed part of that pool. This section attempts to achieve this using computer simulation and the results of Chapter 5.

The population simulation program CAMSIM, developed by James Smith and Jim Oeppen formerly of the Cambridge Group, was used to estimate the average number of cousins for an individual. The program simulates life experiences for a given number of egos, who marry, have children and die at rates specified in a range of demographic variables. These include mean age at first marriage, mean age at death, re-marriage rate, sex ratio at birth, number of children, and so on. The simulation continues for a specific number of generations and relatives are created in accordance with the demographic variables specified. For this project, the demographic parameters specific to Stourton were calculated and then input into CAMSIM. A total of 1,000 male egos and 1,000 female egos were simulated. The output from this simulation, which ran into millions of lines, was then tabulated by degree of relation to ego, and separated by age of ego into quinquennial ranges. The mean numbers of relatives of various degrees were calculated for ages from birth to 74 years. The results for mean numbers of 1st cousins of the opposite sex for ego aged between 15 and 49 years are shown at Table 6-9. All other results for other degrees of relationship are at Appendix D.

Table 6-9 : Simulated mean number of 1st cousins of opposite sex for egos of various ages

Years of Age of Ego	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Male	10.4	10.2	9.7	9.2	8.6	7.9	7.3
Female	9.7	9.6	9.3	8.8	8.3	7.8	7.4

The output shown at Table 6-9 represents all 1st cousins of the opposite sex of ego who were alive when the ego was at a given age. For example, when a male was aged between 20 and 24 years, on average he had 10.2 female 1st cousins. It does not distinguish between married and unmarried cousins, between cousins of various ages, between economic statuses or place of residence, all of which are crucial in determining the likelihood of marriage. In the above example, some of the 10.2 female 1st cousins of a man aged between 20 and 24 years would have been too young to be a potential marriage partner and others would have been older than a man his age would usually marry, and possibly married already. In the real world, some of the cousins would have been resident at a great distance, and whilst theoretically available as spouses, were not so in practice. Therefore, at best this simulation can only be a guide to the number of potential spouses who were 1st cousins. In addition, the demographic parameters used in the initial CAMSIM simulations were averaged for Stourton for the period 1750-1849, before the demographic transition from high fertility and high mortality to low fertility and low mortality. The simulation may not be accurate for later decades of the 19th century, when consanguinity was at its peak. Despite the shortcomings of the simulation, it seems reasonable to conclude from Table 6-9 that in Stourton in the 19th century, males aged in their 20s had an average of about ten living 1st cousins of the opposite sex. Similarly, females aged in their 20s had about 9.4 living 1st cousins of the opposite sex.

To determine whether people preferred or avoided their 1st cousins as marriage partners, the total available spousal pool needs to be determined, in order to calculate the proportion that are made up of 1st cousins. This is not a simple task in a non-isolated community, since it is not possible simply to add up all unmarried people of a given age in the community. Spouses could and did come from outside the community. Cousins of all kinds lived in the community and outside of it.

In addition, the simulation output did not distinguish between married and unmarried 1st cousins, so a comparison with the unmarried population would not be appropriate.

The best approximation can be obtained by calculating the numbers of people of marriageable ages who were present in nearby communities on census night, and multiplying those numbers by the percentage of Stourton spouses who came from that location. At best, this will give an order of magnitude of available spouses.

The census year 1851 was selected as this was the first census year in which precise ages were given. The total number of males aged 20-29 years was extracted from census summary tables for the places that contributed the most grooms to Stourton marriages. The total number of males aged 20-29 years in each parish, regardless of marital state, is shown at Column A in Table 6.10. The proportion of Stourton grooms who were born in those parishes was taken from Section 5.3 and is shown at Column B in Table 6.10. Colum A is then multiplied by Column B to produce a theoretical number of likely grooms from that parish. This is shown at Colum C in Table 6.10.

Table 6-10 : Total number of males of aged 20-29 years in nearby parishes in 1851

	Column A	Column B	Column C
	Actual No. of Males	% of Stourton Grooms Born in the Parish	No. of Males Reduced by Column B
Stourton	53	41.9	22
Kilmington	50	8.8	4
Mere and Zeals	210	10.2	21
Penselwood	40	3.4	1
Brewham	66	3.0	2
Bourton	85	2.3	2
Gillingham	215	2.3	5
Witham Friary	61	1.8	1
Shepton Montague	41	1.3	1
Total	**1004**	**75.0**	**59**

Table 6-10 lists the parishes that collectively contributed 75% of Stourton grooms, along with the number of men of aged 20-29 years in those particular parishes. Since 41.9% of Stourton grooms were born in Stourton, the total number of men present in Stourton in 1851 who were aged 20-29 years (53) was multiplied by 41.9%. This resulted in a theoretical spouse pool of 22 men from Stourton. The process was repeated for the other parishes that collectively made up 75% of the contribution of Stourton grooms.

The parishes that made up the remaining 25% of grooms' birthplaces each contributed only a tiny fraction individually. If there were 59 theoretically available potential husbands in the parishes that contributed 75% of the grooms, then there were 79 (that is, 59 x 4/3) men in the total spousal pool.

There are so many assumptions and approximations in these calculations that they only serve, at best, as a very crude estimation of the available pool. The simulation shows that Stourton women aged 20-29 years had an average of 9.4 1st cousins, representing 12% of the theoretical spousal pool. In other words, if it is accepted that the total spousal pool was 79 men, on average 12% of those men were 1st cousins to any potential Stourton bride. Since this is well over the demonstrated level of 1st cousin marriage in Stourton of 2.4%, the result of this simulation suggests that 1st cousins were being avoided as marriage partners. Given the limitations of this technique, it is not possible to quantify the strength of the avoidance. The result is in keeping with the general avoidance of consanguinity amongst the English of that time (Section 6.2).

Computer simulation may also have value in comparing the ratios of 1st cousins to 2nd cousins. Table 6-11 summarises the results for 2nd cousins of persons in marriageable age groups, simulated from Stourton parameters.

Table 6-11 : Simulated mean number of 2nd cousins for egos of various ages

Years of Age of Ego	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Male	50.8	51.2	50.7	48.9	46.4	43.5	40.1
Female	48.0	48.6	48.1	46.9	44.8	42.6	39.7

Table 6-11 shows that for men aged 25-29 years, there were theoretically 50.7 living 2nd cousins of the opposite sex, compared to 9.7 living 1st cousins of the opposite sex. The ratio of 1st to 2nd cousins was just over 1:5. Similar ratios are found for other ages, and for female egos. This is higher than the maximum ratio predicted by Hajnal (Hajnal 1963). In Stourton in the period 1800-1914, the ratio of 1st cousin to 2nd cousin marriages was about 1:1. The

results of the simulation exercise would indicate that in Stourton there was an aversion to consanguineous marriages that was sometimes overcome in the case of 1st cousins, perhaps for social, economic or family reasons.

The computer simulation of kin of varying degrees would be more precise if kin are separated into married and unmarried, and if the results for each half-decade of age were summed by the relative chance of marriage in that age bracket. For example, 3.9% of grooms who married for the first time in Stourton and Kilmington did so between the ages of 15 and 19 years (Figure 4-5) when the average number of living female 1st cousins was 10.4 (Table 6-10). The cumulative proportions for each age group could be used to determine a more accurate figure for the number of available 1st cousins, taking into account the age of the spouses and restricting potential spouses to certain age ranges and marital states (e.g. never married or widowed; brides aged up to 2 years older than the groom or up to 5 years younger). This may a useful future project to more clearly understand the strength of the English aversion to cousin marriage.

6.7 Age in Consanguineous Marriages

In cultures where consanguineous marriage is both common and preferred, it is associated with low age at first marriage, especially for females (Bittles 1993; Ottenheimer 1996:121). The age at first marriage for couples married in Stourton or Kilmington was calculated in order to understand whether the same phenomenon occurred in rural Wiltshire.

Table 6-12 : First marriages 1800-1914, by age and consanguinity

Relationship	Age of Groom	Age of Bride
1st cousins	27.3	29.2
2nd cousins	25.9	24.9
3rd cousins	24.0	24.7
All other marriages	26.7	26.4

Kruskal-Wallis test grooms: χ^2 = 4.271, d.f. =3, p=0.234 brides: χ^2 = 5.826, d.f. =3, p=0.120

Table 6-12 shows that in Stourton and Kilmington, 1st cousin marriages had a higher mean age at first marriage than non-consanguineous marriages. The mean age declined with reducing consanguinity, so that marriages between 2nd cousins and between 3rd cousins involved partners who were younger than the average for non-consanguineous marriages. However, the sample is small and the result is not statistically significant.

In Stourton and Kilmington the groom was typically older than the bride by about a year (Section 4.4.1.). However, in 1st cousin marriages, the bride was an average of two years older than her husband.

Due to the small numbers, the mean could be skewed by only a few cases of very high age at first marriage. This accounts for some of the results for Stourton and Kilmington. The median age at first marriage for non-consanguineous couples married in the 19th century was 25 years for both bride and groom. For 1st cousin marriages it remained at 25 years for grooms but was 26 years for brides. Although the numbers are small, the higher median for brides in 1st cousin marriages confirms that there was a trend for brides in 1st cousin marriages to be older than their counterparts in non-consanguineous marriages.

Of the 53 marriages between 1st, 2nd or 3rd cousins in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1800-1914, all but five were the first marriage for both parties. With each of the re-marriages, the widow or widower married a cousin for whom it was a first marriage, and the cousin was older than the average for a first marriage. New brides of widowed cousins were aged 31, 34, 47 and 49 years, and the new husband of a widowed cousin was aged 35 years. The older age of people marrying widowed cousins accounts for some of the difference between consanguineous and non-consanguineous couples. When first marriages for both partners are considered, a similar though less pronounced trend is observed.

Table 6-13 : Bachelors marrying spinsters 1800-1914, by age and consanguinity

Relationship	Age of Groom	Age of Bride
1st cousins	26.8	27.6
2nd cousins	25.9	23.3
3rd cousins	24.0	24.3
All others	26.6	25.5

Kruskal-Wallis test grooms: p=0.24 brides: p=0.12

Table 6-13 shows that whilst the ages are lower (for example, a mean age of 27.6 years for spinsters marrying their bachelor 1st cousins, compared to 29.2 years for spinsters marrying their 1st cousins of both marital conditions) the trend still shows that brides were, on average, older than their grooms in 1st cousin marriages, and older than brides in all other types of marriage. As for Table 6-12, the numbers are small and the result is not statistically significant.

In England, cousin marriage was less desirable but not prohibited or universally condemned (Section 6.2). The greater age of women in cousin marriages may reflect the lower desirability of that form of marriage. In effect, women for whom no better marriage prospects had materialised over the years perhaps decided that marrying a cousin was better than not marrying at all.

A review of many studies of the effect of consanguineous marriages in several populations determined that much of the deleterious effect of cousin marriage could be attributed to very young maternal age and low socio-economic status (Bittles 1980). In Stourton and Kilmington, consanguineous marriage was not associated with very low age. In fact in England in this period there was very little marriage at extremely young ages (Wrigley et al. 1997:141), as reported in some non-European cultures (Hajnal 1965). It would be reasonable to propose that the effect of consanguinity on offspring in Stourton and Kilmington may not have been as high as reported in other studies. However, this project makes no attempt to determine health outcomes for inbred offspring in the region.

6.8 Family Experience

One result of extensive pedigree construction and analysis in northern Sweden showed that consanguinity tended to run in families (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005:7). This section asks if the same trend was present in Stourton and Kilmington.

Of 1st cousin marriages that took place in Stourton in the period 1800-1914, 75% of brides and 50% of grooms had close relatives (siblings, parents or grandparents) who were in consanguineous marriages and 50% involved grooms with consanguineously married relatives. Half the brides and half the grooms in Stourton had a sibling who was

consanguineously married. In Kilmington, which had a lower rate of consanguineous marriage, none of the 1st cousin marriages involved people who had close relatives who were consanguineously married, although one bride and two grooms had great-grandparents who had been consanguineously married.

The numbers are so small that any rigorous analysis is precluded, although it is clear that consanguineous marriage seemed to 'run in families' in Stourton, but not in Kilmington. For Stourton, there appeared to be a 'consanguinity-favourable sub-culture'. A marital behaviour that was not encouraged in mainstream society was tolerated and supported in some families. Some families existed within a sub-culture of sexual and marital practices which was outside the boundaries of established orthodoxy (Morris 1991:264).

The somewhat greater influence of family experience of consanguinity on the bride's part, rather than the groom's, could indicate greater influence of females' families in marriage formation. There is evidence that Somerset people distinguished between patrilineal and matrilineal descent systems (Morris 1991:256). Gillis notes the importance of matrilineage in proto-industrial parts of north and west England, although this may not be the case for the rest of England (Gillis 1985:116). The greater influence of a bride's family experience on consanguineous marriage supports the view that female family experience in rural England was somewhat more significant to family formation than male family experience.

One Stourton family's experience of cousin marriage is described here.

Emma Whitaker was the offspring of a 1st cousin marriage, and married her own 4th cousin.

Her brother George Whitaker married his 2nd cousin, her aunt Harriet Whitaker married her 1st cousin, her aunt Phoebe Feltham married her 1st cousin and her aunt Mary Feltham married a man who was simultaneously her 3rd and 4th cousin

Figure 6-8 : Emma Whitaker (1848-1877)
Photo: Collection of Cathy Day

Similarly, in a study of Jewish marriages in England in the 19th century, the writer claimed that consanguineous marriages "ran in particular families", although he gave no specific figures for the practice (Jacobs 1891:8). The ethnographer of the Welsh village mentioned in Section 6.2.3 also claimed that cousin marriage was a practice of only a few families, but again, no data were provided (Rees 1961:79).

6.9 Cousin Marriage in other European Cultures

Much has been written about consanguinity in Catholic Europe, due to the quality of the dispensation records (McCullough and O'Rourke 1986). There have been comparatively few studies of predominantly Protestant European countries. Table 6-14 summarises the level of consanguineous marriage in historical periods for a number of European countries.

Table 6-14 : Consanguineous marriages in Europe

Author	Population	Period	% 1st cousins	% 2nd cousins
Bittles and Egerbladh 2005	Skellefteå, North Sweden	1720-1899	2.05	2.24
		1900-1950	6.80	
Bras et al. 2009	Netherlands	1870-1922	1.94	
Jorde and Pitkänen 1991	Finland	1810-1872	0.32	
		1878-1920	0.17	
Danubio et al. 1999	Cassano Ionio, Italy	1800-1899	0.52	0.96
		1900-1942	2.02	0.96
	Spezzano pic., Italy	1800-1874	0.30	0.30
	Laino Castello, Italy	1800-1840	0.00	0.64
		1908-1958	7.35	4.23
Moroni 1967	Northern Italy	1800-1899	0.32	1.03
Serra and Soini 1959	Milan, Italy	1903-1923	3.50	1.80
Sutter and Tabah 1955	Loir-et-Cher, France	1812-1954	1.35	1.24

Italy and France were predominantly Catholic countries and the studies used marriage dispensations for their sources. The studies for Italy are particularly interesting since they show such a wide range of variation in one country. Geography, history and social custom all play a part in determining the level of consanguinity for any given place.

Finland and Sweden are predominantly Protestant countries and are geographically close but Finland has a greater proportion of members of the Eastern Orthodox church than Sweden. The two countries have widely varying rates of consanguinity, with 0.315% of marriages in Finland being between 1st cousins contrasted with Sweden's rate of 2.05% in

the earliest periods of study. The Netherlands, which had large numbers of both Protestants and Catholics, yielded a level of consanguineous marriage similar to that of Stourton and Kilmington.

Caution should be exercised in making too much of comparisons between different studies in different countries as consanguinity rates changed over the 19th and 20th centuries throughout Europe, as demonstrated in Table 6-14, and without using identical time frames to compare studies, the apparent differences in consanguinity may reflect a difference in time rather than a difference in culture (Bittles and Egerbladh 2005).

Considering only those studies for which the timeframe was predominantly in the 19th century, it appears that the rates of 1st cousin marriage in Stourton (2.4%) and Kilmington (1.9%), most closely aligned with those of the mainly Protestant countries of Sweden (2.05%) and the Netherlands (1.94%). The Italian studies that predominantly cover the 19th century show much lower levels of 1st cousin marriage (0.0%-0.52%). The religion and culture of England probably align more closely with northern European Protestant countries than southern European Catholic ones.

6.10 Conclusions

Compared to North Africa and South Asia, the rate of cousin marriage in England was low, which is to be expected given the generally disapproving English attitude to cousin marriage, in the past and the present. The rate of cousin marriage in England was broadly commensurate with that of mainstream European cultures.

However, the rate of consanguinity in southwest Wiltshire was not uniform, even in the small area on which this project is focused. The frequency of consanguineous marriages in

Kilmington was generally of the same order as that reported by other studies using different techniques (Table 6-4). Stourton's level was slightly higher, although the sample sizes are small and the differences not large.

The nature of the village organisation affected the consanguinity level, with a closed village being almost twice as inbred as an open one, despite having similar levels of parish endogamy. The religion of the parties concerned also affected the rate of consanguineous marriage, with Catholics being more inbred than Protestants, despite Catholic doctrine explicitly discouraging cousin marriage. The parish with the Catholic minority was also the closed parish, so the factors may be related, rather than independent. Expanding this study to cover other closed parishes and other parishes with Catholic minorities may resolve this uncertainty.

Chapter 6: Consanguinity

7 Illegitimacy

7.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer the question whether parenthood of an illegitimate child affected the marriage prospects of men and women, and whether any residual effect was experienced by children born illegitimately. It begins by defining illegitimacy and describing the data sources used specifically for this topic, before going on to review contemporary views on illegitimacy in order to provide context for later discussion. After discussing the illegitimacy level in the research area, it goes on to discuss themes dealt with elsewhere in this thesis, including religion, occupation and family experience. The marriage prospects of parents of illegitimate children, and the children themselves, are analysed and discussed. Finally, bigamy in the research area is considered.

7.2 Definitions

An illegitimate birth is defined as one that occurred at a time when the parents were not validly married to each other. This may be a birth to an unmarried woman, a widow or a bigamously married couple. In rare cases it included the birth of a child to a married woman when her husband could not physically be the father of the child. If a husband was 'gelt' (i.e. castrated) the child of his wife was illegitimate (Church 1996:69). Under English common law, if a married woman had a child and her husband was *infra quatuor maribus* ('within the four seas' i.e. within the jurisdiction of the King of England) at any time during the pregnancy then the child was legitimate, regardless of the actual circumstances of the case (Davis 1884:144). However, parish clerks and parsons were not concerned about the legality of the child's birth so much as the morality, and were quick to point out cases involving a married woman conceiving a child when her husband could not be the father.

For example, a baptism was recorded in Gillingham on 9th March 1739 of "John son of Jane Wiat. Husband absent." The child was legitimate but Jane's husband was not the biological father.

This definition of illegitimate births includes 'mantle children'. These are children who were born illegitimately but whose parents subsequently married each other. In the formal view of the Established Church they were considered to be legitimate under the 'mantle' of the later marriage. On the other hand, in civil law they were still considered to be illegitimate (Macfarlane 1980:73).

This affected matters such as inheritance, when only legitimate children could inherit their parents' land, although it appears that it was possible to inherit movable goods (Howard 1904:356). For most of recorded English history, an illegitimate child could not inherit land from either parent, even if they were named in a will. This was over-turned in the 19th century so that property could be left to an illegitimate child in a will, but there was no provision for the child if either parent died intestate. People born illegitimately were legally considered to have no relatives at all, including their mothers, and they could not leave property to anyone except relatives 'born of their body'. That is, their own children or grandchildren (Brydall 1703:20).

It also affected the surname by which the child was commonly known. Notwithstanding the formal church view that mantle children were legitimate, some parsons chose to distinguish mantle children by their surnames. A person might use the father's surname in civil matters such as completing the census, attending school or receiving wages, but in their interactions with the church, their surname was shown as their mother's. For example, in 1890 a child

was baptised in Stourton as Daisy Hazzard Dumper, the illegitimate daughter of Elizabeth Dumper. A month later her parents Mesach Hazzard and Elizabeth Dumper married. The child attended school as Daisy Hazzard and census records show her as Daisy Hazzard, the daughter of Mesach. However, on her own marriage certificate in 1909 she was listed by the parson as Daisy Dumper, although her paternity was acknowledged.

Children of bigamous unions are also included in this definition of illegitimate birth, and they sometimes have the confusing status of having been baptised as the legitimate child of a marriage, since the parson believed it be a valid marriage at that time, then later being deemed illegitimate. Section 7.8 discusses these cases.

In summary, for this project illegitimate births include any outside the confines of regular marriage, regardless of whether the church or civil authorities deemed the child legitimate.

7.2.1 Exclusions

Pre-nuptial conceptions are not examined in this project. These were common events and around 40-60% all first births for women in England were conceived extra-maritally (Laslett 1980b:54-55). In Wiltshire in the early 17th century an average of 22% of brides were pregnant on their wedding day (Ingram 1987:220).

7.2.2 Data Sources

In the overwhelming majority of cases, illegitimacy was determined because the child was identified as 'base born' or a 'bastard' when it was baptised. In the late 19th century the term 'illegitimate' tended to replace earlier expressions. Although the parson might have strongly discouraged bastardy, he would not refuse Christian baptism for an infant, fearing

that to do so would lead to the eternal damnation of the child. In almost every case, the name of the mother was given at the baptism of the child. In a small minority of cases, the child was baptised without the name of either parent being given, but with the annotation 'spurius'[77].

Figures 7-1 and 7-2 show excerpts of church records identifying illegitimate children.
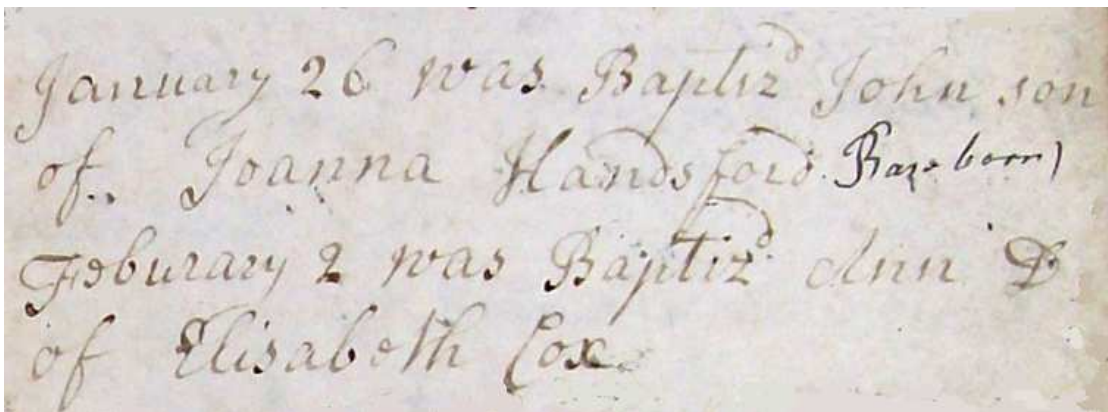
Figure 7-1 : Records of two illegitimate children baptised in 1777

Figure 7-1 shows baptism records for two illegitimate children, the first one of which is explicitly identified as 'Baseborn', although it appears to have been written in a later hand. The second child was also illegitimate but the parson has not noted this explicitly. There is no father listed for either baptism.

Figure 7-2 : A baptism record identifying the infant as 'illegitimate' in 1871

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[77] 'Spurius' is the masculine form of the Latin word for illegitimate. Illegitimate girls sometimes had the word 'spuria' written after their names.

Figure 7-2 is from a later period than Figure 7-1 and illustrates the change from the use of 'baseborn' to 'illegitimate'. The child is shown as "Kate Amelia illegit d. of Elizabeth Bishop".

There was a tendency for illegitimate children to be under-represented in Anglican church records. For example, as part of the 1841 census, parsons of all English parishes were required to make returns of their parish registers, which revealed that 5.8% of children baptised were illegitimate. However, the civil registers for 1842 showed that the level of illegitimate births was 6.7% for England (Wrigley et al. 1997:220). This indicates that in England, 13.4% of illegitimate children whose births were registered with the civil authorities were not baptised in an Anglican church. For Stourton and Kilmington, there were other records to compensate for this under-reporting.

Of the 321 illegitimate infants born in Stourton or Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, 5.3% had no baptism record that could be located in any parish. This is higher than for legitimate infants born in Stourton and Kilmington (3.2%) but lower than the estimate of Wrigley and his colleagues (13.4%). Part of the difference is that this project included baptisms in the Catholic and Protestant Dissenting Chapels. The illegitimate children for whom no baptism record was found were identified through other documentary sources. These included burial records, census records, Poor Law records and their own marriage certificates later in life.

Identifying the fathers of illegitimate children was more problematic than simply identifying the children as illegitimate. There were several sources for identifying paternity. The most reliable sources were Bastardy Bonds. These were bonds between the father of an

illegitimate child and the Overseers of the Poor, to force the father to pay for the costs associated with the confinement of the mother, and for the upbringing of the child. This was usually £1-2 for lying-in expenses and then 1-2s per week until the child was seven years of age (Oosterveen et al. 1980:105).
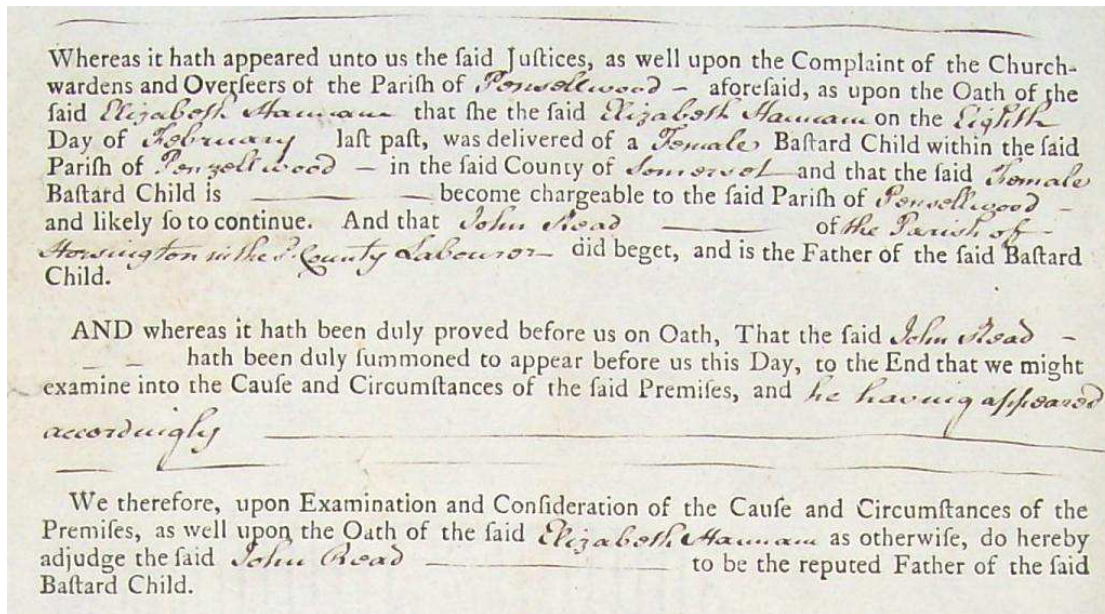
Figure 7-3 : Part of a Bastardy Bond of 1781

Figure 7-3 is part of a Bastardy Bond in which John Read, Labourer, of Horsington was adjudged to be the father of the female bastard child delivered of Elizabeth Hanham on 8th February 1781 in the parish of Penselwood. The father was identified by name, occupation and parish.

Quarter Session Rolls, which were used after 1834, also name the fathers of illegitimate children, along with very detailed information about the conception of the child (Section 3.4.6). In some cases, two men were simultaneously identified as the father of an illegitimate child (Quaife 1979:211), although this did not occur in the records examined for this project.

In some baptism records, the father of an illegitimate child was explicitly named, along with the mother. This was at the discretion of the parson, and did not routinely occur in Stourton, Kilmington or Mere, although it was practised in neighbouring parishes.

For children who lived with their fathers into the census period, the father was usually identified on the census records. Another source was marriage certificates after 1837, when both the bride and groom were explicitly asked to name their respective fathers. Wills in which fathers named their illegitimate children were occasionally useful.

Prior to the introduction of the New Poor Law in 1834, the mother of an illegitimate child could seek maintenance from the father of the child, through the Overseers of the Poor. If the mother of the infant named the father, she was assumed to be truthful and the man named would have to disprove his paternity. After the New Poor Law was introduced, the burden of proof switched to the mother (Gill 1977). The woman was deemed to be at fault and if she tried to exact any payment from the father she had to bear the court costs herself. The onus of proof was on the mother, and she could be charged with perjury but the putative father could not. This grossly unfair system was eased slightly in 1845 when an amendment to the law allowed the woman to seek maintenance through the Petty Sessions, rather than Quarter Sessions, and this made the process a little less expensive (Teichman 1982). Nevertheless, the number of cases prosecuted after the introduction of the New Poor Law was small, and the ability to identify fathers after this date was more limited. The court records and other Poor Law administration papers accessed for this project are listed in Table 3-7.

In Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, the fathers of illegitimate children were positively identified in 36.1% of cases.

Of the 4,940 people who were born in Stourton or Kilmington in the research period, or claimed to be born there, only 17 could not have their legitimacy determined by the present author. In two cases, they were baptised in Stourton but the wording of the baptismal record made their legitimacy unclear. The others lacked baptism records. It is possible that these people were not born in the parishes in question, although they believed this to be the case. It is also possible that they were not baptised or their birth was not registered, or that the baptism record was lost. At 0.3% of all known births in the research area, people of unknown legitimacy are numerically insignificant.

7.2.3 Assumptions

In this project, if the father of an illegitimate child was not identified from other sources, and the mother married within 12 months of the birth of the child, it was assumed that the man whom the mother married was also the father of the illegitimate child. In cases where other data sources were available, such as Poor Law papers or census records, this assumption was validated at every occurrence.

7.3 Contemporary Views

What did people living in the 18th and 19th century think about illegitimacy, its causes and consequences? Early ideas about variations in illegitimacy levels between regions revolved around concepts of sin and lack of chastity. The fact that Scotland had double the rate of illegitimacy of England at comparable times, despite having a population that was

renowned for its temperance and chastity, was put down to the fact that the Scots consumed a great deal of oatmeal, and this was said to "inflame the passions" (Blaikie 1993:12).

