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Kept in the Family: Remarriage, Siblings, and Consanguinity in the Netherlands

Remarriage to a blood relative of a deceased spouse can help a bereaved spouse to solve issues related to inheritance, child care, and comfort in a stressful period.

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Abstract

Widowhood involves many practical challenges next to the emotional impact of bereavement. Remarriage to a blood relative of a deceased spouse can often help a bereaved spouse to solve issues related to inheritance, child care, and comfort in a stressful period. A study of 15,540 widowers and 18,837 widows in the Dutch province of Zeeland—of whom about 8,000 men and 5,000 women eventually remarried—which uses genealogical data about their partners and the LINKS family-reconstitution database, finds that the relatively high likelihood of farmers' widows remarrying and doing so with kin may have been a strategy to prevent property from falling into the hands of other families. Notwithstanding that the attractiveness of a widow or widower could also be a factor in opportunities to remarry, older widows and widows with many young children, whose chances on the remarriage market tended to be poor, did not usually have such recourse to kin in remarriage.

Because of high adult mortality and the absence of strong taboos, remarriages of widows and widowers were common in Western societies of the past. So far, few of the studies that examine the patterns and logic of the "remarriage market" have dealt with remarriages involving relatives. The remarriage of widows or widowers with, for instance, a sibling of their deceased spouse may yield insights into the needs, strategies, and preferences of widows and widowers coping with a crisis in their personal life. By studying the likelihood of a remarriage with kin—covering a variety of social groups in both urban and rural settings—this article contributes to a fuller understanding of remarriage in the past.[1]

In his study of remarriage, Lundh proposed a theoretical framework that combines the perspectives of bereaved spouses and prospective partners. He labels these outlooks as *cost-benefit* and *matching* approaches, respectively. The costs and benefits relate to all factors that make a remarriage more or less desirable—ranging from the need for emotional support to the desire to retain control over property. *Matching* refers to the question of why someone might see a widow or widower as an acceptable, or even a desirable, marriage partner.

Studies of remarriage have shown that the interests of widow(er)s and their prospective partners do not always overlap. Quite the contrary, some of the widow(er)s most in need of

[1] For case studies, see Susan Grigg, "Toward a Theory of Remarriage: A Case Study of Newburyport at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, VIII (1977), 183-220 (Massachusetts); John Knodel and Katherine Lynch, "The Decline of Remarriage: Evidence from German Village Populations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of Family History,* X (1985), 34–59 (Germany); Christer Lundh, "Remarriages in Sweden in the 18th and 19th Centuries," *History of the Family*, VII (2002), 423-449 (Sweden); Frans van Poppel, "Widows, Widowers and Remarriage in Nineteenth-Century Netherlands," *Population Studies*, IL (1995), 421-441; *idem*, "Nineteenth-Century Remarriage Patterns in the Netherlands," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXIIX (III) (1998), 343-383 (the Netherlands); Jim Brown, "Becoming Widowed: Rural Widows in Lower Austria, 1788–1848," *History of the Family*, VII (2002), 117-124 (Austria); Koen Matthijs, "Frequency, Timing and Intensity of Remarriage in 19th Century Flanders," *ibid.*, VIII (2003), 135-162 (Flanders).

remarrying may be the least desirable from a partner's point of view. Only by combining both perspectives can we understand the likelihood to remarry.[2]

Costs and benefits of remarriage differ strongly by social position, by gender, and by the presence of children. Remarriages must have been more feasible financially than first marriages. The wedding itself was generally not a grand event, and those who remarried already had a house, furniture, and various accessories. But the costs and benefits were also emotional and psychological, not the least of which was having to face the moral judgment of the community about loyalty toward the first partner (reflected at least in the obligatory mourning period for widows of 300 days). The community could also disapprove of age differences and motives for remarriages—especially during the nineteenth century when the ideal of romantic love gained ground—as well as hold religious objections. Roman Catholic doctrine reserved the sacramental meaning of marriage for the first union, frowning upon remarriage. Furthermore, the psychological costs for children strongly opposed to the arrival of a stepparent must be taken into account. The benefits of remarriage when the children were still young are obvious; the very survival of the family unit was often at stake. In a recent study of the nineteenth-century Netherlands, Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge showed that the arrival of stepparents in the household lowered the risks of household dissolution.[3]

