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# The Transmission of Well-Being

Gendered Marriage Strategies and Inheritance Systems  
in Europe (17th–20th Centuries)



Peter Lang

## Marriage Strategies in Azorean Communities of Pico Island (19th Century)

### Differentiated Female Behaviour in Choosing a Lifelong Partner

Norberta AMORIM and Carlota SANTOS

It is our opinion that through historical demography we cannot only reach a better knowledge of living conditions of females in the past, from the early-modern to the contemporary period, but also dig deeper into the history of the family. Databases prepared originally for demographical analysis, are open to systematic improvement by following individual life courses in the genealogical chain, and by combining sources containing sociological or cultural information. Good quality sources are available regarding the nineteenth century, allowing us a thorough analysis of family reproduction, conditions of female well-being and access to marriage, sexual life and reproduction.

Pico Island, in the Azores archipelago, is where we have created rich digitalised databases and accomplished a systematic linkage of different nominative sources, completed with a collection of orally transmitted memories. Our first results revealed high levels of child survival on the island and high longevity of the population (Amorim 1992; Mesquita 1998; Santos 2004; Amorim 2005). This phenomenon of low mortality, that we assume to be a major well-being indicator, clearly reveals the women's important role in the familial economy. Indeed, within these mainly rural communities, the parting of women from agricultural work allowed a greater dedication to the members of the domestic household and, frequently, the development of small craft industries which added to the families' income.

The aim of the present study is to analyse differential strategies for biological and social reproduction in different communities of Pico Island, addressing the incidence of geographical endogamy – in relation to female

well-being –, models of spouse selection and the evolution of the mean age at first marriage, considering the different social strata and the particular context of male emigration and socio-economic changes during the nineteenth century. Regional differences will be stressed.

### Ecological Characteristics of Pico Island

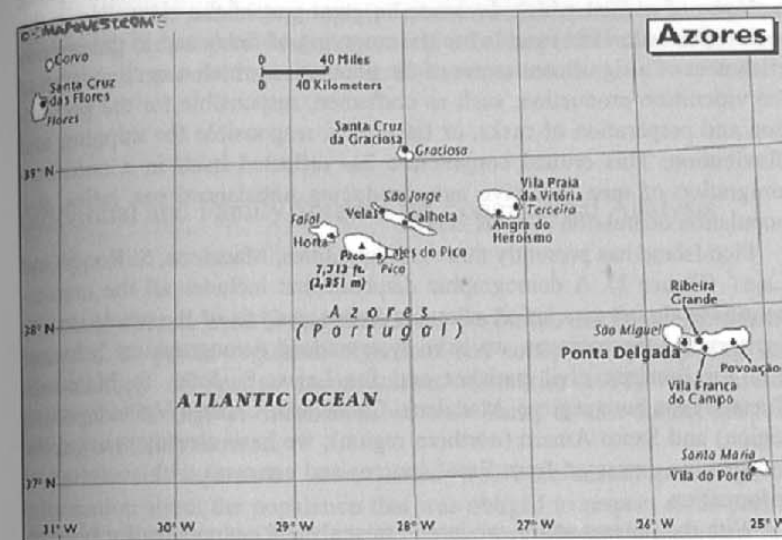
The Azores islands (Figure 1), uninhabited when discovered by Portuguese navigators in the fifteenth century, occupy a total area of 2,344 km<sup>2</sup>. The archipelago, formed by nine islands of volcanic origin, is situated in the Atlantic Ocean some 1,500 km from the European mainland, with an orientation SE–NW with a spread of 600 km.<sup>1</sup> Pico is part of the central group of islands (Terceira, Graciosa, S. Jorge, Pico and Faial), where Pico and Faial are only 6 km apart from each other.

The Pico Island, with a surface area of 433 Km<sup>2</sup> and 14,806 inhabitants nowadays (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2001), had more than 30,000 inhabitants in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Pico is a recent island, dominated by a mountain elevated 2,351 metres above sea level. The population, conditioned by the complex orography, was established in the lower parts of the littoral where the best lands for fruit and vegetable cultivation are situated. The highlands were occupied by pastures of over 800 metres in altitude, and by woods where some native botanic species of Azores proliferate. The need to overcome the agricultural limitations has favoured maritime activities, by stimulating the fishing and, from the 19th century on, the whale industry.

The soil is poor for cereal crops, especially in the western region, which is basically occupied by the municipality of Madalena. The mild climate and the soil characteristics create favourable conditions for the development of viticulture assuring the exportation of a high quality wine to Northern Europe, Russia, the United States of America and Brazil.

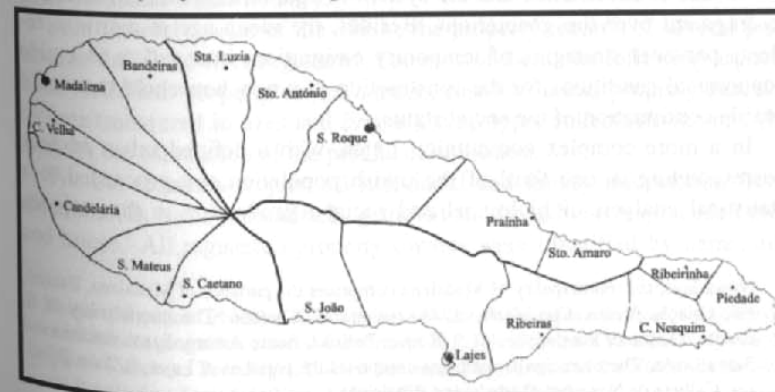
1. The spread of 600 km has the following coordinates: Santa Maria, (36° 55' 43" N; 24° 46' 15" WG); Corvo (39° 43' 23" N; 31° 16' 24" WG).

Figure 1. Map of the Azores archipelago



Notes: The Azores archipelago is defined in three geographical groups of islands: the Eastern group (S. Miguel and Santa Maria); the Central group (Terceira, Graciosa, S. Jorge, Pico and Faial); the Western group (Flores and Corvo).

Figure 2. Map of Pico Island, Azores. Localization of parishes, distributed nowadays by three municipalities: Madalena, S. Roque and Lajes



From 1853 on, the wine production of Pico was drastically reduced by a plague of *oidium* which devastated a great part of the vineyards in the region (Macedo 1981) and led to the emptying of fields and to the impoverishment of a significant sector of the population which was connected to the viticulture production, such as craftsmen, responsible for the production and preparation of casks, or fishermen, responsible for shipping and distribution. This critical conjuncture has reflected itself in a notorious emigration of men in active age, producing unbalanced sex ratios and population depression (Santos 2004).

Pico Island has presently three municipalities, Madalena, S. Roque and Lajes<sup>2</sup> (Figure 2). A demographic database that includes all the municipalities is almost concluded, allowing future analysis of the whole insular territory. At the moment, we have systematized demographical information for fourteen civil parishes and for Lajes, S. João, S. Mateus/S. Caetano (southern region), Madalena, Candelária, Criação Velha (western region) and Santo Amaro (northern region); we have already crossed the information extracted from fiscal sources and censuses with sociological information.

With the present study, we intend to analyse the strategies for biological and social reproduction of different communities during the 19th century. Adopting a micro-analytical perspective, we address the incidence of geographical endogamy and the evolution of the mean age at first marriage, considering the different social strata. Indeed, in these societies where a subsistence economy predominated, the selection process of the spouse was strongly conditioned by the need to ensure the enlargement of the means of subsistence that the system of egalitarian inheritance tended to fragment over the generations. Besides, the mean age at marriage reflects personal strategies of temporary emigration, intended to assemble economical conditions for the construction of a new household that could enable continuation of the social status.