The contemporary view in the 18th century was that illegitimacy was caused by vice, intemperance and lust. Gin-soaked mothers were believed to produce illegitimate children in abundance, without care for the consequences. William Hogarth's famous lithograph *Gin Lane* illustrates the perceived problem, with a drunken mother allowing her infant to fall from her arms to its death (Figure 7-4).
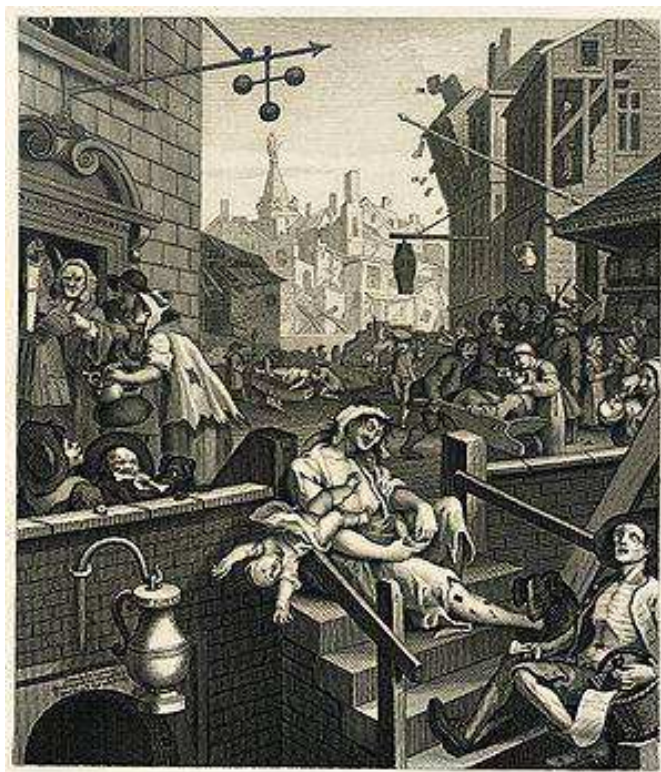
Figure 7-4 : William Hogarth's Gin Lane (1751)

An early explanation for the temporal and spatial variation in illegitimacy levels was that of it was associated with high age at first marriage. The idea was that where there was a low age at first marriage there would follow a low illegitimacy level, since the number of 'at risk' women (i.e. unmarried women) was reduced. This theory was very much bound up in

the contemporary view of morality, that marrying young would reduce the pressures of carnal desire. However, this concept has been comprehensively debunked and numerous studies in Britain and Europe have shown that there is a strong correlation between low age at first marriage and high levels of illegitimacy (Laslett 1980:14).

One of the earliest efforts to determine the possible sociological causes of illegitimacy (as opposed to notions of personal vice and immorality) was undertaken by Eilert Sundt in Norway. He conducted extensive analysis of registration systems as well as spending a great deal of time 'in the field' discussing illegitimacy and other issues with rural Norwegians. He concluded that for rural Norway in the first half of the 19th century, there was a strong correlation between levels of illegitimacy and rural customs of sleeping and courting. Customs closely linked to illegitimacy included male and female servants sleeping in barns and that of 'night courting' whereby young men were permitted to visit the bedrooms of single girls alone on certain Saturday nights (Sundt 1857). Where sleeping in barns with members of the opposite sex and 'night courting' were common, the rates of illegitimacy were highest.

The earliest formal study of illegitimacy levels in English communities was by Albert Leffingwell in 1892. He systematically analysed data from a range of sources. He concluded that community beliefs of the time were wrong and that illegitimacy was not associated with poverty, ignorance and the permissive nature of city life. Instead, he correlated high illegitimacy levels with higher 'thrift and prosperity', rural rather than city life, higher literacy levels, lower age at first marriage, lack of religious duty (although there were no differences between denominations) and heredity (Leffingwell 1892:85-86). Whilst

some of his conclusions are no longer supported, such as illegitimacy being a biologically inheritable trait and his assertion that restriction on early marriage led to high illegitimacy levels, his other ground-breaking conclusions still stand. His discovery that there were higher illegitimacy rates in the country and not in the vice-ridden cities, as was usually supposed at the time, was an important finding.

Other contemporary writers felt that illegitimacy was an inherited trait. An 1864 report examining the causes of the high levels of illegitimacy in Scotland confirmed, among other findings, that groups of mothers, daughters and sisters collectively produced the bastards. The report put this down to "…a hereditary taint, or demoralising example…" (Gill 1977:225). An 18th century work on the law related to bastardy stated that it was inherited in the paternal line and intensified in the next generation:

> Bastards are commonly infected with the Leprosie of the
> Sires Disease and being encouraged with the Example and
> Pattern of their Fathers filthiness, they are not only prone to
> follow their sinful steps, but do sometimes exceed both them
> and others in all kinds of Wickedness (Brydall 1703:27)

On the other hand, if the father of the bastard was a man of high moral virtue, especially if he was a member of a royal family, then it was felt that his moral virtues would be transmitted to his sons (daughters were not mentioned): "Bastards begotten in the highest heat and strength of Affection have many times been Men of excellent Courage and Understanding" (Brydall 1703:32). The author then went on to list a series of outstanding men born illegitimately to royal or aristocratic fathers, such as William the Conqueror. The family experience of parents of illegitimate children born in Stourton and Kilmington is considered in Section 7.6.

7.4 Illegitimacy Levels

Before the question of how illegitimacy affected the marital experience of those involved is addressed, it is necessary to understand the level of illegitimacy in the research area to gauge how many people it affected.

The Illegitimacy Ratio is the proportion of illegitimate births amongst all births. The Illegitimacy Rate is the proportion of illegitimate births amongst all unmarried women (i.e. spinsters, widows and divorcees) aged 15-44 years. In some times and places one measure can vary whilst the other remains constant. The Illegitimacy Rate can be an inadequate measure of illegitimacy as illegitimate births can occur within marriage. For example, one-quarter of all illegitimate births registered with the civil authorities of England and Wales in April 1961 were born to married women (Laslett 1980:8). These women would not have been in the denominator of the Illegitimacy Rate because they were married, and this would have artificially inflated the result.

The Illegitimacy Ratio can change over time due to changes in marital practices. With all other things being equal, the Illegitimacy Ratio will increase with later age of marriage or lower marriage rate.

This section will examine the Illegitimacy Ratio. It differs slightly from some other studies in that it reports the proportion of illegitimate children born in the parishes, as opposed to those baptised there. Since a small number of additional illegitimate births were identified without baptism records, the figures would be slightly higher than would be the case if only baptisms were used as a source, as occurred in other studies. In addition, some infants were born in one parish and baptised in another, but it is not expected that the 'flow' of infants

being baptised outside their parish of birth would have been in any particular direction (e.g. more out of Stourton and Kilmington than in to them) and so would be unlikely to affect the overall result.

Between 1754 and 1914, 321 illegitimate infants were born in Stourton and Kilmington to 224 mothers.
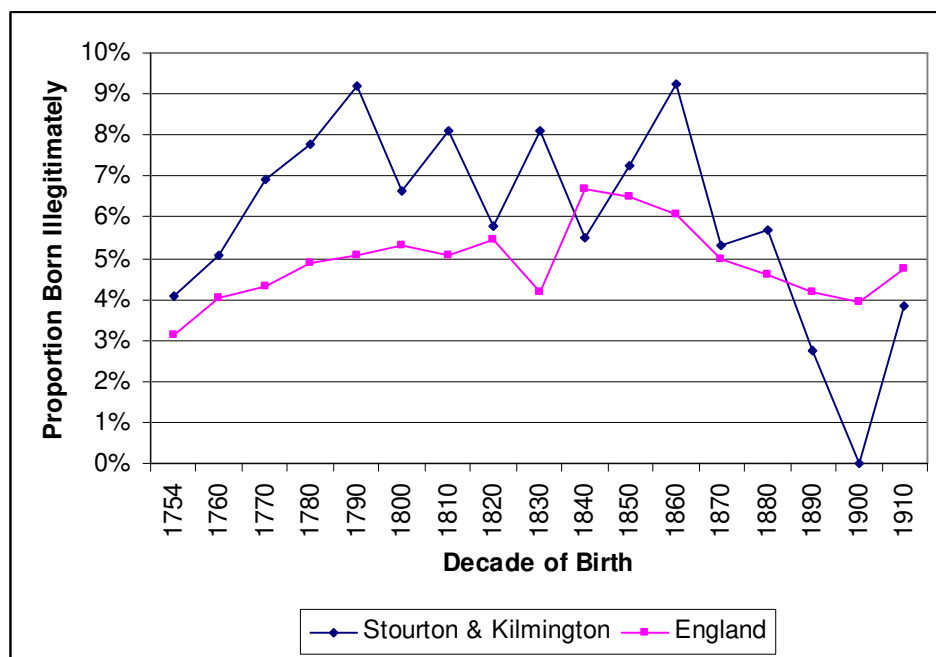
Figure 7-5 : Illegitimacy ratio in Stourton and Kilmington 1754-1914,
Source of England figures: Laslett (1980:14) and Oosterveen et al. (1980)

Figure 7-5 shows the illegitimacy ratio for the combined parishes of Stourton and Kilmington during the research period, as well as the illegitimacy ratio for England as whole. The parishes of Stourton and Kilmington were combined since they followed a similar pattern throughout the research period.

Figure 7-5 indicates that for most of the research period, Stourton and Kilmington had a higher illegitimacy ratio than the average for England. Both plots show a rise in the second

half of the 18th century. In fact, the illegitimacy ratio for England had been rising steadily since the 1650s when it was close to zero. The nadir of English illegitimacy was presumably as a result of Puritan influence. Following the restoration of Charles II in 1660, the illegitimacy ratio began to rise slowly, eventually peaking in the 1850s (Laslett 1977). Figure 7-5 shows that in the second half of the 18th century the illegitimacy ratio for Stourton and Kilmington rose more quickly than the average for England. At its peak in the 1790s, the illegitimacy ratio for Stourton and Kilmington was almost double the national average. It is not assumed that the figures for any two parishes would closely match the average for all of England, and it would be surprising if this was the result. Nevertheless, it is worth considering the reasons why a pair of parishes which were otherwise average in many demographic aspects would diverge suddenly, and to such a marked degree. The significantly higher levels of illegitimacy in the research area between the 1770s and 1810s may be an artefact of using multiple sources to identify illegitimacy (Section 3.4.6)., rather than relying solely on baptism records, as earlier studies were required to do. It should be noted that while the Bastardy Bonds for Stourton survive for the period 1728-1822, the early coverage is patchy. Two-thirds of the Bastardy Bonds that survive are for births in the period 1786-1822, and this corresponds with the highest points of divergence between the Stourton and Kilmington ratio and that for England. In addition, the 1821 census for Stourton survives, which is highly unusual, and this also clarified some family relationships. It may be that the results generated in this study are a more accurate reflection of the actual level of bastardy in two rural parishes than that produced from single-source studies. The possible under-estimation of illegitimacy has been acknowledged by Laslett and others, and their claim is that the general shape of the curves is accurate, but

that it may represent an under-estimation of the actual levels of bastardy at the time (Laslett 1977). Although Laslett adjusted figures to compensate for this acknowledged under-reporting, it is possible that the adjustment was not large enough.

For Stourton and Kilmington, the large drop from an illegitimacy ratio of 9.2% to 0.0% in the period 1860-1900 coincided with enormous changes in rural society. The countryside was emptying out as urbanisation progressed relentlessly. There were fewer jobs available for women in rural areas (Royle 1987:91). At the same time, the moral values now called 'Victorian' were trickling down from the middle classes to the working classes. It began to be felt that it was inappropriate for women to work outside the home, and agricultural work was seen as particularly inappropriate for women (Royle 1987:90). Immorality was felt to result when women worked beside men in the fields, according to testimony before the Royal Commission into Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture in 1867 (Wilson 2007:197). A common employment for young Wiltshire women, particularly in the north of the county, was working as a dairymaid. By the 1860s Wiltshire had almost no dairymaids, with cheese being made only by farmers' wives and daughters (Wilson 2007:196).

At the same time the stigma of producing illegitimate children began to rise in line with 'Victorian' values. In Stourton and Kilmington, this was translated into a higher proportion of the mothers of illegitimate children eventually marrying during the nadir of illegitimacy in the parishes compared to times of higher illegitimacy. For example, in the period 1880-1900 when the illegitimacy ratio was falling swiftly, 90% of the mothers of illegitimate children eventually married, compared to 65% of women who had their first illegitimate

child in the period 1770-1809, at the peak of illegitimacy in the region. More marriages meant fewer illegitimate infants and more legitimate infants. Women who were able to have several illegitimate children and maintain their own home disappeared as it became progressively harder for women to find work in agricultural areas. Being the mother of an illegitimate child was becoming both less socially unacceptable and less economically viable.

Until the beginning of the 20th century when the situation was reversed, rural areas had much higher rates of illegitimacy than the cities (Laslett 1977). From 1910, London recorded the highest levels of illegitimacy in the country, whereas its ratio had been close to zero for much of the preceding century (Higginbotham 1985). The differences between the two rural parishes and the all-England rate demonstrated in Figure 7-5 may also reflect a rural-urban divide.

There was extreme regional variation in illegitimacy ratios throughout Britain, including a level of illegitimacy in Scotland twice that of England (Blaikie 1993; Adair 1996:51-63). Wiltshire consistently ranked from 25th to 27th place out of 41 English counties in its illegitimacy ratio throughout the 19th century (Laslett 1980:34). As for many demographic variables, Wiltshire's illegitimacy hovered close to the average for all of England.

The changes over time in the illegitimacy ratio for Stourton and Kilmington were not due to a change proportion of 'at risk' women. That is, there was no significant change in the proportion of unmarried women aged 15-44 in the villages. The most common age group for single women to bear illegitimate children was 20-24 years. In Stourton and Kilmington from 1821-1911 the percentage of women aged 20-24 years who were unmarried varied

only between 88% and 90%. This did not change over the century and so cannot be an explanation for the rise then sudden decline in illegitimacy ratio.

The absolute levels of illegitimate fertility varied very closely with that of marital fertility throughout English history (Laslett 1980:20). Female employment outside the home has also been suggested as a cause of bastardy and especially repeaterdom, where the woman has more than one illegitimate child (Oosterveen et al. 1980:88). This is supported by the observation that repeaterdom in Stourton and Kilmington declined when opportunities for paid employment declined in the late 19th century. No woman had more than two illegitimate children in Stourton or Kilmington after 1864. Amongst women who had illegitimate children, the average number was 1.6 in the peak period 1780-1819, when several women had four or more bastards. By contrast, the average number was 1.1 in the last two decades of the 19th century.

Illegitimacy levels in English historical communities have been linked to marriage age, economics, sleeping practices, courtship practices (including bundling)[78] and failure of social control (Macfarlane 1980:84). There is persuasive evidence that much of the variation in illegitimacy levels over space and time was due to courtship practices, such as bundling and night courting (Laslett 1980:54). However, night courting was not practiced in England and bundling was not practiced in the West Country (Quaife 1979:247).

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[78] Bundling was a traditional practice whereby unmarried couples share the same bed but remained fully clothed

7.5 Religion

Early chapters have shown how different religious affiliations are associated with differences in marriage rate and age, geographical mobility and frequency of consanguineous marriage. Did religious affiliation also influence the level of illegitimacy in Stourton and Kilmington?

For the combined parishes of Stourton and Kilmington, 90.5% of infants born in the period 1754-1914 were baptised as Anglicans, 7.6% were baptised as Catholics, 1.1% were baptised as Protestant Dissenters and no baptism could be found for a further 0.9% (Section 3.4). The figures are slightly different for those born out of wedlock. Of illegitimate infants born in Stourton or Kilmington, 94.1% were Anglicans, 4.0% were Catholics and 0.6% were baptised as Protestant Dissenters in the nearby market town of Mere. The minority denominations of Catholicism and Congregationalism had lower proportions baptised illegitimately than the general population, and there was a complete absence of baptisms of illegitimate children in Methodist chapels in the region.

Although there was a smaller proportion of illegitimate children baptised as Catholics, those Catholic women that produced illegitimate children had similar reproductive experiences to Protestant women. They had similar numbers of illegitimate children: Protestant women in this group had a mean of 1.57 illegitimate children whilst Catholic women had a mean of 1.50. Of both Catholic and Protestant women who bore illegitimate children, two-thirds had only one illegitimate child. The only significant difference in the experience of Catholic and Anglican women who had illegitimate children was that Catholic women in this region never had an illegitimate child after marriage (i.e. when their

husband was absent or they were widowed). By contrast 5% of Protestant mothers of illegitimate children were widows at the time of the birth of the child.

The lower level of illegitimacy amongst Catholic women is probably related to their status as a persecuted minority. A greater commitment to their religion, and its doctrine of sexual purity and abstinence, was required to exist and thrive in a time when being a Catholic had so many disadvantages. Persecuted religious minorities tend to be more passionate about their religion. By contrast, many of the women designated as Anglicans may have been so in name only, with the baptism of their children, or the receipt of charity, being the only interactions they had with their church. Attendance at an Anglican church service at least twice a year was a legal requirement for all people until 1791 and some parishioners endured the minimum church attendance required in order to avoid a fine. For many of the poor and illiterate parishioners in England, ancient ideas about evil spirits, curses and witchcraft were blended with Anglican orthodoxy, and the rite of baptism was often seen as some sort of magic spell to ward off evil spirits, rather than as reception into the Established Church, as the parson espoused (Royle 1987:289).

In Stourton it is possible to see the difference between being a nominal Anglican and actually participating in the life of the church. The communicants list of 1858 contains the names of every person who was entitled to receive communion in the Anglican church of St Peter's. Less than 30% of the adults of Stourton were named, although more than 90% of newborn infants were baptised in the church (Churchwardens of Stourton 1855-1861). Many Anglican parishioners were having their children baptised in church, but not attending on a regular basis.

So whilst the Anglican church preached the same doctrine about sexual purity as the Catholic church, many of the women who were nominally Anglicans may not have been as committed to the principle as Catholic women. Leffingwell (1892) identified a link between 'lack of religious duty' and illegitimacy. In Stourton this lack of religious duty was more apparent amongst Anglicans than Catholics. Curiously, it has been proposed that due to the lack of a formal Catholic Church hierarchy before 1850, moral conformity was not enforced amongst Catholics and it was expected that illegitimacy levels would be higher in regions with high proportions of Catholics. However, at the county and parish level, there was no association between high numbers of Catholics and high illegitimacy levels (Adair 1996:117-119). In Stourton, at the level of individuals, an inverse relationship was found. Catholics produced fewer illegitimate children.

7.6 Occupation and Class

What social class were the parents of illegitimate children? In the Stourton Bastardy Bonds of 1728-1822, the occupation of three-quarters of the fathers of illegitimate children was listed as labourer, with others including sawyer, carpenter, higler[79] and in one case, builder. This cannot be taken to be the full range of occupations, however, since the very wealthy might choose to support their bastards and therefore would never appear in the Bastardy Bonds. Members of the higher social classes were in the social and economic position to make arrangements without going before a magistrate (Quaife, 1979:229-230), including possibly arranging for someone else to marry a pregnant lover, and thus ensuring that no illegitimate child was born (Betzig, 2002). In Stourton, the owner of the village and lord of the manor between 1857 and 1894 was the 5th Baronet, Sir Henry Ainslie Hoare, known in

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[79] A higler was an itinerant salesman, selling small items such as buttons and thread, going from door-to-door

the family as 'Henry the Naughty'. Apart from losing a great deal of money on gambling and being forced to sell some of Stourhead's treasured art and book collection, he was also noted for acknowledging that he had fathered two illegitimate sons with local girls, whilst he was married. He fathered William Richard by Harriet, a servant at Stourhead, and also Alfred, by Emma whose parents lived near the entrance to the Stourhead Gardens (Williams 2006). He took financial responsibility for the boys, supporting their mothers, paying for the boys' education and finding them employment. William Richard eventually worked on a Hoare family estate in New Zealand and Alfred was assisted in setting up a market gardening business in Somerset, Wiltshire and Bristol (Williams 2006).

Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, it would appear that the men who fathered illegitimate children in Stourton in the 18th and 19th centuries were overwhelmingly labourers. Of the 80 men who have been identified as fathering illegitimate children in Stourton or Kilmington, 68% of those with a known occupation were labourers, with another 22% in non-agricultural occupations such as carpenters and butchers. The remainder were farmers, in addition to Henry Ainslie Hoare. This contrasts with the findings of Somerset court records for 1601-1660, in which only 5.0% were labourers, whilst 14.7% were gentlemen, clerics or yeomen (Quaife, 1979:230). However, occupational classifications changed markedly between the 17th and 19th centuries, and Quaife found that 41.6% of the reputed fathers of illegitimate children were husbandmen, a term that had disappeared in Wessex by the 19th century (Bettey, 1986). The occupation 'husbandman' was not seen in the Kilmington parish registers after 1797. Family reconstitution studies of several parishes in England in the period 1790-1839 also indicate a predominance of labourers and paupers amongst the reputed fathers of illegitimate children (Oosterveen et al., 1980:112-113).

Most women in 18th and 19th century documentary records did not have a formal occupation recorded for them, and their part-time and casual work was ignored by record-keepers (Royle 1987:90). Mothers of illegitimate children in Stourton and Kilmington had occupations recorded for them in just 28% of cases. Amongst those whose occupation was recorded, 92% were listed as labourers and a further 8% were recorded in non-agricultural occupations such as Silk Weaver, Needlewoman and Domestic Cook. One woman became a school mistress and after her illegitimate daughter had grown up and left home, she married a railway packer when she was aged 39 years. Other studies have shown that mothers of illegitimate children were almost exclusively servants or from labouring families (Betzig 2002:33).

Some writers have seen a connection between social asymmetry and illegitimacy, with mothers of illegitimate children being the victims of more powerful men, particularly masters of a household in which they served (Betzig 2002). There was indeed a strong association at a county level between the number of servants per household and the illegitimacy ratio (Betzig 2002). On the other hand, high numbers of unmarried female servants also meant that they kept company with high numbers of unmarried male servants. Studies of parents of illegitimate children, as opposed to county-level studies, indicate that the parents were almost always of the same social class as each other (Laslett 1980:56). In effect, they were couples who might expect to marry each other, more than say, a young scullery maid and the son of the master of the household (Laslett 1980:56).

Although the records of occupations of the parents of illegitimate children are incomplete in many ways, it is clear that the majority of mothers of illegitimate children were of the labouring class, and that as far as is known, so usually were the fathers of their children.

7.7 Family Experience

Laslett postulated the existence of a 'bastardy-prone sub-society' (Laslett 1980). By this he meant that a sort of sub-society existed in which illegitimacy was more frequent, with individuals whose close relatives had produced illegitimate children being more likely to produce illegitimate children themselves. He provided evidence of its existence in the parish records to which he had access (Laslett 1980). A similar pattern was noted in Earls Colne, Essex in the 16th and 17th centuries (Macfarlane 1980). Did this phenomenon exist in southwest Wiltshire?

Of 224 mothers of illegitimate children born in Stourton or Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, 50.7% had a sibling or parent who had produced an illegitimate child. This is higher than a randomly selected group of 93 mothers of legitimate children born in Stourton and Kilmington in that period, which showed that 29.8% had a sibling or parent who had produced an illegitimate child.

For the fathers of illegitimate children, the figure was 59.0%, although it should be recalled that the numbers of identified fathers was smaller than identified mothers of illegitimate children (Section 7.1.3). From the perspective of family experience, the largest impact on the production of illegitimate children was the experience of siblings. Of all parents of illegitimate children, 36.0% of mothers and 31.1% of fathers had siblings who were also

the parents of illegitimate offspring. By contrast, in the random sample of mothers of legitimate children, 19.3% had siblings who had produced an illegitimate child.

Although the concept that illegitimacy could be biologically inherited (Section 7.2) is discredited, family experience influences what a family member comes to regard as normal and acceptable. This in turn led to the tendency for illegitimacy to 'run in families', rather than some genetic trait. Similarly, consanguineous marriage was a fringe marital behaviour, practised by only a minority of people in England, many of whom had relatives in consanguineous marriages (Section 6.8). Like bastardy, what came to be regarded as acceptable in one family was not necessarily the case for wider society.

7.8 Marriage Prospects

This section seeks to answer the question of marital prospects – did having an illegitimate child affect a parent's chance of subsequently marrying, or that of their offspring?

7.8.1 Mothers of Illegitimate Children

In Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, just 5.0% of women who had illegitimate children were widows and 1.4% were in bigamous marriages (the husband had been validly married prior to their own marriage). The remaining 93.6% were spinsters at the birth of the illegitimate child. This is similar to results for other English parishes, which showed that 92-97% of mothers of illegitimate children were spinsters (Oosterveen et al. 1980:120).

Some women had experiences of illegitimacy that were difficult to classify. For example, Jane Clothier had an illegitimate son John in 1779 and just over a year later she married a

widower, Robert Bird. The couple had three legitimate children before Robert's death in 1787. The now-widowed Jane then had two more illegitimate children before marrying another widower, Richard Lapham, in 1795. So Jane Clothier (later Jane Bird and then Jane Lapham), had illegitimate children both as a spinster and as a widow.

To determine the fate of the mothers of illegitimate children, each woman's life history was traced at least until marriage or death, regardless of where she lived. Women's lives were followed through census records and civil registration in regions beyond the research area. Of the 215 mothers of illegitimate children, 34 (or 16%) could not be traced until their death, marriage or the age of 50 years. In most cases, they had moved away from the research area, usually to Frome or Bath, often to work as servants or barmaids. They were generally identified in one or two censuses and then lost to the project. None of the women whose ultimate fate was undetermined returned to their own parish or surrounding area to live, marry or die. The remaining 181 (or 84%) of these women could be traced to marriage, death or at least the age of 50 years if unmarried.

The marriage rate for mothers of illegitimate children was compared with that of all women born in the research area who reached the age of 16 years. Not all of the women who were mothers of illegitimate children were born in Stourton or Kilmington, and this group was defined by the place of birth of their children, rather than their own place of birth. Women were categorised as 'did not marry' if they died or reached the age of 50 years without marrying someone. The mothers of illegitimate children who married were categorised as 'marrying the father' or 'marrying someone else'. Clearly these distinctions do not apply

for women who were not the mothers of illegitimate children, so they are categorised simply as married or not.

Table 7-1 : Marital experiences of women who reached the age of 16 years

	Mothers of Illegitimate Children		All Women Born in Research Area	
	n.	%	n.	%
Married the Father	49	27.1	753	78.8
Married Someone Else	80	44.2		
Did Not Marry	52	28.7	202	21.2
Total	181		955	

Table 7-1 demonstrates that in Stourton and Kilmington, 27.1% of the mothers of illegitimate children went on to marry the fathers of their bastards. This result is similar[80] to the result of 23.7% obtained for Aldenham, Hertfordshire in a study on illegitimacy (Oosterveen et al. 1980:107).

Table 7-1 also indicates that there was a difference[81] between the two groups of women, with 28.7% of mothers of illegitimate children dying or reaching the age of 50 years without marrying, compared to 21.2% for all women born in the research area. Being the mother of an illegitimate child was associated with a lower frequency of subsequent marriage. However, this is not necessarily a case of cause and effect, since women who remained unmarried were 'at risk' of having an illegitimate child for a longer period. The question then remains of whether the number of children and their living arrangements influenced the marital prospects of the mother.

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[80] A binomial test comparing results for Stourton & Kilmington with Aldenham gives p=0.29. That is, there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups.

[81] $\chi^2 = 5.03$, d.f. =1, p=0.025

Figure 7-6 : An infant photographed in 1894
Photo: Collection of Cathy Day

There were a limited number of fates of bastards in 18th and 19th century England. They could:

- die in infancy or childhood
- be sent to the workhouse
- live with their mothers; or
- live with other relatives

Few would be as well-cared for as in the infant in Figure 7-6.

Infant and child mortality in this era was high, but it was higher for illegitimate children. The proportions of people born in the research area in the period 1754-1914 who died as infants or children was calculated by their legitimacy and the results are shown at Table 7-2. Whilst these figures are biased towards those who remained in the research area and hence are recorded in the registers of Stourton and Kilmington, there is no bias between legitimate or illegitimate children.

Table 7-2 : Mortality amongst children born in Stourton and Kilmington 1754-1914

	Died aged 0-2 years		Died aged 3-15 years	
	No. Dead / Total	**%**	**No. Dead / Total**	**%**
Legitimate	403 / 2201	18.3	163 / 1798	9.1
Illegitimate	44 / 165	26.7	19 / 121	15.7

Infants: $\chi^2 = 7.00$, d.f. $=1$, p=0.008; Children: $\chi^2 = 5.82$, d.f. $=1$, p=0.016

Table 7-2 shows the clear difference in the survival rates of children born legitimately and illegitimately. Infancy was particularly hazardous for illegitimate children. The main cause

was the environment in which illegitimate children were raised. Wiltshire labourers already had the lowest wages in the country (Molland 1959:81) and to compound this the lower wages for women, scarcity of paid women's work in rural areas and physical demands on a new mother, resulted in poor nutrition for an illegitimate infant. Living arrangements were usually crowded and unsanitary. In England in the 18th century it was very rare for an unmarried woman to obtain independent accommodation and this was usually only possible if she was of the middle or upper classes (Froide 1999).

In this project there was no systematic attempt to study workhouse records and determine which children were sent there and which were not. Only three illegitimate children from Stourton or Kilmington were known to have been sent to the Union Workhouse at Mere, and all of them died there. These findings are consistent with the experiences of illegitimate children in workhouses in London. One study showed that 40% of the children who entered one London workhouse in 1756 were dead within a month (Higginbotham 1985:7). Prior to the 1834 New Poor Law, illegitimate children sent to workhouses were separated from their mothers, who were not permitted to enter the workhouse. The poor feeding, unsanitary conditions and lack of concern for the infants' welfare contributed to the high death rate of illegitimate children in workhouses (Anstruther 1973).

Of children that avoided the workhouse and lived, the two possibilities were to be raised by their own mother or raised by another relative. The relatives who raised illegitimate children were typically maternal grandparents. This pattern is reflected in other studies of illegitimacy. For example, in Rothiemay, Scotland in 1881, 8.4% of the people enumerated in the census were described as grandchildren of the Heads of Household (Blaikie

1993:137-138). For households that contained a known bastard, this figure rose to 33.3%. All of the people described as great-grandchildren of the Heads of Households lived in families that contained at least one bastard (Blaikie 1993:137-138). Illegitimate children were more likely to live with their grandparents and great-grandparents than other children.

If an illegitimate child was raised by someone other than the mother, then the mother's chances of marriage were dramatically affected. For this part of the project, every woman who was born in the 19th century and had produced an illegitimate child in Stourton or Kilmington was considered and the number of children that she raised herself was calculated. These children were categorised as 'dependent' for the purposes of this discussion. Women born in the 19th century were chosen as they usually lived into the census period (1821 for Stourton, 1841 for Kilmington and most of England) so that it was possible to determine the living arrangements of their children. Women were then categorised as having married the father of the child, married someone who was not the father of the child or not married after the child was born. They were then grouped by the number of co-resident, dependent children. In most cases, these were determined from a combination of census records and burial records.