But responses probably differed by social class. Lundh surmises that a farmer's widow stood less to gain from remarrying than did others, since she would lose her legal competence in running the farm. Also, when remarrying, she faced the additional problems

[2] Lundh, "Remarriages."
[3] Van Poppel, "Nineteenth-Century"; Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, a History: How Love Conquered Marriage* (London, 2016); Jan Griep, "Anthonie Griep (1886-1940): Straatveger te Middelburg: zijn drie huwelijken en zijn nageslacht" (2016) (accessed November 1, 2019), available at home.planet.nl/~artrako/Hansweert/Personen/Anthonie1886-NL.html; Matthias Rosenbaum-Feldbrügge, "Gender Differences in Response to Family Crisis: Changes in Household Composition and Migration of Widowed Parents with Minor Children in the Netherlands, 1863-1910," *History of the Family*, XXIII (2018), 679–705.

involved in compensating her children for their lawful portion of the estate. On many farms, widows who passed control to one of the older children invited resentment if she were to remarry. The dissolution of tenure contracts upon remarriage was another motive not to remarry. On farms, especially in mixed farming contexts, remarriage was desirable when no older children of the opposite sex of the widow(er) was present. Because Dutch farmers refused to do women's work, but women would do men's work, many farmers lacking a daughter or someone to take a daughter's place would remarry quickly.[4]

Lundh suggests that among non-farmers, the gains from remarrying would be lower for widowers than for widows, who were particularly vulnerable. In his view, remarriage to restore a family economy was more important for non-farmers than for farmers. Some labor contracts, such as those for digging peat in the eastern part of the Netherlands, even required the presence of a spouse. Remarriage was most in need when a household had young children. In the words of a working-class Rotterdam woman who had lost her husband after World War I, "And there I was. With three little children and an allowance of just six guilders per week. You could not live on that, but if you earned too much money they deducted it from the allowance…. I went to live with my mother, because someone had to mind the children when I was working." She justified her later acceptance of a marriage proposal: "I wanted a father for my children, and I never wanted to be dependent on my parents again." [5]

Lundh's study of an agrarian region in southern Sweden only compared farmers with non-farmers, mainly workers. Van Poppel's work on remarriage in the Netherlands also included cities and provided more social differentiation. He surmised that widows from the

[4] Lundh, "Remarriages"; Van Poppel, *Trouwen in Nederland: Een Historisch-Demografische Studie van de 19e en Vroeg-20e Eeuw* (Wageningen, 1992), 310, 313.

[5] Lundh, "Remarriages"; Van Poppel, *Trouwen in Nederland*, 309, 312.

urban upper and middle classes had the least compelling economic reasons to remarry, since they could have possessions of their own or inherit property from their husbands. Widows of artisans and shopkeepers who stood to become owners might well have been reluctant to relinquish that position. Finally, for several (middle-class) groups, such as civil servants, pensions or widows' funds ceased payment upon remarriage. According to late nineteenth-century contemporary studies, receiving a pension effectively lowered the chances of remarriage. Dutch welfare institutions were traditionally generous toward widows who, again, would lose care upon remarriage.[6]

Matching, or the attractiveness of widow(er)s to prospective partners, differs by age, financial situation, and the presence of children. Given farmers' tendency to endogamy, a widow or widower with land could be a good catch. The active market in land enabled the establishment of a viable farm from inherited holdings even when located far apart. Marrying such a widow(er) also offered a good opportunity for upward mobility. Lundh suggests that farmer's widows were less attractive than widowers because of their limited personal property, their higher compensation costs, and the anticipated resistance of their children. Non-farmers´ widows were probably also less attractive than widowers, who at least could bring a labor contract to the marriage. Overall, Lundh suspects that farmers had a better position in the (re)marriage market than did non-farmers. Working-class widows probably had the lowest chances of remarriage, although the presence of children who could contribute to the family income, especially when living elsewhere, might have made such widows more enticing.[7]

[6] Lundh, "Remarriages"; Van Poppel, *Trouwen in Nederland*, 297, 320; Van Poppel, "Widows, Widowers and Remarriage"; *idem*, "Remarriage Patterns."
[7] Bras and Kok, "'They Live in Indifference Together': Marriage Mobility in Zeeland, The Netherlands, 1796–1922," *International Review of Social History*, L (2005), 247-274; Lundh, "Remarriages"; Knodel and Lynch, "Decline of Remarriage."