In a more complex community, Lajes, with a defined urban nucleus corresponding to one third of the parish population, we proceeded to a statistical analysis of biological and social reproduction in the majority

2 Nowadays, the municipality of Madalena comprises the parishes of Madalena, Bandelras, Criação Velha, Candelária, S. Mateus and S. Caetano. The municipality of S. Roque comprises the parishes of S. Roque, Prainha, Santo Amaro, Santo António and Santa Luzia. The municipality of Lajes comprises the parishes of Lajes, S. João, Ribeiras, Calheta de Nesquim, Piedade and Ribeirinha

groups (farmers, rural workers, fishermen and craftsmen). We reserved for case studies the minority groups (property owners and the urban nobles) evidencing the adopted strategies not only for the preservation of the economic level or social status, but also for its valorisation.

### Individual and Family Sources for Longitudinal Analysis

The basic sources used in this study were the births, marriages and deaths recorded in parish registers, organised and analysed by applying the methodology of "parish reconstitution" (Amorim 1991). For further nominative linkage of information we were lucky to also collect the following available sources.

a) *Róis de confessados* (*status animarum*) were annual gatherings of information about the population that was obliged to respect some parish precepts. Made by the parish priest, these lists aimed to supervise the abidance of the ecclesiastical rules. Since the end of the 1860s or in the beginning of the next decade, all the inhabitants of each parish were noted, including minors, turning this source into a proper population census.

b) Passport records were kept since 1859 with reference to the parish of origin, name, age, profession, as well as height, eye or hair colour and other particular characteristics.

c) In the early years of the 1880s, the property records of several parishes of the island were registered. For each of them, the following aspects were identified: property owner's name, rustic or urban property parcels, its area (measured in *ares* and *braças*), crop type, collectable income (in *réis*) for the calculation of the predial contribution.

For our research project, all individual and family information from these sources was systematically gathered and linked to a map of each plot and house.<sup>3</sup> All registered property owners were identified by name, ad-

3 Project "Espaços Urbanos e Rurais. Micro-análise dos comportamentos demográficos, mobilidades geográfica e social e dinâmicas culturais (séculos XVI a XX)", Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, Lisbon. See research programs of the Núcleo de Estudos de População e Sociedade/Neps, I.C.S., Universidade do Minho.

dress, size and number of property they owned, as mentioned, making it possible to establish connection between families and land property owned, as well as to evaluate their economical resources.

d) Population rolls were organized by households. They referred to 1836 (for the Lajes municipality) and to 1838 (for the municipalities of Madalena and S. Roque). They were elaborated for civil administrative reasons, specifying professions of male household heads, while the female work was generally omitted. In the case of the 1836 census, households were classified according to two categories, property owners and non property owners. We learn how these householders made a living: whether they lived exclusively out of their property income or from any kind of wage paid by the State (except military salary). It is mentioned if they made their living exclusively out of their work, or if they added to their work some other income or salary. The beggars, which could be fixed or ambulant beggars, were also identified.

### Data Linkage and Research Method for Reconstructing Marriage Strategies

The specificity of the available sources to be linked with demographic data conditioned the type of possible analysis for each one of the communities under study. We decided to maximize the exploitation of the respective sources.

For the parishes of Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária, we crossed the information from the 1838 population rolls with the respective demographic databases, in order to proceed to the analysis of differential behaviours within those populations. In the absence of specific references to female work as a source of family income, family behaviours were analysed according to the profession of the household head. Given that it was difficult to know exactly the standard of living of a family, the mentioned profession was taken mainly as an indicator of social status and its belonging to some structural group with distinctive characteristics.

For S. João, Santo Amaro and Lajes we created databases, as systematic as possible, including all reconstructed life courses of inhabitants up

to 1883, when property records were gathered in those villages, so that all property owners were well identified, be it of rural or urban real estate.

By studying *róis de confessados* and property records, each house was located in the proper place, site or street. All members of each family were identified and, in the case of a procreating family, we included the children who were later born in the parish. We tried to find the affiliation of each individual, his date of birth, eventually his date of marriage or death and, if that was the case, the exact or approximate date of exit from the island. We also tried, for the heads of each residential unit, to find the residence of first degree relatives, parents or siblings, if still living. For each property owner, we created a file with the respective properties, rural or urban, referring to site, area, crop type, type of house and collectable income.

In the case of S. Caetano (that integrated the parish of S. Mateus until 1886), inhabitants were listed in 1861, but the fact that the property records were not from the same year did not allow us to establish a systematic connection between each family and property.

The complex orography of Pico Island and its isolation – until very recent times (Rocha 1991) – strongly limited spouse selection not only to the parish's area but even to the place of residence. Economic and socio-cultural factors contributed simultaneously to the intensification of this tendency. In fact, the structure of small property owning itself stimulated social proximity and created solidarity ties between rural workers that owned small parcels of land they cultivated to guarantee the living of the family, advising the concentration of property via marriage and avoiding its excessive division, induced by a system of egalitarian inheritance.

Thanks to rich information resulting from the linkage process between nominative demographic databases and lists of the inhabitants and property records, we proceeded to the analysis of the levels of geographical endogamy and average age at first marriage observed throughout the 19th century in the western, northern and southern regions, noting existing variations between different occupational groups.

### Western Pico's Model of Spouse Selection

We found rather high rates of exogamous marriages in Criação Velha, where one groom out of five was an outsider (Table 1). By contrast, Candelária stands out with the highest percentage of endogamous marriages in any of the analysed periods (79.5 percent for the period 1800–1849 and 83.2 percent for 1850–1899). This difference reflects geographical proximity and kinship relationships that were established by the families of Madalena throughout the nineteenth century with families of another parish (Santos 2004), explaining 21 percent of mixed marriages involving mainly men from Madalena and women from Criação Velha. But in all parishes belonging to the western region of Pico Island, some family relationships were also established with nearby Faial Island: these relationships were easy to entertain and they enlarged their horizons.

*Table 1.* Endogamous and exogamous unions, western parishes of Pico Island, Azores, all marriages, by periods (1800–1899). Percentages

Periods of marriage	Total Number of marriages	Endogamous unions		Exogamous unions		
		both from the parish %	All exogamous Unions %	female outsider %	male outsider %	both outsiders %
<i>Madalena</i>						
1800–1849	783	75.4	24.6	9.1	13.8	1.7
1850–1899	569	71.0	29.0	9.0	14.9	5.1
<i>Criação Velha</i>						
1801–1849	331	70.4	29.6	6.6	20.9	2.1
1850–1899	256	69.5	30.5	6.3	21.9	2.3
<i>Candelária</i>						
1800–1849	737	79.5	20.5	4.2	13.9	2.4
1850–1899	446	83.2	16.8	5.8	9.0	2.0

Sources: Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária data sets (3122 marriages).

Although the marriage market of the individuals living in the first half of the 19th century can be globally defined by a strong endogamy and by the reduced marital mobility of females, we see a clear difference between the surrounding area of the Madalena port, easily connected to the city of Horta in Faial and other islands, contacts which stimulated marriage projects with individuals that were born outside, and the geographically more distant rural areas of Pico.

*Table 2.* Origin of outsider spouses in exogamous unions, western parishes of Pico Island, Azores (1800–1899). Percentages

Origin of outsider spouse	Madalena	Criação Velha	Candelária
	%	%	%
Pico (S.Roque and Lajes)	54.9	64.7	37.3
Faial	26.5	21.6	49.1
Other Azorean islands	11.9	9.8	10.2
Other countries	6.7	3.9	3.4
	100	100	100
Pico and Faial	81.4	86.3	86.4

Sources: Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária, data sets.

However, analysing in detail all exogamous unions during the 19th century (when one of the spouses was not born in the parish or municipality) that have been celebrated in each of the three western parishes, we notice that the relationship with Faial Island was anyway relatively intense in Candelária, in 49.1 percent of the cases, whereas Madalena was preferentially oriented towards other islands of the Azores archipelago or towards more distant localities of the continent, Brazil or the USA (Table 2). Throughout the nineteenth century, the variety of occupations was quite narrow, with a vast majority of farmers, rural workers and fishermen declared in the population roles of 1838. Big property owners and public workers were concentrated at the administrative centre.