Table 7-3 : Marriage outcome of mothers of illegitimate children, by number of dependent children

No. of Dependent children	Married the Father		Married Another Man		Did Not Marry		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	
0	2	6.1	27	81.8	4	12.1	33
1	20	58.8	8	23.5	6	17.6	34
2 or more	6	42.9	4	28.6	4	28.6	14

Fisher's Exact Test: p<0.001

Table 7-3 shows that of women who had at least one illegitimate child, but none living and dependent upon them, 81.8% married a man who was not the father of the child and just 12.1% remained unmarried. Only 6.1% married the father of the child. If a man was not willing to marry his pregnant lover before the birth of the child, then there was clearly little pressure to marry her if the child died or moved in with relatives.

Some fathers married the mothers of their bastards within 12 months of the child's birth, and this was often to avoid paying the maintenance demanded by the Overseers of the Poor. A man's ability to find employment could be affected if he failed to marry or support the mother of his children, since the Overseers of the Poor in any parish were the men of substance and property, and hence also likely to be employers in the parish. This could influence the high rate at which fathers of illegitimate children married their child's mother.

Since the proportion of all adult women born in the research area who eventually married was 78.8% (Table 7-1), whereas 87.9% of women who had produced an illegitimate child but not raised it went on to marry, it is clear that having an illegitimate child but not raising it was associated with a higher rate of marriage. That is not to suggest that this was a marriage strategy itself, or that men deliberately sought women who had given birth to an illegitimate child then had someone else raise it or seen it die. Rather, women who had produced illegitimate children presumably were appealing in some way (whether physical, financial, social, personal or involving other traits) which would make them acceptable sexual partners. If they did not raise the illegitimate child themselves then they had the advantage of being appealing but not the economic disadvantage of having dependent children. Women who did not have illegitimate children and did not marry may have been

less appealing in a variety of ways, such as physical beauty, social skills, engaging personality or other characteristics which when combined, make one person attractive to another. Some of these traits were discussed in Section 4.2.

By contrast, Table 7-3 shows that of those women with illegitimate children who raised one illegitimate child, 82.3% married and over two-thirds of those marriages were to the father of the child. Almost 18% of these women remained unmarried after the birth of the illegitimate child. So their overall marriage chances were similar, although slightly lower, to those of women who had no dependent children to support, but overwhelmingly the subsequent marriage was to the father of the child. If the father of the child did not marry them, they had only a 23.5% chance of being married subsequently, which was lower than that for all women in the research area.

Of the women who raised two or more illegitimate children, 71.9% married after the birth of the children (Table 7-3). Of those marriages, over half were to the father of their children.

Of the seven women who raised three or more dependent illegitimate children, only one married after the birth of the children. This was Maria Wensley who was housekeeper to a wealthy farmer, William Long Mullins. They had four illegitimate children and married a few months before the birth of their fifth child. As a tenant farmer, William Mullins was presumably under pressure from the landowner (and local Justice of the Peace) to legitimise the union, which occurred in Stourton in 1878.

The relationship between raising a child prior to marriage and subsequent marriage rate was probably due to mothers with dependent children being perceived as less desirable marriage partners. In a study of marriage rates amongst widows, the number of dependent children that a widow had was directly proportional to the length of time before re-marriage (Wrigley et al. 1997:177). The same consideration could be expected to operate with respect to the mothers of illegitimate children. The more children a woman brought to a potential marriage, the lower her chances of marriage. This did not apply to men (Wrigley et al. 1997:177).

Table 7-4 : Mean number of dependent illegitimate children, by mother's marital experience

Mother's Marital Experience After Birth of Child	n.	Mean No. of Dependent Children
Did not marry after the birth of the child	30	1.63
Married the father of the child	39	1.08
Married, but not the father of the child	56	0.59

Table 7-4 indicates that the women who did not marry after the birth of the illegitimate child had a mean of 1.63 children living with them and being supported by them. This is almost three times as many as the number supported by women who went on to marry someone other than the father of the child or children. The mean number of 0.59 for these women is a result of more than half of their children either dying in infancy or childhood, or going to live with their grandparents. For women who married the father of the child, the mean was in between the other two rates, at 1.08 dependent children. Clearly, having dependent children at home was a disadvantage in the marital stakes, unless the father of the child was willing to marry the mother.

In Victorian times and in the minds of middle-class welfare workers at least, there was a clear distinction between women who had 'fallen' only once and could possibly be 'rescued', and those who had produced more than one bastard and were therefore considered to be addicted to vice (Higginbotham 1985). When seeking parish relief, even women with multiple illegitimate children tried to plead that they had either been forced into sex, or tricked by the man with the promise of marriage. For example, in 1853 at the Quarter Sessions, Rachel Fricker of Stourton swore that she was riding on a wagon with Edwin Smart when he offered to carry her basket and walk her home. She said, "… he went to a clump of trees upon the Terrace, threw me down and had connexion with me…" and that "… he nearly tore the clothes of my back". Under cross-examination she admitted that she had had "connexion" with Smart several times since then and that she was the mother of three bastard children by three different men (Church 1998:76).

At the same Quarter Sessions, Ann Feltham swore that she had gone to Benjamin Bishop's shop and that he had "fastened the door upon her" so that she could not escape, and then had "connexion" with her in the shop. She said that she was a virgin at the time. Benjamin Bishop was a married man with children and did not deny the "connexion" but disputed the date on which it took place, and hence his paternity of the illegitimate child in question. Ann went on to have three illegitimate children with other men (Church 1998:75).

It is difficult to compare these results of marital experience of mothers of illegitimate children with other studies of family reconstitution, since they focussed on only one parish at a time. In English parishes for which bastardy was studied, between 13% and 23% of the mothers of illegitimate children stayed and married in the parish in which they had given

birth (Oosterveen et al. 1980:106). By comparison, the results for Stourton and Kilmington show that 71.3% of mothers of illegitimate children married someone after the birth of the child (Table 7-1), but this was not confined to marriages in the parish of the child's baptism.

Having dependent illegitimate children reduced a woman's chances of marriage; did it also delay marriage for those who eventually did so?

In Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914, the 75th percentile for age at first marriage for females was 28 years. In other words, three-quarters of spinsters who married bachelors were aged 28 years or less. Spinsters were divided into two groups: those aged 28 years or less at marriage and those aged 29 years or more. The percentage of women who had given birth to illegitimate children prior to marriage was then calculated for the two groups.

Table 7-5 : Female marriage above 75th percentile for age, Stourton and Kilmington 1754-1914

Age	Illegitimate Children		No Illegitimate Children		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
≤28 years	46	5.7	765	94.3	811
≥29 years	24	11.4	187	88.6	211

$$\chi^2 = 8.53,\ d.f. = 1,\ p=0.003$$

Table 7-5 indicates that women who married in the higher age bracket were twice as likely to have produced illegitimate children as women who married at a younger age. Previous research has shown that women who produced illegitimate children did so at approximately the same age as married women who produced their first child (Oosterveen et al.

1980:108). The phenomenon shown in Table 7-5 does not relate to the age at which the first illegitimate child was produced, but the age at which the mother later married, if she did.

7.8.2 Fathers of Illegitimate Children

What were the marriage prospects of the fathers of illegitimate children? In the research area during the period 1754-1914, 83 men were identified as the fathers of illegitimate children. Of these, 9 (or 10.8%) left the research area and could not be traced to death or subsequent marriage. The marital outcome for the remaining 74 (or 89.2%) was extracted from the database. This includes men such as Benjamin Bishop (Section 7.7.1) who were married at the time of the illegitimate child's conception, and who remained with their wives after fathering the child on someone else. It also includes widowed men who fathered illegitimate children. Table 7-6 summarises the known marital outcome of 74 identified fathers of illegitimate children in the research area.

Table 7-6: Marital outcome for identified fathers of illegitimate children, Stourton and Kilmington 1754-1914

	Not Previously Married			Previously Married	
	Married the Mother	**Married Someone Else**	**Consensual Union**	**Adultery**	**Consensual Union**
n.	50	14	1	7	2
%	67.6	18.9	1.4	9.4	2.7

Only one man remained permanently unmarried, and his were unusual circumstances. He was James Young and he fathered at least three of Jessalina Lapham's illegitimate children in Kilmington between 1868 and 1872. The couple lived together in Kilmington, along with James' elderly mother and the children. Jessalina was the 'Head of the Household' and

James and his mother were described as 'Lodgers'. Only a limited range of relationships to the Head of the Household were permitted on census enumeration forms, and there was no scope for recording unusual living arrangements. James and Jessalina moved to Wales in about 1874, where they claimed to be married. Three more children were born in Wales, and all of the children born after 1868 were surnamed Young in the census and listed as James' children. There is no record of this marriage ever taking place in England or Wales.

Three of the identified fathers of illegitimate children, including James Young, lived in consensual unions with the mother of the children, but did not marry them. In one case the man had previously been married but it appears that his wife had abandoned him, as she disappeared from the research area. Her existence prevented him from re-marrying, although it did not prevent him from living with the mother of his illegitimate children. In the third case, there was no obvious impediment to marriage but the mother of the illegitimate children had the same surname as the man's deceased wife, so it was possibly a case of refusal by the church to permit marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister.

Over 9% of the fathers of illegitimate children were men who were married at the time they conceived the child, thus committing adultery. One man married the mother of his illegitimate child after the death of his wife and the rest continued to live with their wives, and have further children with them, after the birth of the illegitimate child. This did not occur with any of the women who had illegitimate children. There were no cases of the mother of an illegitimate child committing adultery and then continuing to live with her husband.

Two-thirds of the identified fathers of illegitimate children married the mothers of their children, and a further 18.9% married someone else. With the exception of James Young, no man who had fathered an illegitimate child and remained within the scope of the study was permanently unmarried, which compares with 28.7% of mothers of illegitimate children who remained unmarried. For men, fathering an illegitimate child was not an impediment to marriage in any way.

Nevertheless, it will be recalled that only 36% of illegitimate children had their father identified in this project. This would imply that almost two-thirds of fathers of illegitimate children suffered little consequence for their actions as they were not recorded in available Bastardy Bonds or Quarter Sessions, and did not marry the mothers of their illegitimate children.

The life of a father of an illegitimate child is illustrated in fiction in William Hogarth's 1735 morality tale *A Rake's Progress.* The tale describes a libertine who takes advantage of a young woman who loves him, leaves her with an illegitimate child then goes off to marry a rich heiress. In Plate 5 of the series (Figure 7-7), the rake is in the middle of the marriage ceremony and is already ogling the pretty maidservant of his rich but unattractive bride. In the background the mother of his illegitimate child, with her infant and her own mother, are fighting with a churchwarden as they try unsuccessfully to stop the wedding.

Figure 7-7 : William Hogarth's A Rake's Progress (Plate 5)

For the rake, there was no adverse marital consequence to being the father of an illegitimate child, although later in the tale his drinking and gambling cause him to be sent to prison and the madhouse. For a man, being the father of an illegitimate child did not affect subsequent marital experience and the number of children he had fathered was not relevant. This aligns with previous findings that re-marriage intervals for widowers were unaffected by the number of children in the family (Wrigley et al. 1997:177).

Before the middle of the 18th century, both men and women could have their honour besmirched by aberrant sexual behaviour, or gossip about it (Morris 1988:383-384). Society's views changed and only women were considered to have their reputations ruined by knowledge of their sexual misdeeds. In court cases for sexual slander in Somerset

between 1730 and 1835, after 1781 only women brought cases of sexual slander to the courts and no men claimed in court that they had been sexually slandered (Morris 1988:383-384). In the period 1815-1855 in the Dioceses of York and Norwich, 95% and 92% respectively of the plaintiffs in sexual slander cases were female (Waddams 2000:197). In Somerset in the period 1601-1660, punishment by the ecclesiastical courts for bastardy was overwhelmingly inflicted upon the mother rather than the father, even when he was identified (Quaife, 1979:225). These findings are consistent with the lower level of concern for men about their sexual reputations and align with the lack of adverse marital consequences to men in fathering illegitimate children.

Did fathering an illegitimate child delay marriage for a man? The 75th percentile of age at first marriage for men in Stourton and Kilmington was determined to be 29 years. All men who married in Stourton or Kilmington in the period 1754-1914 were categorised as an identified father of illegitimate children or not.

Table 7-7 : Male marriage above 75th percentile for age, Stourton and Kilmington 1754-1914

Age	Illegitimate Children		No Illegitimate Children		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	
≤29 years	26	3.3	770	96.7	**796**
≥30 years	8	3.5	218	96.4	**226**

$\chi^2 = 0.04$, d.f. =1, p=0.840

Table 7-7 shows no delay in marriage for fathers of illegitimate children. Fathers of illegitimate children were not over-represented in the higher age group and there is no statistical difference between the two groups. There are several reasons for this. Having dependent children was not an impediment to marriage for men (Wrigley et al. 1997:178) and in addition, fathers did not usually live with their illegitimate children.

7.8.3 Illegitimate Children

What of the illegitimate children themselves? People born in Stourton and Kilmington and who reached the age of 16 years were categorised as born legitimately or illegitimately, and their marital experience was examined.

Table 7-8: Marital outcomes for people in Stourton or Kilmington 1754-1914 who reached 16 years of age, by legitimacy

	Ever Married		Never Married		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
Illegitimate	45	80.4	11	19.6	56
Legitimate	698	78.5	191	21.5	889

$\chi^2 = 0.11$, d.f. =1, p=0.744

Table 7-8 shows that there were no statistically significant differences in marriage rate between those born legitimately and illegitimately for those who reached the age of 16 years, although it will be recalled that illegitimate children were less likely to live to that age than legitimate ones (Table 7-2).

It is difficult to compare this with other studies which have confined themselves to single parishes and single sources of information. In one family reconstitution study only 10% of bastards remained in their parish of baptism and married there (Oosterveen et al. 1980:103). Of course they may have died young or married elsewhere, as acknowledged by the authors. It may be that the results for Stourton and Kilmington more accurately reflect the marital experience of rural English bastards during this period.

Contemporary writers warned that being born illegitimately had such dire consequences as being unable to enter the priesthood or inherit land (Brydall 1703:20). However, these

futures were unlikely to be achieved by the vast majority of those born in rural England in the 18th and 19th centuries.

7.9 Bigamy

In mediaeval times the word 'bigamist' referred to a person taking another spouse after the death of the first spouse, with the word 'polygamist' being used for someone contracting a marriage whilst still married to another person (Howard 1904:II p.83 n.2). Since the 17th century 'bigamy' has meant the case when a person marries another person after they have been previously married, and the first marriage was not ended by death, divorce or annulment (Howard 1904:II p.83 n.2). Under English ecclesiastical law, the bigamous marriage was simply void. However, a statute[82] passed in 1604 made bigamy a felony, punishable by death (Howard 1904:II p.83). From the end of the 17th century until the reign of George I, the punishment was life imprisonment and branding of the right hand. Thereafter the punishment was reduced to transportation for seven years or imprisonment for two years (Chisholm and Hooper 1911). The statute was repealed in 1828 but re-enacted in 1861[83].

The 1753 Act to Prevent Clandestine Marriage[84] (usually called Hardwicke's Marriage Act) required that prior to a marriage, banns had to be published in the parish church of both parties on three separate Sundays before a marriage, or a marriage licence had to be issued (Howard 1904:I p.458). This was intended, in part, to reduce bigamy.

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[82] 1 Jac.1 c.11
[83] 24&25 Vict. c.100

[84] 26 Geo.2 c.33

In this project, only three confirmed cases of bigamy were identified. They were the marriages of Matthew Gaunt to Elizabeth Windsor in 1781, James Chapman to Dolly Ryall in 1788, and James Lapham to Elizabeth Pitman in 1790. In each case, the man had been married earlier to another woman in another parish and had abandoned that woman and moved to Kilmington or Stourton. Previous studies of bigamy have also indicated that it usually involved the bigamous partner leaving their home parish to conduct the second marriage (Maddern 2007).

In all three cases, the woman in the second marriage had produced an illegitimate child with the man in question and then gone on to marry him within months of the birth of the child. Perhaps it was felt by the couples involved that a bigamous marriage was better than no marriage at all. It is possible that the second bride was unaware of the marital state of her partner, perhaps believing that the first wife was dead or being unaware that an earlier marriage had taken place. In none of the bigamous cases was the marital status of the groom (bachelor or widower) recorded on the marriage record of banns, although this was not uncommon (Schofield and Wrigley 1981:211). The most likely explanation is that the man and woman were already living in a consensual union and that he was the acknowledged father of the illegitimate child. He would then have been compelled by the Overseers of the Poor to pay them 'for the maintenance of the bastard', unless he married the mother. At this point, the parson would have been unaware that the man was previously married, or the second marriage would not have been permitted. As the birth of illegitimate child preceded the bigamous marriage in each case, it would seem that pressure from the church authorities, Overseers of the Poor or perhaps the bride and her family may have encouraged the man to commit the felony.

In each case, the bigamy was discovered and all children of the couple were considered illegitimate, although their paternity was acknowledged. None of the men appear to have been punished through the judicial process for the crime of bigamy, although their second marriages were deemed void.

James Lapham's future bigamy may have been detected when the banns were called. Banns for the marriage of James Lapham and Elizabeth Pitman were called at the parish church of St Peter's in Stourton on 12th July, 26th July and 2nd August, 1789. Presumably the existence of James' living wife in Hinton Charterhouse was brought to the attention of the parson and the marriage was forbidden. James and Elizabeth then waited five months before marrying 10 miles away in Frome in January the following year. The parson of St John the Baptist in Frome would have been unaware of the bigamous nature of the union, and as it was a comparatively large town and the couple recently arrived there, no-one knowledgeable would have been available to forbid the union.

In the case of Matthew Gaunt, who was originally from Norfolk, more than 200 miles away, the bigamy was not discovered until he applied for parish relief, two years after the marriage and after two apparently legitimate children had been born.

In two of the three cases of bigamy, the abandoned wife in the distant parish had an illegitimate child by another man following her abandonment. In the third case, Elizabeth Cash had been abandoned by James Chapman in about 1787 and her death in 1789 left her widower free to re-marry. He then married a third woman, Ann Dominy, in 1791, rather than legitimise the 1788 marriage to Dolly Ryall. Dolly Ryall herself re-married in 1796

and was considered a spinster at that time, due to the invalidity of her first marriage to James Chapman.

Matthew Gaunt and James Lapham remained in stable consensual unions with their second 'wives' for the rest of their lives, producing a total of ten and eight children respectively.

The three confirmed bigamous marriages in the research area in the period 1754-1914 all occurred in a single decade, between 1781 and 1790. It raises the question whether this was a chance cluster of bigamous marriages, or whether there were others in other decades that were undetected.

The Anglican Church ruled that a child of a bigamous union would be considered legitimate if the second party (almost exclusively the woman) was not aware that it was bigamy (Howard 1904:356). Since the women continued to have children with their bigamous husbands, all of their children were deemed illegitimate as it was clear that the marriage was void before most of the children were born.

7.10 Conclusions

This chapter has examined illegitimacy and its marital implications. Through a database which systematically tracked the life history of people from more than one parish this study was able to provide insights into the marital experience of parents of illegitimate children that might not have been otherwise possible. The multiple-source method of identifying bastardy resulted in higher, and arguably more accurate, figures for the occurrence and marital implications of illegitimacy than that produced by single-source methods.

Having dependent, co-resident children was an impediment to marriage for a mother, whether she was a widow or a spinster. A woman's chances of marrying after the birth of an illegitimate child were greatly increased if the child died or was raised by its grandparents. This did not apply to men.

Marrying the father of the illegitimate child, or dying unmarried, were the most common outcomes for women who raised their own illegitimate children. The fathers had other options, such as living in consensual unions or continuing to live with a previous wife.

The findings of this study support Laslett's view that there was a 'bastardy-prone sub-society' within communities, where unconventional practices were more readily tolerated.

Chapter 7: Illegitimacy

8 Linkages

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to address the question of how the three topics of geographic mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy influenced each other, and what part religion and occupation or social class played.

Previous research has focused on one of these aspects at a time. Geographical mobility (Perry 1969; Hinde 1987; Smith and Pain 1989; Harrison 1995), consanguinity (Bramwell 1939; Bell 1940; Coleman 1984; Smith et al. 1993; Smith 2001) and illegitimacy (Leffingwell 1892; Gill 1977) have all been considered separately. These have been important contributions to understanding the patterns of marital choice in the past and underpin the present research. A smaller number of studies have considered more than one aspect. For example, Adair (1996) and Oosterveen et al (1980) examined the association between illegitimacy and geographic mobility while Bittles and Egerbladh (2005) considered the association of geographic mobility and consanguineous marriages.

Research in Europe has shown the influence of religion on marital behaviour such as marriage rate and age at first marriage (Knodel and Mayne 1976; Watkins 1980). The present research considers the influence of religion on several aspects of marital behaviour in England. Previous research has demonstrated how occupation and social class have influenced geographical mobility in England (Davies 1909; Perry 1969; Harrison 1995) and the present research extends that work.

8.2 Geographical Mobility and Consanguinity

Chapter 5 considered the association of geographical mobility on marriage partner choice, and demonstrated that most spouses were born near the place where they married. This varied over time, with the proportion of people born in their parish of marriage decreasing from around 65% for both brides and grooms in the middle of the 18th century to around 30% at the beginning of the 20th century (Section 5.4.2). This decline in endogamous marriages was replicated in other parts of England, although the absolute proportion of endogamous marriages was lower in urban areas compared to rural ones (Finlay 1981).

Advances in transport, particularly the coming of the railways, meant that potential marriage partners were able to travel from further afield, although the proportion who were born within walking distance of the place of marriage remained approximately constant throughout the research period (Section 5.4.3).

High numbers of rural people migrated to the large population centres in search of work, particularly from the 1870s onwards. For example, in the Mere Registration District, in which the research area was located, 21% of the inhabitants left the district and moved elsewhere within England or emigrated in the period 1870-1879. This pattern continued throughout the remainder of the 19th century (Southall et al. 2000).

However, few people moved into the rural backwaters of Stourton and Kilmington. So the pool of potential spouses in this area was largely made up of people whose families had been in the area for generations. Although spouses came from further afield as the 19th century progressed, this did not translate into reduced consanguineous marriages, but rather the opposite. Consanguineous marriage increased throughout the 19th century before

plummeting in the 20th century (Section 6.3.1). Spouses may have come from greater distances, but they did not necessarily stay in the region to reproduce. Over time, most of the people whose families had been in the local area for several generations would have been related to each other in one way or another. In a theoretical isolated population of 500 people, after six generations all potential marriage partners would have been related to each other as 3rd cousins or closer (Fox 1967). Of course Stourton and Kilmington were not isolated populations, but they had a high level of endogamy until the 19th century and the area had been populated at least since Mesolithic times (Mayes 1995). The question remains of how the level of consanguinity demonstrated in this project was related to geographical mobility. Did people marry their cousins just because they lived nearby?

There were 1,053 marriages in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754-1914 for which the birthplaces of both spouses were known.

Table 8-1: Proportion of spouses born in same parish, by consanguinity

	1st cousins		2nd cousins		3rd cousins		Other Marriages	
	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
Same	11	50.0	8	47.1	7	38.9	224	22.5
Different	11	50.0	9	52.9	11	61.1	772	77.5
Total	**22**		**17**		**18**		**996**	

$$\chi^2 = 16.63, \ d.f. = 3, \ p = 0.001$$

Table 8-1 demonstrates the association between consanguineous marriages and geographic mobility. In 50.0% of marriages between 1st cousins, both partners were born in the same parish. This declined as the level of consanguinity declined, reaching just 22.5% for non-consanguineous marriages. The numbers for the consanguineous marriages are small, but

the trend is clear and the result is statistically significant: consanguineous marriages were more likely to involve partners born in the same parish than non-consanguineous marriages.

This connection between geographical mobility and consanguinity was not confined to England. In Holland in the period 1870-1922, partners who contracted 1st cousin marriages were more likely than unrelated couples to be born in the same place as each other (Bras et al. 2009).

However, the attraction of cousins was not simply a matter of geographical proximity. Cousins were familiar and played a part in the social lives of young people. Amongst Victorian upper middle-class families, cousins were sometimes the only members of the opposite sex, apart from the immediate family, with whom an individual was permitted to have sustained relationships (Anderson 1986). Although the same level of social restriction did not apply to labouring families, the opportunity for cousins to meet and socialise were significant (Garfield 1995).

The occupational group most likely to marry their 1st cousins was that of farmers (Section 6.5), who were higher up the social scale than labourers. Yet this group was the one least likely to be born locally (Section 5.8). At least for this social group, geographic proximity seems to have had little to do with the increased prevalence of 1st cousin marriages. The fact that farmers married their 2nd cousins no more often than other occupational groups would suggest that they were actively seeking marriage within the closer family, as mere arithmetic would dictate that 2nd cousin marriages should exceed 1st cousin marriages by up to four-fold (Hajnal 1963) and computer simulation indicated that in Stourton 2nd cousins outnumbered 1st cousins at a ratio of 5:1 (Section 6.6). For the sons and daughters of

farmers, geographic mobility was less important in influencing the rate of 1st cousin marriage than it was for labourers. A study of consanguinity, geographic mobility and social class in a Spanish village in the period 1850-1910 divided the population into just two social classes. The study found that there was a link between geographic mobility and consanguinity in the lower social class in the village, although the link was absent in the higher of the two classes (Abelson 1978).

Geographic mobility was associated with the rate of consanguineous marriages in Stourton and Kilmington, but the effect was not uniform across all occupational groups. This project demonstrated that illegitimacy was more prevalent in lowest occupational groups, so were consanguinity and illegitimacy associated with each other?

8.3 Consanguinity and Illegitimacy

To understand the links between these two aspects, it is necessary to categorise people. For Stourton and Kilmington in the 19th century, men and women were categorised as being the identified parents of at least one illegitimate child and as having married their 1st cousin or another person.

Table 8-2: Cousin marriage by illegitimate reproductive experience: women married in Stourton and Kilmington 1800-1899

Type of Consanguinity	Mothers of Illegitimate Children		Not Mothers of Illegitimates		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
1st cousin	5	22.7	17	77.3	22
Others	71	9.1	710	90.1	781

$\chi^2 = 4.64$, d.f. =1, p=0.031

Table 8-2 indicates that amongst brides in Stourton and Kilmington in the 19th century, 22.7% of women who married their 1st cousins were the mothers of illegitimate children. Amongst brides who were not in consanguineous marriages, 9.1% were the mothers of illegitimate children. Put another way, 6.6% of mothers of illegitimate children who eventually married, did so to their 1st cousins, compared to 2.3% of women who were not the mothers of illegitimate children. Although the numbers are small, the general trend is clear and the result is statistically significant: mothers of illegitimate children were more likely to marry their 1st cousins than other women. Did this phenomenon apply to men?

Table 8-3: Cousin marriage by illegitimate reproductive experience: men married in Stourton and Kilmington 1800-1899

Type of Consanguinity	Fathers of Illegitimate Children		Not Fathers of Illegitimates		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
1st cousin	1	4.5	21	95.5	22
Others	39	5.0	742	95.0	781

$$\chi^2 = 0.001, d.f. = 1, p = 0.9241$$

Table 8-3 shows that for men, there was no statistically significant difference in the frequency of 1st cousin marriage between men who were identified as the fathers of illegitimate children and those who were not.

The fact that mothers of illegitimate children brought their children into the marriage might mean that they were perceived as less desirable, perhaps to an extent that only relatives would consider them a good marriage prospect. Of the mothers of illegitimate children who went on to marry their 1st cousins, the mean number of dependent children was 1.4. This is slightly higher than the number (1.1) associated with women who went on to marry the

fathers of their children (Table 7-4), and over twice the level for women who married men who were not the fathers of their children (0.6). In the first two cases, the man had a genetic relationship with the children – on the one hand if he was the father of the illegitimate child and on the other hand if he was a cousin to its mother. It would appear that having a genetic relationship to an illegitimate child was associated with marrying the mothers of dependent illegitimate children, but whether this was a conscious consideration or merely the result of other factors at work cannot be determined without understanding the motivation of the couples involved.

One reported case of motivation for a man marrying his 1st cousin, who was also the mother of an illegitimate child, was reported to the author by a descendant, who wished to remain anonymous. She explained the circumstances leading up to the marriage of her great-grandparents in 1895:

> It seems that when Mary was very young (possibly still in her teens) she was 'seduced' by an older, married man who was lodging with her family. Mary got pregnant and was sent away as a disgrace to the family. The family story is that she was sent to London where she had the baby, a boy, who was taken from her and presumably adopted. When Mary returned home nobody would marry her because of the scandal. Years later her cousin Henry George was widowed and Mary was forced by the family to marry him. I believe Henry George treated her very badly and she had to work very hard as a seamstress and shopkeeper while he squandered both his and her share of the family money. (Name Withheld by Request 2009)

In this family story, the illegitimacy makes Mary an unacceptable choice as a bride for anyone else, and the family 'forces' the cousin marriage on the unhappy couple. Whether or not this story is accurate, the descendants of this family believe that it was so. The twin perceptions were that illegitimacy would reduce a woman's chance of marriage, and that

cousin marriage was something undesirable but which families resorted to in exceptional circumstances.

What about when it became less of an exceptional circumstance? Another factor related to both consanguinity and illegitimacy is that people who had crossed one social boundary were more likely to cross another. Although pre-marital sex was relatively common (Hair 1970; Wrigley et al. 1997:421), producing an illegitimate child was an unwelcome event. A woman accused of such could take her accuser to court for slander (Ingram 1987:296). In her studies of incestuous unions in Somerset in the 17th and 18th centuries, Morris observed that there was a connection between incestuous unions and bastardy, probably because "…sexual and marital irregularities were incorporated into a familiar pattern of family and social life" (Morris 1991:264). Members of families observed the sexual and marital behaviour of other members of the same family and incorporated this into their own accepted behaviour.

Family experience is significant in the definition of what is considered acceptable behaviour and what is not. Previous research has demonstrated the existence of a 'bastardy-prone sub-society' (Laslett 1980). This project demonstrated both a 'bastardy-prone sub-society' (Section 7.6) and at least a 'consanguinity-favourable sub-society' (Section 6.8). In some cases, they over-lapped (Table 8-3). English ethnographies of more recent times describe the views of the general populace that consanguinity was not preferred (Rees 1961; Strathern 1981). When cousin marriage occurred within the immediate family, this societal disapproval was over-ridden by the experience of the immediate family. For both consanguinity and illegitimacy, the experience of immediate family members mitigated the

disapproval of wider society, which supports Morris' view that certain families operated on the fringe or beyond the boundaries of community norms.

This view is supported by the observation that in Stourton and Kilmington the link between consanguinity and illegitimacy was not confined to spinsters. In cases where, for example, a widow had produced an illegitimate child, she was more likely to marry a relative, either before or after the illegitimacy. The birth of the illegitimate child might not precipitate the consanguineous marriage, but might have the same roots. That is, a person may be disposed by temperament or family experience to violate social norms and that could result in both illegitimacy and consanguinity.

