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# Geographical mobility in Wiltshire, 1754–1914

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## Abstract

*The aim of this paper is to determine the birthplaces, rather than residences, of spouses married in two parishes in England and to consider the effect of local topography, religion and occupation on pre-marital geographic mobility. A wide array of primary documentary sources was used to construct a database of over 22,000 individuals who lived in south-west Wiltshire in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Individuals were arranged in family groups and pedigrees traced for several generations. Data were included on birthplace, religious affiliation, occupation and many other variables. Geographical mobility calculated from birthplace was higher than estimates derived from residence prior to marriage. Brides had shorter marital distances than grooms. There were noticeable changes in the frequency of marital distance at 4 miles and 11 miles. Spouses born outside the parish of marriage were more likely to come from certain villages in ways which cannot be explained merely by distance and size. The Somerset-Wiltshire border formed a barrier, although a porous one, to the flow of marriage partners. Occupation influenced geographical mobility: grooms from higher-status occupational groups were more likely to be born further away than grooms from lower-status occupational groups. Catholic grooms were more likely to be born in the parish of marriage than Protestant grooms, but were also more likely to be born more than 11 miles away.*

## Introduction

Migration patterns are crucial in understanding the structure of past and present populations. Marital migration is socially and culturally important but also genetically important, as patterns of marital movement influence the flow of genes in a population.<sup>1</sup> An understanding of marital migration will illuminate the study of past population structure. However, previous studies on marital migration have evaluated the place of residence at the time of marriage and considered the distances and direction of travel of parties from their residence to the place of marriage.<sup>2</sup> One study based on the National Census found that birthplaces and

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1 K.D.M. Snell, 'English rural societies and geographical marital endogamy, 1700–1837', *Economic History Review*, 55 (2002), 262–98, here at 262.

2 A. Constant, 'The geographical background of inter-village population movements in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire, 1754–1943', *Geography*, 33(1948), 78–88; P.J. Perry, 'Working class isolation and mobility in rural Dorset 1837–1936: a study of marriage distances', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 46 (1969), 121–41; E.A. Wrigley, 'A note on the life-time mobility of married women in a parish population in the later eighteenth century', *Local Population Studies*, 18 (1977), 22–9; G.A. Harrison and A.J. Boyce, 'Migration, exchange and the genetic structure of populations', in G.A. Harrison and A.J. Boyce eds, *The structure of human populations* (Oxford, 1980), 128–45; J. Millard, 'A new approach to the study of marriage horizons', *Local Population Studies*, 28 (1982), 10–31; A. Hunter, 'Marriage horizons and seasonality: a comparison', *Local Population Studies*, 35 (1985), 38–42; M. Carter, 'Town or urban society? St Ives in

places of residence at marriage were ‘usually’ the same, in the nineteenth century at least.<sup>3</sup> However, a study of County Durham found that, when both places were known, use of place of residence at marriage as a proxy for birthplace systematically underestimated the frequency of migration.<sup>4</sup> The present research seeks to address these problems by focusing on the place of birth of parties to a marriage, rather than the place of residence.

This paper addresses the question of where parties to marriages in south-western Wiltshire were born and how far they moved from their birthplaces to their places of marriage. It begins with a set of marriages in two parishes and determines the birthplace of all those married there. Previous studies using standard family reconstitution techniques could only capture those who were born, married and died in the same parish, and thus could not contribute to discussion on marital migration prior to 1851.<sup>5</sup> It has been recognised that nominal record linkage would be useful to better understand marital migration.<sup>6</sup> However, the time-consuming nature of the process has ruled this out as a viable tool for previous studies. This paper seeks to expand the basic concept of family reconstitution and extend it to multiple parishes and multiple sources, thereby overcoming this deficiency. The vast array of eighteenth and nineteenth century name-indexed records now available electronically greatly reduces the time required to conduct nominal record linkage across multiple locations, using multiple primary sources and covering multiple generations.<sup>7</sup>

There are many reasons why individuals might migrate between birth and marriage, but a common one in eighteenth and nineteenth century rural English parishes was to enter service, particularly domestic service. Since women were more likely to be employed in domestic service than men, women were more likely to leave their native parish than men.<sup>8</sup> After the changes in agricultural techniques in the 1870s there were fewer opportunities for paid employment in rural areas for women, and more young women than men left their rural villages to enter service in large towns.<sup>9</sup> A reconstitution study of

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Huntingdonshire 1630–1760’, in C. Phythian-Adams ed., *Societies, cultures and kinship* (Leicester, 1993), 77–84; N. Goose, *Population, economy and family structure in Hertfordshire in 1851: Vol. 1, the Berkhamsted region* (Hatfield, 1996); N. Goose, *Population, economy and family structure in Hertfordshire, Vol. 2, St Albans and its region* (Hatfield, 2000); Snell, ‘English rural societies’.

3 G.A. Harrison, *The human biology of the English village* (Oxford, 1995), 43.

4 M.T. Smith and A.J. Pain, ‘Estimates of historical migration in County Durham’, *Annals of Human Biology*, 16 (1989), 543–7.

5 Wrigley, ‘A note on the life-time mobility’, 22.

6 C. Pooley and J. Turnbull, ‘Migration and mobility in Britain from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries’, *Local Population Studies*, 57 (1996), 50–71, here at 50.

7 C.L. Day, R. Kippen and D. Lucas, ‘Historical demography’ in D. Lucas ed., *Beginning population studies*, e-book <http://adsri.anu.edu.au/about/publications/beg-pop-studies> (Canberra, 2006).

8 P.R.A. Hinde, ‘The population of a Wiltshire village in the nineteenth century: a reconstitution study of Berwick St James 1841–1871’, *Annals of Human Biology*, 14 (1987), 475–85.

9 Perry, ‘Working class isolation’, W.A. Armstrong, ‘The influence of demographic factors in the position of the agricultural labourer in England and Wales, c.1750–1914’, *Agricultural History Review*, 29 (1981), 71–82; E. Royle, *Modern Britain: a social history 1750–1985* (London, 1987).

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.<sup>10</sup> In their new locations, young women met young men who were employed as agricultural labourers or tradesmen and this in turn led to marriage.

Previous studies have noted that it is not possible to investigate the influence of occupation on pre-marital geographic mobility prior to 1837, when a groom's occupation was systematically recorded in the marriage registers.<sup>11</sup> This paper has overcome this obstacle by using extensive and varied sources to determine occupation and asks how it influenced pre-marital geographic mobility. Finally, there have been no previous studies that have looked at the influence of Catholicism on marriage patterns in England. Where religion has been taken into account, it has involved Protestant Dissenters and there has been little difference in marriage horizons between members of dissenting chapels and members of the Established Church.<sup>12</sup> This paper examines the difference in pre-marital geographic mobility between Catholics and Protestants in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

## Background

Stourton and Kilmington are two adjoining parishes in south-west Wiltshire (Figures 1 and 2). Until 1895, parts of Stourton and all of Kilmington were in the county of Somerset, but boundary realignments were made to enclose both parishes within the one county, Wiltshire.

English rural villages could 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 landowner.<sup>13</sup> The most tightly controlled closed parishes were ones with a single landowner who was also resident in the parish, as was the case in Stourton, with all land owned by the Hoare family of London bankers.<sup>14</sup> By contrast, Kilmington had several smaller landowners and was an 'open' village. Stourton had a Roman Catholic chapel and Catholics comprised 16 per cent of the population, at a time when less than 1 per cent of the English population was Catholic.<sup>15</sup> Kilmington had no Catholic minority,

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10 See Hinde, 'Population of a Wiltshire village'.

11 Millard, 'A new approach'; Hunter, 'Marriage horizons and seasonality'.

12 Snell, 'English rural societies', 267.

13 D.R. Mills, 'The Poor Laws and the distribution of population, c.1600–1860, with special reference to Lincolnshire', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 26 (1959), 185–95; B.A. Holderness, "'Open" and "close" parishes in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Agricultural History Review*, 20 (1972), 126–39; D. Spencer, 'Reformulating the "close" parish thesis: associations, interests, and interaction', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26 (2000), 83–98; D.R. Mills, 'Canwick (Lincolnshire) and Melbourn (Cambridgeshire) in comparative perspective within the open-close village model', *Rural History*, 17 (2006), 1–22.