Endogamy rates were higher and more stable among the farmers and rural workers, reaching already 88.8 percent in the first half of the century, than among property owners. The fishermen group approached those rates during the first period, falling significantly behind during the second part of the 19th century (Table 3).

Table 3. Endogamous and exogamous unions, western parishes of Pico Island, Azores, marriages by socio-professional groups and periods (1800–1899). Percentages

Periods of marriage	Total Number of marriages	Endogamous unions	All exogamous Unions	Exogamous unions		
		both from the parish %		female outsider %	male outsider %	both outsiders %
<i>Farmers+ Rural workers</i>						
1800–1849	429	88.8	11.2	5.4	5.4	0.4
1850–1899	700	88.0	12.0	4.5	6.7	0.6
<i>Fishermen</i>						
1800–1849	90	87.8	12.2	6.7	5.5	0.0
1850–1899	170	81.2	18.8	5.9	10.6	2.3
<i>Craftsmen</i>						
1800–1849	70	72.8	27.2	2.9	21.4	2.9
1850–1899	116	69.0	31.0	6.0	23.3	1.7
<i>Property owners</i>						
1800–1849	56	64.3	35.7	10.7	19.6	5.4
1850–1899	86	65.1	34.9	8.1	14.0	12.8

Sources: Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária data sets (1717 marriages).

Notes: Marriages where occupation is known.

Whereas the craftsmen's sector occupied an intermediate position, the property owner's group presented a maximum incidence of exogamous marriages, especially those involving outsider women. The difference from other groups was remarkable in the case of marriages between brides and grooms who were both outsiders to the parish, going up to 5.4 percent (in the period 1800–1849) and 12.8 percent in the following period.

### Central Pico's Model of Spouse Selection

Not surprisingly, in the parishes of S. Caetano, S. João and Santo Amaro, which are more distant from a direct connection to Faial Island, parish endogamy was more intense. This self-enclosure was not only centred on the parish, but also applied to the place of residence and neighbourhood or quarter attachments. In fact, for the inhabitants of Pico, it did not make

much sense to speak of S. Caetano, S. João or Santo Amaro as undivided spaces (Amorim 2004; 2005; 2006). In each of these parishes, we can clearly distinguish two communities with different spaces, strong identities and sense-of-belonging symbols.<sup>4</sup> In S. Caetano, there is the Prainha quarter and the Terra do Pão quarter; in S. João, Companhia de Cima and Companhia de Baixo; in Santo Amaro, Terra Alta and Fajã.

To evaluate how frequently individuals chose a spouse from the same site, we adopted specific criteria to be applied to these three parishes. For each inventoried individual, married or widowed, the place of residence of the first degree consanguine kin (parents or brothers, if residents) was considered. If the parents, or at least one of them, were still alive, their place of residence was taken as the individual's origin.

In the cases where we identified three or more siblings of an individual with deceased parents, the place where most of them lived was considered to be the origin of the family. In cases where two siblings residing in a different place from the individual were identified, the place where those siblings lived was considered to be the origin of the family. In the case of two siblings residing each in a different place, the place of residence of the observed individual was considered as the origin place of the family. All the other cases of individuals born in the parish were considered as omitting place information, locating them in the parish. When it was not possible to clarify the residence of first degree relatives, but their dates of birth were known, we located the individual in the parish.

According to these criteria, S. Caetano had a very strong parish endogamy in the mid-nineteenth century (Table 4), with 95 percent of the men and 93 percent of the women – married or widowed and deceased spouses – born in the same space. Few outsider men were found: ten we suppose to be from S. Mateus, one from S. João, two from Candelária, one from Madalena, one from Bandeiras and one from S. Jorge, adding one of unknown origin. However, it is worth noticing that S. Caetano was declared as an autonomous parish from S. Mateus only in 1886. Concerning women, there are fourteen that we suppose to be from S. Mateus, six from S. João, one from Lajes and two of unknown origin.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the sense-of-belonging landmark symbols are the S. Caetano Church, located in Prainha quarter, and Santa Margarida Church in Terra do Pão quarter, both in S. Caetano parish, as well as the Espírito Santo chapels that were constructed near those churches. In what concerns S. João, both Companhia de Cima and Companhia de Baixo have their own Espírito Santo chapels.

Table 4. Endogamous and exogamous unions in S. Caetano, a central/southern parish of Pico Island, Azores, spouse origin by local quarters and residence criteria (1861), by gender. Percentages

Residence of first degree Consanguine kin*	Place of residence*					
	Terra do Pão quarter		Prainha quarter		S. Caetano parish	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
S. Caetano Same place	63	71	61	61	62	65
S. Caetano Different place	6	4	4	5	5	5
S. Caetano Unidentified place	26	21	29	25	28	23
S. Caetano: Total	95	96	94	91	95	93
S. Mateus	3	1	3	6	3	4
S. João	1	2	0	2	0	2
Other parish of Pico	1	1	1	0	2	0
Other Azorean islands	0	0	1	0	0	0
Unidentified parish	0	0	1	1	0	1
Other parishes	5	4	6	9	5	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: S. Caetano listing for 1861 and reconstructed population data sets.

Notes: \*Residence criteria: for each inventoried individual, married or widowed, the place of residence of the first degree consanguine individuals (parents or brothers, if residents) was considered. If the parents, or at least one of them, were still alive, their place of residence was taken as the individual's origin.

Terra do Pão and Prainha are different quarters of S. Caetano parish.

Analysing same-place behaviour, and subtracting the cases of unidentified place, we see that, of the 96 men we know to have been born in Terra do Pão, only 8 went to Prainha to marry. Of the 118 men we know to have been born in Prainha, only 8 sought Terra do Pão for marriage, a smaller proportion than the first one. Among the 104 women born in Terra do Pão, 6 married in Prainha. From the 121 born in Prainha, only 9 married in Terra de Pão.

The difference of attraction between each place does not appear to be very significant. Men from Terra do Pão who married in Prainha constitute about 8 percent of the total, whereas 7 percent of the men from Prainha married in Terra do Pão. Female percentages were respectively 6 percent and 7 percent. Through our observation, we can also state that spouse selection in S. Caetano was mostly occurring within the place of

residence, street or dirt road, which is only possible due to the relative concentration of the urban spaces and the connections created between small property owners that searched viability for the exploitation of their small farms.

From the figures we found for Santo Amaro in 1883, a strong parish endogamy is also evidenced, though not as accentuated as in S. Caetano. In fact, 78.9 percent of the men living in Santo Amaro – or deceased spouses of the residing women – were born in the parish. In the case of women, this percentage reached 82.5 percent (Table 5).

Table 5. Endogamous and exogamous unions in Santo Amaro, a central/northern parish of Pico Island, Azores, spouse origin by local quarters and residence criteria (1883), by gender. Percentages

Residence of first degree consanguine kin*	Place of residence*					
	Terra Alta quarter		Fajã quarter		Santo Amaro parish	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Santo Amaro Same place	42.9	46.3	54.2	63.9	50.0	56.8
Santo Amaro Other place	10.0	5.0	0.8	3.4	4.2	4.1
Santo Amaro Unidentified place	22.9	27.5	25.8	17.6	24.7	21.6
Santo Amaro: Total	75.8	78.8	80.8	84.9	78.9	82.5
Prainha	4.3	3.8	4.1	3.4	4.2	3.5
Piedade	1.4	8.7	1.7	2.5	1.6	5.0
Ribeiras	5.7	3.7	5.0	2.5	5.3	3.0
Other parish of Pico	2.8	2.5	1.7	2.5	2.1	2.5
Other Azorean islands	5.7	0	4.2	1.7	4.7	1.0
Unidentified parish	4.3	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.2	2.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Santo Amaro listing for 1883 and reconstructed population data sets.