The mechanisms at work need to be considered. As a general rule, cousin marriage was considered a less desirable form of marriage in English society than the marriage of unrelated couples (Section 6.2.3). Women who married their cousins were older than other women (Section 6.7), perhaps having married a cousin as a last resort – marrying a cousin was not the best solution but it as better than remaining unmarried. There were competing social influences at work. On the one hand there was the Church's general disapproval of cousin marriage. For Anglicans, cousin marriage was often equated with incest and, although not forbidden by the Table of Kindred and Affinity, there was a sense that it was not far from incest (Section 6.2.1). For Catholics, there were very specific bans on the practice (Section 6.2.2). On the other hand, there was the social approval afforded to spending time with one's cousins. They were not forbidden and it was acceptable to be alone with cousins, even of the opposite gender (Garfield 1995:79-98). Spending time with cousins was acceptable, but marrying cousins was something generally to be avoided.

The link between consanguinity and illegitimacy only operated at the lower end of the social scale. All of the marriages in Stourton and Kilmington that were both consanguineous and involved the parents of an illegitimate child were between members of the labouring class. For the upper classes, such as the Hoare family of Stourton, cousin marriage was often repeated within a family and practised over many generations (Section 6.5). Similarly tenant farmers, who occupied the next level down in society from the gentry, also had higher rates of 1st cousin marriage than labourers. For the higher social classes, consanguineous marriages were not a matter of concern and did not represent breaking social norms. Section 6.2.3 demonstrated that in literature at least, cousin marriage was not disapproved of in fiction by, for and about the upper middle classes, but a novel about the working class painted a tragic picture of the practice.

Was it just social classes that had different views on cousin marriage? All of the 1st cousin marriages amongst the mothers of illegitimate children took place in Stourton, where the rate of consanguineous marriage was higher than in Kilmington. If only Stourton marriages are considered, the rate of 1st cousin marriage amongst mothers of illegitimate children was 7.3%, compared to 6.6% for all mothers of illegitimate children and 2.3% for all other women. Like the brides, all of the 1st cousin marriages amongst identified fathers of illegitimate children took place in Stourton. For both brides and grooms the association between consanguineous marriage and illegitimate reproduction is stronger in Stourton, where consanguinity was higher, than in Kilmington, but the numbers are quite small. The concentration of consanguineous marriages in Stourton may reflect the greater tolerance of that practice within one community, compared to another.

So did the community into which a person was born influence the level of illegitimacy? Did illegitimacy influence geographical mobility?

8.4 Illegitimacy and Geographic Mobility

In Stourton or Kilmington, 71% of illegitimate children born there had mothers who were born in the same parish as themselves. For legitimate children, the rate was only 41%, so the mothers of illegitimate children were clearly less mobile than other women. This is related to the Poor Law, which placed the responsibility of supporting illegitimate children on the village in which the child was born (Church 1996:72). In order to avoid a financial burden, a parish which was not the home of an expectant unmarried mother would force her to return to her own birthplace to give birth, thereby displacing the burden of upkeep of the child (Gill 1977; Cole 2000:10).

The pattern of greater immobility amongst mothers of illegitimate children has been shown in other studies. For example, in Rothiemay, Scotland in 1881 73% of unmarried mothers were born in the parish in which they were resident, compared to 19% of married women. Other parishes in the northeast of Scotland showed the same effect but not as strongly (Blaikie 1993:129). In one family reconstitution study of English parishes in the 17th and 18th centuries, the mothers of illegitimate children had higher rates of being baptised in the same parish as their child than married women did. The ratio of married women baptised in the parish to unmarried mothers ranged from 1:1 to 1:2.5 (Oosterveen et al. 1980).

Living away from the home parish reduced the amount of contact between family members. As the mothers of illegitimate children were less mobile than other women, this led to greater daily contact with their close relatives. The lack of geographic mobility for mothers

of illegitimate children meant that women may have been more influenced by the behaviour of their relatives, and this in turn reinforced both the 'bastardy-prone sub-society' and 'consanguinity-favourable sub-society'.

8.5 Interactions of Factors

Each of the aspects of marriage patterns considered in this thesis was associated with the other ones, and in turn, they were all linked. Since mothers of illegitimate children were more likely to stay, or at least give birth, in the village in which they themselves were born, this contributed to the link between consanguineous marriage and illegitimacy although other factors were also at work (Section 7.9). These women were less mobile and therefore more likely to marry someone born close to their own birthplace, who in turn was more likely to be a relative of some kind (Section 8.2). Not only were brides and grooms often born within walking distance of the church in which they were married, but so were their parents and grandparents (Chapter 5). Many of the pool of potential spouses would have been related, since their own ancestors moved such short distances.

This thesis has shown how occupation and religion were associated with the aspects of marriage patterns under consideration. However, they did not operate completely independently of each other. Table 8.4 shows the association of occupation and religion in Stourton.

Table 8-4 : Religion of grooms in Stourton 1754-1914, by groom's occupation

	Protestants		Catholics	
	n.	%	n.	%
Elite	13	2.8	0	0.0
Farmers	55	11.9	6	8.5
Non-Agricultural	107	23.1	35	49.3
Labourers	289	62.3	30	42.3
Total	**464**		**71**	

$\chi^2 = 22.73,\ d.f. = 3,\ p < 0.001$

Table 8-4 indicates that Catholics were more highly represented in the non-agricultural occupations, such as carpenters, bakers and shopkeepers, than Protestants. On the other hand, they were less well represented amongst the higher echelons of Stourton society (elite and farmers), and the lowest (labourers). Some of the occupational differences noted in this study may also be related to religious differences. For example, the low level of 1st cousin marriages shown amongst the non-agricultural group (Table 6-7) may be related to the low levels of 1st cousin marriage amongst Catholics (Table 6-6). It may be worthwhile in a future project having larger numbers of observations in each category, to separate all results by occupation and religion, in order to better understand the influences of each on marriage patterns.

To marry someone in the community, one first had to meet them – propinquity was a primary requirement for mate choice in historical English society. Choice of marriage partner was nominally one of free will and mutual attraction, so it was a requirement to meet the potential partner in order to form the mutual attraction. So how did couples meet each other?

8.6 Courtship

Living in the same parish clearly presented an opportunity for unmarried people to meet, and 28% of all individuals who were married in the research area were born in the same parish as their spouse. The number of new people entering a village was partly dependent on the economic structure of the village. Stourton was a closed village and therefore had limited in-migration so the number of new people available as potential mates was more limited than in Kilmington, which was open. Yet Stourton spouses came from further afield than Kilmington ones. People from distant places were marrying in Stourton but not settling there, as settlement was restricted. The people who remained in Stourton and had offspring there were those with a history of family occupation of the parish. This is reflected in the higher level of cousin marriage in Stourton (Section 6.3.1).

People met each other at church services, which was an almost universal experience in the 18th century and began to decline in the middle of the 19th century. Attendance at an Anglican Church at least twice a year was compulsory by law until 1791 (Church 1996). However, defaulters were only rarely prosecuted and the last presentations for recusancy[85] in Stourton were in 1715 (Williams 1968) indicating a high level of tolerance of Catholics in the parish. Nevertheless, the majority of people of all Christian denominations were regular churchgoers in their own denomination and church-going was a common way for people to meet each other (Wilson 2007:168). Regardless of the motivation of the individuals, gathering on Sundays for a church service could lead to interaction with potential spouses.

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[85] People who failed to attend an Anglican service at least twice a year were presented by the parish constable at the local ecclesiastical courts for recusancy, or refusing to hear Anglican Mass.

Catholics were always a small minority in England until the 21st century[86]. In the research period, there was a preference amongst Catholics for marriage to fellow Catholics, or spouses that were willing to convert to Catholicism. This narrowed their mate choices, resulting in slightly higher inbreeding amongst Catholics than amongst Anglicans in the research area (Section 6.4). Despite the discouragement of the Catholic Church from cousin marriage, this persisted in Stourton due to the limited availability of spouses. This is typical of religious minorities. For example, in an isonymy study using newspaper marriage notices and George Darwin's formula (Darwin 1875), 7.5% of Jewish marriages in England in the period 1869-1882 were estimated to be between 1st cousins (Jacobs 1891:3). This figure is well in excess of the rates for gentiles in England. At that time Jews were a religious minority that was partly socially isolated, although not economically isolated. Similarly, the Amish of Pennsylvania are an isolated religious minority with high levels of inbreeding (Hurd 1983), as were Orthodox Protestants in 19th century Holland (Bras et al. 2009). A similar phenomenon is evident amongst Catholics in rural Wiltshire in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Other opportunities to meet were created by working. In the Quarter Sessions, women who had borne illegitimate children sought maintenance from the putative fathers. They were required to state how they met the defendant and how the 'connexion' took place. Apart from living near to each other, the couples' most common forms of meeting appear to have been agricultural labouring together, or meeting at fairs (Church 1998). The overwhelming

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[86] The continuing decline in attendance at Anglican services and a waves of Polish and African migrants have reversed the relative position of Catholicism and Anglicanism. In the United Kingdom in 2005, 28% of regular churchgoers were Catholic and a further 28% were Anglican (Christian Research Organisation 2005). Based on the relative rate of increase in Catholic church attendance and decline in Anglican church attendance it was estimated that in 2007 the denomination with the highest number of regular churchgoers in the United Kingdom would be the Catholic Church.

majority of identified parents of illegitimate children were of the labouring class (Section 7.5) so these methods of meeting each other did not necessarily apply across all social strata. How did the higher social classes meet potential partners?

An example of the courtship of a Victorian farmer is provided in Richard White's memoirs (McGarvie 1990). He was a farmer in Zeals, which borders Gasper in Stourton, and his wife's family were farmers in Stourton. He described his brief courtship with his future wife, Isabella Harding, which chiefly consisted of him thinking of some excuse to do business with her father, then waiting to be invited for a meal. Although his future wife was not closeted away, it was clear that social engagements such as being invited to a family meal were only available to people of the same class. The number of young single men with whom Isabella Harding would have had the opportunity to converse socially was quite small, and they would all have been of equivalent social class (McGarvie 1990). Similarly, Gerard (1994) discusses courtship amongst the sons of owners of country estates, which involved being invited to social gatherings such as meals and picnics, while the potential groom and his parents assessed whether or not young ladies were "wiveable" (Gerard 1994:94).

Public social events were important places to meet a potential spouse, as mentioned in evidence before the Quarter Sessions. Fairs were annual events at which local people could eat, drink and be merry, and be entertained by musicians, dancers, circus performers, puppet shows, boxing, cock-fighting and bull-baiting (Royle 1987:233; Wilson 2007:169). From 1408 to the mid-17th century, a fair was held in Mere every May (Longbourne 2004:19). The bull pits where cock-fighting and bull-baiting took place are still visible

today. There was a fair and horse-racing on Whitesheet Hill in the parish of Stourton from 1427 until it was cancelled by the owner of Stourton, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, early in the 19th century (Mayes 1995:161). In the 17th century, the Anglican Church disapproved of fairs and sports as they encouraged sexual activity. Dancing led to physical contact and this might lead to 'sexual incontinence' (Ingram 1987:240). The Bastardy Bonds for Mere record the testimony of local girls being seduced at fairs by travellers whom they never saw again and from whom no child maintenance could be obtained. In Thomas Hardy's novel *The Return of the Native*, social events such as open-air dances played an important part in courting couples getting together (Hardy 1878).

 Ale houses were also popular places to meet other people (Royle 1987:239-243; Wilson 2007:170). In the Quarter Sessions where mothers of illegitimate children described the circumstances of conception of an illegitimate child, ale houses were often mentioned (Church 1998).

Of course, much time was spent in the company of family. Single people were introduced to potential partners by their relatives and in some cases, they married their relatives. There are numerous cases in the project database of a pair of sisters marrying a pair of brothers.

In England, social class has always been a general determinant of spouse choice. People had a strong tendency to marry within their own social class (Leeuwen et al. 2005). When the social class was small, such as the gentry and tenant farmers in rural Wiltshire, the opportunities to meet an unrelated member of the opposite sex were limited. The limited ways in which members of these classes could meet each other, and the social restrictions on courtship are reflected in the higher levels of consanguineous marriage in these groups.

Curiously, in discussing the reasons for cousin marriage amongst Jews, Joseph Jacobs gives "shyness" as a reason, stating "… a shy man usually marries his first cousin as she is the only maiden who will propose to him" (Jacobs 1891:6). Bramwell (1939:305) also lists shyness on the part of a man as the reason why 1st cousins would marry. Courtship was not just a matter of meeting other people, but involved establishing a social relationship with a new person. In the view of some contemporaries at least, cousin marriage was related to a certain lack of courtship skills, although that can hardly explain all such instances.

8.7 Conclusions

Some factors affecting marriage patterns of geographic mobility, consanguinity, and illegitimacy in Wiltshire in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries included religion and social class. These were often linked, and in some cases also operated independently. The closed village of Stourton had a higher rate of cousin marriage than Kilmington, which was related to its economic structure and its high proportion of Catholics. Catholics had a higher rate of cousin marriage than Anglicans, which was related to living in a closed village as well as specific Catholic doctrine on consanguineous and mixed marriages. Illegitimacy and consanguineous marriage were linked which was a result of the lower geographical mobility of mothers of illegitimate children as well as a 'bastardy-prone sub-society' which lessened concern about social norms. The link between illegitimacy and consanguineous marriage only operated in the labouring classes, but not the middle and upper classes. Geographical mobility influenced mate choice for the labouring class but not for tenant farmers and their families.

There were different factors at work for cousin marriages depending on the social class of those involved and merely quantifying the frequency of consanguineous marriage in a parish does not accurately reflect the experiences of different levels of society. Different aspects of marriage patterns were influenced by different factors, depending on the social class and religion of those involved, and no single factor influenced the marital outcome for all groups of people equally.

Chapter 8: Linkages

9 Conclusions and Implications

This thesis began by describing the background to the two rural parishes of Stourton and Kilmington. Since questions of religion and occupation were crucial in understanding aspects of marriage patterns, the religious and economic circumstances of the parishes were described, along with history and geography of the area. The sources for data of the project were then described, since a key difference between this research and others on related topics was the use of multiple sources. In this project, the lives of individuals were not considered only when they were resident within a single parish, but they were followed forward in time, and backward in their ancestry, regardless of their geographical location. Chapter 4 discussed basic marriage variables for these parishes, including marriage rate and age, indicating that in many ways Stourton and Kilmington, and indeed Wiltshire, were roughly in the middle of English demographic experience. The research area did not represent an extreme in any measure of marriage patterns. The geographical mobility of marriage partners was next considered, and extended back two generations, to examine the mobility of parents and grandparents. This thesis demonstrated that the decline in parish endogamy was counter-balanced by an increase in the proportion of people born 11 or more miles away, and not by those born closer to home. Consanguineous marriages were considered, and shown to rise throughout the 19th century, before an abrupt fall at the end of the century. Despite brides and grooms coming from further afield than ever, those that remained in the villages were becoming more inbred. Illegitimacy was considered and its impact on the marital prospects of those involved, rather than on other demographic variables such as fertility and mortality. Having an illegitimate child was shown to be an impediment to later marriage for women who raised the child themselves, but not for men, or for women whose infants died or were raised by others. Finally, the three main threads of

geographical mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy were considered and their inter-relation demonstrated.

This research demonstrated the value of a multi-source and multi-parish nominative record linkage project for understanding certain aspects of marriage patterns in Wiltshire in the 18th and 19th centuries. Whereas previous studies have produced evidence of the overall frequency of certain marital aspects, this study was able to consider the frequency with respect to other factors. It not only was able to enumerate the people who married their cousins, had illegitimate children, remained celibate or migrated into and out of the parish, but was also able to show how religion and occupation were associated with these marriage patterns. This project filled a gap in the current literature in understanding the religion and occupation of people who married their cousins, how different forces were at work in consanguineous marriage at different levels of English society, how illegitimacy and consanguinity were linked and explaining the apparent contradiction between declining endogamy and rising consanguineous marriage in the 19th century.

Some of the success of this project was due to the enormous increase in raw genealogical material available on the internet and in other electronic media. Appendix A has a detailed list of available transcriptions which run into hundreds of parishes for Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire alone. This has enabled a major genealogical database to be established and verified in a comparatively short time. Whilst it took three years to complete the database with one person (the author) doing data entry and data processing, previous research has involved dozens of people over many years (Hinde 2003). For example, the Earls Colne project of nominative record linkage took 30 years to complete (Macfarlane 1977). In

previous work in England, parishes have had to be considered in isolation (Wrigley et al. 1997). Thanks partly to the growth of the raw material available on the internet, this is no longer a limitation. Information from multiple locations and multiple sources were included in the present study, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the marital outcomes for individuals. The availability of fully indexed and searchable censuses from 1841 to 1911 for all parts of England, Scotland and Wales was of particular value in tracing people throughout the course of their lives outside the parish of marriage, as was the searchable index of civil registration records for the period 1837-1935. In the past, it has been recognised that multi-source nominative record linkage would be worthwhile, but it has been considered too time-consuming to be worthwhile (Hinde 2003:173 n.47). The newly available material provides researchers with an unprecedented opportunity to enhance and extend earlier work in the fields of historical demography and biological anthropology.

The extension of earlier work is not just of academic interest. There is ongoing debate in Britain and Europe about marriage patterns – whether people should be permitted to marry their 1st cousins and whether the prevalence of children born outside of wedlock signals a 'breakdown' in society. The debate is often heated, sometimes racist and nearly always uninformed. Appendix C discusses current views on the subject of cousin marriage, including recent attempts by members of both the British and Dutch governments, as well as two American states, to ban cousin marriage on biologically spurious grounds. Further research on the historical prevalence of consanguineous marriage, and possibly its consequences, could help to inform the public debate.

With only limited effort, it would be possible to expand the database developed for the current project to cover the neighbouring parish of Mere, and other adjoining parishes. This would allow unique comparisons to be made between small agricultural parishes such as Stourton and Kilmington on the one hand, and a larger market town on the other. Since people were migrating from the surrounding villages to the town of Mere, and it was situated on a road linking London with the regional centre of Exeter, it would be expected to have a different marital profile from the small agricultural parishes of Stourton and Kilmington. An expanded database could answer key questions about historical English patterns of fertility, migration and mortality, in addition to the questions of marriage patterns that have been considered in the current work.

This study provided a unique insight into past population structure by using the birthplaces of spouses, rather than their place of residence, as well as the birthplace of their parents and grandparents, to examine geographical mobility. The new knowledge generated in this project regarding the influence of religion and occupation on marital experience in historical England, and of the hitherto unexplored links between geographic mobility, consanguinity and illegitimacy, provides fresh insights into the life experience of past English populations.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and Implications

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366

Appendix A: Parish Registers in Electronic Format for Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire

This project was able to create or gain access to an enormous range of parish register transcriptions in electronic format, which were either created in spreadsheets or converted into spreadsheets from other sources. This meant that the records of hundreds of parishes could be amalgamated into spreadsheets containing hundreds of thousands of individual records which could be searched simultaneously. This appendix lists the main baptism, marriage and burial records currently available in electronic format for parishes in Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire. They are listed firstly by the record type (baptism, marriage and burial) and county, then alphabetically by parish. The timeframe covered by the transcriptions is given and for burials the denomination is also listed. In many cases there are multiple sources for the same parish, each independently created. URLs are provided for additional parishes not listed under the main group. More detail is available if required, but space prevents a more fulsome listing of all parishes covered.

Dorset Baptisms

Searchable online at http://www.findmypast.co.uk/. Additional parishes available at http://www.opcdorset.org/index.htm

Abbotsbury	1726-1812	Melbury Bubb	1758-1813
Affpuddle	1728-1850	Melbury Osmond & Melbury Sampford	1716-1812
Allington	1746-1812	Melbury Sampford	1813-1978
Almer	1721-1837	Melcombe Horsey	1690-1837
Alton Pancras	1731-1812	Milton Abbas	1764-1820
Arne	1731-1845	Minterne Magna	1718-1812
Ashmore	1790-1837	Moor Crichel	1777-1809
Askerswell	1722-1812	Morden	1770-1812
Athelhampton	1790-1837	Moreton	1741-1812
Athelhampton With Burleston	1693-1789	Mosterton	1750-1812
Beaminster	1732-1897	Motcombe	1790-1837
Beer Hackett	1773-1789	Nether Cerne	1718-1812
Belchalwell		Nether Compton	1776-1812
Bere Regis	1585-1897	Netherbury	1759-1812

Bettiscombe	1746-1883	North Poorton	1771-1812
Bincombe	1658-1837	North Wootton	1662-1812
Bishops Caundle	1737-1837	Oborne	1723-1812
Blandford	1790-1812	Okeford Fitzpaine	1750-1856
Blandford Forum	1743-1789	Osmington	1691-1821
Blandford St Mary	1730-1837	Overcompton	1726-1837
Bloxworth	1730-1837	Owermoigne	1763-1812
Bothenhampton	1708-1837	Parkstone St Peter	1833-1837
Bradford Abbas	1728-1812	Pentridge	1711-1837
Bradford Peverell	1703-1837	Piddlehinton	1783-1812
Bradpole	1695-1812	Piddletrenthide	1734-1812
Bridport	1787-1828	Pilsdon	1726-1837
Bridport Dissenters		Pimperne	1559-1837
Broadmayne	1790-1837	Poole Ind:, Skinner St:	1724-1799
Broadway	1793-1837	Poole Skinner St	1799-1837
Broadwinsor	1790-1812	Poole Skinner Street	1809-1948
Bryanston	1598-1837	Poole St James	1653-1905
Buckhorn Weston	1760-1837	Poole St Paul	1833-1837
Buckland Newton	1730-1812	Poole St Pauls	1833-1837
Buckland Ripers	1813-1837	Portisham	1692-1837
Burstock	1790-1837	Portland	1781-1837
Burton Bradstock	1702-1812	Powerstock	1787-1836
Canford	1790-1812	Poxwell	1674-1837
Canford Magna	1720-1789	Poynington	1715-1836
Canford Magna Catholic	1810-1818	Preston With Sutton Poyntz	1783-1839
Cann	1742-1812	Puddletown	1650-1837
Castleton	1715-1837	Pulham	1734-1837
Cattistock	1538-1812	Puncknowle	1785-1837
Caundle Marsh	1705-1837	Purse Caundle	1730-1837
Cerne Abbas	1748-1812	Radipole	1813-1837
Chadstock	1817	Rampisham	1768-1837
Chalbury	1782-1837	Ryme Intrinseca	1788-1841
Chaldon Herring	1790-1837	Sandford Orcas	1730-1837
Chardstock	1813-1837	Seaborough	1767-1837
Charlton Marshall	1790-1837	Shaftesbury Holy Trinity	1681-1874
Charminster	1782-1812	Shaftesbury St James	1721-1816
Charmouth	1653-1837	Shaftesbury St Peter	1672-1837
Cheddington	1813-1837	Shapwick	1725-1837
Chesilborne	1784-1812	Shatfesbury St James	1813-1837
Chetnole	1712-1834	Sherborne	1712-1899
Chettle	1753-1857	Shillingstone	1765-1837
Chickerell	1699-1837	Shipton Gorge	1813-1838
Chideock	1703-1812	Silton	1774-1812
Chilcombe	1748-1887	Sixpenny Handley	1767-1837
Child Okeford	1761-1813	South Perrott	1713-1840
Church Knowle	1701-1812	Spetisbury	1705-1847
Compton Abbas	1724-1824	Stalbridge	1709-1837
Compton Valence	1790-1837	Steeple	1794-1812
Corfe Castle	1773-1812	Stinsford	1781-1819
Corfe Mullen	1740-1812	Stock Gailard	1722-1812

Corscombe	1740-1845	Stockwood	1586-1849
Cranborne	1718-1812	Stoke Abbot	1783-1837
Dewlish	1701-1891	Stoke Wake	1711-1837
Dorchester All Sts	1759-1812	Stour Caundle	1670-1837
Dorchester Holy Trinity	1722-1840	Stour Provost	1701-1837
Dorchester St Peter	1721-1835	Stourpaine	1702-1837
Durweston	1730-1836	Stratton	1798-1837
East Lulworth	1680-1812	Studland	1581-1837
East Orchard	1785-1812	Sturminster Marshall	1695-1837
East Stoke	1743-1812	Sturminster Newton	1723-1898
East Stour	1710-1788	Sutton Waldron	1794-1837
Edmondsham	1761-1837	Swanage	1780-1837
Evershot	1722-1812	Sydling St Nicholas	1813-1837
Farnham	1707-1837	Sydling St. Nicholas	1765-1812
Fifehead Magdalen	1744-1812	Symondsbury	1740-1837
Fifehead Neville	1741-1812	Tarrant Crawford	1776-1837
Fleet	1662-1838	Tarrant Gunville	1719-1837
Folke	1538-1837	Tarrant Hinton	1729-1837
Fontmell Magna	1720-1812	Tarrant Keynston	1813-1884
Fordington	1705-1837	Tarrant Monkton	1813-1837
Fordington St George	1780-1803	Tarrant Rawston	1814-1837
Frampton	1738-1850	Tarrant Rushton	1696-1837
Frome St Quintin	1705-1796	Thorncombe	1717-1837
Frome Vauchurch	1661-1812	Thornford	1676-1837
Gillingham	1787-1812	Tincleton	1628-1813
Glanvilles Wootton	1732-1813	Todber	1811-1837
Goat Hill	1699-1810	Toller Fratrum	1661-1812
Godmanston	1716-1829	Toller Porcorum	1813-1837
Gussage All Sts	1653-1837	Tolpuddle	1813-1837
Gussage St Andrew	1776-1837	Trent	1733-1837
Gussage St Michael	1684-1816	Turnerspuddle	1813-1837
Halstock	1698-1812	Turnworth	1700-1872
Hammoon	1801-1812	Tyneham	1694-1843
Hamowrthy	1831-1836	Upcerne	1705-1837
Hampreston	1765-1812	Upwey	1761-1872
Hamworthy	1826-1837	Walditch	1739-1837
Hanford	1832-1840	Wareham	1734-1837
Hawkchurch	1813-1837	Wareham Holy Trinity	1591-1812
Haydon	1719-1837	Wareham Lady St Mary	1605-1812
Hazelbury Bryan	1777-1812	Wareham St Martin'S	1622-1812
Hermitage	1774-1820	West Chelborough	1663-1812
Hilton	1737-1838	West Compton	1813-1837
Hinton Parva	1621-1812	West Compton (Abbas)	1538-1812
Hinton St Mary	1750-1837	West Knighton	1756-1837
Holnest	1763-1813	West Lulworth	1731-1860
Holwell	1726-1819	West Parley	1754-1837
Hook	1813-1837	West Stafford	1683-1837
Horton	1774-1812	West Stour	1813-1837
Ibberton	1761-1837	Whitchurch Canonicorum	1771-1837
Iwerne Courtney	1719-1812	Whitcombe	1774-1837

Iwerne Minster	1742-1799	Wimborne	1813-1837
Iwerne Steepleton	1766-1850	Wimborne Minster	1758-1812
Kimmeridge	1702-1808	Wimborne St Giles	1732-1837
Kingston Magna	1768-1812	Winfrith Newburgh	1504-1837
Kinson	1602-1812	Winterborne Abbas	1791-1837
Langton Herring	1796-1812	Winterborne Anderson	1767-1837
Langton Long	1725-1838	Winterborne Came	1782-1837
Launceston	1692-1783	Winterborne Clenston	1758-1837
Leigh	1712-1834	Winterborne Houghton	1740-1837
Lillington	1712-1810	Winterborne Kingston	1787-1837
Little Bredy	1717-1832	Winterborne Monkton	1784-1812
Litton Cheney	1768-1837	Winterborne St Martin	1748-1837
Loders	1636-1892	Winterborne Steepleton	1559-1837
Long Bredy	1729-1812	Winterborne Stickland	1751-1818
Long Crichel	1663-1809	Winterborne Tomson	1723-1837
Longburton	1773-1812	Winterborne Whitchurch	1813-1837
Longfleet	1833-1837	Winterborne Zelston	1813-1837
Lydlinch	1713-1812	Witchampton	1747-1837
Lyme Regis	1726-1843	Woodsford	1775-1837
Lytchett Matravers	1656-1812	Wool	1733-1853
Lytchett Minster	1698-1812	Wooland	1726-1812
Maiden Newton	1774-1881	Wooton Fitzpaine	1813-1837
Manston	1769-1812	Worth Matravers	1730-1884
Mappowder	1733-1812	Wraxall	1710-1812
Margaret Marsh	1785-1812	Wyke Regis	1813-1837
Marnhull	1745-1812	Wynford Eagle	1661-1812
Melbury Abbas	1763-1812	Yetminster	1712-1897

Somerset Baptisms

Searchable online at http://www.freereg.org.uk/. Complete files can be downloaded on request.