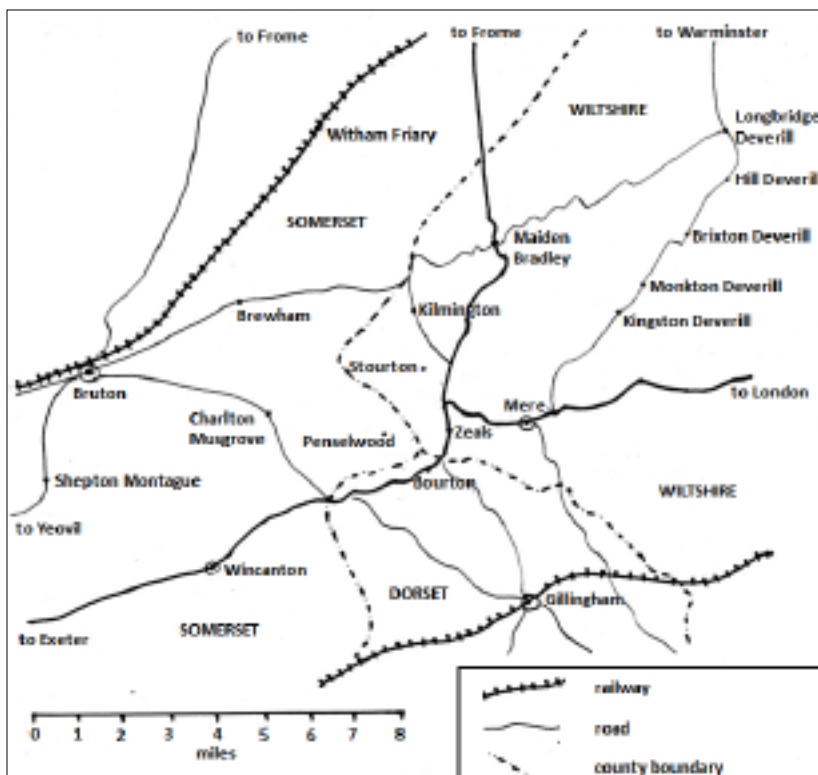
14 Mills, 'Poor Laws'.

15 J. Bossy, *The English Catholic community 1570–1850* (London, 1975), 407.

Figure 1 Location of research area



Figure 2 Map of research area, showing the locations of the population centres, main roads, county boundaries and the nearest railway lines



but had a small number of Methodists. In the second half of the nineteenth century, after the establishment of a Methodist chapel, four per cent of the infants born in Kilmington were baptised in the chapel. Both villages were primarily agricultural, and there was also some quarrying and a small-scale textile industry. In 1801, Stourton's population was 649 and Kilmington's was 504.

## Sources and methods

The explosion of interest in family history in the past ten years has resulted in unprecedented access to raw data available in searchable form online or in other electronic form.<sup>16</sup> This project differs from more standard family reconstitution projects in that it used a wide array of sources from multiple locations, rather than a single set of records from one parish, and has traced pedigrees back several generations.

The author obtained church records for the two core parishes, and most other parishes in Wiltshire, Somerset and Dorset. Censuses were viewed online for the period 1841–1911 for most parishes, plus 1821 and 1831 for Stourton.<sup>17</sup> The 1767 Catholic Census of Stourton was consulted. Poor Law records such as settlement examinations and removal orders were obtained for a wide variety of parishes, and other documents consulted included wills, probate records, communion lists, catechism lists, pew lists, lists of charity recipients, lists of persons vaccinated against smallpox, local newspapers, school logs, school attendance books, military records and court records.

Four-generation pedigrees were created for all persons married in the two core parishes between 1754 and 1914, including marriages in the two Anglican churches, the Catholic chapel in Stourton and the Methodist chapel in Kilmington. No civil marriages took place in the parishes of Stourton or Kilmington during this period. Each person in the database was categorised by occupation, religion and birthplace, amongst other variables. For marriages that took place in Stourton or Kilmington in the research timeframe, data on the birthplaces of marriage partners, along with their religion and occupation (for men) were analysed. The analysis were not confined to the marriages of people who were born or remained in the parish throughout their lives, but included all persons married in the research area, regardless of their birthplace or ultimate place of residence.

## Birthplace of spouses

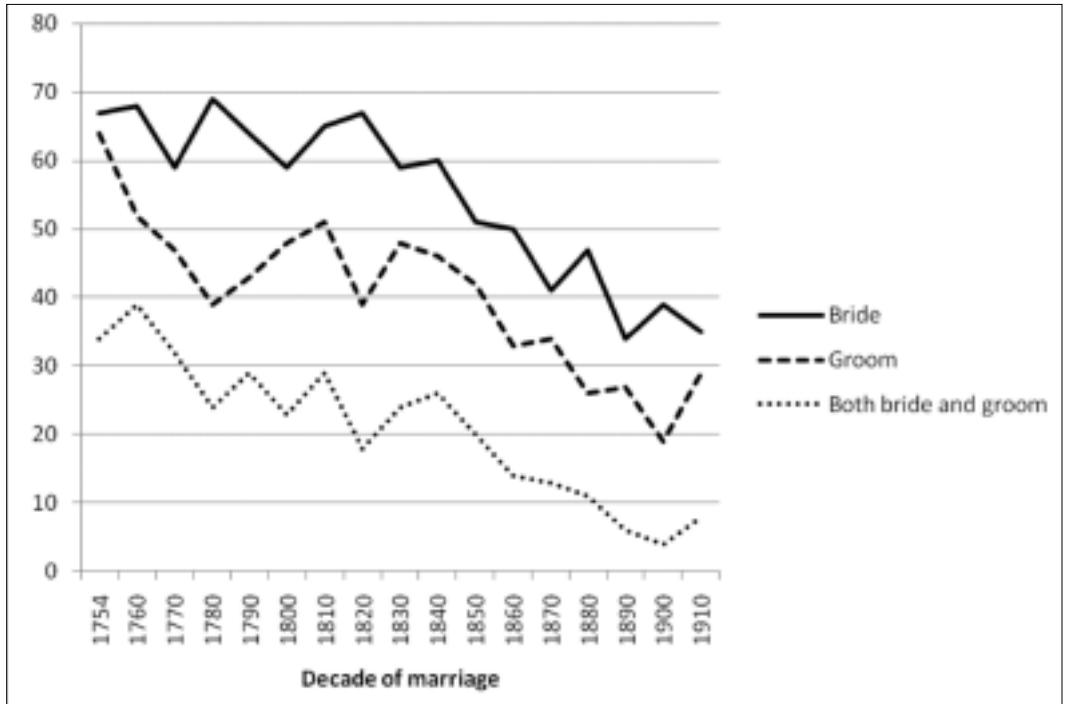
A total of 1,244 marriages took place in Stourton and Kilmington in the period 1754–1914 and an attempt was made to identify the birthplace of each individual involved, using

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16 Day *et al.*, 'Historical demography'.

17 The 1821 and 1831 census records, with names of parishioners, only exist for a few hundred parishes in England and Wales, as enumerators were ordered to destroy them. Stourton is one of the few parishes for which they survive.

**Figure 3 Percentages of marriages in Stourton and Kilmington in which brides and grooms were born in the parish in which they were married, 1754–1914**



**Source:** Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

multiple sources from multiple parishes across England. The success rate 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, so if a couple could be located in a census anywhere in England from 1851 onwards their exact place of birth, usually down to the level of hamlet, was known.<sup>18</sup> Over the entire research period 92 per cent of individuals had their birthplace successfully identified, ranging from 75 per cent in the 1760s to almost 100 per cent from 1830 onwards (Figure 3). For marriages taking place from 1830 onwards, 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.

There was little difference in the ability to locate a birthplace for brides or grooms. This is important since a differential rate of identification of birthplace by sex might produce skewed results in later calculations. The only exception was the lower rate of birthplace identification for Catholic brides compared to Protestant ones. However, Catholic brides with an unknown birthplace consisted of just 1.4 per cent of brides. In this paper, all percentages are based on those with a known birthplace.

18 See S. Lumas, *Making use of the census* (London, 1997).

The rate of parish endogamy in historical times is important in understanding key questions in anthropology such as the role of kinship in English society, and is important in historical demography for understanding the structure of a population.<sup>19</sup> We ask, therefore, what proportion of people married in Stourton and Kilmington were born in the parish in which they married?