Notes: \*Residence criteria: for each inventoried individual, married or widowed, the place of residence of the first degree consanguine individuals (parents or brothers, if residents) was considered. If the parents, or at least one of them, were still alive, their place of residence was taken as the individual's origin. Terra Alta and Fajã are different quarters of Santo Amaro parish.

Contrary to what we expected, the parish of Pico which offered more grooms to Santo Amaro's women was Ribeiras, and not the neighbouring parishes of Prainha or Piedade. This is the result of the lack, at the time, of



a connection road surrounding the island, which made contacts easier through the woods. The pastures of Santo Amaro were connected to Ribeiras, and their maritime communities also shared preferential connections. Outsider women mostly came from Piedade. Of the outsider men that married in Santo Amaro and resided in the parish by 1883, nine were born in other Azorean islands, mainly S. Jorge and Terceira. In the case of outsider women, only two were not born in Pico. Thus in 1883 Santo Amaro, no one married a person born outside of the archipelago.

If we analyse the situation by place, we verify that, in Terra Alta, marriage with outsider men was more frequent than in the previous example, going up to 24.2 percent against Fajã's 19.3 percent. As in most of the other parishes, most men marrying Terra Alta's women came from Ribeiras and other Azorean islands. In the case of women, there was more variation between each place. Terra Alta attracted mostly women from Piedade (Ribeirinha was, at the time, part of the Piedade parish) than from any other parish of Pico, and there were no women from outside the island. In Fajã, most women came from Prainha, but without significant differences from the parishes mentioned in Table 5.

For those born in Santo Amaro, the results found for local endogamy, without considering the unidentified individuals, are very interesting. Of the men born inside the parish and residing in Terra Alta by 1883, or deceased husbands of resident women, 81 percent were born in the place. The corresponding percentage of native-born among women residents, or deceased wives of resident men, was 90.2 percent. In Fajã, the percentage of men is of 98.5 percent, and of women, 95 percent. It appears to be clear that both places of the parish of Santo Amaro, Terra Alta and Fajã, were communities with few endogamous relationships. We have to verify that, in any given case, marriages in other places of the parish were in lesser number than those outside of it. However, men from the smaller place, Terra Alta, were more attracted to Fajã than the contrary. We admit that the greater attraction for Fajã could come as a result not only of its higher richness in terms of productive soil, but also of the existence of more diverse occupational activities.

In the case of S. João we still find high levels of geographical local endogamy, though inferior to those of Santo Amaro and close to those registered in S. Caetano (Table 6).

Table 6. Endogamous and exogamous unions in S. João, a central/southern parish of Pico Island, Azores, spouse origin by local quarters and residence criteria (1883), by gender. Percentages

Residence of first degree consanguine kin*	Place of residence*					
	Companhia de Cima quarter		Companhia de Baixo quarter		S. João parish	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
S. João Same place	76	82	71	76	73	78
S. João Different place	9	6	4	7	6	7
S. Mateus	8	6	11	7	10	7
Lajes	5	2	5	5	5	4
Other parish of Pico	1	4	4	5	3	4
Faial parish	1	0	2	0	1	0
Other Azorean islands	0	0	3	0	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: S. João listing for 1883 and reconstructed population data sets.

Notes: \* Residence criteria: for each inventoried individual, married or widowed, the place of residence of the first degree consanguine individuals (parents or brothers, if residents) was considered. If the parents, or at least one of them, were still alive, their place of residence was taken as the individual's origin.

Companhia de Cima and Companhia de Baixo are different quarters of S. João parish.

Oddly enough, it was in the smaller place, Companhia de Cima, that the percentage of spouses of both sexes born in the same place was higher: 76 percent of the men and 82 percent of the women with access to marriage had the same geographical origin. In the case of Companhia de Baixo, these percentages were 71 percent and 76 percent, respectively.

Companhia de Baixo showed a larger receptivity towards other parishes. Of the neighbouring parishes, S. Mateus and Lajes, marital relationships were established the most in S. Mateus. Marriages with individuals from other Pico parishes or Azorean islands rarely happened. However, we found men born in Terceira, Graciosa and S. Miguel who married women from Companhia de Baixo who had emigrated to Brazil or to the USA, and who later returned with their families. No individual from Madeira Island or from the continent was identified.

### Age at First Marriage as an Indicator of Well-Being

In Pico Island, the mean age at first marriage increased during the 19th century for both men and women. This was a direct consequence of a depressed economic conjuncture which intensified differential migratory movements. Furthermore, well-known demographic auto-regulating mechanisms were at work (Hajnal 1965), with female reproductive capacity being reduced as women began their sexual life late.<sup>5</sup>

Our study of the age at first marriage focuses on the Western region of Pico, for which, as explained above, we gathered a considerable set of data on marriages and individual female and male life courses from 1800 to 1899. It was a chance to compute not only ages of marriage partners which were recorded when the marriage ceremony was performed, but to calculate the exact age of bride and grooms from their local birth registration. In this way, in a transversal perspective, we observed, for the 19th century, all marriages which appeared to be potentially "useful" from a female reproductive capacity point of view.

The western region of Pico Island that was extremely dependent on viticulture was particularly affected by the *oidium* plague from 1853 onwards. Given this context of economic crisis, emigration toward medium and long distance destinations intensified, especially for men, and first marriage for both sexes was delayed while sex ratios became more and more unbalanced, leaving many females without a possible spouse and putting their future well-being in danger (Santos 2004).

### Delaying First Marriage in Western Pico

The detailed study of three western parishes of Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária shows clear population depletion, an increased lack of

5 Theoretically, female biological reproductive capacity starts around age 12 and rarely lasts after age 49.

men and first marriage seriously delayed after 1850, affecting timing and probability of access to first marriage, particularly for women (Table 7).

Table 7. Mean age at first marriages, in three western parishes of Pico Island, Azores, by gender and periods (1800–1899). Percentages and figures

Periods of Marriage	Men		Women	
	N	Age	N	Age
<i>Madalena</i>				
1800–1849	578	28.9	635	25.6
1850–1899	405	30.8	473	27.8
<i>Criação Velha</i>				
1801–1849	266	27.8	288	25.0
1850–1899	207	29.9	240	27.3
<i>Candelária</i>				
1800–1849	561	26.6	590	24.2
1850–1899	355	28.3	379	27.0
<i>Together (western region)</i>				
1800–1849	1,405	27.8	1,513	24.9
1850–1899	967	29.7	1,092	27.4

Sources: Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária data sets

Notes: Partners marrying for the first time and aged less than 50 years old.

Considering the three different parishes under study, we notice, in a context of advanced ages at first marriage when compared to other European regions for the same period (Henry and Houdaille 1979; Flinn 1981), a serious delay in Madalena during the early 19th century, whereas women of Candelária delayed their marriage later in time.

Proceeding to a comparative analysis of marriage behaviours observed within the different occupational groups, we notice significant variations of the mean age at marriage that point to a considerable influence of socio-cultural aspects associated with land property, also verified in other regions of continental and insular Portuguese territories (Brettell 1986; Amorim 1987; Mesquita 1998; Scott 1999) (Table 8).

Table 8. Mean age at first marriages, in three western parishes of Pico Island, Azores, by gender, by occupational groups and periods (1800–1899). Percentages and figures

Periods of marriage	Men		Women	
	N	Age	N	Age
<i>Farmers + Rural workers</i>				
1800–1849	358	28.2	363	24.8
1850–1899	576	29.7	610	27.6
<i>Fishermen</i>				
1801–1849	77	24.9	79	23.3
1850–1899	130	26.8	155	25.7
<i>Craftsmen</i>				
1800–1849	49	27.9	62	25.2
1850–1899	80	28.5	103	25.4
<i>Property owners</i>				
1800–1849	40	28.7	44	24.6
1850–1899	49	39.2	63	27.8

Sources: Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária data sets.