Place	Coverage	Place	Coverage
Abbas Combe	1597-1812	Langford Budville	1813-1835
Aisholt	1598-1623	Langport	1753-1836
Aller	1813-1866	Langridge	1763-1840
Angersleigh	1598-1901	Laverton	1693-1851
Ansford	1807	Leigh on Mendip	1670-1908
Ash Prior	1595-1895	Leighland	1735-1850
Ashbrittle	1599-1837	Lilstock	1663-1870
Ashill	1616-1663	Long Ashton	1826-1836
Ashington	1572-1812	Lopen	1607-1867
Ashwick	1598-1852	Lovington	1709-1812
Axbridge	1597-1812	Luccombe	1700-1860
Babcary	1598-1883	Lullington	1713-1899
Babington	1607-1907	Luxborough	1713-1858
Backwell	1833-1837	Lydeard St Lawrence	1573-1903
Backwell	1598-1812	Lympsham	1766-1908

Baltonsborough	1599-1668; 1813-1853	Lyncombe	1813-1840
Barrington	1653-1812	Marksbury	1563-1887
Barrow Gurney	1590-1840	Marston Bigot	1832-1857
Barwick	1706-1812	Marston Bigot	1654-1883
Bath	1569-1837	Mells	1686-1908
Batheaston	1634-1812	Merriott	1646-1876
Bathford	1602-1909	Middlezoy	1696-1812
Bathwick	1668-1840	Midsomer Norton	1697-1908
Beckington	1786-1846	Milverton	1537-1842
Beckington	1738-1899	Milverton	1783-1837
Beer Crocombe	1542-1682	Monksilver	1690-1840
Berkley	1770-1865	Moorlinch	1813-1886
Berrow	1700-1802	Mudford	1791-1837
Bicknoller	1649-1860	Nempnett Thrubwell	1556-1807
Bishops Lydeard	1601-1837	Nether Stowey	1670-1840
Blagdon	1709-1807	Nettlecombe	1765-1846
Bleadon	1706-1886	North Barrow	1598
Bratton Seymour	1754-1812	North Curry	1813-1820
Brewham	1683-1908	North Perrot	1783-1873
Bridgwater	1661-1830	North Petherton	1813-1824
Brompton Ralph	1557-1902	North Stoke	1650-1978
Brompton Regis	1629-1882	North Wootton	1750-1837
Broomfield	1701-1845	Norton Fitzwarren	1726-1863
Brushford	1740-1851	Norton Malreward	1554-1721
Bruton	1802-1837	Norton St Philip	1811-1851
Bruton	1554-1876	Nunney	1547-1908
Buckland Dinham	1737-1863	Nynehead	1769-1812
Buckland St Mary	1706-1788	Oake	1793-1812
Burnett	1749-1908	Oare	1675-1870
Burnham on Sea	1635-1767	Odcombe	1605-1858
Burrington	1687-1886	Old Cleeve	1750-1843
Butleigh	1714-1908	Orchardleigh	1623-1899
Cameley	1813-1863	Othery	1692-1791
Camerton	1700-1908	Otterford	1597-1900
Cannington	1714-1850	Over Stowey	1727-1859
Chapel Allerton	1598-1812	Paulton	1729-1908
Chard	1786-1807	Paulton	1785-1836
Chard	1649-1843	Pawlett	1667-1837
Charlcombe	1697-1812	Penselwood	1721-1892
Charlton Horethorne	1813-1860	Pensford	1651-1901
Charlton Musgrove	1764-1908	Pensford	1794-1837
Cheddar	1734-1775	Pilton	1744-1879
Chelwood	1720-1908	Pitminster	1649-1886
Chelwood	1721-1837	Pitminster	1705-1836
Chew Magna	1781-1903	Pitney	1623-1870
Chewstoke	1783-1812	Porlock	1693-1839
Chewton Mendip	1783-1812	Portishead	1682-1813
Chilcompton	1813-1855	Priston	1723-1764

Chilthorne Domer	1761-1908	Publow	1569-1901
Chilton Polden	1813-1884	Puckington	1694-1907
Chilton Trinity	1733-1746	Puriton	1816-1886
Chipstable	1695-1837	Queen Charlton	1568-1908
Christon	1540-1812	Raddington	1814-1836
Churchill	1813-1846	Radstock	1845-1908
Clandown	1838-1908	Rodden	1767-1812
Clandown	1841-1908	Rode	1714-1906
Clatworthy	1567-1922	Rode Hill	1824-1907
Cloford	1723-1812	Rodney Stoke	1654-1904
Clutton	1813-1884	Rowberrow	1816-1837
Coleford	1831-1908	Saltford	1599-1908
Combe Florey	1697-1860	Sampford Brett	1691-1860
Combe Hay	1698-1908	Seavington St Mary	1712-1901
Compton Dando	1654-1895	Seavington St Michael	1654-1901
Compton Pauncefoot	1602-1663; 1800-1851	Selworthy	1778-1856
Corfe	1682-1894	Sheppard Barton	1783-1836
Corston	1568-1871	Shepton Beauchamp	1845-1900
Corton Denham	1813-1824	Shepton Mallet	1663-1901
Cossington	1813-1900	Shepton Montague	1800-1852
Crewkerne	1743-1890	Skilgate	1677-1861
Cricket St Thomas	1738-1850	South Cheriton	1837
Croscombe	1813-1844	South Petherton	1574-1901
Crowcombe	1729-1840	Spaxton	1688-1851
Cucklington	1699-1904	St Decumans	1687-1840
Culbone	1686-1812	St Michaelchurch	1695-1812
Curry Mallett	1682-1837	Stanton Drew	1607-1908
Curry Rivel	1642-1850	Stanton Prior	1572-1812
Cutcombe	1705-1848	Staplegrove	1681-1860
Ditcheat	1813-1857	Stockland Bristol/Gaunts	1813-1910
Dodington	1741-1863	Stocklinch Ottersey	1558-1660
Doulting	1733-1854	Stogumber	1722-1858
Downhead	1708-1812	Stogursey	1728-1850
Dulverton	1712-1856	Stoke Lane	1745-1901
Dundry	1720-1908	Stoke Pero	1712-1868
Dunkerton	1748-1908	Stoke St Mary	1677-1812
Dunster	1803-1850	Stoke Sub Hamdon	1720-1812
Durleigh	1737-1880	Stowell	1575-1807
Durston	1712-1812	Stowey	1725-1794
East Chinnock	1769-1820	Stratton-on-the-Fosse	1599-1867
East Coker	1560-1858	Stringston	1702-1872
East Cranmore	1783-1901	Sutton Mallet	1782-1908
East Harptree	1597-1864	Swainswick	1557-1840
East Lambrooke	1813-1888	Swell	1559-1981
East Quantoxhead	1761-1851	Taunton	1612-1767
Easton in Gordano	1725-1835	Tellisford	1602-1835
Edington	1599-1849	Thorne Coffin	1695-1908
Elm	1598-1903	Thurlbear	1700-1901

Elworthy	1685-1812	Thurloxton	1559-1696
Emborough	1886-1908	Timberscombe	1725-1860
Enmore	1653-1886	Timsbury	1679-1901
Exford	1716-1860	Tintinhull	1562-1949
Exton	1695-1860	Tolland	1708-1870
Farleigh Hungerford	1674-1908	Treborough	1761-1861
Farmborough	1559-1908	Trull	1669-1925
Farrington Gurney	1680-1908	Twerton	1570-1840
Fiddington	1736-1812	Ubley	1671-1886
Fitzhead	1558-1905	Uphill	1690-1908
Fivehead	1656-1898	Upton	1709-1850
Foxcote	1693-1816	Walton	1678-1828
Freshford	1813-1902	Wanstrow	1570-1875
Frome	1558-1889	Wedmore	1561-1812
Goathurst	1749-1870	Wellington	1683-1812
Greinton	1837-1900	Wellow	1718-1848
Halse	1653-1853	West Bagborough	1721-1861
Hambridge	1844-1883	West Buckland	1702-1885
Hardington	1598-1610	West Coker	1605-1840
Hardington Mandeville	1838-1851	West Cranmore	1784-1901
Hawkridge	1775-1811	West Harptree	1813-1854
Heathfield	1716-1812	West Lydford	1812-1839
Hemington	1698-1901	West Quantoxhead	1633-1860
High Ham	1569-1837	Westbury-sub-Mendip	1813-1849
High Littleton	1599-1908	Weston	1538-1840
Hillfarrance	1813-1880	Weston in Gordano	1813-1920
Hinton Blewett	1735-1901	Weston Zoyland	1768-1812
Hinton Charterhouse	1705-1908	Whatley	1732-1903
Hinton St George	1865-1868	Whitelackington	1688-1900
Holcombe	1698-1908	Widcombe	1574-1746
Holton	1838-1860	Widcombe with Lyncombe	1772-1812
Horsington	1559-1649	Wilton	1800-1812
Huish Champflower	1804-1873	Wincanton	1776-1841
Ilchester	1807-1837	Winford	1609-1842
Ilton	1743-1812	Winsford	1786-1860
Isle Abbotts	1813-1889	Winsham	1559-1843
Keinton Mandeville	1813-1850	Witham Friary	1695-1900
Kelston	1710-1812	Withiel Florey	1769-1851
Keynsham	1628-1885	Wiveliscombe	1558-1850
Kilmersdon	1725-1838	Wookey	1813-1902
Kilmington	1837-1908	Woolavington	1813-1902
Kilton	1684-1851	Woolley	1560-1840
Kilve	1745-1870	Woolverton	1747-1835
Kings Brompton	1629-1882	Wootton Courtney	1720-1871
Kingsbury Episcopi	1687-1697	Wrington	1806-1901
Kingsdon	1809-1834	Writhlington	1673-1907
Kingston St Mary	1677-1861	Yatton	1762-1882
Kittisford	1694-1836	Yeovil	1783-1812

Wiltshire Baptisms

Searchable online at http://findmypast.co.uk/. CDs with complete downloadable files can be purchased from WFHS. Additional parishes at http://www.freereg.org.uk/.

Avebury	1607	1837	Little Hinton	1605	1837
Baydon	1578	1837	Littleton Drew	1605	1837
Beechingstoke	1566	1837	Longbridge Deverill	1607	1837
Bermerton	1629	1837	Maiden Bradley	1626	1837
Berwick Bassett	1580	1837	Marden	1622	1837
Berwick st James	1606	1837	Market Lavington	1622	1837
Biddestone	1605	1837	Mere	1561	1837
Bishopstone	1573	1837	Monkton Deverill	1608	1837
Box	1538	1837	Nettleton	1557	1837
Brixton Deverill	1606	1837	North Newnton	1605	1837
Broad Hinton	1604	1837	North Wraxall	1606	1837
Castle Combe	1573	1837	Patney	1592	1837
Charlton St Peter	1611	1837	Rushall	1622	1837
Chirton	1579	1837	Salisbury Cathedral	1564	1837
Chiseldon	1606	1837	SalisburySt Thomas	1530	1837
Clyffe Pypard	1576	1837	Sedgehill	1607	1837
Colerne	1606	1837	Slaughterford	1619	1837
Corsham	1568	1837	South Newton	1604	1837
Devizes Southbroom	1568	1837	Stapleford	1600	1837
Devizes St Mary	1569	1837	Stert	1581	1837
Ditteridge	1584	1837	Stourton	1572	1837
East Kennet	1606	1837	Stratford-sub-Castle	1610	1837
East Knoyle	1538	1837	Urchfont	1538	1837
Etchilhampton	1605	1837	Wanborough	1581	1837
Fisherton Anger	1608	1837	West Harnham	1567	1837
Grittleton	1573	1837	West Kington	1605	1837
Hardenhuish	1607	1837	West Knoyle	1608	1837
Hill Deverill	1687	1837	Wilsford	1558	1837
Horningsham	1561	1837	Winterbourne Bassett	1607	1837
Kilmington	1582	1837	Winterbourne Monkton	1605	1837
Kingston Deverill	1611	1837	Winterbourne Stoke	1608	1837
Kington St Michael	1563	1837	Woodford	1538	1837
Langley Burrell	1605	1837	Wootton Bassett	1585	1837
Leigh Delamere	1605	1837	Wroughton	1606	1837
Liddington	1605	1837	Yatesbury	1607	1837
			Yatton Keynell	1619	1837

Dorset Marriages

Searchable online at http://www.findmypast.co.uk/. Additional parishes available at http://www.opcdorset.org/index.htm and Phillimore's Marriage Registers at http://www.thegenealogist.co.uk/

Abbotsbury	1813-1837	Melbury Abbas	1717-1837
Affpuddle	1731-1837	Melbury Bubb	1681-1836
Allington	1570-1837	Melbury Osmond	1813-1837
Almer	1541-1836	Melbury Sampford	1813-1837
Alton Pancras	1674-1836	Melcombe Horsey	1698-1846
Arne	1813-1840	Melcombe Regis	1813-1837
Arne	1731-1840	Milborne St Andrew	1570-1838
Ashmore	1667-1838	Milton Abbas	1813-1837
Askerswell	1560-1837	Minterne Magna	1636-1837
Athelhampton	1755-1848	Moor Crichel	1664-1836
Batcombe	1732-1837	Morden	1575-1837
Beaminster	1585-1896	Mosterton	1814-1836
Beer Hackett	1552-1836	Motcombe	1676-1837
Belchalwell	1739-1835	Nether Cerne	1716-1838
Bere Regis	1585-1837	Nether Compton	1541-1837
Bettiscombe	1746-1836	Netherbury	1592-1874
Bincombe	1658-1837	North Poorton	1698-1837
Bishops Caundle	1813-1837	North Wootton	1542-1842
Blandford Forum	1731-1837	Oborne	1754-1837
Blandford St Mary	1813-1837	Okeford Fitzpaine	1813-1836
Bloxworth	1581-1837	Osmington	1693-1837
Bothenhampton	1636-1837	Over Compton	1726-1837
Bradford Abbas	1580-1836	Owemoigne	1569-1837
Bradford Peverell	1578-1838	Pentridge	1713-1835
Bradpole	1695-1837	Piddlehinton	1539-1837
Bridport	1600-1837	Piddletrenthide	1813-1837
Broadmayne	1667-1837	Pilsden	1754-1787
Broadway	1673-1837	Pilsdon	1801-1837
Broadwinsor	1669-1837	Pimperne	1813-1836
Bryanston	1599-1837	Poole	1813-1837
Buckhorn Weston	1679-1836	Poole St James	1804-1812
Buckland Newton	1568-1837	Poole, St Paul	1862-1952
Buckland Ripers	1695-1840	Portesham	1568-1843
Burstock	1560-1837	Portland	1803-1924
Burton Bradstock	1813-1837	Powerstock	1568-1837
Canford Magna	1656-1837	Poxwell	1813-1837
Cann	1813-1837	Poyntington	1628-1843
Castleton	1716-1836	Preston	1695-1837
Cattistock	1558-1837	Puddletown	1538-1837
Caundle Marsh	1704-1831	Pulham	1734-1902
Cerne Abbas	1654-1841	Puncknowle	1632-1836
Chalbury	1813-1837	Purse Caundle	1731-1841
Chaldon Herring	1621-1837	Radipole	1813-1837
Chardstock	1597-1840	Rampisham	1573-1841
Charlton Marshall	1814-1841	Ryme Intrinseca	1631-1836
Charminster	1561-1837	Sandford Orcas	1554-1837
Charmouth	1654-1837	Seaborough	1562-1836
Cheselbourne	1664-1838	Shaftesbury Holy Trinity	1813-1837
Chettle	1754-1836	Shaftesbury St James	1560-1865
Chickerell	1723-1837	Shaftesbury St Peter	1623-1836

Chideock	1813-1837	Shapwick	1654-1837
Chilcombe	1748-1828	Sherborne	1813-1837
Child Okeford	1813-1837	Shipton Gorge	1814-1837
Chilfrome	1709-1834	Silton	1653-1837
Church Knowle	1560-1837	Sixpenny Handley	1754-1837
Combe Keynes	1583-1836	South Perrott	1539-1840
Compton Abbas	1640-1837	Spetisbury	1813-1837
Compton Valence	1657-1836	Stalbridge	1691-1837
Corfe Castle	1813-1837	Steeple	1546-1836
Corfe Mullen	1813-1837	Stinsford	1813-1840
Corscombe	1800-1837	Stock Gaylard	1813-1838
Cranborne	1718-1837	Stockwood	1586-1838
Dewlish	1812-1837	Stoke Abbott	1560-1837
Dorchester All Saints	1813-1837	Stoke Wake	1546-1838
Dorchester Holy Trinity	1810-1837	Stour Provost	1813-1837
Dorchester,St Peter	1813-1837	Stourpaine	1631-1837
Durweston	1813-1837	Stourton Caundle	1670-1887
East Chelborough	1690-1837	Stratton	1813-1836
East Lulworth	1561-1838	Studland	1637-1837
East Orchard	1782-1836	Stuminster Newton	1645-1891
East Stoke	1744-1838	Sturminster	1540-1836
East Stour	1813-1837	Sutton Pointz	1695-1837
Edmondsham	1573-1837	Sutton Waldron	1678-1837
Evershot	1694-1847	Swanage	1564-1841
Farnham	1813-1837	Swyre	1588-1836
Fifehead Magdalen	1813-1837	Sydling St Nicholas	1813-1837
Fifehead Neville	1815-1839	Symondsbury	1813-1837
Fleet	1664-1835	Tarrant Crawford	1599-1842
Folke	1538-1837	Tarrant Gunville	1719-1840
Fontmell Magna	1813-1837	Tarrant Hinton	1813-1837
Fordington	1705-1837	Tarrant Keynston	1813-1837
Frampton	1813-1837	Tarrant Monkton	1565-1836
Frome St Quintin	1724-1837	Tarrant Rawston	1760-1837
Frome Vauchurch	1667-1835	Tarrant Rushton	1698-1836
George Inn Bridport	1654-1655	Thorncombe	1552-1837
Gillingham	1813-1837	Thornford	1677-1837
Glanvilles Wootton	1813-1837	Tincleton, Dorset	1579-1852
Goathill	1702-1837	Todber	1754-1836
Godmanstone	1654-1836	Toller Fratrum	1616-1836
Gussage All Saints	1813-1836	Toller Porcorum	1813-1837
Gussage St Michael	1654-1848	Tolpuddle	1719-1837
Halstock	1808-1837	Trent	1814-1837
Hamoon	1813-1835	Turners Puddle	1745-1837
Hampreston	1617-1843	Tyneham	1694-1836
Hanford	1815-1835	Upcerne	1682-1837
Haydon	1708-1841	Upwey	1654-1837
Hermitage	1717-1849	Walditch	1738-1837
Hilton	1813-1837	Wambrook	1655-1836
Hinton Martell	1566-1837	Wareham	1594-1837
Hinton Parva	1816-1838	Warmwell	1641-1836

Hinton St. Mary	1754-1837	West Chelborough	1673-1835
Holwell	1655-1873	West Compton Abbas	1539-1652
Horton	1563-1840	West Knighton	1679-1837
Horton Banns	1772-1808	West Lulworth	1731-1837
Ibberton	1801-1837	West Parley	1720-1837
Iwerne Courtney	1563-1837	West Stafford	1559-1753
Iwerne Minster	1742-1836	West Stour	1754-1853
Kimmeridge	1702-1837	Whitchurch Canonicorum	1176-1838
Kington Magna	1671-1890	Whitcombe	1780-1852
Kinson	1735-1837	Wimborne Minster	1813-1837
Langton Herring	1681-1835	Wimborne St. Giles	1754-1837
Langton Long	1593-1837	Winfrith Newburgh	1585-1837
Langton Matravers	1670-1873	Winterborn Steepleton	1559-1838
Lillington	1712-1843	Winterborne Anderson	1757-1836
Little Bredy	1717-1836	Winterborne Came	1698-1839
Litton Cheney	1614-1837	Winterborne Houghton	1558-1847
Loders	1636-1837	Winterborne Kingston	1597-1837
Long Crichel	1838-1891	Winterborne Monkton	1756-1836
Longburton	1813-1837	Winterborne Stickland	1616-1837
Lychett Minster	1554-1837	Winterborne Thompson	1751-1837
Lyme Regis	1653-1837	Winterborne Whitechurch	1599-1837
Maiden Newton	1815-1837	Winterbourne Abbas	1754-1837
Manston	1620-1837	Winterbourne Clenston	1684-1835
Mapperton	1669-1837	Woodsford	1681-1837
Mappowder	1654-1837	Wool	1745-1837
Margaret Marsh	1694-1834	Wyke Regis	1813-1837
Marnhull	1561-1841	Yetminster	1677-1837

Somerset Marriages

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Abbas And Templecombe	1813-1836	Langridge	1756-1837
Abbas Combe	1564-1834	Laverton	1605-1836
Abbots Leigh	1763-1836	Leigh	1639-1640
Aisholt	1606-1869	Leigh On Mendip	1568-1836
Alford	1595-1836	Leighland	1755-1896
Aller	1560-1837	Lilstock	1608-1834
Allerton	1598-1833	Limington	1695-1829
Angersleigh	1616-1836	Litton	1754-1836
Ansford	1559-1837	Locking	1755-1836
Ash Priors	1700-1725; 1754-1838	Long Ashton	1623-1837
Ashbrittle	1563-1837	Long Load	1559-1837
Ashcott	1606-1837	Long Sutton	1607-1622; 1749-1837
Ashill	1558-1837	Lopen	1609-1837
Ashington	1569-1836	Lovington	1605-1837

	1595-1640;		
Ashwick	1755-1837	Loxton	1560-1842
Axbridge	1562-1838	Luccombe	1652-1837
Babcary	1598-1837	Lullington	1639-1835
			1541-1711;
Babington	1606-1836	Luxborough	1751-1837
Backwell	1558-1836	Lydeard St Lawrence	1573-1837
Badgworth	1599-1857	Lympsham	1754-1819
Baltonsborough	1599-1837	Lyncombe	1814-1836
Banwell	1474-1837	Lyncombe & Widcombe	1813-1840
Barrington	1654-1837	Lyng	1607-1837
Barrow Gurney	1593-1837	Maperton	1566-1837
Barton St David	1598-1886	Mark	1606-1837
Barwick	1560-1837	Marksbury	1563-1836
Batcombe	1597-1872	Marston Bigot	1598-1837
Bath	1755-1837	Marston Magna	1562-1836
Bath Abbey	1569-1893	Martock	1559-1892
			1559-1673;
Bath Catholic	1776-1823	Meare	1754-1863
Bath St James	1731-1899	Mells	1565-1837
Bath St Michael	1728-1881	Merriott	1606-1853
Bath St Peter & St Paul	1800-1802	Middle Chinnock	1599-1837
Bath St Swithin	1765-1827	Middlezoy	1605-1837
Bathampton	1599-1837	Midsomer Norton	1637-1837
Bathealton	1611-1832	Milborne Port	1539-1837
Batheaston	1754-1889	Milton Clevedon	1596-1837
			1621-1671;
Batheaston St Catherine	1756-1837	Milverton	1749-1837
Bathford	1608-1875	Minehead	1756-1837
Bathwick	1755-1897	Minehead St Michael	1754-1834
Bathwick St Mary	1727-1837	Misterton	1560-1837
			1653-1689;
Bawdrip	1755-1837	Monksilver	1754-1836
Beckington	1559-1878	Montacute	1559-1837
Bedminster	1709-1896	Moorlinch	1598-1837
Bedminster St John	1754-1837	Muchelney	1620-1841
Beer Crocombe	1543-1839	Mudford	1563-1838
Berington	1664-1706	Nailsea	1554-1837
Berkley	1547-1872	Nempnett	1568-1836
Berrow	1598-1875	Nempnett Thrubwell	1754-1830
Bickenhall	1751-1873	Nether Stowey	1631-1843
Bicknoller	1558-1836	Nettlecombe	1540-1836
	1602-1664;		
Biddisham	1755-1837	Newton St Loe	1538-1837
Binegar	1605-1876	North Barrow	1568-1873
Bishops Hull	1562-1864	North Cadbury	1558-1837
Bishops Lydeard	1598-1837	North Cheriton	1600-1836
Blackford	1603-1837	North Curry	1539-1878
Blagdon	1580-1837	North Perrott	1598-1837
			1558-1625;
Bleadon	1608-1872	North Petherton	1708-1837
Bradford	1739-1855	North Stoke	1605-1836

Bradford On Tone	1561-1754	North Wootton	1613-1636
Bratton Seymour	1595-1875	Northover	1531-1836
Brean	1605-1879	Norton Fitzwarren	1565-1837
Brent Knoll	1679-1754	Norton Malreward	1554-1835
Brent South	1757-1872	Norton St Philip	1585-1838
Brewham	1599-1850	Norton Sub Hamdon	1754-1837
Bridgwater	1754-1837	Nunney	1547-1837
Bridgwater St Mary	1558-1868	Nynehead	1605-1837
Brislington	1660-1839	Oake	1594-1835
Bristol	1786-1834	Oare	1599-1826
Bristol Quaker	1785-1837	Odcombe	1669-1838
Broadway	1599-1836	Old Cleeve	1602-1837
Brockley	1599-1833	Orchard Portman	1537-1836
Brompton Ralph	1557-1837	Orchardleigh	1625-1820
Brompton Regis	1638-1836	Othery	1560-1878
Broomfield	1630-1837	Otterford	1558-1860
			1656-1748;
Brushford	1750-1875	Otterhampton	1806-1837
Bruton	1554-1837	Overstowey	1558-1837
Brympton	1602-1835	Paulton	1754-1837
Buckland	1754-1826	Pawlett	1597-1837
Buckland Dinham	1569-1837	Pendomer	1755-1834
Buckland St Mary	1538-1875	Penselwood	1599-1837
Buckland West	1734-1837	Pensford	1666-1831
			1651-1665;
Burnett	1592-1833	Pensford St Thomas	1756-1812
Burnham On Sea	1630-1879	Pilton	1558-1837
Burrington	1598-1891	Pitcombe	1741-1837
Butcombe	1605-1835	Pitminster	1542-1836
Butleigh	1578-1860	Pitney	1623-1837
Cameley	1561-1837	Podimore Milton	1756-1836
Camerton	1607-1837	Porlock	1594-1837
Cannington	1559-1835	Portbury	1592-1882
Carhampton	1598-1836	Portishead	1561-1875
Castle Cary	1564-1837	Poyntington	1754-1837
Catcott	1597-1836	Preston Plucknett	1754-1837
Chaffcombe	1598-1837	Priddy	1707-1836
Chapel Allerton	1563-1878	Priston	1724-1836
Chard	1540-1855	Publow	1703-1835
Charlcombe	1759-1837	Puckington	1695-1836
Charlinch	1596-1834	Puriton	1558-1837
Charlton Adam	1607-1837	Puxton	1543-1830
Charlton Horethorne	1598-1837	Pylle	1591-1837
Charlton Mackrell	1575-1838	Queen Camel	1602-1837
Charlton Musgrove	1538-1866	Queen Charlton	1754-1859
Cheddar	1608-1834	Raddington	1804-1830
Cheddon Fitzpaine	1559-1836	Radstock	1597-1837
Chedzoy	1558-1835	Rimpton	1654-1836
Chelvey	1575-1825	Rodden	1754-1837
Chelwood	1601-1835	Rode	1754-1837
Chew Magna	1605-1886	Rodney Stoke	1597-1836

Chew Stoke	1605-1837	Rowberrow	1754-1836
Chewton Mendip	1554-1837	Ruishton	1754-1836
Chilcompton	1599-1837	Runnington	1586-1836
Chillington	1599-1640; 1757-1837	Saltford	1713-1837
Chilthorne Domer	1602-1836	Sampford Arundell	1623-1837
Chilton Cantelo	1606-1836	Sampford Brett	1609-1699; 1754-1837
Chilton Polden	1621-1835	Sandford Orcas	1750-1837
Chipstable	1605-1837	Seaborough	1757-1836
Chiselborough	1558-1837	Seavington St Mary	1754-1837
Christon	1756-1833	Seavington St Michael	1562-1837
Churchill	1605-1837	Selworthy	1597-1836
Churchstanton	1662-1837	Shapwick	1591-1838
Clapton In Gordano	1559-1876	Shepton Beauchamp	1558-1837
Clatworthy	1567-1837	Shepton Mallet	1615-1837
Claverham	1756-1835	Shepton Montague	1779-1837
Claverham Quaker	1773-1830	Shipham	1560-1837
Claverton	1752-1835	Sidcot	1729-1835
Clevedon	1663-1836	Skilgate	1675-1721; 1755-1837
Cloford	1561-1837	Somerton	1599-1896
Closworth	1594-1886	South Barrow	1580-1837
Clutton	1754-1859	South Brent	1748-1837
Combe	1757-1837	South Cadbury	1559-1729; 1756-1837
Combe Florey	1568-1837	South Petherton	1750-1879
Combe Hay	1539-1836	South Stoke	1757-1831
Combe St Nicholas	1639-1837	Sparkford	1757-1837
Compton Bishop	1606-1837	Spaxton	1558-1837
Compton Dando	1654-1837	St Decumans	1602-1671; 1753-1835
Compton Dundon	1610-1836	St Michaelchurch	1639-1749
Compton Martin	1569-1837	Stanton Drew	1607-1837
Compton Pauncefoot	1559-1837	Stanton Prior	1572-1836
Congresbury	1543-1857	Staple Fitzpaine	1682-1835
Corfe	1598-1838	Staple Fitzpaine & Bickenhall	1750-1811
Corston	1568-1837	Staplegrove	1559-1700; 1751-1838
Corton Denham	1538-1836	Stawell	1676-1764
Cossington	1606-1837	Stawley	1603-1835
Cothelstone	1595-1836	Stockland Bristol	1737-1837
Creech St Michael	1607-1841	Stockland Gaunts	1538-1754
Crewkerne	1558-1866	Stocklinch Magdalen	1755-1832
Cricket Malherbie	1598-1837	Stocklinch Ottersay	1560-1837
Cricket St Thomas	1567-1836	Stogumber	1559-1840
Croscombe	1558-1837	Stogursey	1595-1816
Crowcombe	1594-1837	Stoke Lane	1813-1837
Cucklington	1559-1837	Stoke Pero	1624-1754; 1801-1836
Cudworth	1607-1836	Stoke St Gregory	1563-1837
Culbone	1699-1836	Stoke St Mary	1635-1836

Curland	1605-1752	Stoke St Michael	1607-1832
			1558-1675;
Curry Mallet	1597-1837	Stoke Sub Hamdon	1754-1837
Curry Rivel	1607-1839	Stoke Trister	1752-1837
			1594-1669;
Cutcombe	1638-1837	Stone Easton	1754-1836
Dinder	1598-1836	Stowell	1683-1836
Dinnington	1592-1873	Stowey	1572-1837
Ditcheat	1562-1837	Stratton On The Fosse	1605-1837
Dodington	1540-1835	Street	1598-1837
Donyatt	1623-1837	Stringston	1634-1836
	1615-1684;		
Doulting	1754-1875	Sutton Montis	1607-1836
Dowlish Wake	1599-1837	Swainswick	1557-1838
	1615-1630;		
Downhead	1756-1836	Swell	1559-1837
Drayton	1558-1836	Taunton	1750-1837
Dulverton	1558-1837	Taunton St James	1610-1837
Dundry	1558-1837	Taunton St Mary	1737-1837
Dunkerton	1601-1837	Taunton St Mary Magdalen	1558-1897
Dunster	1559-1836	Tauton	1750-1837
Durleigh	1609-1851	Tellisford	1593-1836
Durston	1606-1837	Templecombe	1814-1836
	1558-1693;		
East Brent	1723-1878	Thorne Coffin	1579-1832
East Chinnock	1602-1837	Thorne Falcon	1726-1837
East Coker	1560-1837	Thorne St Margaret	1623-1834
East Cranmore	1754-1829	Thurlbear	1623-1837
East Harptree	1607-1836	Thurloxton	1559-1837
East Lydford	1754-1834	Tickenham	1649-1834
East Pennard	1599-1837	Timberscombe	1598-1837
			1561-1678;
East Quantoxhead	1608-1836	Timsbury	1755-1837
Easton In Gordano	1559-1878	Tintinhull	1561-1837
Edington	1686-1767	Tolland	1599-1835
Elm	1598-1837	Treborough	1694-1836
Elworthy	1686-1836	Trent	1558-1872
Emborough	1570-1836	Trull	1623-1837
	1605-1668;		
Englishcombe	1756-1837	Twerton	1587-1837
Enmore	1607-1850	Twerton On Avon	1753-1837
Evercreech	1540-1831	Ubley	1607-1835
Exford	1642-1837	Uphill	1754-1835
	1558-1686;		
Exton	1754-1837	Upton	1623-1837
Farleigh Hungerford	1616-1836	Upton Noble	1750-1837
Farmborough	1561-1837	Walcot	1719-1880
Farrington Gurney	1607-1837	Walcot St Mary	1709-1891
Fiddington	1597-1836	Walcot St Swithin	1601-1853
Fitzhead	1559-1832	Walton	1607-1837
Fivehead	1598-1837	Walton In Gordano	1598-1878
Flax Bourton	1607-1841	Wambrook	1655-1836