Figure 3 shows that the percentages of both brides and grooms born in the parish in which they were married declined throughout the research period. This was the case for each parish individually, as well as collectively. In all decades, the proportion of brides born in their parish of marriage was higher than that of grooms, reflecting the widespread tradition of marriage in the bride's parish where the couple came from different parishes.<sup>20</sup> 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 per cent in the 1760s to a low of just 4 per cent during the period 1900–1909.

Perry's study of the marriage registers of 27 west Dorset parishes, which examined the residence of working class people prior to marriage, showed a similar pattern of decline in intra-parochial marriages from 81 per cent in 1837–1846 to 32 per cent in 1927–1936.<sup>21</sup> Using Perry's periods and method on Stourton and Kilmington data, the comparable combined results were 71 per cent for 1837–1846 and 35 per cent for 1927–1935.<sup>22</sup> The proportions of marriages which were endogamous for both parties based on place of residence at the time of marriage were therefore similar in west Dorset and south-west Wiltshire.

When we turn to classify marriages by the place of birth of the partners rather than place of residence at the time of marriage, the results for Stourton and Kilmington are quite different, with just 25 per cent of marriages in the first period, and 3 per cent in the last, being between two partners both born in the respective parishes. The level of pre-marital mobility was substantially under-estimated using place of residence and the discrepancy increased as the period progressed. In the Oxfordshire village of Charlton on Otmoor, 69 per cent of marriages contracted in the first half of the nineteenth century involved both partners resident in the parish; this fell to 53 per cent in the second half of that century.<sup>23</sup> For Stourton and Kilmington the respective results by place of residence were 71 per cent and 60 per cent, but the birthplace results were 21 per cent and 15 per cent, substantially

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19 Snell, 'English rural societies'.

20 Harrison, *Human biology*, 43; A.J. Pain and M.T. Smith, 'Do marriage horizons accurately measure migration? A test case from Stanhope parish, County Durham', *Local Population Studies*, 33 (1984), 44–8.

21 Perry, 'Working class isolation', 124. 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 Perry's paper refer to unions in which one party's residence was outside the place of marriage.

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

23 C.F. Küchemann, A.J. Boyce and G.A. Harrison, 'A demographic and genetic study of a group of Oxfordshire villages', *Human Biology*, 39 (1967), 251–76, here at 265.

less than that produced from residence at time of marriage. This again demonstrates the poor correlation between place of residence at marriage and birthplace.

Other studies have shown higher levels of endogamy in the Orkney Islands and lower levels of parish endogamy in London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>24</sup> These findings are to be expected, since it involved much more effort to enter 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 also shown endogamy to be more frequent in larger parishes than smaller ones since the former provide a wider range of potential spouses.<sup>25</sup> Under these circumstances, a prospective spouse did 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, which was 860 persons in 1801, but larger than the theoretical limit of about 400 people required to sustain endogamy.<sup>26</sup>

### 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. The distance was measured from the centre of the main village, for all residents of each parish. The distances used represented travel by foot on roads or paths which were in use in the eighteenth and nineteenth 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.

The results showed that over the entire period 1754–1914, 669 grooms (58.7 per cent of grooms with known birthplace) and 497 brides (43.6 per cent of brides with known birthplace) were born outside the parish of marriage. Of these, 125 grooms and 81 brides were born less than two miles from their place of marriage, and 291 grooms and 223 brides were born less than four miles from their place of marriage. More than four times as many brides and grooms were born between three and four miles from their place of marriage as were born between four and five 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 four-mile mark, although in that case place of residence was used rather than place of birth.<sup>27</sup> If the population was distributed evenly within a given area, it would be expected that there

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24 A.J. Boyce, V.M. Holdsworth and D.R. Brothwell, ‘Demographic and genetic studies in the Orkney Islands’, in D.F. Roberts and E. Sunderland eds, *Genetic variation in Britain* (London, 1981), 109–28; R. Finlay, *Population and metropolis: the demography of London 1580–1650* (Cambridge, 1981).

25 Perry, ‘Working class isolation’; D.A. Coleman, ‘The geography of marriage in Britain, 1920–1960’, *Annals of Human Biology*, 4 (1977), 101–32; Pain and Smith, ‘Do marriage horizons accurately measure migration?’.

26 E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Davies, J.E. Oeppen and R.S. Schofield, *English population history from family reconstitution 1580–1837* (Cambridge, 1997), 20; Snell, ‘English rural societies’, 281.

27 Perry, ‘Working class isolation’, 130.



would be more than twice as many people in the four to five mile zone as there would be within the under two mile zone, yet only one third as many spouses came from the four to five mile zone as came from the under two mile zone.<sup>28</sup> Although the population was not distributed evenly in the research area, it is apparent that the larger zones, further than four miles from the marriage place, were contributing disproportionately smaller numbers of spouses.

Four 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.<sup>29</sup> On flat ground and unburdened by a load, the average person walks at about 3.5 miles an hour. Most marriage partners were born within approximately an hour's walk of their place of marriage.

In the Otmoor study, marital distances were aggregated into three-mile bands, and showed a similar marked decline in numbers between those born up to six miles away and those born six to nine miles away.<sup>30</sup> Almost two thirds of the 'breeding population' of Charlton-on-Otmoor who were not born in the village, were born within a six-mile radius of the village.<sup>31</sup> Although somewhat different criteria were used, this is similar to the results for Stourton and Kilmington. The very short-distance nature of most moves is supported by an extensive study of the lifetime movements of thousands of people born between 1750 and 1930, which were characterised by a series of very short distance migrations.<sup>32</sup>

There was also a discontinuity between those born less than 11 miles from the place of marriage and those born further afield. This was also reflected in Perry's study of west Dorset villages using place of residence, although in Perry's case the second break occurred closer to 12 miles.<sup>33</sup> Finally, a minority of brides and grooms was born more than 20 miles from Stourton and Kilmington respectively. Around one in ten of both grooms and brides fell into this category.

The distance from birthplace to marriage place for spouses was then sub-divided into five categories based on the breaks identified above in order to address the question of how marital distance changed over time. The categories were: born within the same parish in which they married; born outside the parish but less than four miles away; born 4–11 miles from the parish in which they were married; born further afield within mainland Great Britain; and born abroad.<sup>34</sup> The results for grooms and brides are plotted in Figure 4.

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28 This estimate is based on the area of a circle of given radius, less the area of the smaller concentric circle.

29 Perry, 'Working class isolation', 131; Royle, *Modern Britain*, 8.

30 Harrison, *Human biology*, 47.

31 Küchemann *et al.*, 'A demographic and genetic study', 270.

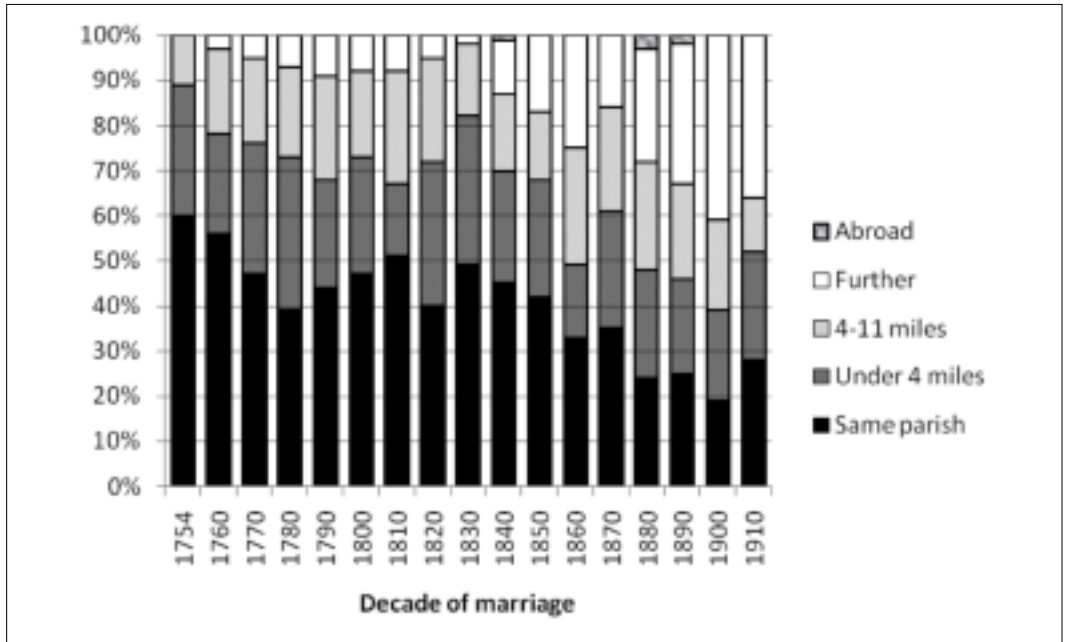
32 Pooley and Turnbull, 'Migration and mobility'.