Notes: Marriages where occupation is known. Partners marrying for the first time and aged less than 50 years old.

As a matter of fact, in any of the analysed periods, the wives of fishermen always married at the youngest ages, in spite of the advanced age registered among women who married between 1850 and 1899, and compared to the mean age of the craftsmen's wives of the same period. Craftsmen present intermediate and stable figures, for both sexes.

The mean ages at marriage of farmers, rural workers and property owners were always the highest ones, mainly for men presenting similar values during the first half of the century. However, after 1850, the mean age at first marriage for male property owners rose extremely. This phenomenon suggests new constraints regarding the passing on of big property during their lifetime or through succession, and also difficulties in activating homogamous matrimonial alliances with the objectives of preserving or concentrating assets.

We now raise the question of whether rural communities of central Pico Island experienced similar changes concerning mean age at first marriages during the 19th century.

### Regional Differences in Age at First Marriage

The average ages at first marriage in S. Mateus,<sup>6</sup> S. João and Santo Amaro were also very high, with time variations of some significance in each parish.

Table 9. Mean age at first marriages, in three central parishes of Pico Island, Azores, by gender, and periods (1800–1899). Percentages and figures

Periods of marriage	Men		Women	
	N	Age	N	Age
<i>S. Mateus*</i>				
1800–1849	779	27.8	878	25.0
1850–1899	533	30.3	627	28.5
<i>S. João</i>				
1800–1849	267	29.2	325	26.1
1850–1899	198	29.2	252	27.5
<i>Together (central/southern region)</i>				
1800–1849	1,046	28.1	1,203	25.5
1850–1899	731	30.0	879	27.9
<i>Santo Amaro (central/northern region)</i>				
1800–1849	146	28.3	200	27.0
1850–1899	156	29.5	182	26.1

Sources: S. João, S. Mateus/S. Caetano (central/southern region) and Santo Amaro (central/northern region) data sets.

Notes: Partners marrying for the first time and aged less than 50 years old.

\* S. Caetano was a part of the large S. Mateus parish until 1886.

Considering two long periods of half a century, the high mean age at first marriage for women resulted from perturbations of the matrimonial market caused by increasing male emigration. This did not happen in Santo Amaro, in central/northern region, where only the male mean age at first marriage increased from the first to the second period of the 19th century. It was only there in the two last decades of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century (Amorim 2005) that the female mean age was reduced, respectively, to 24.4 and 23.6 years of age, an unmatched result in other parishes. In S. Caetano and S. João, the reduction of the

<sup>6</sup> S. Caetano was a part of the large S. Mateus parish until 1886.

mean age at first marriage is only more notorious in the first decades of the 20th century (Amorim 1992).

Figure 3. Evolution of the mean age at first marriage for men in the western and southern regions of Pico Island, Azores (1800–1899).

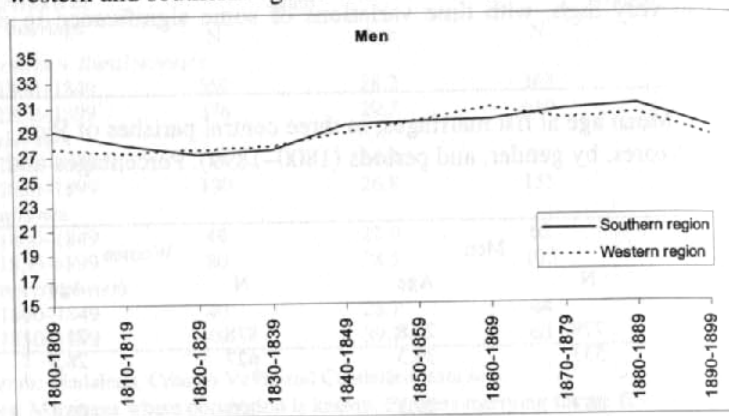
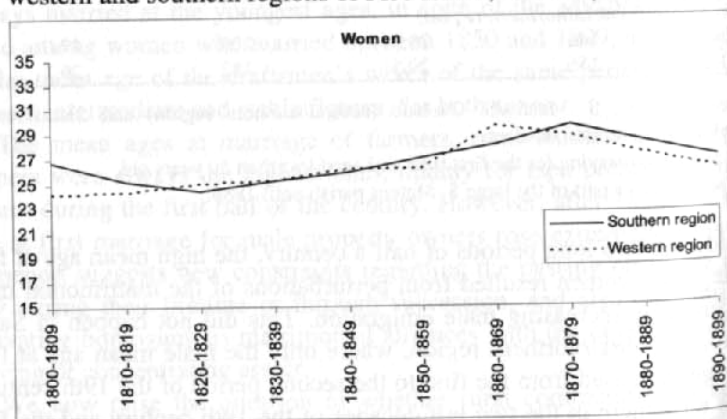


Figure 4. Evolution of the mean age at first marriage for women in the western and southern regions of Pico Island, Azores (1800–1899).



Sources: Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária (western parishes) data sets; S. João, S. Mateus/S. Caetano (central/southern region) data sets.  
See Amorim 1992; 2004; 2006 and Santos 2004.

On the other hand, if we compare the evolution of the mean ages by decade in the southern and western regions of the island (Figure 3 and Figure 4) we see that, for all women, age at first marriage was more sensitive to conjunctural changes and was particularly affected by the agricultural crisis that hit the islands from 1853 onwards.

### Western Pico's Women Condemned to Celibacy

Using another indicator, definitive celibacy between 1860 and 1899, we see that, in the western region of Pico, women were more vulnerable to the effects of economic crisis than in other regions of the Island. However, the percentage of women who did not marry and who spent their life without a spouse is also very high in the southern region, a consequence of long distance male emigration which finally touched the whole island at the end of the 19th century (Table 10).

Table 10. Definitive celibacy, comparing western and southern regions of Pico Island, Azores, by gender (1860–1899). Percentages and figures

Pico Island	Men			Women		
	Deaths (total)	Single Aged 50+	Definitive Celibacy (%)	Deaths (total)	Single Aged 50+	Definitive Celibacy (%)
Western region	722	74	10.3	869	206	23.7
Southern region	695	72	10.4	872	200	22.9

Sources: Madalena, Criação Velha and Candelária (western parishes) data sets; S. João, S. Mateus/S. Caetano (central/southern region) data sets.  
See Amorim 1992, 2004, 2006 and Santos 2004.

Notes: Definitive celibacy is calculated from the proportion of adults aged 50 and over at death.

### Family Reproduction facing Pauperization in Southern Pico

The social reproduction of the family is necessarily combined with marriage strategies and biological reproduction, given social conditions, environmental challenges and individual responses to circumstances. The following analysis focuses upon a socially more complex community, the parish of Lajes, southern region of Pico Island, which presented an urban nucleus and a large rural area with four well-defined quarters.

In the list of the parish's residents in Lajes, for 1836, we can clearly distinguish, among householders, property owners who make a living exclusively out of the income from their property, those who add to their work some other income or pay and those who live exclusively off of their mechanic work or industry, besides those who live in some way out of State wages, except militaries, and fixed-place beggars (List of the parish's residents in Lajes, 1836).<sup>7</sup>

Considering the final counts in the list of inhabitants, we estimated that, out of a total of 822 householders (males and females) counted in 1836, only 13 percent were not property owners (107 heads households). We identified those who made a living exclusively out of their property income (52 individuals heading 6 percent of the families), those who added to their work some other income or salary (662 individuals or 81 percent) and those who lived exclusively out of their work (95, or 12 percent). Besides, 13 *state waged* clergymen were listed separately, as well as 10 beggars, these being counted as a part of the first and second categories. We find interesting results by establishing a relation between male occupation and property owning (Table 11).