Foxcote	1595-1875	Wanstrow	1571-1837
Freshford	1601-1878	Watchet	1754-1834
Frome	1440-1920	Watchet St Decuman	1750-1837
Frome Selwood	1598	Wayford	1613-1837
Frome St John	1750-1760	Weare	1598-1837
Glastonbury	1750-1836	Wedmore	1561-1850
Glastonbury St Benedict	1607-1837	Wellington	1622-1851
Glastonbury St John	1597-1838	Wellow	1561-1837
Goathill	1702-1837	Wells	1754-1873
Goathurst	1539-1837	Wells St Cuthbert	1609-1873
Greinton	1754-1836	Wembdon	1676-1836
Halse	1559-1882	West Bagborough	1565-1837
Hardington Manderville	1598-1837	West Bradley	1605-1719; 1754-1837
Haselbury Plucknett	1598-1837	West Buckland	1538-1878
Hatch Beauchamp	1755-1840	West Camel	1579-1836
Hawkridge	1609-1838	West Chinnock	1609-1837
Heathfield	1700-1836	West Coker	1607-1837
Hemington	1754-1836	West Cranmore	1566-1883
Hemington With Hardington	1756-1837	West Harptree	1598-1775; 1800-1834
Henstridge	1605-1872	West Hatch	1604-1863
High Ham	1569-1837	West Lydford	1779-1837
High Littleton	1601-1837	West Monkton	1599-1837
Hillfarrance	1615-1828	West Pennard	1538-1836
Hinton Blewett	1563-1896	West Quantoxhead	1558-1839
Hinton Charterhouse	1548-1837	Westbury	1782-1837
Hinton St George	1597-1838	Westbury Sub Mendip	1755-1836
Holcombe	1608-1753; 1784-1837	Weston	1538-1837
Holford	1558-1837	Weston Bampfield	1625-1835
Holton	1558-1704; 1778-1836	Weston In Gordano	1605-1837
Hornblotton	1768-1832	Weston Zoyland	1558-1882
Horsington	1559-1874	Weston-Super-Mare	1682-1837
Huish Champflower	1755-1878	Whatley	1599-1836
Huish Episcopi	1615-1837	Wheathill	1808-1834
Huntspill	1623-1837	Whitchurch	1754-1837
Hutton	1754-1836	Whitelackington	1609-1837
Ilchester	1594-1837	Whitestaunton	1606-1837
Ilminster	1662-1837	Wick St Lawrence	1598-1837
Ilton	1616-1836	Williton	1770-1837
Isle Abbotts	1562-1837	Wilton	1598-1737; 1755-1837
Isle Brewers	1598-1836	Wincanton	1593-1837
Keinton	1800-1837	Winford	1609-1837
Keinton Mandeville	1748-1834	Winscombe	1754-1837
Kelston	1755-1830	Winsford	1621-1639; 1754-1837
Kenn	1542-1872	Winsham	1568-1894
Kewstoke	1621-1837	Witham Friary	1621-1899
Keynsham	1660-1837	Withiel Florey	1598-1833

Keynsham & Brislington	1659-1680	Withycombe	1670-1837
Kilmersdon	1598-1888	Withypool	1605-1837
Kilmington	1582-1839	Wiveliscombe	1598-1837
Kilton	1621-1835	Wookey	1754-1837
Kilve	1621-1837	Woolavington	1702-1837
Kingsbury Episcopi	1558-1882	Woolley	1754-1835
Kingsdon	1540-1835	Woolverton	1789-1835
Kingston	1749-1833	Wootton Courtney	1560-1873
Kingston Seymour	1622-1639; 1754-1837	Worle	1590-1837
Kingston St Mary	1677-1837	Wraxall	1562-1837
Kingstone	1714-1835	Wrington	1538-1837
Kingweston	1598-1837	Writhlington	1751-1836
Kittisford	1621-1837	Yarlington	1601-1837
Knowle St Giles	1611-1744; 1813-1834	Yatton	1623-1679; 1726-1837
Lamyatt	1607-1836	Yeovil	1750-1836
Langford Budville	1607-1837	Yeovil St John Baptist	1750-1874
Langport	1707-1837	Yeovilton	1750-1836

Wiltshire Marriages

Searchable online at http://www.freereg.org.uk/. Complete files can be downloaded on request. Also Phillimore's Marriage Registers at at http://www.thegenealogist.co.uk/

Place	Coverage	Place	Coverage
Alderton	1606-1812	Knook	1695-1837
Allington	1623-1812	Latton	1578-1837
Alton Barnes	1597-1812	Laverstock and Ford	1726-1812
Ashley	1658-1812	Leigh Delamere	1735-1812
Baverstock	1559-1812	Long Newnton	1653-1812
Beechingstoke	1590-1812	Luckington	1573-1837
Bemerton	1671-1837	Lydiard Millicent	1580-1837
Bishopstone, S Wilts	1636-1920	Maiden Bradley	1754-1908
Boscombe	1625-1811	Market Lavington	1673-1812
Boyton	1560-1837	Mere	1561-1914
Bratton	1542-1837	Milston	1540-1812
Brinkworth	1605-1812	Minety	1663-1812
Britford	1573-1812	Monkton Deverill	1749-1812
Brixton Deverill	1782-1854	Newton Tony	1591-1812
Bulford	1608-1812	North Bradley	1813-1815
Charlton	1696-1812	Norton Coleparle	1663-1812
Christian Malford	1653-1812	Patney	1594-1812
Clyffe Pypard	1576-1620	Porton	1754-1812
Colerne	1560-1812	Purton	1558-1781
Collingbourne Ducis	1654-1837	Rollstone	1654-1812
Corsley	1726-1815	Salisbury	1559-1609
Crudwell	1662-1812	Sedgehill	1755-1908

Dauntsey	1654-1790	Sherrington	1677-1837
Devizes	1559-1837	Sherston Magna	1601-1812
Dilton	1707-1816	Sopworth	1698-1812
Durrington	1591-1812	Southbroom, Devizes	1572-1837
East Knoyle	1538-1908	Stert	1579-1812
Fugglestone	1608-1835	Stourton	1578-1932
Great Somerford	1707-1812	Stratford Subcastle	1654-1837
Grittleton	1573-1812	Swindon	1887-1906
Hankerton	1700-1837	Tockenham	1755-1873
Heytesbury	1654-1837	Upton Scudamore	1755-1837
Hill Deverill	1760-1855	Urchfont	1538-1812
Horningsham	1754-1908	Wardour	1749-1767; 1820-1843
Huish	1684-1812	West Knoyle	1719-1837
Idmiston	1577-1812	Westbury	1754-1812
Kemble	1679-1812	Woodborough	1567-1837
Kingston Deverill	1706-1820	Yatton Keynell	1653-1812
Kington	1563-1837	Zeals	1848-1902

Dorset Burials

Searchable online at http://www.findmypast.co.uk/ and available on CD from http://www.ffhs.org.uk/projects/nbi/nbi-overview.php and other suppliers

Place	Denom.	Start	End	Place	Denom.	Start	End
Abbotsbury	Anglican	1567	1934	Mapperton	Anglican	1596	1955
Affpuddle	Anglican	1705	1970	Mappowder	Anglican	1654	1999
Alderholt	Anglican	1850	1989	Margaret Marsh	Anglican	1689	1812
Allington	Anglican	1673	1837	Marnhull	Anglican	1560	1837
Almer	Anglican	1539	1983	Melbury Abbas	Anglican	1731	1889
Alton Pancras	Anglican	1677	1857	Melbury Bubb	Anglican	1679	1995
Anderson	Anglican	1764	1836	Melbury Osmond	Anglican	1581	1837
Arne	Anglican	1763	1819	Melbury Sampford	Anglican	1547	1970
Ashmore	Anglican	1654	1911	Melcombe Horsey	Anglican	1740	1838
Askerswell	Anglican	1587	1996	Melcombe Regis	Cemetery	1822	1985
Athelhampton	Anglican	1693	1848	Melcombe Regis	Anglican	1560	1914
Batcombe	Anglican	1714	1837	Milborne St Andrew	Anglican	1570	1842
Beaminster	Anglican	1851	1991	Milton Abbas	Anglican	1732	1872
Beaminster	Anglican	1711	1940	Minterne Magna	Anglican	1615	1837
Beaminster	Anglican	1591	1995	Morden	Anglican	1663	1837
Beer Hackett	Anglican	1549	1835	More Crichel	Anglican	1813	1835
Belchalwell	Anglican	1738	1839	Moreton	Anglican	1750	1875
Bere Regis	Anglican	1630	1837	Mosterton	Anglican	1743	1837
Bettiscombe	Anglican	1799	1993	Motcombe	Anglican	1718	1837
Bincombe	Anglican	1658	1991	Nether Cerne	Anglican	1813	1837
Bishops Caundle	Anglican	1570	1865	Nether Compton	Anglican	1538	1808
Blackdown	Anglican	1841	1844	Netherbury	Anglican	1585	1972

Blandford	Anglican	1586	1837	North Poorton	Anglican	1696	1995
Blandford Forum	Indepen't	1803	1837	North Wootton	Anglican	1808	1837
Blandford Forum	Anglican	1693	1866	Oborne	Anglican	1813	1837
Bloxworth	Anglican	1813	1923	Okeford Fitzpaine	Anglican	1606	1885
Bothenhampton	Anglican	1725	1915	Osmington	Anglican	1678	1991
Bourton	Anglican	1813	1905	Over Compton	Anglican	1726	1995
Bradford Abbas	Anglican	1572	1837	Owermoigne	Anglican	1937	1988
Bradford Peverell	Anglican	1572	1837	Owermoigne	Anglican	1570	1992
Bradpole	Anglican	1743	1879	Parkstone	Anglican	1833	1855
Bridport	Indepen't	1750	1786	Pentridge	Anglican	1730	1837
Bridport	Presbyt'n	1820	1835	Piddlehinton	Anglican	1562	1873
Bridport	Quaker	1673	1833	Piddletrenthide	Anglican	1564	1972
Bridport	Anglican	1600	1886	Pilsdon	Anglican	1852	1965
Broadmayne	Anglican	1667	1992	Pimperne	Anglican	1561	1954
Broadwey	Anglican	1643	1989	Poole	Indepen't	1787	1837
Broadwindsor	Anglican	1563	1880	Poole	Anglican	1730	1901
Bryanstone	Anglican	1599	1888	Poole & Southampton	Quaker	1674	1929
Buckhorn Weston	Anglican	1791	1869	Portesham	Anglican	1587	1837
Buckland Newton	Anglican	1569	1974	Portland	Anglican	1564	1897
Buckland Ripers	Anglican	1655	1976	Portland	Methodist	1818	1861
Burstock	Anglican	1697	1837	Powerstock	Anglican	1569	1977
Burton Bradstock	Anglican	1639	1982	Poxwell	Anglican	1771	1965
Canford Magna	Anglican	1750	1873	Preston	Anglican	1765	1870
Cann	Anglican	1587	1875	Puddletown	Anglican	1538	1864
Castleton	Anglican	1750	1864	Pulham	Anglican	1734	1904
Cattistock	Anglican	1700	1838	Puncknowle	Anglican	1631	1970
Caundle Marsh	Anglican	1706	1992	Purse Caundle	Anglican	1814	1837
Cerne Abbas	Anglican	1653	1841	Radipole	Anglican	1694	1990
Chalbury	Anglican	1629	1836	Rampisham	Anglican	1579	1932
Chaldon Herring	Anglican	1739	1837	Ryme Intrinseca	Anglican	1654	1837
Chardstock	Anglican	1601	1934	Shaftesbury	Anglican	1628	1913
Charlton Marshall	Anglican	1627	1888	Shaftesbury	Anglican	1629	2001
Charminster	Anglican	1617	1873	Shaftesbury	Anglican	1690	1860
Charmouth	Nonconf't	1817	1837	Shapwick	Anglican	1752	1870
Charmouth	Anglican	1725	1858	Sherborne	Anglican	1800	1863
Chedington	Anglican	1737	1951	Shillingstone	Anglican	1736	1837
Chettle	Anglican	1638	1991	Shipton Gorge	Anglican	1839	1950
Chickerell	Anglican	1654	1989	Silton	Anglican	1653	1900
Chideock	Anglican	1810	1839	Sixpenny Handley	Anglican	1732	1865
Chideock	Anglican	1686	1974	South Perrott	Anglican	1758	1891
Chilcombe	Anglican	1693	1836	Spetisbury	Anglican	1705	1876
Child Okeford	Anglican	1654	1861	Stalbridge	Anglican	1693	1838
Chilfrome	Anglican	1678	1995	Steeple	Anglican	1815	1837
Church Knowle	Anglican	1558	1905	Steepleton Iwerne	Anglican	1776	1980
Compton Abbas	Anglican	1724	1837	Stinsford	Anglican	1586	1998
Compton Valence	Anglican	1572	1837	Stock Gaylard	Anglican	1568	1812
Coombe Keynes	Anglican	1587	1837	Stockwood	Anglican	1586	1851
Corfe Castle	Quaker	1669	1725	Stoke Abbott	Anglican	1626	1893
Corfe Castle	Anglican	1807	1983	Stoke Wake	Anglican	1814	1837

Corfe Mullen	Anglican	1652	1840	Stour Provost	Anglican	1701	1950
Corscombe	Anglican	1612	1837	Stourpaine	Anglican	1631	1842
Cranborne	Anglican	1604	1890	Stourton Caundle	Anglican	1813	1853
Dewlish	Anglican	1616	1837	Stratton	Anglican	1566	1891
Dorchester	Anglican	1613	1866	Studland	Anglican	1813	1837
Dorchester	Anglican	1654	1839	Sturminster Marshall	Anglican	1580	1854
Dorchester	Anglican	1546	1863	Sturminster Newton	Anglican	1686	1837
Dorset & Hampshire	Quaker	1776	1837	Sutton Waldron	Anglican	1678	1994
Durweston	Anglican	1746	1854	Swanage	Anglican	1756	1837
East Chelborough	Anglican	1690	1880	Swyre	Anglican	1813	1998
East Lulworth	Anglican	1561	1837	Sydling St Nicholas	Anglican	1708	1837
East Stoke	Anglican	1732	1837	Symondsbury	Anglican	1568	1843
East Stour	Anglican	1758	1837	Tarrant Crawford	Anglican	1597	1857
Edmondsham	Anglican	1750	1838	Tarrant Gunville	Anglican	1740	1898
Evershot	Anglican	1704	1837	Tarrant Hinton	Anglican	1597	1842
Farnham	Anglican	1762	1837	Tarrant Keynston	Anglican	1737	1888
Fifehead Magdalen	Anglican	1565	1837	Tarrant Monkton	Anglican	1715	1953
Fifehead Neville	Anglican	1689	1934	Tarrant Rawston	Anglican	1734	1872
Fleet	Anglican	1603	1995	Tarrant Rushton	Anglican	1697	1900
Folke	Anglican	1539	1918	Thorncombe	Anglican	1602	1841
Fontmell Magna	Anglican	1654	1834	Thornford	Anglican	1677	1837
Fordington	Anglican	1686	1882	Tincleton	Anglican	1684	1913
Frampton	Anglican	1552	1852	Toller Fratrum	Anglican	1558	1994
Frome St Quintin	Anglican	1684	1857	Toller Porcorum	Anglican	1604	1989
Frome Vauchurch	Anglican	1813	1998	Tolpuddle	Anglican	1709	1952
Gillingham	Cemetery	1862	1919	Turners Puddle	Anglican	1640	1919
Gillingham	Cemetery	1894	1979	Turnworth	Anglican	1599	1745
Gillingham	Anglican	1567	1942	Tyneham	Anglican	1734	1837
Godmanstone	Anglican	1654	1837	Upcerne	Anglican	1796	1837
Gussage All Saints	Anglican	1765	1837	Upwey	Anglican	1623	1990
Gussage St Michael	Anglican	1654	1851	Verwood	Anglican	1840	1940
Halstock	Anglican	1698	1910	Walditch	Anglican	1739	1988
Hammoon	Anglican	1656	1899	Wareham	Anglican	1731	1779
Hampreston	Anglican	1748	1913	Wareham	Anglican	1736	1837
Hamworthy	Anglican	1813	1837	Wareham	Anglican	1749	1859
Hanford	Anglican	1675	1864	Wareham	Quaker	1824	1848
Hawkchurch	Anglican	1676	1848	Warmwell	Anglican	1691	1993
Haydon	Anglican	1711	1837	West Chelborough	Anglican	1672	1850
Hazelbury Bryan	Anglican	1735	1837	West Compton	Anglican	1772	1972
Hermitage	Anglican	1712	1837	West Knighton	Anglican	1635	1924
Hilton	Anglican	1736	1890	West Lulworth	Anglican	1731	1837
Hinton Martell	Anglican	1813	1992	West Parley	Anglican	1722	1911
Hinton Parva	Anglican	1820	1836	West Stafford	Anglican	1558	1899
Hinton St Mary	Anglican	1814	1837	West Stour	Anglican	1774	1837
Holme East	Anglican	1868	1990	Weymouth	Cemetery	1899	1966
Holnest	Anglican	1590	1995	Weymouth	Anglican	1844	1854
Holwell	Anglican	1607	1837	Weymouth	Cemetery	1885	1991

Place	Denom.	Start	End	Place	Denom.	Start	End
Hooke	Anglican	1732	1837	Weymouth	Anglican	1607	1792
Horton	Anglican	1583	1870	Whitchurch Canonicorum	Anglican	1558	1877
Ibberton	Anglican	1731	1860	Whitcombe	Anglican	1680	1839
Iwerne Courtney	Anglican	1562	1900	Wimborne Minster	Anglican	1638	1911
Iwerne Minster	Anglican	1765	1884	Wimborne St Giles	Anglican	1813	1868
Kimmeridge	Anglican	1722	1990	Winfrith Newburgh	Anglican	1712	1837
Kington Magna	Anglican	1637	1900	Winterbourne Abbas	Anglican	1658	1929
Kinson	Anglican	1765	1878	Winterbourne Came	Anglican	1591	1837
Knighton West	Anglican	1635	1993	Winterbourne Houghton	Anglican	1687	1837
Langton Herring	Anglican	1627	1993	Winterbourne Kingston	Anglican	1588	1837
Langton Long Blandford	Anglican	1592	1728	Winterbourne Monkton	Anglican	1686	1837
Langton Matravers	Anglican	1670	1822	Winterbourne St Martin	Anglican	1633	1994
Lillington	Anglican	1813	1865	Winterbourne Steepleton	Anglican	1568	1838
Littlebredy	Anglican	1718	1855	Winterbourne Stickland	Anglican	1641	1954
Litton Cheney	Anglican	1614	1848	Winterbourne Whitchurch	Anglican	1750	1876
Loders	Anglican	1643	1944	Winterbourne Zelstone	Anglican	1608	1857
Long Bredy	Anglican	1628	1998	Witchampton	Anglican	1777	1992
Long Crichell	Anglican	1731	1891	Woodsford	Anglican	1769	1837
Longburton	Anglican	1813	1865	Wool	Anglican	1733	1837
Longfleet	Anglican	1815	1981	Woolland	Anglican	1616	1860
Lydlinch	Anglican	1560	1837	Wootton Fitzpaine	Anglican	1641	1934
Lyme Regis	Anglican	1612	1847	Wootton Glanville	Anglican	1578	1917
Lytchett Matravers	Anglican	1691	1875	Wraxall	Anglican	1605	1992
Lytchett Minster	Anglican	1556	1932	Wyke Regis	Anglican	1596	1999
Maiden Newton	Anglican	1553	1905	Wyke Regis	Cemetery	1887	1992
Manston	Anglican	1755	1892	Wynford Eagle	Anglican	1563	1990
				Yetminster	Anglican	1640	1847

Somerset Burials

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Place	Denom.	Start	End	Place	Denom.	Start	End
Abbas Combe	Anglican	1597	1847	Kingston Seymour	Anglican	1622	1869
Abbots Leigh	Anglican	1703	1938	Kingston St Mary	Anglican	1763	1857
Aisholt	Anglican	1599	1995	Kingweston	Anglican	1786	1993
Alcombe	Quaker	1741	1813	Kittisford	Anglican	1621	1978
Alford	Anglican	1594	1859	Knowle St Giles	Anglican	1695	1898

Aller	Anglican	1562	1993	Lamyat	Anglican	1813	1840
Angersleigh	Anglican	1595	1991	Langford Budville	Anglican	1686	1953
Ansford	Anglican	1598	1886	Langport	Anglican	1608	1934
Ash	Anglican	1845	1964	Langridge	Anglican	1609	1811
Ash Priors	Anglican	1700	1813	Laverton	Anglican	1609	1880
Ashbrittle	Anglican	1599	1920	Leigh on Mendip	Anglican	1607	1872
Ashcott	Anglican	1599	1992	Leighland	Anglican	1783	1863
Ashill	Anglican	1598	1899	Lilstock	Anglican	1607	1928
Ashington	Anglican	1764	1810	Limington	Anglican	1688	1812
Ashwick	Anglican	1598	1931	Litton	Anglican	1813	1837
Axbridge	Anglican	1597	1899	Locking	Anglican	1736	1993
Babcary	Anglican	1598	1936	Long Ashton	Anglican	1623	1840
Babington	Anglican	1607	1812	Long Load	Anglican	1813	1888
Backwell	Anglican	1603	1954	Long Sutton	Anglican	1607	1855
Badgworth	Anglican	1671	1985	Lopen	Anglican	1609	1953
Baltonsborough	Anglican	1539	1882	Lovington	Anglican	1678	1837
Banwell	Anglican	1682	1937	Loxton	Anglican	1558	1892
Barrington	Anglican	1784	1893	Luccombe	Anglican	1666	1903
Barrow Gurney	Anglican	1591	1904	Lullington	Anglican	1639	1839
Barton St David	Anglican	1607	1992	Luxborough	Anglican	1587	1904
Barwick	Anglican	1637	1901	Lydeard St Lawrence	Anglican	1580	1979
Batcombe	Anglican	1597	1997	Lympsham	Anglican	1770	1869
Bath	Anglican	1668	1945	Lyncombe	Anglican	1702	1836
Bath	Jewish	1842	1920	Lyng	Anglican	1692	1992
Bath	Anglican	1739	1853	Maperton	Anglican	1614	1991
Bath	Anglican	1587	1941	Mark	Anglican	1709	1891
Bathampton	Anglican	1765	1886	Marksbury	Anglican	1741	1888
Bathealton	Anglican	1712	1976	Marston Bigot	Anglican	1607	1944
Batheaston	Anglican	1607	1886	Marston Magna	Anglican	1603	1946
Bathford	Anglican	1608	1985	Martock	Anglican	1624	1844
Bathwick	Anglican	1616	1811	Meare	Anglican	1559	1992
Bathwick	Anglican	1776	1993	Mells	Anglican	1562	1901
Bawdrip	Anglican	1599	1901	Merriott	Anglican	1655	1958
Beckington	Anglican	1564	1903	Middle Chinnock	Anglican	1813	1992
Bedminster	Anglican	1599	1849	Middle Lambrook	Indepen't	1745	1867
Beer Crocombe	Anglican	1607	1900	Middlezoy	Anglican	1756	1845
Berkley	Anglican	1665	1903	Midsomer Norton	Anglican	1616	1913
Berrow	Anglican	1709	1995	Milborne Port	Anglican	1813	1837
Bickenhall	Anglican	1615	1991	Milton Clevedon	Anglican	1596	1899
Bicknoller	Anglican	1617	1999	Milverton	Quaker	1780	1832
Biddisham	Anglican	1790	1985	Milverton	Anglican	1610	1939
Binegar	Anglican	1605	1903	Minehead	Anglican	1639	1844
Bishops Hull	Anglican	1735	1895	Misterton	Anglican	1614	1882
Bishops Lydeard	Anglican	1623	1949	Monksilver	Anglican	1797	1904
Bishops Lydeard	Cong.	1850	1969	Monkton Combe	Anglican	1599	1837
Blackford [nr Wedmore]	Anglican	1800	1901	Montacute	Anglican	1598	1950
Blackford [nr Wincanton]	Anglican	1708	1991	Moorlinch	Anglican	1599	1894

Blagdon	Anglican	1766	1886	Muchelney	Anglican	1623	1814
Bleadon	Anglican	1608	1886	Mudford	Anglican	1784	1903
Bower Hinton	Anglican	1834	1936	Nailsea	Anglican	1756	1840
Bradford on Tone	Anglican	1594	1947	Nempnett Thrubwell	Anglican	1745	1808
Bratton Seymour	Anglican	1609	1810	Nether Stowey	Anglican	1631	1949
Breane	Anglican	1734	1900	Nettlecombe	Anglican	1598	1887
Brent Knoll	Anglican	1678	1861	Newton St Loe	Anglican	1800	1959
Brewham	Anglican	1607	1902	North Barrow	Anglican	1598	1812
Bridgwater	Quaker	1796	1837	North Cadbury	Anglican	1639	1970
Bridgwater	Anglican	1846	1867	North Cheriton	Anglican	1813	1837
Bridgwater	Anglican	1597	1977	North Curry	Anglican	1598	1904
Brislington	Anglican	1637	1839	North Newton	Anglican	1696	1807
Broadway	Anglican	1598	1930	North Newton	Anglican	1761	1901
Brockley	Anglican	1602	1980	North Perrott	Anglican	1599	1888
Brompton Ralph	Anglican	1595	1914	North Petherton	Anglican	1561	1945
Brompton Regis	Anglican	1638	1870	North Somerset	Quaker	1667	1866
Broomfield	Anglican	1630	1872	North Stoke	Anglican	1606	1904
Brushford	Anglican	1678	1905	North Wootton	Anglican	1608	1903
Bruton	Anglican	1554	1928	Northover	Anglican	1723	1906
Brympton	Anglican	1602	1812	Norton Fitzwarren	Anglican	1726	1899
Buckland Dinham	Anglican	1603	1886	Norton Malreward	Anglican	1721	1812
Buckland St Mary	Anglican	1599	1882	Norton St Philip	Anglican	1609	1859
Burnett	Anglican	1617	1811	Nunney	Anglican	1624	1904
Burnham on Sea	Cemet'ry	1881	1996	Nynehead	Anglican	1605	1919
Burnham on Sea	Anglican	1630	1995	Oake	Anglican	1793	1991
Burrington	Anglican	1813	1878	Oare	Anglican	1599	1812
Burrowbridge	Anglican	1838	1933	Odcombe	Anglican	1678	1863
Butcombe	Anglican	1605	1906	Old Cleeve	Anglican	1771	1856
Butleigh	Anglican	1598	1886	Orchard Portman	Anglican	1603	1840
Cameley	Anglican	1562	1880	Othery	Anglican	1561	1893
Camerton	Anglican	1608	1941	Otterford	Anglican	1760	1903
Cannington	Anglican	1603	1937	Otterhampton	Anglican	1668	1991
Carhampton	Anglican	1782	1843	Over Stowey	Anglican	1567	1878
Castle Cary	Anglican	1566	1903	Paulton	Anglican	1751	1858
Catcott	Anglican	1597	1893	Pawlett	Anglican	1597	1877
Chaffcombe	Anglican	1599	1992	Pendomer	Anglican	1609	1992
Chapel Allerton	Anglican	1608	1894	Penselwood	Anglican	1599	1900
Chard	Anglican	1613	1981	Pensford	Anglican	1778	1971
Chard	Cemet'ry	1868	1966	Pilton	Anglican	1621	1897
Charlcombe	Anglican	1639	1812	Pitcombe	Anglican	1666	1863
Charlton Adam	Anglican	1607	1901	Pitminster	Anglican	1573	1886
Charlton Horethorne	Anglican	1734	1988	Pitney	Anglican	1623	1903
Charlton Mackrell	Anglican	1599	1812	Podymore	Anglican	1718	1900
Charlton Musgrove	Anglican	1615	1861	Porlock	Anglican	1730	1860
Charlynch	Anglican	1593	1893	Portbury	Anglican	1637	1895
Cheddar	Anglican	1606	1841	Portishead	Anglican	1791	1868
Cheddon Fitzpaine	Anglican	1607	1903	Poyntington	Anglican	1813	1837
Chedzoy	Anglican	1597	1897	Preston Plucknett	Anglican	1764	1957

Chelvey	Anglican	1599	1977	Priddy	Anglican	1761	1981
Chelwood	Anglican	1813	1973	Priston	Anglican	1764	1812
Chew Magna	Anglican	1605	1845	Publow	Anglican	1755	1880
Chew Stoke	Anglican	1673	1931	Puriton	Anglican	1641	1934
Chewton Mendip	Anglican	1623	1900	Puxton	Anglican	1732	1978
Chilcompton	Anglican	1607	1981	Queen Camel	Anglican	1607	1841
Chillington	Anglican	1636	1984	Queen Charlton	Anglican	1562	1915
Chilthorne Domer	Anglican	1615	1980	Radstock	Anglican	1789	1947
Chilton Cantelo	Anglican	1608	1812	Rodden	Anglican	1752	1837
Chilton Polden	Anglican	1608	1921	Rode	Anglican	1588	1901
Chilton Trinity	Anglican	1845	1993	Rodney Stoke	Anglican	1602	1906
Chipstable	Anglican	1607	1928	Rowberrow	Anglican	1732	1980
Chiselborough	Anglican	1813	1892	Ruishton	Anglican	1679	1992
Christon	Anglican	1717	1906	Runnington	Anglican	1726	1812
Churchill	Anglican	1609	1866	Saltford	Anglican	1813	1859
Clapton in Gordano	Anglican	1558	1812	Sampford Arundel	Anglican	1623	1886
Clatworthy	Anglican	1764	1812	Sampford Brett	Anglican	1610	1980
Claverton	Anglican	1581	1944	Sandford	Methodist	1803	1846
Cleeve	Anglican	1840	1905	Sandford Orcas	Anglican	1608	1851
Clevedon	Anglican	1860	1930	Seaborough	Anglican	1597	1851
Clevedon	Anglican	1607	1941	Seavington St Mary	Anglican	1621	1901
Cloford	Anglican	1563	1812	Seavington St Michael	Anglican	1578	1905
Closworth	Anglican	1599	1978	Selworthy	Anglican	1813	1884
Clutton	Anglican	1609	1928	Shapwick	Anglican	1605	1901
Coleford	Anglican	1804	1967	Shepton Beauchamp	Anglican	1605	1865
Combe Florey	Anglican	1621	1834	Shepton Mallet	Anglican	1615	1899
Combe Hay	Anglican	1602	1812	Shepton Montague	Anglican	1617	1907
Combe St Nicholas	Anglican	1636	1900	Shipham	Anglican	1639	1924
Compton Bishop	Anglican	1606	1926	Skilgate	Anglican	1803	1812
Compton Dando	Anglican	1623	1900	Somerton	Anglican	1599	1915
Compton Dundon	Anglican	1696	1882	South Barrow	Anglican	1770	1812
Compton Martin	Anglican	1606	1878	South Cadbury	Anglican	1607	1837
Compton Pauncefoot	Anglican	1601	1993	South Petherton	Anglican	1576	1899
Congresbury	Anglican	1563	1955	South Stoke	Anglican	1813	1900
Corfe	Anglican	1607	1900	Sparkford	Anglican	1729	1994
Corston	Anglican	1724	1904	Spaxton	Anglican	1558	1952
Corton Denham	Anglican	1560	1937	St Decumans	Anglican	1610	1886
Cossington	Anglican	1606	1812	Stanton Drew	Anglican	1607	1838
Cothelstone	Anglican	1607	1837	Stanton Prior	Anglican	1572	1887
Coxley	Anglican	1845	1946	Staple Fitzpaine	Anglican	1623	1841
Creech St Michael	Anglican	1607	1957	Staplegrove	Anglican	1558	2001
Crewkerne	Anglican	1562	1939	Stawell	Anglican	1624	1812
Cricket Malherbie	Anglican	1607	1992	Stawley	Anglican	1744	1979
Cricket St	Anglican	1623	1988	Stockland Bristol	Anglican	1539	1996