33 Perry, 'Working class isolation', 130.

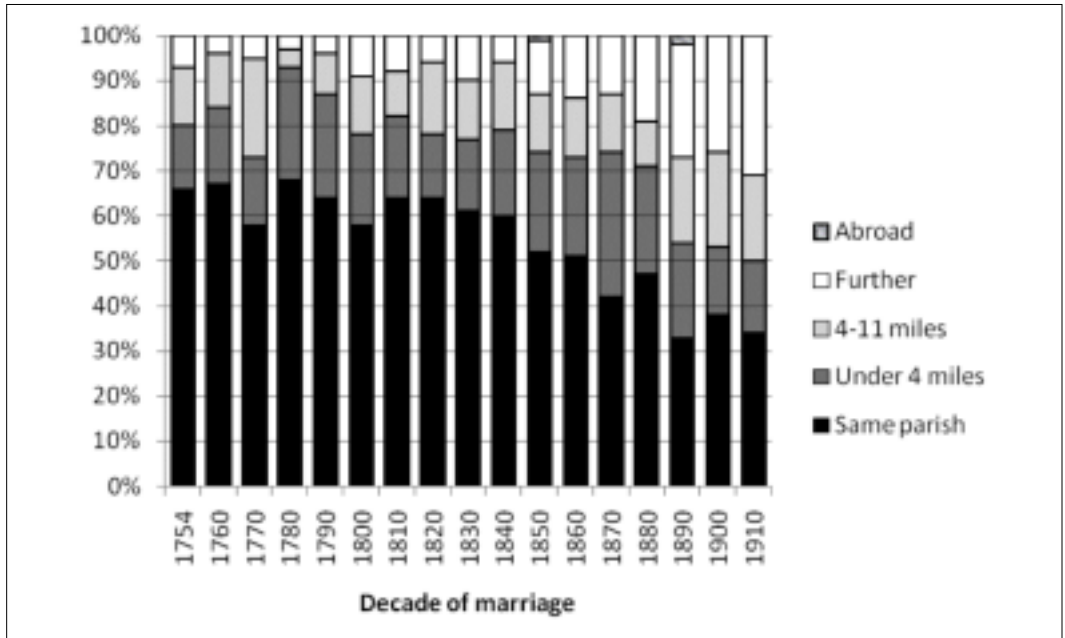
34 Irish-born people were included in the group labelled as born 'abroad' since travel to England from Ireland involved a sea journey.

Figure 4 Percentages of brides and grooms by distance from birthplace to place of marriage

(a) Grooms



(b) Brides



Source: Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

Although parish endogamy declined throughout the research period, the proportions of grooms who were born outside the parish but fewer than four miles away, and 4–11 miles distant from their place of marriage remained approximately uniform (Figure 4a). The reduction in parish endogamy was associated with an increase in the proportion of long-distance migrants. Broadly the same result was obtained for brides (Figure 4b).

More brides (54.6 per cent) were born in the parish of marriage than grooms (41.6 per cent) but the differences between the sexes began to diminish as the cumulative distance from birthplace increased. More brides (70.3 per cent) than grooms (65.6 per cent) were born less than four miles from their place of marriage, including being born in the parish of marriage, but the differential was less. A chi-squared test showed that both pairs of results were statistically significant at a confidence level of  $p = 0.001$ . If we consider all those born less than 11 miles from their place of marriage, however, the difference between brides and grooms is much smaller (82.3 per cent for brides and 81.4 per cent for grooms) and statistically insignificant, indicating that at greater distance there was no appreciable difference in the patterns shown by the different sexes.

### **Spatial distribution of birthplace in exogamous marriages**

The previous section asked how far from Stourton or Kilminster the marriage partners were born. However, people did not choose their marriage partners in a random fashion, or according to some kind of distance-decay function. This section asks how the birthplaces of those who were born outside the parish of marriage were distributed spatially.

First, the county of birth will be considered, in order to determine whether county borders formed a barrier for spousal movement. 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 Kilminster were considered separately, as Stourton abutted Dorset which Kilminster did not, and it is therefore more likely that Stourton folk would choose partners from Dorset than Kilminster folk would. Although Kilminster was administratively part of Somerset until 1895, it was surrounded by Wiltshire along 85 per cent of its border and was moved into Wiltshire in 1895.<sup>35</sup> In all calculations in this paper, Kilminster is counted as part of Wiltshire.<sup>36</sup>

Figure 5 shows that there were significant differences in the county of birth of men married in Stourton and Kilminster. Despite the fact that Kilminster was

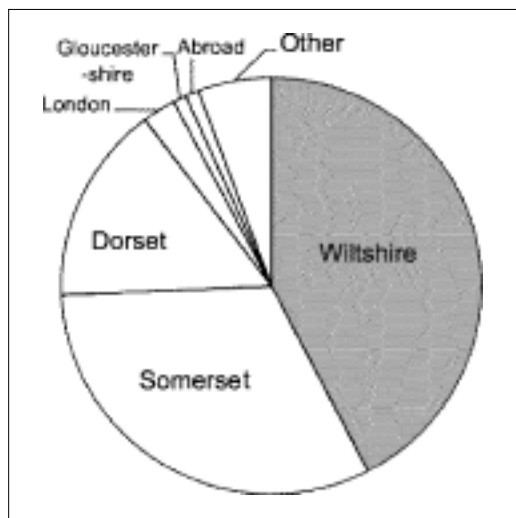
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35 See C.R. Currie ed., *Victoria County History of Somerset* (London, 1999).

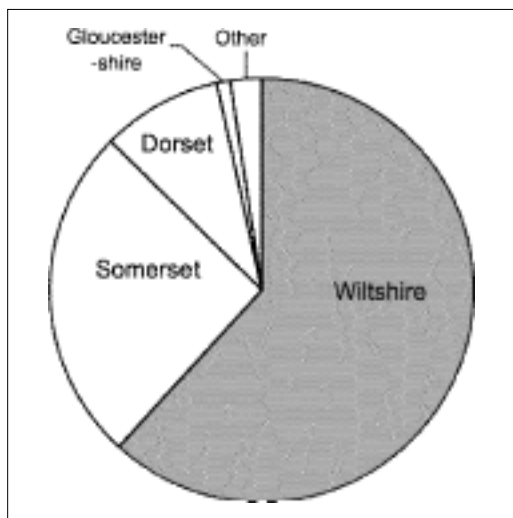
36 There were major parish boundary changes in England in the nineteenth century. The boundaries used in the following maps are those created following the 1895 reform.

Figure 5 Birth county of grooms married in Stourton and Kilmington who were not born in the parish of their marriage, 1754–1914

(a) Stourton



(b) Kilmington



Source: Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

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.<sup>37</sup> This seems to be borne out at least in the flow of spouses. The results for brides were similar to those for grooms.