If we do not consider clergymen, lawyers and clerks receiving wages, the male professional group with limited access to property was that of fishermen. Those accumulating some income constituted 73 percent, whereas the percentage of farmers or shepherds in an identical situation was over 90 percent. In an inferior position relatively to farmers or shepherds, craftsmen had a closer relationship with property than fishermen. The families who could make a living out of the income from their properties were predominantly those of farmers, most of them with shepherd

7 There is no reference to ambulant beggars

children or employees, and those of urban property owners, some with noble ranks, to whom no activity was connected.

Table 11. Male professional property owning and activity, Lajes, southern region of Pico Island, Azores, list of residents, 1836, by households. Percentages and figures

Professions/activities	Sufficient income from property	Income + work	Without income	Total
	%	%	%	%
Farmers	81	19	0	100
Shepherds	5	92	3	100
Rural workers	2	91	7	100
Fishermen	0	73	27	100
Craftsmen	2	87	11	100
Others*	4	48	48	100
Without activity	12	73	15	100

Sources: Lajes, list of residents, 1836, by households.

Notes: For 531 heads of households included in this table, we were able to establish a relationship between profession and property.

\* Clergymen, lawyers and clerks

By also exploring the property record of 1883, we ranked male residents in Lajes, in four levels: two levels of property owners and two of workers. In the property owners' group we distinguished the landlords, whose collectable income was of more than 100,000 réis, from those whose collectable income surpassed 20,000 réis, but remained under 100,000 réis. These could be considered as well-to-do property owners, who did not need to work for someone else. Among the workers, we distinguished those with collectable incomes of between 1,000 and 19,000 réis, with householders oscillating between being comfortably off and rather poor, most of them owning their own house and some property, but needing to work for someone else in order to make a living for their family. Finally, we considered those who had less than 1,000 réis of collectable income who might own a small house and a vegetable garden, but were considered as poor.

If we compare the ranks of 1836 with those of 1883, by analysing property owners (making a living out of their property's income), com-

fortably off individuals (income and work), and poor individuals (work), we find the same 12 percent of men in the lower rank, but with some differences in the top rank. While, in 1836, 8 percent of families headed by men made a living from their income (according to the parish priest who made the list), in 1883 we found 5 percent of male property owners with 20,000 or more *réis*. However, this comparison presents some difficulties, because we did not consider, on the later date, those householders who, by total lack of property, are not mentioned in the property records, and we include some single men or widowers that did not appear as household heads in the list. On the other hand, the initial rank of the classification of property owners, medium or comfortably off, for those individuals with more than 20,000 *réis* might be restrictive. Moreover, we should not forget the fact that individuals with a collectable income of more than 18,000 *réis* might also be considered as belonging to that rank.<sup>8</sup>

By analysing the information in the roll of 1883, which specified the different socio-professional male categories, and by focusing on working heads of household, we might approach differential family behaviours and living conditions of farmers/rural workers, fishermen and craftsmen. In this document, individuals considered as property owners (with a collectable income over 20,000 *réis*) were excluded.

A first observation focuses on the evolution, from 1836 to 1883, of the percentages of workers from the three chosen groups. While on the first date, 16 percent of the workers were connected to the sea, on the second date the respective frequency was up 23 percent, an increase that points to a decrease of farmers/rural workers (from 71 percent to 65 percent) and craftsmen (13 percent to 11 percent). It is important, however, to verify to what extent this change within different groups was the same as the change concerning property. In spite of the relative increase of the number of fishermen, the percentage of those in the position of comfortably off to poor stays the same between the two documents, including the large group of householders receiving from 100 to 20,000 *réis*. At the same time, it appears that an impoverishment of farmers/rural workers and craftsmen took place, though the delicate nature of this observation would advise us to be cautious in our conclusions (Table 12).

8 In the list of 1883, the parish priest classified as property owners some household heads with collectable income below 20,000 *réis*, but not in every case.

Table 12. Position of male workers with respect to property, Lajes, southern region of Pico Island, Azores, comparing 1836 list of residents and 1883 property records, by households. Percentages

	Comfortably off to poor		Poor		Total	
	1836	1883	1836	1883	1836	1883
Farmers + Rural workers	93	88	7	12	100	100
Fishermen	73	73	27	27	100	100
Craftsmen	89	77	11	23	100	100

Sources: Lajes, list of residents, 1836, by households; 1883 property records.

Notes: Using 1836 list of residents, we identified those who made a living exclusively out of their property income, those who added to their work some other income or salary and those who lived exclusively out of their work.

Using property record of 1883, we ranked male residents in Lajes, in four levels: two levels of property owners and two of workers (comfortably off to poor and poor).

We may, however, conclude that significant oscillations within the parish's social structure were non-existent in the mid 19th century, when there was a clear predominance of workers that, in their vast majority, had a house to live in and some land or garden for alimentary support. The relative increase of the number of fishermen may require an explanation of a sociological or even biological nature.

### Intergenerational Models of Reproduction: Socio-differentiation in Southern Pico

For a differential analysis of the biological reproduction over three successive generations, we have chosen two indicators: the average age at first marriage and the reproductive success down to the third generation. For this purpose, we selected fertile couples that started their marital life between 1810 and 1829. Thus, we could benefit, in a large number of cases, from the identification of professions made in the population list from 1836, which is not always given in the parish records of that time. On the other hand, these chronological markers allowed us to identify, in

the roll of 1883, the social situation of the third generation in adult age. For the same group of couples, we calculated the average age at first marriage, for men and women.

*Table 13.* Socio-differential intergenerational reproductive patterns, Lajes, southern region of Pico Island, Azores, fertile couples starting between 1810 and 1829. Mean age at first marriage by gender and mean number of children born

Occupational groups	Mean age at first marriage		Children (Mean number born)	Grandchildren (Mean number born)
	Men	Women		
Property owners	28.6	25.9	6.0	10.6
Shepherds	25.9	23.9	5.9	21.4
Farmers	27.2	25.5	4.9	9.8
Fishermen	24.0	23.1	7.3	13.8
Craftsmen	25.8	25.0	7.0	13.4
Whole population of Lajes	26.7	25.0	5.6	11.9

*Sources:* Lajes, database, including all couples formed after 1800.

*Notes:* This table includes fertile couples who had children and grandchildren locally.

Late marriage was more frequent among male property owners (aged 28.6), followed by farmers (27.2), shepherds and craftsmen (about 26), and finally, falling far behind, fishermen (aged 24) (Table 13). These extreme results were expected, knowing that fishermen, who start work at a very young age, would need minimum resources to start a family according to the social demands of the group, whereas property owners would have to find the conditions to do so, through inheritance, matrimonial connections or emigration at a young age, in order to maintain or improve their birth-given status. The most surprising result is the difference between the behaviour of shepherds and farmers, who were expected to present more similarities.

As for women of respective socio-professional groups, there was a parallel with male behaviour. Wives of fishermen and of shepherds married at a younger age (before they turned 24), followed by wives of craftsmen (25), of farmers (25.5) and those of property owners, whose first marriage took place when they were about 26 years of age. The predominance of farmers in the community influenced the mean age at first marriage which was estimated for the whole population of Lajes parish during that period: 26.7 for males and 25 for females.

We also noticed that the average number of descendants for these fertile couples of Lajes, southern region of Pico Island, is 5.6 children, whereas the average number of their grandchildren born in the same community was only twice the number of their children.

Considering the different occupational groups, clear differences can be observed. The difference of behaviours between shepherds and farmers is still surprising. In fact, shepherds seem to have established themselves more significantly in terms of progeny, followed by fishermen, craftsmen, property owners and, finally, farmers.