How does remarrying with kin fit into this complex interplay between cost benefits and matching prospects? The costs, in terms of (time spent) searching for a new partner, was obviously lower when a relative was available. For one thing, remarriage to a relative could avoid the opposition of children to the arrival of a stranger, and it could keep property within the family, thus avoiding conflicts about inheritance and so on. But such remarriages also risked stigma for breaking the informal and formal rules against kin marriages viewed as incestuous. This matter is addressed in more detail below.

So far as matching is concerned, the literature suggests that marrying a widowed relative was not desirable per se; rather, it stemmed from a strong loyalty toward the deceased family member and his/her children. This "family loyalty" motive transcends the combined cost-benefits and matching models. In her study of Austrian requests to remove the ban on marrying a deceased wife's sister, Lanzinger showed the emphasis on a sister's love toward her sibling, which might even have involved a deathbed pledge to take care of the sibling's children. Loyalty and sacrifice were the keywords in these requests. A sister would assume the role of housekeeper for her brother-in-law, including child rearing. She might already have been helping her ailing sister; remarriage simply formalized this arrangement.[8]

The nineteenth century witnessed an intensification of kin ties; Europe became a "kinship-hot" society. Sabean and Teuscher write that by the late nineteenth century, a shift had occurred from exogamy to endogamy, which peaked around the year 1880. Given the intense sibling bonds at the time, children (cousins) grew up in a setting of frequent interactions that encouraged both romantic feelings and a sentiment of family loyalty, which may have led to a marriage in case of family crises. The "family loyalty" motive may even

[8] Margareth Lanzinger, "Widowers and Their Sisters-In-Law: Family Crises, Horizontally Organised Relationships and Affinal Relatives in the Nineteenth Century," *History of the Family*, XXIII (2018), 175-195.

have an evolutionary trait at its core, the need to ensure the "inclusive fitness" of a family's genes.[9]

Moreover, beginning in 1838, the longer-living spouse was excluded from the inheritance of the deceased partner, unless no living descendants or relatives of the deceased, up to the twelfth degree, were available. The longer-living spouse, however, held the usufruct for half of the joint property, unless otherwise stipulated in a marriage contract. Upon decease, the usufruct would not go to a new partner, or any children from the second marriage, but to the children of the first marriage. Yet, for families with limited assets, this arrangement could cause severe problems for widows or widowers since a usufruct restricted economic transactions, such as sale of property. In 1923, however, due to earlier efforts to strengthen the position of the surviving spouse, inheritances now went to relatives of the deceased up to the sixth degree, and surviving spouses received the equivalent of a child's portion. Although a will could overrule these laws benefiting spouses, children always remained entitled to a statutory portion.[10]

Within the Netherlands, despite national laws, several regionally distinct inheritance systems existed alongside each other. In most regions, including Zeeland, partible inheritance was the norm; daughters and sons received an equal cut of the inheritance. What happened to children's shares when their father or mother remarried? Studies of the province of

[9] See, for example, Bras, "Intensification of Family Relations? Changes in the Choice of Marriage Witnesses in the Netherlands, 1830-1950," *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*, 8 (4) (2011), 102-135; David Sabean and Simon Teuscher, "Kinship in Europe. A New Approach to Long Term Development," in *idem* and Jon Mathieu (eds.), *Kinship in Europe. Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300-1900)* (New York, 2007); Rebecca Sear and Ruth Mace, "Who Keeps Children Alive? A Review of the Effects of Kin on Child Survival," *Evolution and Human Behavior*, XXIX (2008), 1-18; *idem*, "Are Humans Cooperative Breeders?" in Eckart Voland, Anthanasios Chasiotis, and Wulf Schiefenhoevel (eds.), *Grandmotherhood: The Evolutionary Significance of the Second Half of Female Life* (Piscataway, 2005), 143-159.