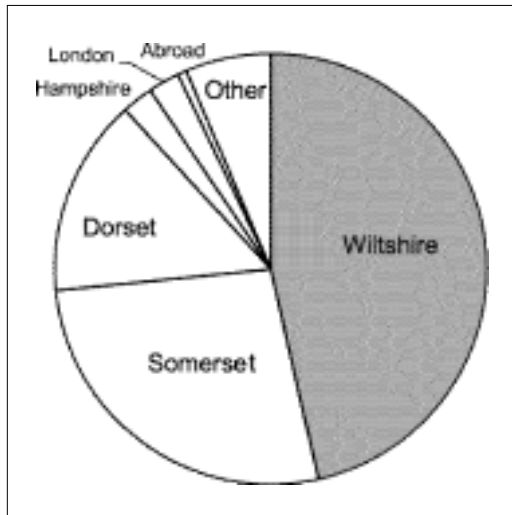
Figure 6 shows that almost half the exogamous brides were born in Wiltshire, for both Kilmington and Stourton. Like the grooms, there were more Dorset-born brides in Stourton than in Kilmington, which is to be expected since Stourton is closer to Dorset. A key difference between the two core parishes was that Stourton brides and grooms came from a wider array of locations. Of non-locally born people married in Kilmington, 88 per cent of grooms and 85 per cent of brides came from Somerset or Wiltshire, whereas the combined total of these counties as contributors to Stourton’s grooms and brides was only 74 per cent in each case. In Stourton there was a higher frequency of brides born abroad, in London or in Hampshire, compared to Kilmington.

An explanation for these patterns lies in the economic difference between the villages. Stourton was a village dominated by the ‘great house’ of Stourhead, and the Hoare family—who owned Stourhead—employed a wide array of servants, including

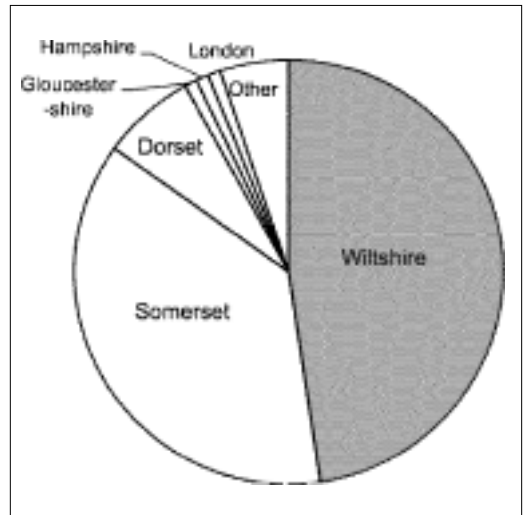
37 Currie, *Victoria County History*.

**Figure 6 Birth county of brides married in Stourton and Kilmington who were not born in the parish of their marriage, 1754–1914**

**(a) Stourton**



**(b) Kilmington**



**Source:** Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

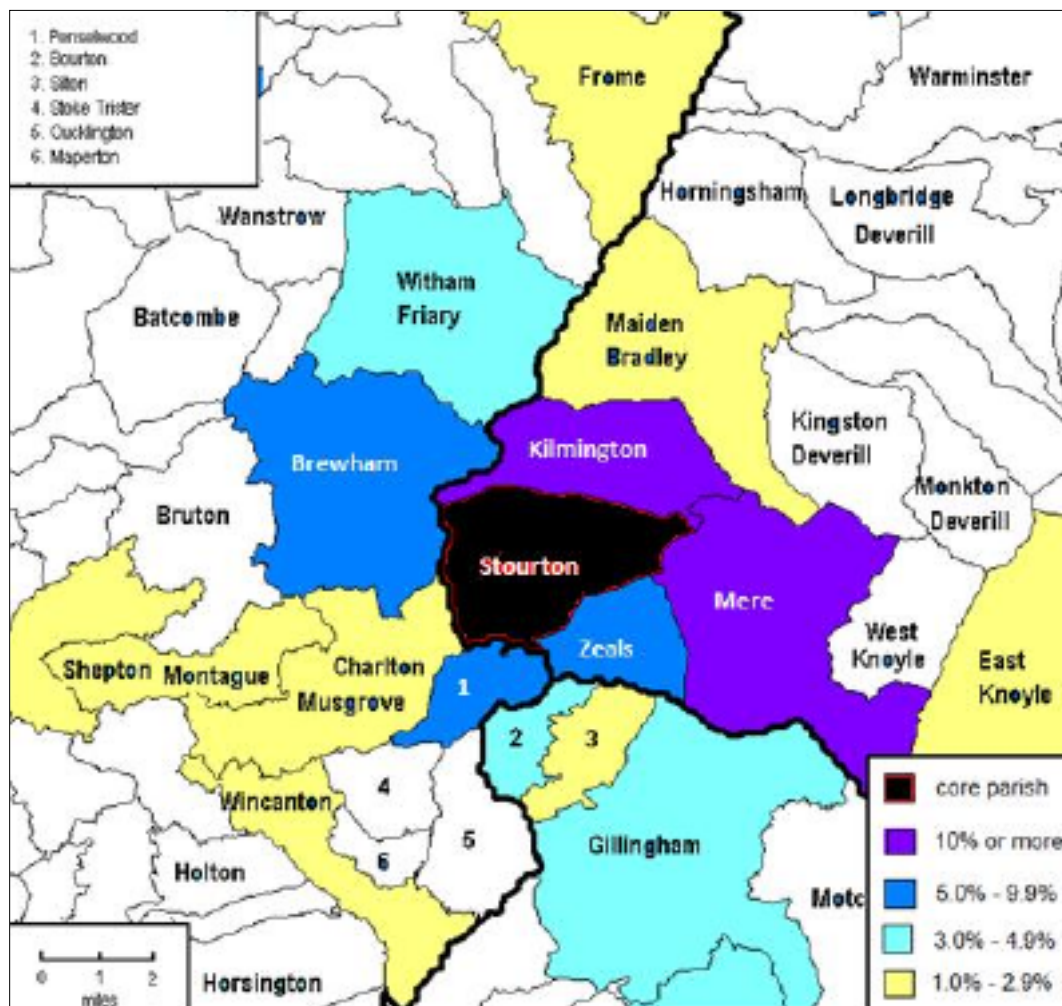
gamekeepers, stable men, ladies' maids, cooks, butlers and others. These servants had often travelled with the family from its other homes.<sup>38</sup> Other studies of servants' birthplaces have shown that 'upper indoor servants' such as butlers and ladies' maids were locally born in only 3 per cent of cases, whereas 13 per cent of the 'lower indoor servants' were born on the estate, and 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.<sup>39</sup> Kilmington lacked a 'great house' and thus lacked servants imported from distant 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.

Did county boundaries act as barriers to mobility, whether for purposes of residence or marriage? Figures 7 and 8 indicate that in south-west Wiltshire, the county borders with Somerset and Dorset were something of a barrier, with more exogamous spouses coming from Wiltshire. This aligns with findings in other studies, which show county boundaries being a somewhat porous barrier to marital migration. Kevin Schürer demonstrated that

<sup>38</sup> Perry, 'Working class isolation', 124.

<sup>39</sup> J. Gerard, *Country house life 1815–1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 170, 178.