Thomas

Place	Denom.	From	To	Place	Denom.	From	To
Croscombe	Anglican	1580	1900	Stocklinch Magdalen	Anglican	1712	1997
Crowcombe	Anglican	1594	1964	Stocklinch Ottersey	Anglican	1559	1997
Cucklington	Anglican	1579	1837	Stogumber	Anglican	1571	1844
Cudworth	Anglican	1699	1992	Stogursey	Anglican	1598	1981
Culbone	Anglican	1696	1783	Stoke Pero	Anglican	1623	1794
Curland	Anglican	1605	1921	Stoke St Gregory	Anglican	1561	1871
Curry Mallet	Anglican	1576	1995	Stoke St Mary	Anglican	1636	1989
Curry Rivel	Anglican	1607	1971	Stoke St Michael	Anglican	1622	1848
Cutcombe	Anglican	1783	1873	Stoke Lane	Anglican	1622	1848
Dinder	Anglican	1598	1992	Stoke Trister	Anglican	1749	1877
Dinnington	Anglican	1592	1812	Stoke sub Hamdon	Anglican	1558	1909
Ditcheat	Anglican	1605	1884	Ston Easton	Anglican	1594	1859
Dodington	Anglican	1539	1922	Stowell	Anglican	1574	1808
Donyatt	Anglican	1623	1867	Stowey	Anglican	1645	1992
Doulting	Anglican	1615	1870	Stratton on the Fosse	Anglican	1599	1856
Dowlish Wake	Anglican	1599	1908	Street	Anglican	1598	1930
Downhead	Anglican	1615	1844	Street	Anglican	1807	1928
Downside	Anglican	1839	1885	Stringson	Anglican	1557	1824
Draycott	Anglican	1861	1964	Sutton Bingham	Anglican	1605	1901
Drayton	Anglican	1558	1900	Sutton Mallet	Anglican	1623	1812
Dulverton	Anglican	1558	1908	Sutton Montis	Anglican	1702	1994
Dunkerton	Anglican	1609	1998	Swainswick	Anglican	1558	1843
Dunster	Anglican	1595	1864	Swell	Anglican	1630	1982
Durleigh	Anglican	1599	1980	Taunton	Quaker	1794	1837
Durston	Anglican	1608	1812	Taunton	Baptist	1733	1820
East Brent	Anglican	1719	1885	Taunton	Anglican	1787	1835
East Chinnock	Anglican	1663	1872	Taunton	Anglican	1610	1999
East Coker	Anglican	1765	1845	Taunton	Anglican	1591	1908
East Cranmore	Anglican	1615	1908	Tellisford	Anglican	1742	1993
East Harptree	Anglican	1605	1911	Thorn Falcon	Anglican	1726	1812
East Lydford	Anglican	1615	1837	Thorne Coffin	Anglican	1610	1973
East Pennard	Anglican	1600	1870	Thurlbear	Anglican	1613	1991
East Quantoxhead	Anglican	1608	1812	Thurloxton	Anglican	1559	1692
East Woodlands	Anglican	1813	1836	Tickenham	Anglican	1813	1903
Easton in Gordano	Anglican	1762	1962	Timberscombe	Anglican	1598	1953
Edington	Anglican	1678	1812	Timsbury	Anglican	1606	1846
Elworthy	Anglican	1758	1978	Tintinhull	Anglican	1561	1884
Emborough	Anglican	1598	1813	Tolland	Anglican	1637	1750
Englishcombe	Anglican	1609	1909	Treborough	Anglican	1693	1976
Enmore	Anglican	1607	1987	Trent	Anglican	1599	1936
Evercreech	Anglican	1629	1873	Trull	Anglican	1598	1848
Exford	Anglican	1642	1901	Twerton [nr Bath]	Anglican	1813	1842
Exton	Anglican	1785	1811	Ubley	Anglican	1609	1890
Farleigh Hungerford	Anglican	1674	1995	Uphill	Anglican	1598	1872
Farmborough	Anglican	1559	1901	Upton	Anglican	1623	1812
Farrington	Anglican	1754	1896	Upton Noble	Anglican	1677	1862

Gurney

Fiddington	Anglican	1597	1812	Walcot [nr Bath]	Anglican	1699	1864
Fitzhead	Anglican	1598	1812	Walton in Gordano	Anglican	1599	1662
Fivehead	Anglican	1749	1887	Walton [nr Street]	Anglican	1639	1871
Flax Bourton	Anglican	1701	1902	Wanstrow	Anglican	1605	1851
Foxcote	Anglican	1598	1640	Wayford	Anglican	1613	1883
Freshford	Anglican	1601	1906	Weare	Anglican	1598	1847
Frome	Baptist	1771	1843	Wedmore	Anglican	1611	1896
Frome	Baptist	1763	1846	Wellington	Quaker	1791	1837
Frome	Anglican	1819	1837	Wellington	Anglican	1616	1957
Frome	Anglican	1838	1903	Wellow	Anglican	1561	1897
Frome	Anglican	1559	1862	Wells	Anglican	1727	1840
Frome	Anglican	1701	1968	Wembdon	Anglican	1673	1858
Frome	Cemet'ry	1851	1910	West Bagborough	Anglican	1654	1860
Frome	Wesley'n	1790	1860	West Bradley	Anglican	1606	1812
Frome	Indepen't	1835	1844	West Buckland	Anglican	1538	1884
Glastonbury	Anglican	1607	1901	West Camel	Anglican	1597	1812
Glastonbury	Anglican	1597	1890	West Chinnock	Anglican	1686	1915
Goathurst	Anglican	1598	1901	West Coker	Anglican	1613	1845
Godney	Anglican	1839	1869	West Cranmore	Anglican	1569	1903
Greinton	Anglican	1728	1989	West Harptree	Anglican	1598	1887
Halse	Anglican	1600	1955	West Hatch	Anglican	1604	1901
Hambridge with Earnshill	Anglican	1844	1941	West Lydford	Anglican	1623	1812
Hardington Mandeville	Anglican	1688	1878	West Monkton	Anglican	1599	1853
Haslebury Plucknett	Anglican	1639	1857	West Pennard	Anglican	1607	1904
Hatch Beauchamp	Anglican	1609	1849	West Quantoxhead	Anglican	1590	1708
Hawkridge	Anglican	1598	1811	Westbury sub Mendip	Anglican	1623	1844
Heathfield	Anglican	1751	1992	Weston Bampfylde	Anglican	1623	1816
Hemington	Anglican	1774	1902	Weston in Gordano	Anglican	1593	1640
Henstridge	Anglican	1748	1851	Weston super Mare	Anglican	1676	1963
Hewish	Anglican	1866	1979	Weston [nr Bath]	Anglican	1538	1839
High Ham	Anglican	1597	1916	Westonzoyland	Anglican	1730	1919
High Littleton	Anglican	1601	1907	Whatley	Anglican	1631	1830
Highbridge	Cemet'ry	1881	1996	Wheathill	Anglican	1623	1906
Hillfarrance	Anglican	1602	1887	Whitchurch [Bristol]	Anglican	1752	1839
Hinton Blewitt	Anglican	1623	1902	Whitelackington	Anglican	1609	1624
Hinton Charterhouse	Anglican	1647	1884	Whitestaunton	Anglican	1692	1901
Hinton St George	Anglican	1597	1937	Wick St Lawrence	Anglican	1635	1813
Holcombe	Anglican	1605	1886	Widcombe	Anglican	1788	1830
Holford	Anglican	1565	1820	Williton	Anglican	1813	1857
Holton	Anglican	1602	1993	Wilton [nr Taunton]	Anglican	1558	1837
Hornblotton	Anglican	1767	1991	Wincanton	Cong'nal	1819	1969
Horsington	Anglican	1562	1863	Wincanton	Anglican	1629	1928
Huish Champflower	Anglican	1597	1903	Winford	Anglican	1609	1838
Huish Episcopi	Anglican	1615	1989	Winscombe	Anglican	1598	1812

Huntspill	Anglican	1623	1992	Winsford	Anglican	1621	1956
Hutton	Anglican	1622	1903	Winsham	Anglican	1559	1812
Ilchester	Anglican	1594	1958	Witham Friary	Anglican	1668	1907
Ilminster	Anglican	1607	1979	Withiel Florey	Anglican	1609	1900
Ilminster	Cemet'ry	1760	1982	Withycombe	Anglican	1669	1812
Ilminster	Anglican	1828	1892	Withypool	Anglican	1772	1812
Ilton	Anglican	1616	1903	Wiveliscombe	Anglican	1598	1949
Isle Abbots	Anglican	1593	1837	Wiveliscombe	Anglican	1706	1915
Isle Brewers	Anglican	1598	1993	Wookey	Anglican	1681	1843
Keinton Mandeville	Anglican	1812	1914	Woolavington	Anglican	1695	1897
Kenn	Anglican	1607	1812	Woolley	Anglican	1560	1811
Kewstoke	Anglican	1667	1894	Wootton Courtenay	Anglican	1558	1923
Keynsham	Baptist	1803	1896	Worle	Anglican	1598	1925
Keynsham	Anglican	1807	1833	Wraxall	Anglican	1562	1977
Kilmersdon	Anglican	1603	1877	Wrington	Anglican	1537	1855
Kilmington	Anglican	1582	1837	Writhlington	Anglican	1691	1971
Kilton	Anglican	1600	1816	Yarlington	Anglican	1599	1813
Kilve	Anglican	1618	1812	Yatton	Anglican	1623	1840
Kingsbury Episcopi	Anglican	1581	1869	Yeovil	Anglican	1623	1898
Kingsdon	Anglican	1769	1882	Yeovilton	Anglican	1599	1892

Wiltshire Burials

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Place	Denom.	Start	End	Place	Denom.	Start	End
Alderbury	Anglican	1606	1833	Little Bedwyn	Anglican	1591	1837
Alvediston	Anglican	1593	1837	Little Hinton	Anglican	1605	1837
Ashley	Anglican	1813	1851	Little Somerford	Anglican	1605	1837
Avebury	Anglican	1607	1837	Luckington	Anglican	1573	1837
Baverstock	Anglican	1561	1837	Marden	Anglican	1622	1862
Baydon	Anglican	1578	1837	Market Lavington	Anglican	1622	1837
Beechingstoke	Anglican	1567	1837	Marlborough	Anglican	1602	1812
Bemerton	Anglican	1629	1837	Marlborough	Anglican	1607	1838
Berwick Bassett	Anglican	1580	1837	Mere	Anglican	1561	1837
Bishopstone [nr Swindon]	Anglican	1573	1837	Mildenhall	Anglican	1552	1837
Brixton Deverill	Anglican	1622	1837	Milston	Anglican	1539	1838
Broad Hinton	Anglican	1604	1837	Milton Lilbourne	Anglican	1606	1837
Broughton Gifford	Anglican	1622	1894	Monkton Deverill	Anglican	1608	1837
Bulford	Anglican	1608	1837	Monkton Farleigh	Anglican	1598	1837
Buttermere	Anglican	1606	1836	Netheravon	Anglican	1579	1837
Castle Combe	Anglican	1573	1837	Nettleton	Anglican	1557	1837
Charlton [nr Pewsey]	Anglican	1611	1837	Newton Tony	Anglican	1568	1837
Chilmark	Anglican	1611	1837	North Bradley	Anglican	1616	1895

Parish	Denomination	Start	End	Parish	Denomination	Start	End
Chiseldon	Anglican	1606	1837	Norton Bavant	Anglican	1623	1837
Cholderton	Anglican	1608	1837	Oaksey	Anglican	1605	1837
Christian Malford	Anglican	1605	1837	Patney	Anglican	1592	1837
Clyffe Pypard	Anglican	1576	1837	Pitton & Farley	Anglican	1605	1837
Corsham	Anglican	1563	1837	Preshute	Anglican	1606	1837
Crudwell	Anglican	1605	1837	Rodbourne Cheney	Anglican	1605	1837
Devizes	Anglican	1569	1837	Salisbury	Anglican	1564	1837
Dilton	Anglican	1588	1837	Seagry	Anglican	1605	1837
Donhead	Anglican	1610	1837	Sedgehill	Anglican	1607	1837
Draycot Cerne	Anglican	1601	1837	Semington	Anglican	1588	1837
East Coulston	Anglican	1622	1837	South Newton	Anglican	1604	1837
East Kennett	Anglican	1606	1837	South Wraxall	Anglican	1622	1837
East Knoyle	Anglican	1538	1837	Southbroom [nr Devizes]	Anglican	1568	1837
Eisey	Anglican	1574	1837	Staverton	Anglican	1681	1862
Erlestoke	Anglican	1579	1837	Stert	Anglican	1581	1836
Figheldean	Anglican	1605	1837	Sutton Mandeville	Anglican	1623	1837
Fisherton Anger	Anglican	1608	1837	Tidcombe	Anglican	1620	1837
Fisherton Delamere	Anglican	1569	1837	Tilshead	Anglican	1603	1837
Fittleton	Anglican	1609	1837	Tisbury	Anglican	1563	1837
Fovant	Anglican	1541	1837	Urchfont	Anglican	1538	1837
Great Cheverell	Anglican	1622	1837	Wanborough	Anglican	1581	1854
Great Somerford	Anglican	1605	1837	West Harnham	Anglican	1567	1837
Grittleton	Anglican	1573	1837	West Knoyle	Anglican	1608	1837
Hannington	Anglican	1571	1837	Westbury	Anglican	1556	1837
Hill Deverill	Anglican	1587	1837	Westwood	Anglican	1609	1837
Hilperton	Anglican	1622	1837	Whaddon	Anglican	1582	1837
Hindon	Anglican	1599	1837	Whiteparish	Anglican	1560	1837
Holt	Anglican	1568	1837	Wilcot	Anglican	1565	1837
Horningsham	Anglican	1561	1837	Wingfield	Anglican	1622	1837
Huish	Anglican	1605	1837	Winterbourne Bassett	Anglican	1607	1837
Idmiston	Anglican	1577	1837	Winterbourne Dauntsey	Anglican	1562	1837
Imber	Anglican	1624	1837	Winterbourne Earls	Anglican	1558	1837
Kemble	Anglican	1813	1858	Winterbourne Gunner	Anglican	1560	1837
Kingston Deverill	Anglican	1611	1837	Winterbourne Monkton	Anglican	1605	1837
Kington St Michael	Anglican	1563	1837	Winterbourne Stoke	Anglican	1608	1837
Landford	Anglican	1586	1837	Woodborough	Anglican	1573	1837
Langley Burrell	Anglican	1605	1837	Woodford	Anglican	1538	1837
Latton	Anglican	1578	1837	Wootton Bassett	Anglican	1585	1837
Liddington	Anglican	1605	1895	Wroughton	Anglican	1606	1837
Limpley Stoke	Anglican	1611	1837	Yatesbury	Anglican	1607	1837
				Yatton Keynell	Anglican	1619	1837

Appendix B: Supplementary Plots and Tables

This appendix provides additional plots and tables to support results presented in Chapters 4 and 5. In each case, the reader is referred back to the earlier plot or table for an explanation of the categories and results.

Marriage Rate

Table B-1: Proportion of Stourton and Kilmington inhabitants never married aged 45-54 years in census years 1851-1911 (see Table 4-2)

	Males			Females		
	Bachelors		Total	Spinsters		Total
	n.	%	n.	n.	%	n.
1851	6	8.7	69	11	16.4	67
1861	6	12.2	49	5	8.5	59
1871	2	4.5	44	4	7.3	55
1881	3	5.8	52	7	12.5	56
1891	3	9.7	31	9	23.1	39
1901	3	8.3	36	6	18.2	33
1911	4	15.4	26	10	22.7	44

Identification of Birthplace

Table B-2: Proportion of Stouron and Kilmington brides and grooms for whom birthplaces could be identified 1754-1914 (see Table 5-1)

Decade of Marriage	Grooms		Brides		Total
	n.	%	n.	%	n.
1754	35	81.4	30	69.8	43
1760	63	74.1	65	76.5	85
1770	62	78.5	66	83.5	79
1780	62	86.1	60	83.3	72
1790	75	87.2	73	84.9	86
1800	78	90.7	77	89.5	86
1810	94	90.4	94	90.4	104
1820	99	96.1	94	91.3	103
1830	91	95.8	93	97.9	95
1840	89	98.9	89	98.9	90
1850	86	98.9	85	97.7	87
1860	63	100.0	63	100.0	63
1870	52	98.1	53	100.0	53
1880	73	98.6	73	98.6	74
1890	47	97.9	48	100.0	48
1900	49	98.0	49	98.0	50
1910	25	96.2	25	96.2	26
Total	1143		1137		1244

Parish Endogamy

Figures B-1 and B-2 plot the results of village endogamy for the villages separately, by sex.
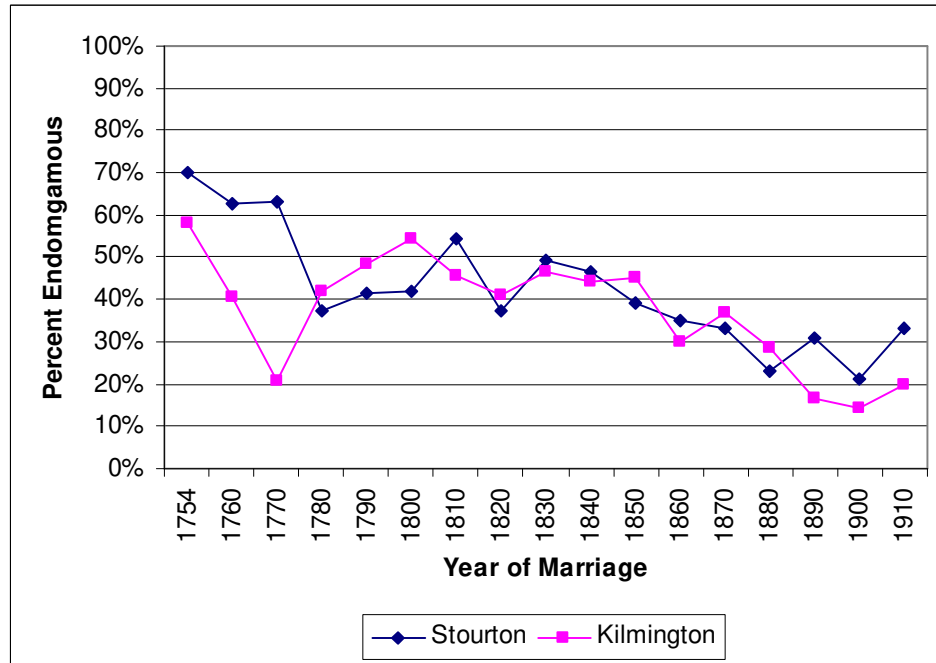
Figure B-1: Grooms born in the parish in which they married, 1754-1914 (see Figures 5-2, 5-3, 5-4)
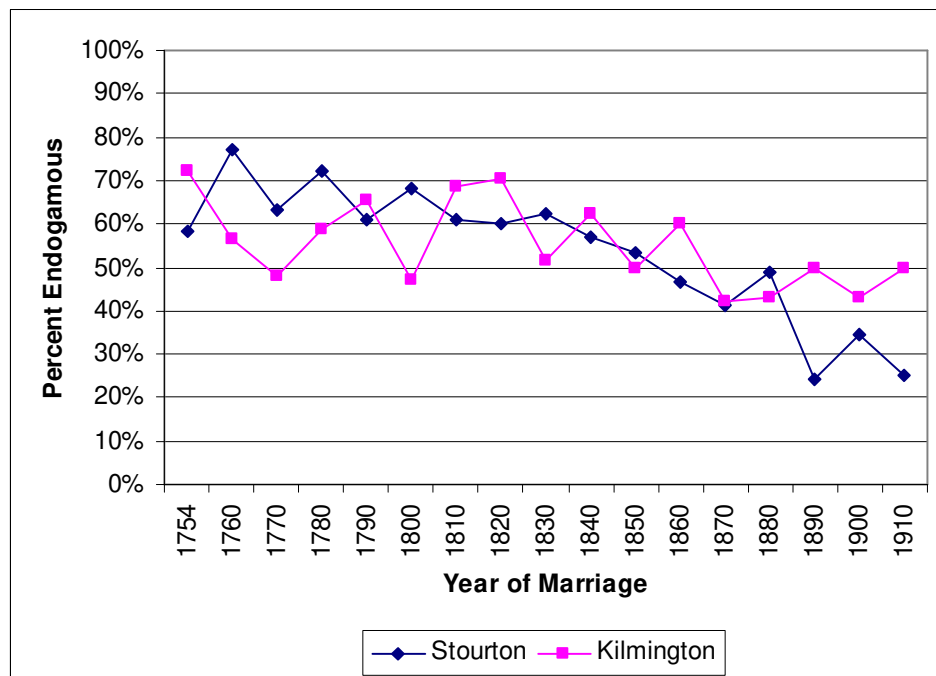
Figure B-2: Brides born in the parish in which they married, 1754-1914 (see Figures 5-2, 5-3, 5-4)

Birthplace of Exogamous Spouses

Table B-3: Details of birthplaces of non-locally born Stourton and Kilmington brides and grooms, 1754-1914 (see Tables 5-4 and 5-5)

Stourton Grooms	n.	Stourton Brides	n.	Kilmington Grooms	n.	Kilmington Brides	n.
Kilmington	59	Mere	52	Maiden Bradley	49	Stourton	36
Mere	45	Kilmington	35	Stourton	43	Maiden Bradley	25
Penselwood	23	Gillingham	16	Mere	37	Mere	21
Zeals	23	Penselwood	16	Witham Friary	11	Brewham	14
Brewham	20	Zeals	11	Brewham	8	Witham Friary	11
Bourton	15	Bourton	10	Gillingham	8	Bruton	7
Gillingham	15	Maiden Bradley	9	Kingston Deverill	8	Somerset	6
Witham Friary	12	Frome	8	Horningsham	7	Gillingham	5
London	10	London	7	Wincanton	7	Frome	4
Shepton Montague	9	Wincanton	5	Bruton	6	Wincanton	4
Silton	7	Brewham	5	Somerset	6	Bourton	3
East Knoyle	5	Silton	4	Warminster	6	Penselwood	3
Maiden Bradley	5	Bruton	4	Zeals	5	Horningsham	3
Charlton Musgrove	4	Horsington	4	Bourton	3	Zeals	3
Frome	4	East Knoyle	4	East Knoyle	3	London	2
Wincanton	4	Kingston Deverill	4	Silton	3	Charlton Musgrove	2
Marnhull	3	Salisbury	4	Cucklington	2	Cucklington	2
Batcombe	3	Marston Bigot	3	Frome	2	Marston Bigot	2
Templecombe	3	Shepton Montague	3	Iwerne Minster	2	Mells	2
Horningsham	3	Somerset	3	Longbridge Deverill	2	Street	2
Sedgehill	3	Witham Friary	3	Lovington	2	Wanstrow	2
Tisbury	3	East Stour	2	Monkton Deverill	2	Chippenham	2
West Knoyle	3	Motcombe	2	Pitcombe	2	Kingston Deverill	2
Broadwinsor	2	Fordingbridge	2	Semley	2	Wiltshire	2
Child Okeford	2	Charlton Musgrove	2	Shepton Montague	2	East Stour	1
Manston	2	Kilmersdon	2	Sherborne	2	Fontmell Magna	1
Motcombe	2	North Cadbury	2	Sutton Veny	2	Gussage St Michael	1
Beckington	2	Stoke Trister	2	Upton Noble	2	Kington Magna	1
Bruton	2	Brixton Deverill	2	Ansford	1	Manston	1
Glastonbury	2	Market Lavington	2	Batcombe	1	Motcombe	1
Keinton Mandeville	2	West Knoyle	2	Berwick St James	1	Shaftesbury	1

Nunney	2	Cork	1	Biddestone	1	Gloucester	1
Stoke Lane	2	Indre-et-Loire	1	Bratton Seymour	1	Pinfarthings Stroud	1
Kingston Deverill	2	Cann	1	Brixton Deverill	1	Fordingbridge	1
Market Lavington	2	Dorchester	1	Burstock	1	Southampton	1
Netheravon	2	East Orchard	1	Calne	1	Akeley	1
France	1	Lulworth	1	Charlton Musgrove	1	Awliscombe	1
New York	1	Marnhull	1	Chideock	1	Cardiff	1
North America	1	Nether Compton	1	Clifton	1	Coleshill	1
Hanover	1	Stalbridge	1	Corsley	1	Highweek	1
Exeter	1	Sturminster Newton	1	Corton Denham	1	Leighton Buzzard	1
Lapford	1	Swyre	1	Didcot	1	Ludford	1
Plymouth	1	West Stour	1	Downton	1	Manchester	1
Beaminster	1	Bristol	1	Dunkerton	1	St Ives	1
Cerne Abbas	1	Awbridge	1	East Harptree	1	Wereham	1
Kington Magna	1	Basingstoke	1	England	1	Woolwich	1
Loders	1	Gosport	1	Evercreech	1	Ashwick	1
Marshwood	1	Longparish	1	Fonthill Bishop	1	Babcary	1
Poole	1	Portsmouth	1	Fordingbridge	1	Batcombe	1
Shaftesbury	1	Barnes	1	Gainsborough	1	Blackford	1
Stour Provost	1	Bedwellty	1	Gloucester	1	Chilthorne Domer	1
Stourton Caundle	1	Brighton	1	Great Bedwyn	1	Ditcheat	1
Sturminster Newton	1	Burford	1	Halse	1	Kilmersdon	1
West Stour	1	Deal	1	Hilperton	1	Leigh on Mendip	1
Weymouth	1	Duns Tew	1	Hinton St Mary	1	Limington	1
Bisley	1	England	1	Horsington	1	Milton Clevedon	1
Bristol	1	Fettercairn	1	Houghton	1	Nunney	1
Frampton Cotterell	1	Folkestone	1	Lamyatt	1	Pilton	1
Minchinhampton	1	Halifax	1	London	1	Radstock	1
Fordingbridge	1	Hampstead Norris	1	Manston	1	Spaxton	1
Portsmouth	1	Hanborough	1	Marnhull	1	Stoke Trister	1
Arthingworth	1	Hythe	1	Marston Bigot	1	Taunton	1
Barnes	1	Nash	1	Meare	1	West Cranmore	1
Barnstaple	1	Northchurch	1	Milton	1	Yarlington	1
Brassington	1	Plymouth	1	Morden	1	Corsley	1
Broxbourne	1	Walmer	1	Motcombe	1	Downton	1
Folke	1	Woolwich	1	Netherbury	1	Longbridge	1

						Deverill	
Godalming	1	Babcary	1	North Cerney	1	Semley	1
Kintbury	1	Bath	1	Nunney	1	Sherrington	1
Liverpool	1	Charlton Horethorne	1	Odcombe	1	West Knoyle	1
Llantrisant	1	Cloford	1	Penselwood	1	Wylye	1
Lower Bullingham	1	Corton Denham	1	Pylle	1		
Merthyr Tydfil	1	Croscombe	1	Rode	1		
Newport Pagnell	1	East Cranmore	1	Rowde	1		
North Meols	1	Evercreech	1	Sedgehill	1		
Reydon	1	Hinton St George	1	Shaftesbury	1		
St John	1	Langford Budville	1	Shepton Mallet	1		
Weston Longueville	1	Nunney	1	Shrewton	1		
Babcary	1	Puriton	1	Stoke Lane	1		
Bath	1	Rodden	1	Stoke Trister	1		
Castle Cary	1	Shepton Mallet	1	West Cranmore	1		
Crewkerne	1	Sparkford	1	West Knoyle	1		
Cucklington	1	Stoke	1	West Stour	1		
Evercreech	1	Wanstrow	1	Whatley	1		
Goathurst	1	West Pennard	1	Whitchurch	1		
Hornblotton	1	Barford St Martin	1	Whittlebury	1		
Keynsham	1	Bishopstone	1	Wylye	1		
Kilmersdon	1	Collingbourne Kingston	1				
Maperton	1	Downhead	1				
Marston Bigot	1	Horningsham	1				
Mells	1	Lacock	1				
North Curry	1	Longbridge Deverill	1				
North Perrott	1	Sedgehill	1				
Podimore	1	Semley	1				
Radstock	1	Sutton Veny	1				
Rode	1	Tisbury	1				
Selworthy	1	Warminster	1				
Shepton Mallet	1	Wiltshire	1				
Somerset	1						
Spaxton	1						
Stoke sub Hamdon	1						
Stoke Trister	1						
Timsbury	1						

Wedmore	1
Wells	1
West Bradley	1
Winsham	1
Yeovil	1
Bishopstone	1
Brixton Deverill	1
Donhead St Mary	1
Longbridge Deverill	1
Marlborough	1
Stockton	1
Upton Lovell	1
Wiltshire	1
Winterbourne Earls	1
Winterslow	1

Parents' Birthplaces

Table B-4: Numbers of parents of grooms married in Stourton or Kilmington 1754-1914 born at specified distances from their son's marriage place (see Figures 5-16 and 5-17)

	Groom's Father						Groom's Mother					
	same	1-3	4-10	11+	abroad	unk	same	1-3	4-10	11+	abroad	unk
1754	8	4	2	0	0	29	3	4	1	0	0	35
1760	15	11	7	3	0	49	6	9	7	3	0	60
1770	22	11	9	2	0	35	8	6	9	3	0	53
1780	13	15	9	1	0	35	7	14	4	2	0	46
1790	20	15	7	3	0	40	15	24	14	1	0	31
1800	20	20	14	3	0	29	18	16	15	3	0	34
1810	23	23	17	5	0	36	34	21	12	2	0	35
1820	23	24	21	2	0	28	28	25	9	2	0	34
1830	36	32	13	3	0	16	29	25	15	3	0	28
1840	25	26	15	6	0	18	24	12	28	10	0	16
1850	36	19	12	7	0	13	20	22	17	9	0	19
1860	17	12	15	11	0	8	12	7	14	22	0	8
1870	17	17	12	5	0	2	8	9	20	13	0	3
1880	13	15	22	17	2	5	5	22	21	20	1	5
1890	6	13	9	13	2	5	6	12	12	15	2	1
1900	5	9	14	16	1	5	5	9	10	22	1	3
1910	1	7	8	7	0	3	4	6	3	10	0	3

Table B-5: Numbers of parents of brides married in Stourton or Kilmington 1754-1914 born at specified distances from their daughter's marriage place (see Figures 5-18 amd 5-19)

	Bride's Father						Bride's Mother					
	same	1-3	4-10	11+	abroad	unk	same	1-3	4-10	11+	abroad	unk
1754	11	4	4	0	0	24	4	6	3	0	0	30
1760	25	10	4	1	0	45	12	8	4	0	0	61
1770	23	12	11	4	0	29	12	7	9	2	0	49
1780	26	11	3	4	0	29	18	9	2	3	0	41
1790	33	17	4	2	0	29	21	15	11	7	0	31
1800	27	21	10	0	0	28	27	16	9	1	0	33
1810	55	43	20	5	0	67	34	23	12	1	0	34
1820	34	21	19	2	0	22	30	25	7	1	0	35
1830	36	23	17	3	0	21	30	22	17	6	0	25
1840	35	14	25	2	0	14	26	14	22	8	0	20
1850	38	19	16	8	0	6	21	20	25	10	0	11
1860	27	16	11	4	0	5	16	17	15	11	0	4
1870	16	19	9	6	0	3	10	11	17	11	0	4
1880	25	14	13	14	1	7	15	24	19	12	0	4
1890	11	11	14	8	1	3	9	9	12	13	3	2
1900	10	6	13	19	0	2	9	8	13	17	1	2
1910	4	6	5	9	0	2	5	6	4	11	0	0

Grandparents' Birthplaces

In Section 5.5.2 the results of relative birthplace-band were grouped by sex. The following

figures plot the results separately for each of the eight types of grandparent.