[10] Ali de Regt, "Erfrecht en de Veranderende Betrekkingen Tussen Familie- en Gezinsleden," *Amsterdams Sociologisch Tijdschrift*, 18 (2) (1991), 64-78.

Groningen, which was agriculturally similar to Zeeland, show that farmer widows or widowers who remarried a poorer spouse made sure to protect their children against property claims of their stepparent. For instance, the marriage contract could stipulate that when no new children were born to this second marriage, and the new partner was widowed, half of the property would go immediately to the children. Moreover, if the new partner were to remarry, another half of the remainder would go the children. If he or she did not remarry, essentially all possessions would revert to the children of the first marriage upon his/her death. Similar contracts were found in Tirol, Austria, where new spouses gained rights of ownership only if they brought enough capital to the marriage to compensate the children from the first marriage properly.[11]

This article contrasts the preconditions and likelihood of remarrying a relative to remarrying at all. The goal is to determine the extent to which the principles and motives that governed kin remarriages applied elsewhere. We look for increased "likelihoods" of remarriage given specific social and demographic characteristics of the widows or widowers. Ideally, in future work, the findings are to be combined with information about local marriage customs, wills, and ego-documents.

The data herein cover reconstructed family trees of an entire province, thereby reducing the problem of widow(er)s' mobility that has hampered quantitative analysis based on smaller geographical units. We explore determinants of any remarriage, as well as

[11] Piet van Cruyningen, *Behoudend Maar Buigzaam: Boeren in West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, 1650-1850* (Wageningen, 2000); Richard Paping, "Van Arm Weesmeisje tot Rijke Landeigenares," *Stad &* Lande, 17 (3) (2012), 18-24; Paping and Erwin Karel, "The Rural Succession Myth: Occupational Careers and Household Formation of Peasants' and Farmers' Offspring Around 1800," *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis,* 8 (4) (2011), 44-75; Margareth Lanzinger, "Marriage Contracts in Various Contexts: Marital Property Rights, Sociocultural Aspects and Gender-Specific Implications: Late-Eighteenth-Century Evidence from Two Tirolean Court Districts," *Annales de Démographie Historique*, CXXI (2011), 69-99.

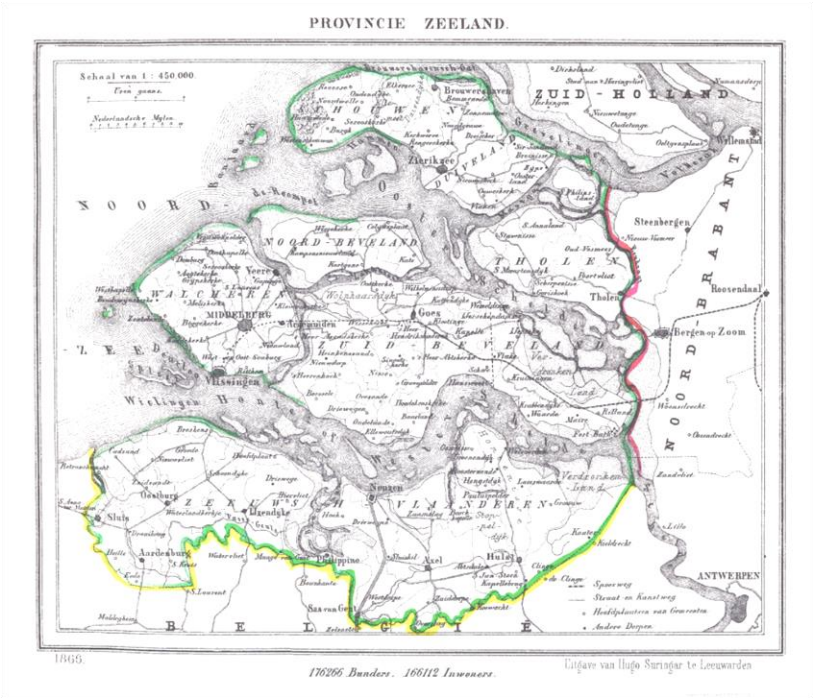
remarriage with the sibling of a deceased spouse, other affinal kin, and own blood relatives (cousin marriages). We specifically look at possible issues related to care of young children and inheritance. We compare determinants of all remarriages with determinants of consanguineous marriage and marriage with affinal kin.