Figure 7 Birthplaces of grooms married in Stourton, 1754–1914



Source: Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

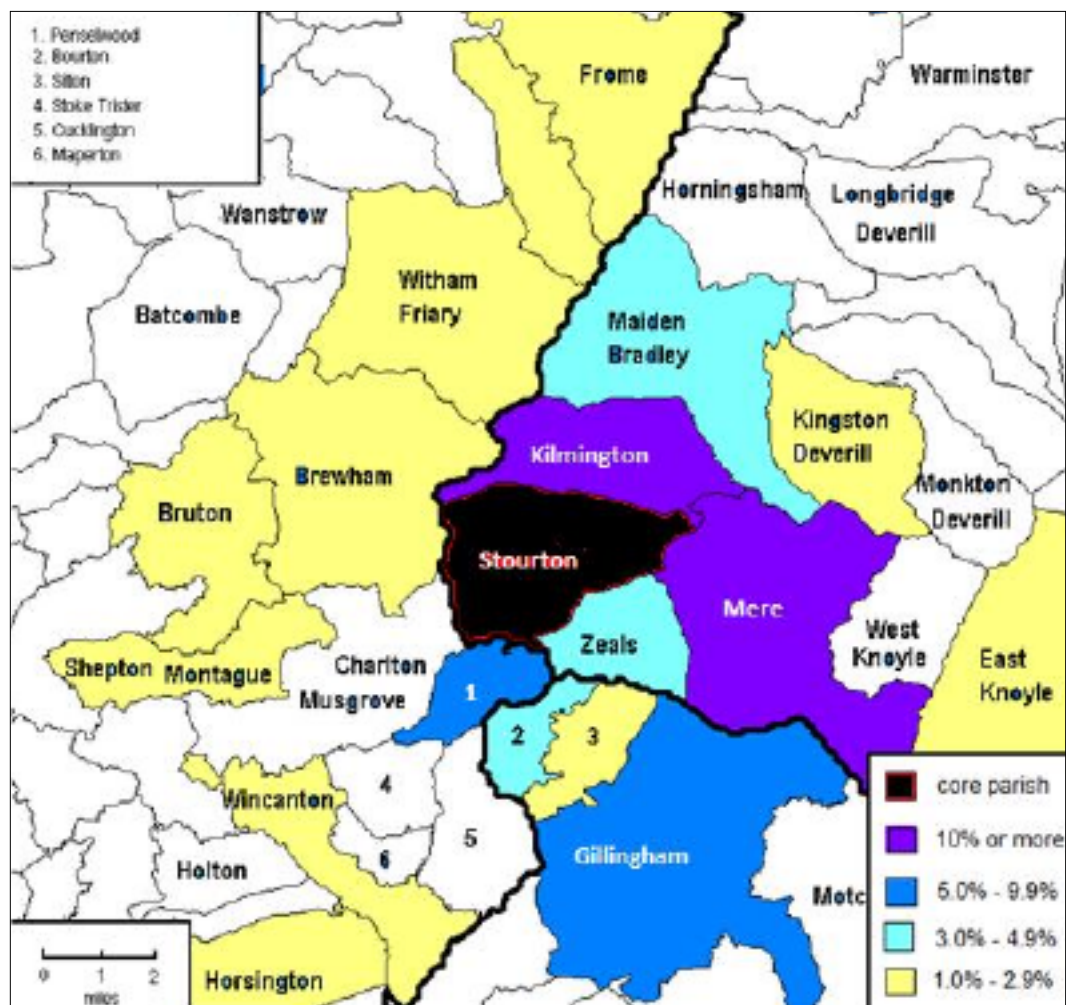
in 1861 and 1871, the distribution of birthplaces of non-local people in three Essex parishes abutting Hertfordshire was skewed towards Essex.<sup>40</sup> The county border between Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire was perceived as a barrier to marital migration to local inhabitants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> Inhabitants of a border region of nineteenth century Leicestershire did not marry across the border with Warwickshire.<sup>42</sup> Charles Phythian-Adams has argued that England had what he terms

40 K. Schürer, 'Regional identity and populations in the past', in D. Postles ed., *Naming, society and regional identity* (Oxford, 2002).

41 See Carter, 'Town or urban society'.

42 C. Phythian-Adams, *Re-thinking English local history* (Leicester, 1987), 39–42.

Figure 8 Birthplaces of brides married in Stourton, 1754–1914



Source: Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

‘cultural provinces’, or collections of counties with cultural connections, delimited by watersheds. In England’s south west he saw Wiltshire and Dorset being part of one watershed and Somerset being separate, draining into the Severn estuary.<sup>43</sup> This ‘cultural’ separation may also help to explain the reluctance of Wiltshire folk to choose marriage partners from Somerset.

The next step is to ask in which parish brides and grooms were born. In this section, all marriage partners with a known birthplace outside their parish of marriage were examined. The most frequently-occurring birthplaces for those married in Stourton but

43 C. Phythian-Adams, ‘Local history and societal history’, *Local Population Studies*, 51 (1993), 30–45, here at 34–6.

not born in the parish were Kilmington for grooms and Mere for brides (Figures 7 and 8). Some of the variation is related to population size and distance from the marriage place.<sup>44</sup> This was shown in the Otmoor study in which a model was developed centred on Charlton-on-Otmoor 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.<sup>45</sup>

Figure 7 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.

There are several differences between the distribution of birthplaces of brides and grooms who married in Stourton. The birthplaces of brides (Figure 8) 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 three per cent 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 one and three per cent of brides to Stourton.

Some villages contributed unequally for the 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 Stourton brides and grooms came from Kilmington as from Zeals. Similarly, a preference was shown for Penselwood grooms over those from Maiden Bradley. Although Maiden Bradley was more populous and only one third of a mile further away than Penselwood, it contributed less than one third the proportion of grooms compared to Penselwood (which was the most frequently occurring Somerset parish as a source for Stourton grooms and brides).<sup>46</sup>

For Kilmington grooms born outside the parish, the most frequently-occurring birthplace was Maiden Bradley (Figure 9), despite that parish being twice as far away as the next highest contributor, Stourton, at only 1.6 miles and with a similar size population. At 3.5 miles from Kilmington, Witham Friary and Brewham were equidistant with Maiden

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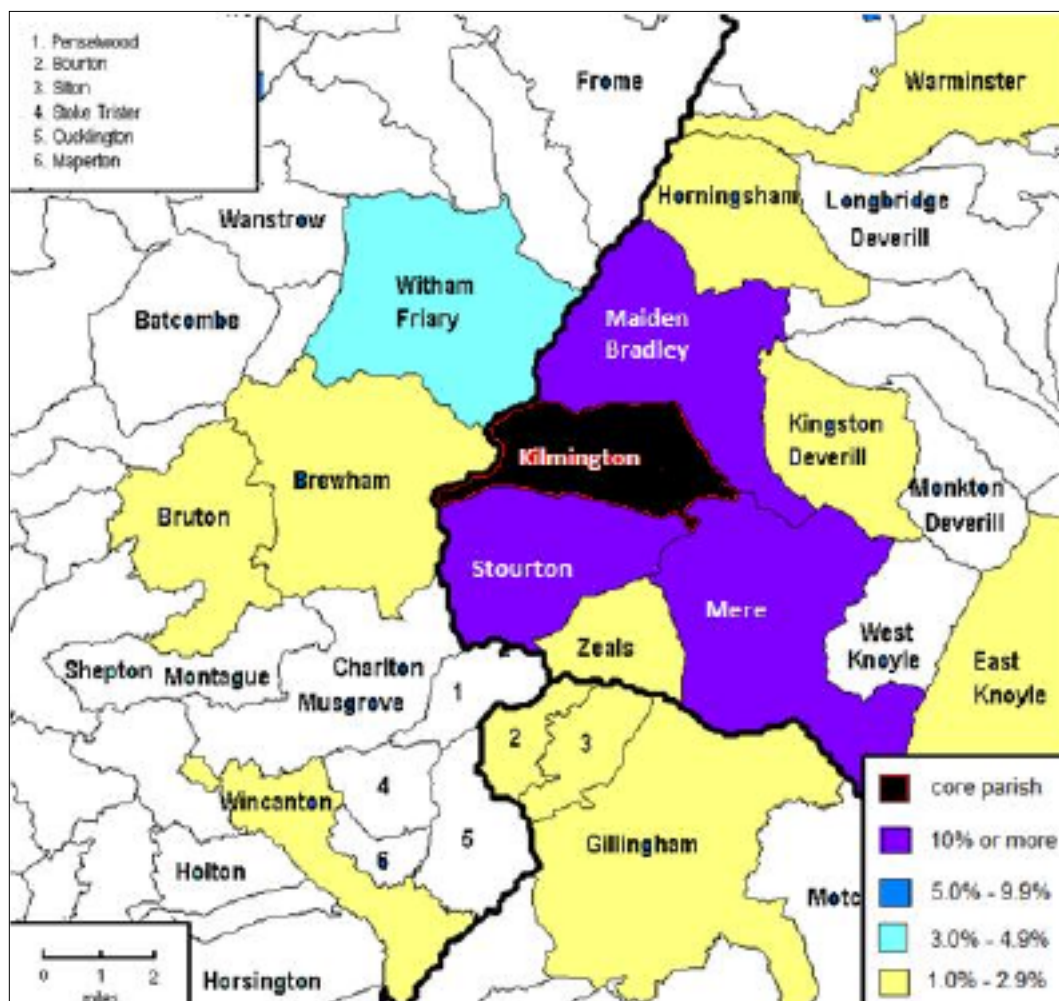
44 Küchemann *et al.*, 'A demographic and genetic study', 268.