Keeping in mind the limited number of observed individuals, we are led to consider, in the case of shepherds, not only the importance of dairy products (milk, cheese and whey) in the daily maintenance of the family well-being, but also the possibility that the clearing of new extensions of woods may have contributed, at the time, to the fixation of the family's workforce. On the other hand, the obligation of going to the pastures, located hours away from the village, on a daily basis, as well as the need of clearing the pastures every year (which demanded a great human effort concentrated in the summer), may have caused a decrease in the desire for emigration.

In second position, fishermen stand out for their great reproductive success in the community. Apparently, marine activities corresponded well with family reproduction, which explains the increase of fishermen between 1836 and 1883.

Oddly, we found a higher number of grandchildren among property owners than among farmers. One could expect the latter to be more prone to migrate to the new world, but the fact that passport records do not distinguish shepherds from farmers stops us from reaching a definitive conclusion. Still, it is possible to analyse whether or not land-working individuals were more attracted towards emigration than individuals with a maritime activity.

## A Gender Approach of Emigration in Southern Pico

Though legal emigration is only known from 1859 onwards, it is possible to proceed to the observation of differential behaviours in later periods, as passport records state the professions of emigrants, who, until the beginning of the 1870s, preferred Brazil and, later, the USA (Table 14).

*Table 14.* Legal emigration by gender and male occupational groups, Lajes, southern region of Pico Island, Azores, 5 years periods, 1860–1899

5 years periods	Men	Women	Both	Male occupational group				
				Farmer	Fisher- man	Crafts- man	Property owner	Other
1860–1864	47	20	67	34	2	1	2	8
1865–1869	76	35	111	52	5	2	4	13
1870–1874	119	50	169	82	10	6	10	11
1875–1879	70	30	100	53	4	7	2	4
1880–1884	87	62	149	62	9	7	7	2
1885–1889	37	75	112	22	1	1	8	5
1890–1894	62	76	138	45	3	3	3	8
1895–1899	16	49	65	8	2	1	4	1
1860–1899	514	397	911	358	36	28	40	52

Sources: Lajes, database. Passports records allowing emigration, from 1859.

The distribution of men by occupational groups indicates that farmers represented 70 percent of emigrants, fishermen 7 percent, craftsmen 5 percent, property owners 8 percent and others, where we included students, businessmen and individuals without occupation (most of them had 2 or 3 passports to the same destination), made a total of 10 percent (Table 14).

By isolating the working population in the total of residents counted in 1883, we estimated that 65 percent would be farmers, 23 percent fishermen and 11 percent craftsmen. Out of the 442 emigrants belonging to these three categories, 85 percent were farmers, 9 percent fishermen and 7 percent craftsmen. Thus, the modest migratory movement of fishermen might, at least partially, explain their greater local reproductive success.

For a reflection on the social reproduction throughout the 1800s, we started with the data provided by the roll of 1883, relating the situations of that period with those lived by the respective ancestors identified in the population listing of 1836. Bearing this in mind, we selected the two most socially different groups – fishermen and property owners – in order to compare the two and to compare them with the other groups.

The observation of reproduction and professional homogamy in the case of fishermen reveals a frequent articulation with the workers' and shepherds' groups, sometimes with the craftsmen, as if one's professional choice depended not as much on family tradition but on personal tendencies or on the evolution of the work market. However, fishermen living in the privileged fishing areas of Ribeira do Meio or Vila passed their profession on to their children more often, and married daughters of other fishermen more frequently (Table 15).

*Table 15.* Occupational group of fishermen's parents and parents-in-law by gender and male occupational groups, Lajes, southern region of Pico Island, Azores, for mid-19th century couples resident in the parish in 1883

	Fisherman	Shepherd	Rural worker	Craftsman	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Fisherman	49	4	39	4	4	100
Wife	38	11	39	10	2	100

Sources: Lajes, database; mid-19th century couples.

Notes: The municipality of Lajes comprises nowadays the parishes of Lajes, S. João, Ribeiras, Calheta de Nesquim, Piedade and Ribeirinha.

In fact, results presented here indicate that only 49 percent of the fishermen with known ancestors and residents in Lajes by 1883 were children of other fishermen, 39 percent were children of workers, and the rest were children of shepherds, craftsmen and others, and among the "others" we can count two farmers and two individuals of unknown profession (Table 15).

Fishermen searched for wives among daughters of fishermen and workers, 39 percent in both cases, then turning to the daughters of shepherds and craftsmen. We could not find any farmer's daughter marrying a fisherman. Among the two groups of property owners, we have, however,



encountered an accentuated difference. Big property owners, most with noble ranks, residing in Lajes, Rua Direita da Vila, were to be distinguished clearly from farmers or shepherds distributed throughout the parish.

As the small number of property owners do not allow for statistical analysis, we shall study their respective behaviours by using two case studies, representative of the two levels of property owners defined above.<sup>9</sup>

### A Case Study: Small Rural Property Owner

A property owner, living out of his income in Lajes, in the southern region of Pico Island, descended of an eight sibling family. His wife descended from a five sibling family. The couple registered four children in Lajes:

1. The eldest daughter, born 27th of July, 1829, married at the age of 23 a son of property owners from neighbouring S. João parish, where they lived.
2. The eldest son, born 11th of September, 1832, might have emigrated. We don't have any information since birth.
3. The second son, born 25th of October, 1834, married at the age of 34 the eldest of 6 children of a property owner's couple, from the same place of Silveira. In 1885, his collectable income was 26,756 réis, maintaining his position as rural property owner. This couple had 8 children, but only one of them had children in the parish. Four of them died during childhood, two emigrated and one of their daughters died as a single woman at the age of 69.
4. The second daughter, born 24th of August, 1838, married at 30 years of age with a property owner, 49 years old. In 1885, the collectable income of her husband was of 20,484 réis. They had 7 children, all surviving childhood. Three of them left the parish, a daughter died as a

<sup>9</sup> In the property owners' group we distinguished the landlords, whose collectable income was of more than 100,000 réis, from those whose collectable income surpassed 20,000 réis, but remained under 100,000 réis.

single woman at the age of 84, and the other three left descendants in the parish.

As we can observe in this case, from 1836 to 1883, the situation of usage of property was repeated. Adequate matrimonial alliances, definitive celibacy and emigration were the adopted strategies in this family. Because of high mortality, only four out of the 15 grandchildren from the first generation couple would have access to marriage.

However, the reproduction of the property owner status wasn't always possible in other cases. The egalitarian property division practised in the region, as well as the low death rates, led to an impoverishment, especially as the exploitation of rocky and distant land only became profitable with the incorporation of great human effort which the family, in its different cycles, could or could not undertake.

### Another Case Study: An Urban Big Property Owner

To exemplify the category of urban property owners, we selected the genealogy of a *sargento-mor* (sergeant major) from Lajes, married with a noble woman from S. Roque (central/northern region).

1. The eldest son of this couple inherited the family properties as a *morgado*<sup>10</sup> and his residence was located in Lajes, Rua Direita by 1836, the place where most urban property owners lived. His collectable income was 356,185 réis. He married on 6th November, 1823 an aristocrat woman, 22 years old, one of the children of a captain from Lajes and his spouse, born in the parish of Matriz, city of Horta, Faial Island. There were only four known legitimate children of this marriage:

- 1.1 The eldest son, born 20th of September, 1824, died during childhood.

<sup>10</sup> *Morgadio* is a non-egalitarian inheritance system of transmission to a privileged male heir, usually the older son (*morgado*). It is similar to *majorat* (*fideicomis*) or Spanish *mayorazgo*.

- 1.2 The eldest daughter, born in 10th of August, 1825, also died during childhood.
- 1.3 The second son, born 5th of September, 1834, had an unknown destiny.
- 1.4 The third son, born in 1838, married at the age of 30 a woman of the same age, a comfortably off property owner's daughter. By 1885 his collectable income was of 356,185 réis.
  - 1.4.1. We only know of one daughter of the couple, found in the death records. It is supposed that this daughter, who died at the age of 17, had been born before her parents' marriage.