Figure B-3: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Groom's Father's Father
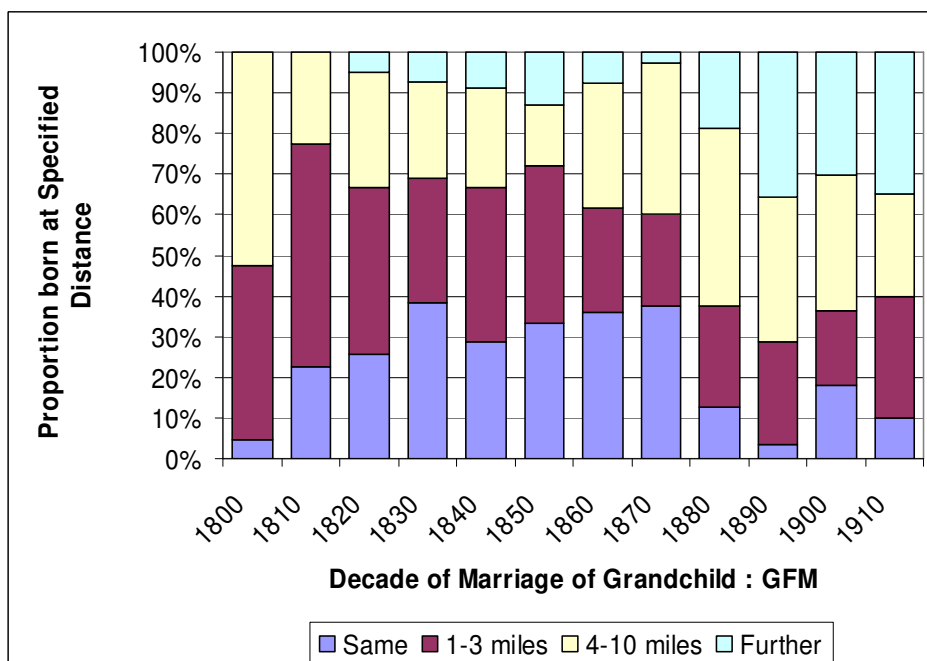
Figure B-4: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Groom's Father's Mother
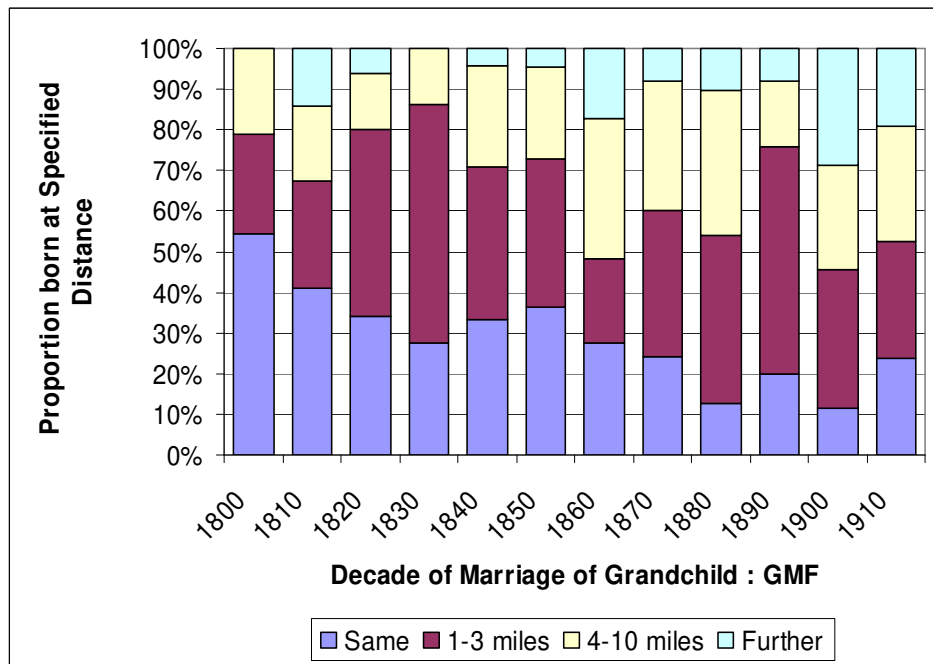
Figure B-5: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Groom's Mother's Father
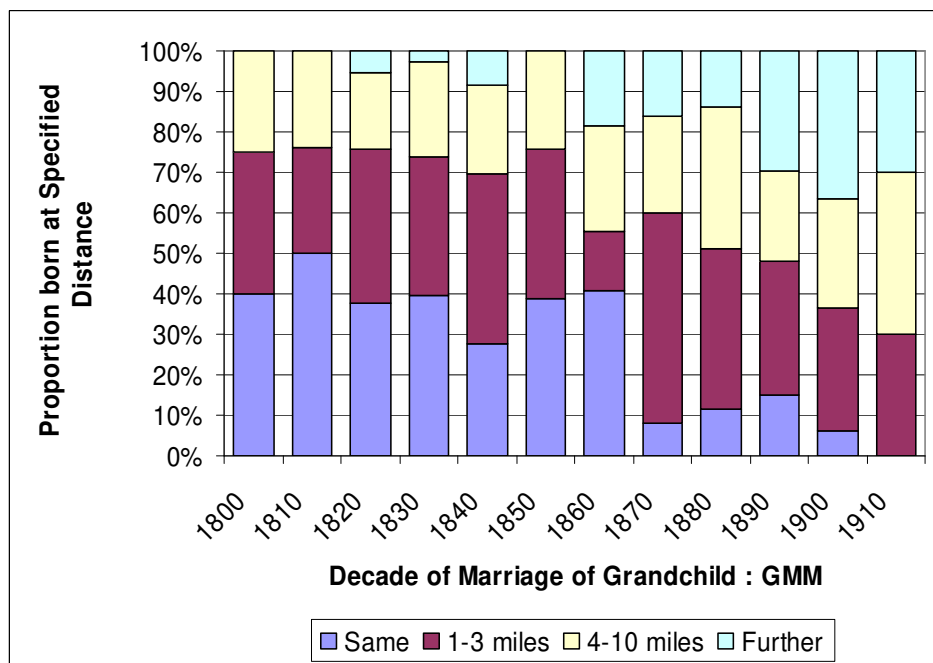
Figure B-6: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Groom's Mother's Mother
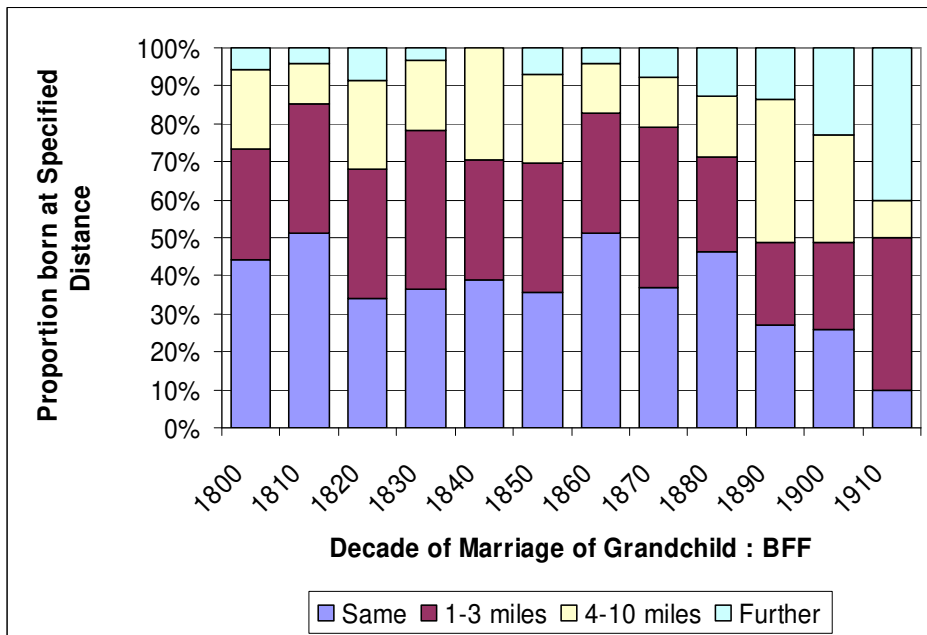
Figure B-7: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Bride's Father's Father
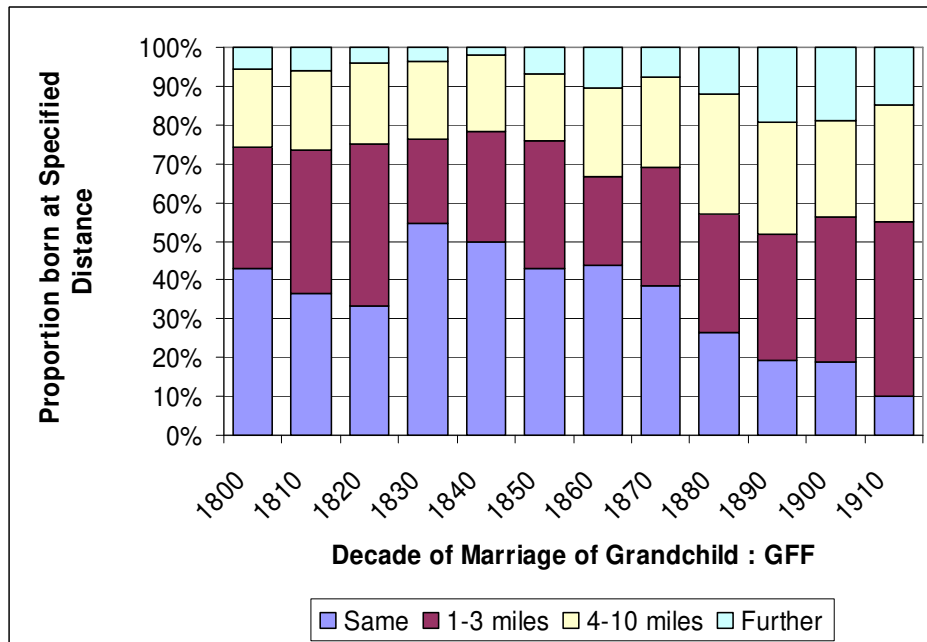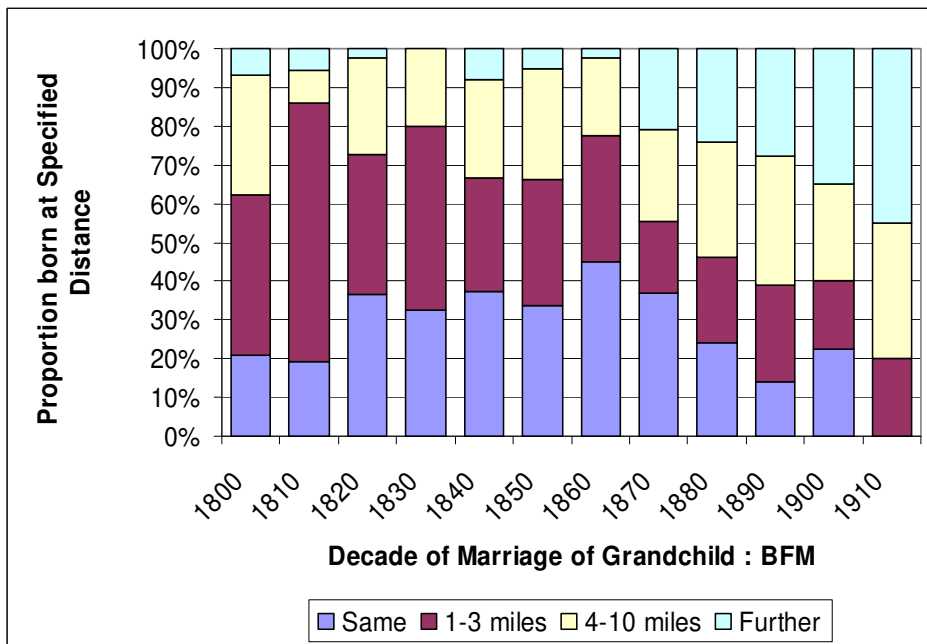

Figure B-8: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Bride's Father's Mother
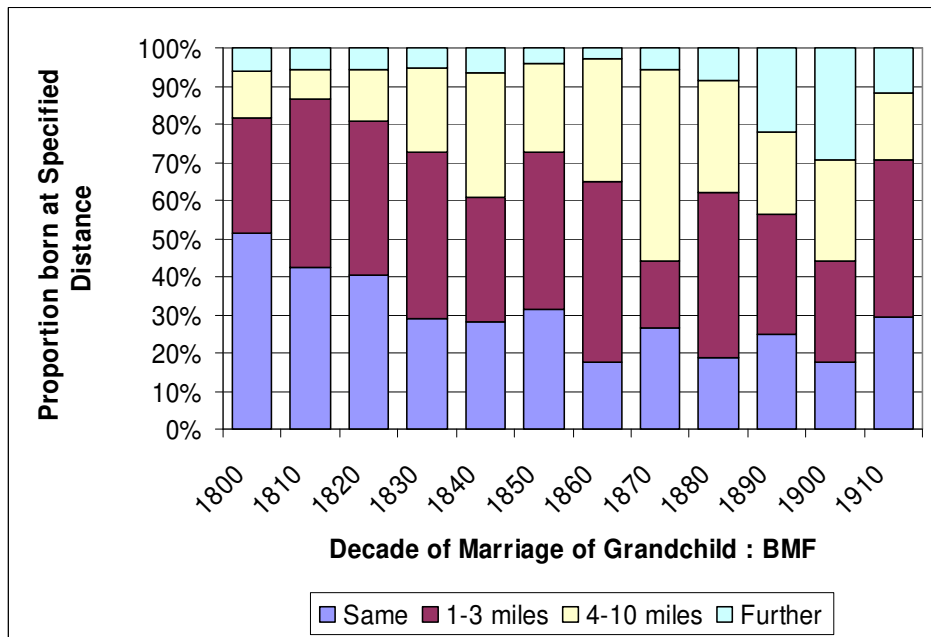
Figure B-9: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Bride's Mother's Father
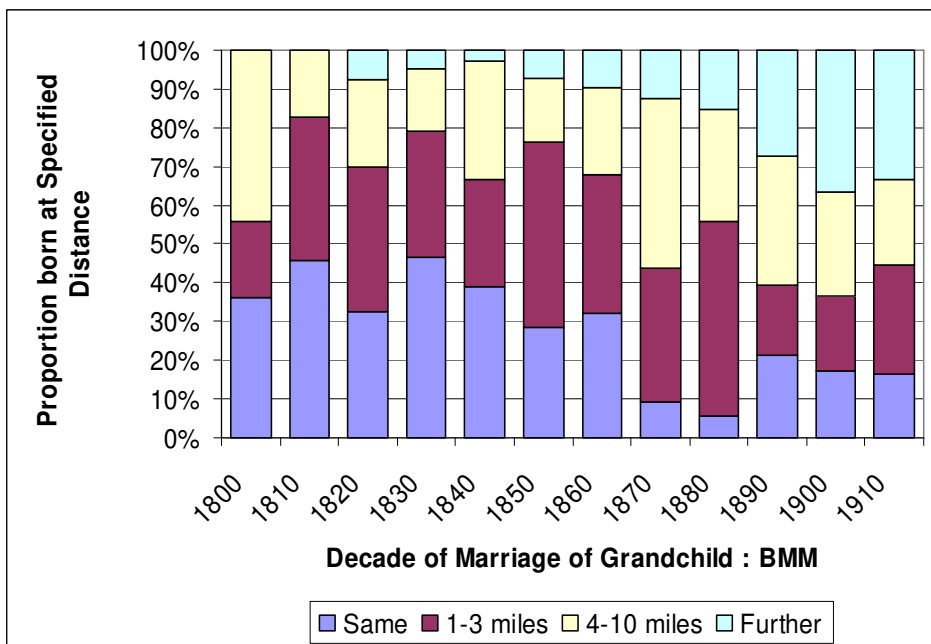
Figure B-10: Distance from Place of Marriage of Grandchild: Birthplace of Bride's Mother's Mother

Occupation

Table B-6: Relative Birthplace of Grooms, by Occupational Group (see Table 5-6)

	Labourers	Non-Agricultural	Farmers	Elite	Total
Same	276	54	35	2	**367**
1-3 miles	137	70	12	1	**220**
4-10 miles	97	45	36	3	**181**
Further	53	44	28	14	**139**
Abroad	1	1	2	0	**4**
Unknown	15	18	5	1	**39**
Total	**579**	**232**	**118**	**21**	**950**

Appendix C: Current Views on Cousin Marriage

In modern British culture, lay people associate inbreeding with mental retardation and insanity. Throughout fieldwork in rural Wiltshire in 2007 and 2008, local people would frequently inform the present author of some village or other where 'all the inhabitants' were inbred. It was breathlessly explained that 'you could tell' by how they looked and by their low intelligence. Each time the present author re-entered Britain and explained the nature of the current research to UK Immigration officials, without fail the Immigration Officer would name some place that 'ought to be checked out' in order to research inbreeding in England. It seemed as if every person in England knew of some place where 'everyone' was inbred. Whenever the question of 'how do you know they are inbred?' was posed, the so-called inbred villagers were described in terms of low intelligence, mental defectiveness, low eyebrows and drooling.

As this thesis is being written there are moves afoot to restrict cousin marriage in Britain and a level of interest almost reaching hysteria in the media. Politicians are espousing the evils of cousin marriage. For example, Ms Ann Cryer, British Labour MP for Keighley commented, "I know of several sets of parents in my constituency who are cousins and whose children are severely disabled" (Sparrow 2008). Ms Cryer supports some form of restriction on 1st cousin marriages in Britain and has been vocal in her concerns about cousin marriage in the Pakistani community for several years.

Mr Phil Woolas, who was then the British Minister for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs[87], said, "If you have a child with your cousin, the likelihood is there'll be a genetic problem. The issue we need to debate is first-cousin marriages, whereby a lot of arranged marriages are with first cousins and that produces lots of genetic problems in terms of disability." (Sparrow 2008)

On 21 Apr 2008 Baroness Deech in the House of Lords asked the British Government "what steps they are taking to address genetic problems arising from marriages between first cousins" (Deech 2008). This was followed by a debate on cousin marriage, with the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Health, Lord Darzi of Denham, explaining the British Government's genetic counselling efforts (Darzi of Denham 2008).

In May 2008 two British medical institutions, the Royal Society of Medicine and the Progress Educational Trust, held debates on cousin marriage in Britain (Cook 2008). The issue became so intense that the British Government, through its genetics advisory body the Human Genetics Commission, issued a statement on cousin marriages in an attempt to allay concerns (Human Genetics Commission 2008).

In 2009, the year of the 200th anniversary of Charles Darwin's birth, the International Journal of Epidemiology reprinted George Darwin's 1875 paper on the subject of cousin marriage and solicited an additional four separate papers on the subject of cousin marriage in Britain (Bittles 2009; Evans, A. 2009; Kuper 2009; Stoltenberg 2009). In this special edition, Bittles (2009) addresses the issue that much of the current debate about cousin marriage in Britain is related to racism and 'Islamophobia'. The vast majority of 1st cousin

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[87] Appointed Minister for Immigration and Borders in September 2008

marriages in Britain today are between people of South Asian descent (Bittles 1993; Shaw 2001). In Australia and the United States, the 'problem' of inbreeding is also seen as something essentially confined to Muslims (Sailer 2006). Similarly, on 17 September 2009 the Dutch Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende announced his intention of banning 1st cousin marriages in the Netherlands. This was explicitly related to stemming the flow of unskilled Turkish and Moroccan immigrants (Evans, J. 2009).

In modern America, the lay view of cousin marriage is that in addition to mental retardation, cousin marriages produce polydactyly, or extra fingers and toes. For example, in Weird Al Yankovic's parody of Avril Lavigne's song "Complicated", he sings:

> How was I supposed to know we were both related?
> Believe me, if I knew she was my cousin we never would have dated
> What to do now? Should I go ahead and propose
> And get hitched and have kids with eleven toes
> And move to Alabama where that kind of thing is tolerated? (Yankovic 2003)

These lyrics express the expectation that cousin marriage would result in "kids with eleven toes", and that cousin marriage is associated with social and educational deprivation, comically associated with Alabama. Marriage between 1st cousins is invalid or a criminal offence in 31 states (Ottenheimer 1996:3). In modern American society, there is a widespread belief that cousin marriage "… carries an intolerable biological hazard" (Ottenheimer 1996:2). This is often justified on completely false biological grounds such as attributing haemophilia amongst royal families of Europe to inbreeding (Ottenheimer 1996:3).

In modern-day America, cousin marriage is explicitly equated with incest. For example, in editorialising an episode on cousin marriage, the American television host Jerry Springer described it as incest and called cousin marriage "sick" and "dangerous" (Springer 2007).

In Australia, Commonwealth law states that a person cannot marry an ancestor, descendant or sibling. There are no other restrictions on consanguinity[88]. Within Australia, the lay view is similar to that of the US and UK, with most people expecting poor biological outcomes for the offspring of cousin marriages. Whenever the present author has given radio interviews or public presentations on the subject of cousin marriage, there is invariably a series of questions about the biological consequences of cousin marriage, which assume that they inevitably have poor outcomes.

The state of knowledge of the average person in Britain, the United States and Australia about the actual consequences and prevalence of cousin marriage is universally low. More widespread information on past prevalence and actual consequences can only be helpful.

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[88] *Marriage Act 1961* (Cth)

Appendix D: Results from Computer Simulation of Relationships

The CAMSIM computer simulation, using demographic parameters specific to Stourton in the period 1750-1849, produced the results displayed in Table D-1 for 1st cousins of the opposite sex. For example, from an initial pool of 1,000 male egos, by age 20 years only 565 egos were left alive. They had a total of 5,744 female 1st cousins, including for example 1,523 father's brother's daughters. On average, a male ego who survived to age 20 years had 10.17 1st cousins of the opposite sex.

Table D-1: Number of 1st cousins of the opposite sex from computer simulation

Male Egos

Age (Yrs)	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70
Mean	**7.66**	**9.39**	**10.17**	**10.37**	**10.17**	**9.73**	**9.20**	**8.63**	**7.87**	**7.27**	**6.67**	**6.02**	**5.26**	**4.61**	**3.90**
Totals	7660	6187	6407	6200	5744	5175	4774	4227	3626	3149	2781	2335	1810	1423	995
Ego	1000	659	630	598	565	532	519	490	461	433	417	388	344	309	255
fbd	1927	1602	1694	1634	1523	1363	1234	1111	966	831	732	624	491	391	255
fzd	1952	1536	1522	1467	1315	1166	1082	936	793	688	596	498	384	295	195
mbd	1903	1565	1638	1616	1570	1433	1334	1181	996	875	784	647	507	412	315
mzd	1878	1484	1553	1483	1336	1213	1124	999	871	755	669	566	428	325	230

Female Egos

Age (Yrs)	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70
Mean	**7.21**	**8.82**	**9.55**	**9.74**	**9.55**	**9.25**	**8.76**	**8.27**	**7.83**	**7.37**	**6.87**	**6.26**	**5.53**	**4.69**	**3.90**
Totals	7212	6636	6886	6749	6239	5464	4756	4195	3658	3171	2694	2304	1946	1397	941
Ego	1000	752	721	693	653	591	543	507	467	430	392	368	352	298	241
fbs	1869	1707	1766	1758	1656	1466	1269	1120	947	835	736	642	547	388	272
fzs	1826	1697	1745	1666	1501	1279	1088	951	845	731	607	522	429	296	192
mbs	1739	1620	1717	1726	1644	1442	1283	1140	1014	864	741	627	542	409	260
mzs	1778	1612	1658	1599	1438	1277	1116	984	852	741	610	513	428	304	217

Similarly, CAMSIM simulated the number of 2nd cousins for 1,000 egos of each sex and the results are shown in Tables D-2 and D-3.

Table D-2: Number of female 2nd cousins of male egos from computer simulation

Age (Yrs)	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70
Mean	**35.79**	**43.62**	**48.11**	**50.78**	**51.15**	**50.66**	**48.88**	**46.35**	**43.46**	**40.09**	**36.90**	**33.62**	**29.47**	**25.34**	**21.74**
Totals	35785	28748	30308	30367	28902	26950	25371	22710	20035	17358	15386	13045	10137	7829	5543
Ego	1000	659	630	598	565	532	519	490	461	433	417	388	344	309	255
ffbdd	2177	1784	1884	1904	1825	1718	1633	1476	1279	1107	964	844	665	501	369
ffbsd	2340	1969	2099	2126	1994	1870	1768	1626	1448	1231	1098	957	768	599	443
ffzdd	2356	1880	1896	1878	1693	1504	1398	1230	1040	898	782	636	512	399	261
ffzsd	2346	1871	1934	1902	1797	1646	1544	1386	1211	1059	928	791	626	486	333
fmbdd	2200	1823	1957	1908	1829	1682	1579	1378	1171	1003	882	759	586	447	335
fmbsd	2190	1807	1958	2020	1968	1879	1768	1599	1450	1245	1107	935	701	554	422
fmzdd	2267	1638	1653	1609	1498	1383	1279	1109	1003	858	748	624	477	361	248
fmzsd	2083	1630	1706	1686	1579	1490	1426	1258	1124	990	892	748	566	419	306
mfbdd	2266	1776	1917	1948	1865	1731	1586	1417	1271	1070	957	790	619	529	387
mfbsd	2049	1715	1846	1879	1858	1757	1664	1547	1373	1211	1074	929	727	574	379
mfzdd	2269	1735	1760	1707	1569	1414	1321	1171	1044	891	775	677	529	397	259
mfzsd	2308	1806	1884	1882	1763	1656	1543	1356	1218	1052	945	805	633	469	338
mmbdd	2155	1835	1960	1993	1898	1793	1712	1512	1311	1178	1043	884	662	488	334
mmbsd	2120	1790	1960	2015	2007	1988	1926	1822	1602	1432	1318	1124	886	714	498
mmzdd	2324	1792	1855	1844	1741	1605	1497	1295	1119	943	821	651	480	371	259
mmzsd	2335	1897	2039	2066	2018	1834	1727	1528	1371	1190	1052	891	700	521	372

Table D-3: Number of male 2nd cousins of female egos from computer simulation

Age (Yrs)	0	5	10	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70
Mean	**33.39**	**40.60**	**44.88**	**47.40**	**47.92**	**47.45**	**46.42**	**44.47**	**42.49**	**39.67**	**36.68**	**33.60**	**30.48**	**26.73**	**22.72**
Totals	33386	30533	32358	32849	31294	28043	25205	22548	19841	17060	14379	12366	10729	7965	5475
Ego	1000	752	721	693	653	591	543	507	467	430	392	368	352	298	241
ffbds	2363	2090	2160	2138	1994	1727	1549	1369	1195	1064	887	763	665	479	334
ffbss	2370	2136	2207	2221	2132	1919	1678	1487	1345	1120	944	812	722	526	356
ffzds	2338	2001	1963	1909	1769	1528	1353	1197	1028	869	709	588	492	334	224
ffzss	2262	2033	2149	2155	2016	1766	1579	1374	1187	998	826	724	648	449	318
fmbds	2165	1937	2034	2033	1959	1716	1592	1419	1232	1090	901	780	680	510	329
fmbss	1998	1918	2188	2236	2167	1986	1845	1655	1464	1264	1054	926	787	578	400
fmzds	2014	1729	1800	1796	1661	1466	1314	1198	1028	893	782	652	569	400	267
fmzss	1894	1696	1825	1856	1721	1550	1375	1217	1067	911	813	705	614	463	307
mfbds	2064	1881	1993	2014	1951	1778	1554	1397	1229	1049	899	783	666	517	362
mfbss	2156	2004	2206	2302	2213	2058	1890	1751	1546	1360	1197	1040	910	715	497
mfzds	2207	2021	2046	2049	1910	1703	1509	1307	1139	952	796	689	591	453	313
mfzss	1962	1813	1916	1966	1873	1687	1522	1389	1243	1066	880	753	622	457	311
mmbds	1913	1877	2022	2086	2042	1865	1629	1474	1266	1124	952	804	695	530	360
mmbss	1942	1887	2093	2206	2169	1977	1765	1629	1441	1221	1036	883	791	619	429
mmzds	1856	1713	1841	1912	1762	1542	1421	1228	1097	950	773	677	593	429	298
mmzss	1882	1797	1915	1970	1955	1775	1630	1457	1334	1129	930	787	684	506	370

CAMSIM simulated all biological relationships up to three generations antecedent and descendent. It would be worthwhile to use the results to analyse the relationships at greater genealogical distance, indentifying those relatives that were married at fixed points in time, rather than all living relatives irrespective of marital status. An analysis by age of the potential spouse would be useful in solving the problem of defining the potential spouse pool in a non-isolated population.

Appendix D