45 Küchemann *et al.*, 'A demographic and genetic study'.

46 The distances of the parishes from Stourton and Kilmington are only approximate, and clearly do not always reflect the distances of the populations living in those parishes from Stourton and Kilmington. Parish populations were not evenly distributed. 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 9 Birthplaces of grooms married in Kilmington, 1754–1914

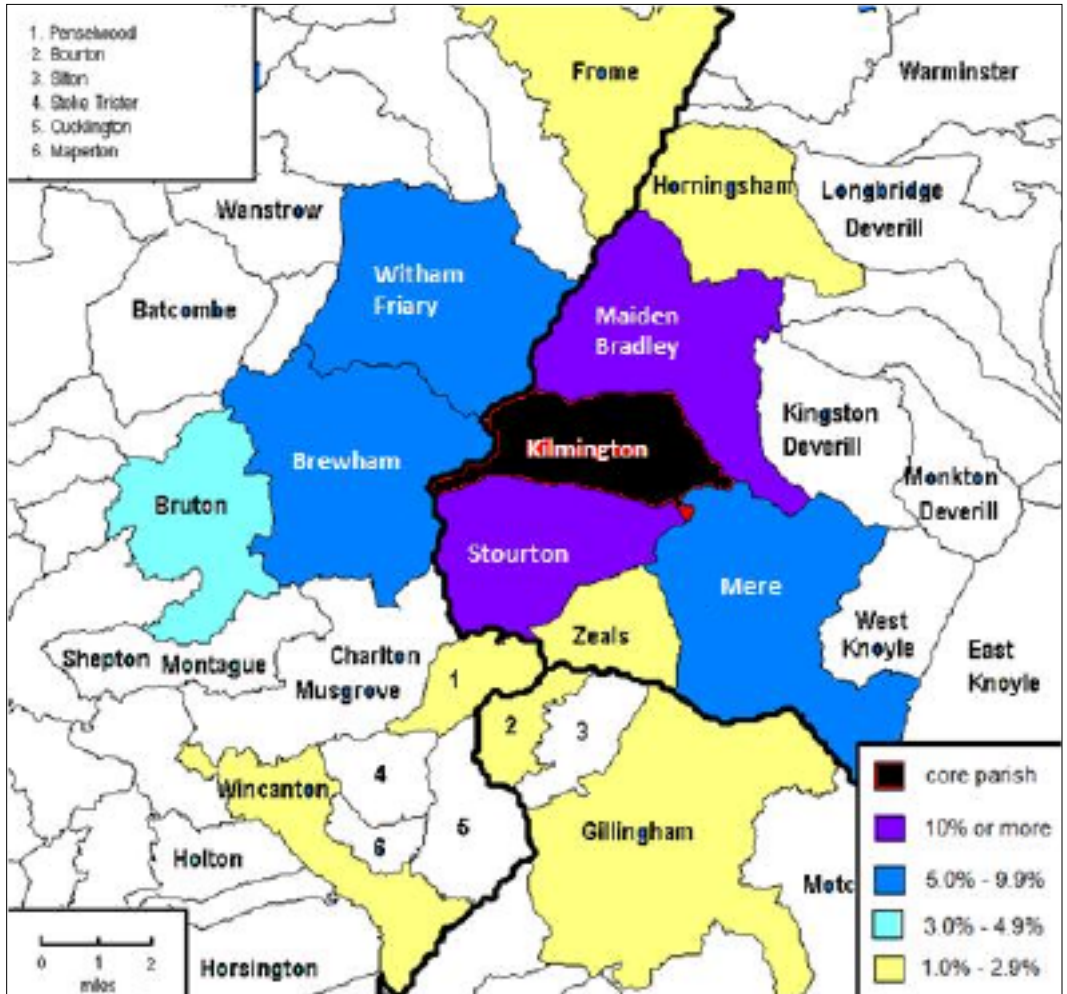


Source: Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

Bradley, yet they contributed one fifth and one sixth the number of grooms to Kilmington that Maiden Bradley did. The birthplaces of spouses were not distributed evenly based solely on distance and population.

In Kilmington incoming grooms tended to come from the three adjoining Wiltshire parishes of Stourton (14.7 per cent), Maiden Bradley (16.7 per cent) and Mere (12.6 per cent) (Figure 9). 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. Kilmington brides also came from Wiltshire in higher frequencies than from Somerset (Figure 10), but the distinction is not as clear as that for grooms. For Kilmington, two parishes in Somerset

Figure 10 Birthplaces of brides married in Kilmington, 1754–1914



Source: Stourton and Kilmington parish reconstitutions.

(Witham Friary and Brewham) each contributed more than 5 per cent but less than 10 per cent of brides, whereas no parish outside Wiltshire contributed more than 5 per cent of grooms to Kilmington. Generally, in Kilmington, the birthplaces of both exogamous brides and exogamous grooms were more tightly clustered than the comparable birthplaces for exogamous Stourton spouses. This aligns with the wider spread of birth counties for Stourton spouses than for Kilmington spouses (Figures 5 and 6).

For both Stourton and Kilmington, certain parishes contributed unequal proportions of brides and grooms. For example, in the case of Stourton, Kilmington contributed 15.2 per cent of grooms and 11.8 per cent of brides whereas Mere contributed 11.6 per cent of grooms and 17.5 per cent of brides.

Clearly, some of the variation just described cannot be explained purely by proximity and population size. This was so in other studies of English marriage patterns. In Dorset, some parishes were preferred over others and 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.<sup>47</sup> In one Essex village, centuries-long disputes over the use of Hatfield Forest had resulted in almost no spousal exchange between the two adjacent parishes of Hatfield Broad Oak and Great Hallingbury.<sup>48</sup> 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’.<sup>49</sup> Local sayings and rhymes ridiculed certain villages and their inhabitants.<sup>50</sup> A saying in Cheshire, recorded in 1787, was ‘It is better to wed over the mixon than over the moor’, meaning that it was better to marry someone from a nearby dunghill than a village further away.<sup>51</sup>

### Local topography

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

The land around Stourton and Kilmington is comparatively hilly, with an abrupt drop towards the west in Somerset. The 1895 border between Somerset and Wiltshire coincided with the sharp drop in altitude. The gradients from Stourton and Kilmington to Somerset in the north and west are steeper than those to Wiltshire in the east or Dorset in the south. For example, a journey north to Witham Friary or west to Brewham would involve an ascent of 300 feet followed by a descent of 450 feet over only three miles. In the other directions, east into Wiltshire and south into Dorset, the drop is more gradual and occurs over a longer distance. The effort required to walk 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 plausible to infer that this was a factor which influenced pre-marital movement, causing a greater flow of people in the more easily traversable directions. The steep gradients along the Somerset-Wiltshire were also forested, which probably further discouraged movement.

There is evidence of this effect from previous studies. In west Dorset between 1837 and 1936, among 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

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47 Perry, ‘Working class isolation’, 131.

48 Schürer, ‘Regional identity’, 225.

49 R.F. Peel, ‘Local intermarriage and the stability of rural population in the English Midlands’ *Geography*, 27 (1942), 22–30, here at 29.

50 Peel, ‘Local intermarriage’, 30.

51 F. Grose, *A provincial glossary 1787* (Menston, 1988).

parish in question was close to a main road.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, a study of population movements in Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire in the period 1754–1854 showed that spousal movement was along valleys, and not over hilly ground.<sup>53</sup>

Rivers could also be a barrier to local movement.<sup>54</sup> Rivers in the area with which this paper is concerned radiate out from their sources within the research area like spokes of a wheel. Although these rivers become comparatively wide when they approach the coast, they are quite narrow near their sources, usually being only one or two feet wide in the research area, and very shallow. This riverine layout means that rivers did not form a barrier between Stourton and Kilmington on the one hand and other parishes on the other.

### Transport

Neither Stourton nor Kilmington have ever been on any major road and so they have had little passing traffic in their history.<sup>55</sup> 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. Perry's 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.<sup>56</sup>

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 people and their goods was along footpaths, roads and (in the second half of the nineteenth century) railway lines. Most day-to-day transport for labourers was on foot until the beginning of the twentieth century and this is reflected in the distribution of marriage partners within walking distance of their marriage place. Bicycles were not widely available in England until 1895; before then they were almost exclusively used by the middle-class in urban areas.<sup>57</sup> 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, longer distance travel became easier and cheaper with the introduction of the railway to the area in the 1850s. The nearest stations to the research area are Bruton, which opened in 1856 and Gillingham, which opened in 1859.

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52 Perry, 'Working class isolation', 131.