The big property owner also had another child of a single young woman, born 20th of December, 1812, daughter of a rural worker and a woman who died giving birth.

- 1.5. This illegitimate son, born 26th of July, 1837, was identified at birth by the names of his parents. As an adult, he used his father's complete name, as well as his mother's surname. By 1885 he had a collectable income of 218,536 réis, which, though lower than his half-brother's, still clearly included him in the big property owner's group. Married on 27th of November, 1852, at the age of 15, with a woman aged 14, born in S. João, daughter of a captain, he had six legitimate children:
  - 1.5.1 The eldest daughter, born 3d of December, 1856, married at the age of 21 a noble man, son of another noble man from Piedade parish who had, by 1885, a collectable income of 175,500 réis.
  - 1.5.2. The eldest son, born 13th of December, 1860, died as a single man at the age of 56.
  - 1.5.3. The second son, born 20th of September, 1865, married at 42 years of age with a noble woman, aged 31, daughter of a man having a collectable income of 42,982 réis. However, his maternal grandmother had, at the time, a collectable income of 269,173 réis.
  - 1.5.4. The second daughter, born 17th of September, 1869, died at the age of 17.

- 1.5.5. The third daughter, born 18th of January, 1876, died at the age of 5 months.
- 1.5.6. The third son, born 9th of September, 1878, died at the age of 17.
- 1.5.7. An illegitimate son, born 6th of February, 1859, before his half brother was born, was also a single woman's son. This woman was daughter of a property owner with 48,801 réis collectable income, and also living in Lajes, Rua Direita. By 1883 he was a teacher in Lajes and he had a collectable income of 33,530 réis. He married at 21 years of age a captain's daughter. His mother-in-law had, by 1885, a collectable income of 139,541 réis.

Notice that both the *morgado* and his illegitimate son had illegitimate children when married, and established them as heirs. We shall now follow the life course and descendance, in Lajes parish, of the *morgado*'s sisters.

2. The eldest daughter of the *sargento-mor* from Lajes, was born in Lajes, 18th of March, 1792. She married at the age of 15 with a noble man born in Faial Island. The couple registered 3 children in Lajes, leaving it afterwards.
3. The youngest daughter, born 8th of February, 1800, married at 17 years of age a captain, son of the major captain from Lajes.<sup>11</sup> Still a resident by 1883, she was, as we could see, rated as having a big property owner's collectable income. The couple had 10 children baptised in Lajes:
  - 3.1. The eldest daughter, born 9th of June, 1819, married at the age of 29 a noble man from Piedade and left the parish.
  - 3.2. The second daughter born 2d of January, 1821, married at the age of 22 a noble man from S. Roque and also left Lajes.
  - 3.3. The eldest son, born 30th April, 1824, unknown destiny.
  - 3.4. The second son, knight of the order N. Sra. da Conceição, of Vila Viçosa, married an aristocrat woman from the parish of Castelo

<sup>11</sup> She was referred previously with a collectable income of 139,541 réis, because her daughter married a cousin, born illegitimate on 6th of February, 1859, who was a teacher in Lajes and he had in 1883 a collectable income of 33,530 réis.

Branco, Faial Island. The couple registered 4 children in Lajes, none having descendants.

- 3.5. The third son, born 25th of July, 1830, had two children with a single woman, born 28th of October, 1836. They got married afterwards, at 42 and 35 years old, recognizing their children. They had two more children within marriage. By 1885, the householder had a collectable income of 72,056 réis.
- 3.6. The third daughter, born 26th of January, 1833, must have died as a child, considering that a sister was later baptized under the same name, though there is no record of her death in Lajes.
- 3.7. The fourth daughter, born 8th of October, 1834, married at age 22 with a noble man from Castelo Branco, Faial Island. She left Lajes.
- 3.8. The fifth daughter, born 20th of August, 1837, died after birth.
- 3.9. The sixth daughter, born 22d of January, 1839, died aged 8.
- 3.10. The youngest daughter, born 12th of September, 1843, married at age 23 a property owner, son of a man from Melgaço in the mainland and a woman born in Lajes. They registered 5 children, but only one daughter married in Lajes. The collectable income of the householder was of 42,982 réis, by 1885.

As verified in this last example, social homogamy has been systematically pursued in the group of big property owners of Lajes, frequently enlarging the marital market beyond the island. Known extra-marital connections occurred mainly with daughters of small property owners, and the resulting children were later recognized.

The non-egalitarian inheritance system of *morgadio* created in order to defend Portuguese landlords interests in a general frame of egalitarian inheritance, made it possible to maintain undivided a great amount of family property until 1834, when the system was abolished. The high reproductive behaviour of this aristocratic urban family of Lajes conduced, in the following generations, to the division of the family patrimony. In a period of monetary depreciation, some descendants of those landlords from Lajes looked for public employment in the urban nucleus or outside this area. Others embraced a religious career and a great number chose the way of emigration, selling their undivided property. Successful emigrants in Brazil or in the USA were the main buyers of these lands.

## Conclusion

We argue that different regional models of spouse selection were found in communities on Pico Island. Parishes with a possibility of direct sea connection with nearby islands were more frequently engaged in marriage with outsider individuals, males and females, like in Madalena in relation to the Faial Island or, to a lesser degree, in Santo Amaro in relation to S. Jorge Island. In the rural western villages of Candelária, S. Caetano and S. João we observed very high levels of endogamy, sometimes influenced, as in the case of S. João, by the return of emigrants who married in the USA. The marriage exchange model of Central Pico, in S. Caetano, S. João and Santo Amaro, reveals also a very strong endogamy by place of residence and a sense of local identity, according to quarters and customs.

In the western region of Pico Island, the comparison of the percentages of endogamous marriages within the different occupational groups has shown that, throughout the entire 19th century, farmers, rural workers and fishermen selected their spouses mostly within the parish's space, whereas the marriage mobility of craftsmen, and property owners, was always remarkably more intense.

Age at first marriage may perfectly be used as a well-being indicator: the figures of the mean age at first marriage, for males and females, present different models in each community or occupational group. In the western region of Pico Island, in a context of higher male age, the population in general, and of both sexes, married late. Property owners always married late, whereas couples whose resources were based on maritime activities stand out for the precocity of their first wedding.

When the *oidium* plague devastated vineyards in mid-19th century (beginning in 1853) the old economic dependence of the region towards viticulture pushed young males to emigrate. This clearly disturbed sex ratios and the normal balance of the marriage market, contributing to a general delay of marriage throughout that period and strong difficulties for young women to find suitable marriage partners. Many women had to accept late marriage, and often permanent celibacy, with a risk to their future well-being and reproductive capacities. At the same time, illegitimacy increased, as it did in other Azores Islands. Differential emigration influenced the age at first marriage in Pico Island, especially within those rural communities which were particularly far from the outside world.

In Lajes, in the southern region of Pico, we have carried out a detailed intergenerational analysis of the social and biological family reproduction system over three generations. Considering the various occupational groups, we observed that fishermen used to engage in marriage at an early age, that their children (sons and daughters) married within the same group and that their grandchildren were preferentially kept within the community, creating a demographic growth throughout the 19th century.

Rural workers stand out as the largest group of the population. They were strongly subject to emigration, and they improved their social status by successfully returning home. Small property owners developed strategies for social reproduction at the same level, through late marriages, female celibacy and through sometimes unsuccessful migratory experiences. Social balance, in an egalitarian inheritance system, would become precarious if one of these preventive family strategies in spouse selection stopped being followed or lost its effectiveness.

Big urban property owners, a minority within the property owners' minority itself, chose homogamous unions of local character or searched outside the island for prestigious alliances lacking inside the community. The low incidence of matrimonial alliances with small local property owners must be considered, to a large extent, as connected with the existence of illegitimate children.

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