53 Constant, 'Geographical background', 84.

54 Constant, 'Geographical background', 85; Küchemann *et al.*, 'A demographic and genetic study', 270; Harrison, *Human biology*, 49.

55 I. Mayes, 'Archaeological landscape survey: Stourhead Estate' (unpublished report commissioned for the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, 1995), 142.

56 Perry, 'Working class isolation', 131.

57 Perry, 'Working class isolation', 134.

The coming of the railways and improved roads were associated with higher proportions of spouses coming from 11 or more miles away, but these developments did not radically alter the proportions born at shorter distances outside the parish (Figures 4 and 5). Up to the 1830s, the average percentage of grooms born 11 or more miles from the parish, including abroad, was 5.8 per cent, which increased to 17.2 per cent for the period 1840 to 1879, then 33.2 per cent in the final period of 1880–1914. In Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire marriage horizons demonstrated that the further a parish was from the railway, the longer it took for marital distance to begin to increase.<sup>58</sup> In the present study the increase in marriage distances began before the railways were built. Hence the arrival of the railway in the region seems to have amplified a trend that was already apparent by the 1840s.

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.<sup>59</sup> The right to hold the market was granted in 1408 and the market continued each week until the middle of the eighteenth century, then it was revived sporadically until the middle of the nineteenth century. The traffic to and from Mere may account for some of the spousal movement from that parish.

## Occupation

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.<sup>60</sup> Thus, brides will not be considered in this section.

Occupations of grooms married in the research area were categorised as ‘the Elite’, ‘Farmers’, ‘Non-agricultural’ and ‘Labourers’. 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.<sup>61</sup> The Non-agricultural group included shopkeepers, millers, bakers, butchers, carpenters, shoemakers, clerks and police officers. The category of Labourers included anyone described as an agricultural labourer, general labourer or day labourer, as well as those

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58 Constant, ‘Geographical background’, 82.

59 D. Longbourne, *The book of Mere* (Tiverton, 2004), 83.

60 Royle, *Modern Britain*, 90.

61 Gerard, *Country house life*, 6.

**Table 1** Marital distance of men married in Stourton or Kilmington 1754–1914, by occupational group

Distance from birthplace to parish of marriage	Labourers	Non-agricultural	Farmers	The elite
Same parish	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

**Source:** Stourton and Kilmington Parish Reconstitutions.

**Notes:** All figures are column percentages. Figures may not sum exactly to 100.0 per cent because of rounding. Grooms whose marital distance was unknown have been omitted.

whose stated occupations required no specific training or apprenticeship. The latter group included farm servants, stable hands, under-gardeners and others.

Grooms were grouped by marital distance and occupational category, and the proportion born in each marital distance band was calculated.

Table 1 shows that grooms who were Labourers were more likely to be born locally than men in higher status occupations, with 48.9 per cent 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 four or more miles away. Seventy per cent 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.<sup>62</sup> The higher the class, the further away the groom is likely to have been born.

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 cottage.<sup>63</sup> At least in Stourton and Kilmington, this explanation may have some validity. The influence of social class on marital distance in eighteenth and nineteenth century Wiltshire is mirrored in the results for twentieth century Oxfordshire. In Otmoor villages in the 1960s, non-locally born men were, on average, of a higher social class than locally born men.<sup>64</sup> Perry excluded the middle and upper classes from the calculations of marital mobility in Dorset on the grounds that a 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

62 A chi-squared test showed that the difference between the four occupational groups was statistically significant at  $p < 0.001$ .

63 B.S. Bramwell, 'Frequency of cousin marriages', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 8 (1939), 305–16, here at 315.

64 Harrison, *Human biology*, 39.

transport, the upper classes came from further afield than labourers.<sup>65</sup> 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 per cent of their fathers and 26 per cent of their grandfathers were born in the village in which the respondents were now living, whilst heads of households who were labourers claimed 76 per cent and 48 per cent respectively.<sup>66</sup> Although the results were based on personal recollection and so may be subject to some error, the contrast between farmers and labourers is evident. Suspicion about 'outsiders' amongst the working class continued into the twentieth century. It has been suggested that in Elmdon, Essex there was greater hostility to outsiders amongst the poor and working class because they had more to lose from having their jobs taken by outsiders than did those in higher status occupations.<sup>67</sup>

## Religion

Finally, the marital distances of brides and grooms were considered with respect to the religion of each partner. For convenience, individuals were categorised as 'Catholic' or 'Protestant'. The former term encompassed Roman Catholics and the latter term included Anglicans and Protestant dissenters, which in the case of this research were Methodists and Congregationalists. The number of marriage partners in the research area who were Protestant dissenters was small (1.6 per cent of grooms and 2.3 per cent of brides). Previous studies show that there was little difference in marriage horizons for Protestant dissenters: although dissenters were free from institutional obstacles such as the parish church, they nevertheless confined their marriage horizons in the same way as Anglicans.<sup>68</sup> The religion used for analysis 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, with the latter comprising seven per cent of the sample.

Table 2 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

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65 Perry, 'Working class isolation', 124.

66 M.E. Davies, *Life in an English village* (London, 1909), 264.

67 See M. Strathern, *Kinship at the core: an anthropology of Elmdon, a village in north-west Essex in the nineteen-sixties* (Cambridge, 1981).

68 Snell, 'English rural societies', 267; Carter, 'Town or urban society', 104.

**Table 2 Birthplace of grooms and brides married in Stourton or Kilmington, by religion (per cent)**

Distance from birthplace to parish of marriage	Grooms		Brides	
	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Roman Catholic
Same parish	41.3	54.3	57.6	54.0
1–3 miles	26.6	17.3	19.1	29.9
4–10 miles	20.6	12.3	13.5	6.9
Further	11.3	14.8	9.7	8.0
Abroad	0.3	1.2	0.1	1.1

**Source:** Stourton and Kilmington Parish Reconstitutions.

**Notes:** All figures are column percentages. Figures may not sum exactly to 100.0 per cent because of rounding. Brides and grooms whose marital distance was unknown have been omitted.

owners, the Lords Stourton, who were devout Catholics. Nearby parishes may not have been so tolerant. 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. How far this was enforced in south-west 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.

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 Catholic chapels 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.

By contrast, Table 2 shows that similar proportions of Catholic (54 per cent) and Protestant brides (58 per cent) were born in the parish in which they were married. The major difference is in those born within one–three miles from the parish of marriage, where 19 per cent of Protestant brides were born, compared to 30 per cent for Catholic brides. This may be a result of the greater attachment of Catholic women to their faith than Catholic men.<sup>69</sup> 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 may have been 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 to Anglicanism, some Catholic men chose not to marry in the Catholic chapel in Stourton and since 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

<sup>69</sup> Bossy, *English Catholic community*, 157.



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 than Catholic men married in Stourton but born one–three miles away.

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

Religion not only influenced marital distance but also parish preference. Figure 7 showed that although Shepton Montague is 8.3 miles from Stourton, it contributed 2.3 per cent of the grooms to Stourton, compared to Charlton Musgrove at 1.0 per cent, which was 2.5 miles closer. The two parishes had almost identical population sizes. The unequal distribution is related to religion. In the late eighteenth 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 five were born in Shepton Montague. However, as the nineteenth century progressed, the number of Catholics in England increased, particularly as a result of Irish immigration, and more Catholic places of worship were established. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Catholic worship was available in Wincanton, only four miles from Shepton Montague.<sup>70</sup> 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 born in Shepton Montague and married in Stourton after 1850.

Religion and occupation were also correlated in Stourton, with Catholics being represented more often than Protestants in Non-agricultural occupations, such as bakers, carpenters and shopkeepers, but being less well-represented in the lower levels of society (Labourers and paupers) and the higher levels of society (Farmers and the Elite).

## Conclusion

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 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

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70 Currie, *Victoria County History*, 225.

boundary, albeit a porous one. This is probably because the county boundaries coincided with significant natural features, such as the steep incline from Somerset to Wiltshire and the forest along the ridge. Some villages were preferred over others, for no apparent reason, and this can be attributed to traditional preferences for people from those villages, or avoidance of other villages. Geographic mobility was influenced by occupation 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 than did 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 nineteenth century. In summary, the geographic mobility of spouses was influenced by a range of factors including local topography, occupation and religion.