REMARRIAGE IN ZEELAND

***Zeeland** Province **and the** LINKS Database* The largely Protestant province of Zeeland, in the southwestern corner of **t**he Netherlands, consists of islands, peninsulas, and part of the mainland (see Figure 1). The relative isolation of many parts of this province probably affected the marriage market and increased the likelihood of kin marriages. Since the late sixteenth century, the once influential role of Zeeland's trade and industry declined. Economic development underwent a process of "ruralization," making the province dependent on a commercialized agricultural sector specializing in the production of cash crops such as wheat, rape seed, flax, and madder. **Later** in the nineteenth century, it turned to the cultivation of potatoes, sugar beets, and onions. Dairy farming was of little importance; cattle, milk, and butter were rare. Two-thirds of the population lived in the countryside, which was dotted by many small communities. In 1795, 33 percent of the population lived in one of the cities; by 1909, this figure declined to 25 percent. On every island, a small town functioned as an agricultural trading center and provided services for the overwhelmingly farming population. The only four cities were Middelburg, the capital, which hosted the provincial government; Vlissingen (Flushing), a port and wharf city; Terneuzen, a harbor and railroad city; and Goes, a market town. Even in the twentieth century, all four remained

provincial cities; in 1953, they had no more than 20,000 inhabitants.[12]

Fig. 1 A Map of the Province of Zeeland **(1865)**[13]



The population of Zeeland had a high fertility during the period of this study; the mean number of children was around eight. Adult life expectancy was low, and infant mortality was high, averaging about 25 to 30 percent before the onset of the demographic transition. Among the causes were the deplorable living conditions of the working class and a lack of potable water, due to salinity, in combination with limited breastfeeding. [14]

[12] Kok and Kees Mandemakers, "Free Choice from a Limited Supply: The Marriage Market in Two Dutch Provinces, 1840-1940," *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, II (2008), 82-104; Bras, van Poppel, and Mandemakers, "Relatives as Spouses: Preferences and Opportunities for Kin Marriage in a Western Society," *American Journal of Human Biology*, XXI (2009), 793-804; Bras and Kok, "'They Live in Indifference Together': Marriage Mobility in Zeeland, the Netherlands, 1796–1922," *International Review of Social History*, L (2005), 247-274.

[13] Kuyper (1868). Gemeente-Atlas van Nederland. Leeuwarden: Hugo Suringar.

[14] Bras and Kok, "Marriage Mobility in Zeeland"; Otto Hoogerhuis, *Baren op Beveland: Vruchtbaarheid en Zuigelingensterfte in Goes en de Omliggende Dorpen Gedurende de 19e Eeuw* (Wageningen, 2003); Van Poppel and Mandemakers, "Sociaal-Economische Verschillen in Zuigelingen- en Kindersterfte in Nederland, 1812-1912," *Bevolking en Gezin*, XXXI (2002), 5-40.

A high-quality family-reconstitution database exists for the Zeeland population—LINKS-Zeeland, the outcome of a project reconstructing all nineteenth- and twentieth-century families in the Netherlands, based on civil certificates. The project is unique for the Netherlands; its scope and size are matched by only a few other historical demographic projects in the world. The LINKS family reconstructions are based on digitized indexes of civil certificates from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—known as WieWasWie (WhoWasWho)—more than twenty years in the making. The completed database for the province of Zeeland contains almost 2 million persons, including almost 1 million births and deaths and 200,000 marriage certificates.[15]

The French introduced mandatory vital event registration to the Netherlands in 1812. The registers of births, marriages, and deaths become public with a delay of 100, 75, and 50 years, respectively. Indexes of the registers have been released for the period 1812–1912 for births, 1812–1937 for marriages, and 1812–1962 for deaths. Unlike population registers, civil registers do not contain information about religion and household composition. Some municipalities and years registered home addresses, but they are not part of the WieWasWie project on which LINKS is based. The indexes of the civil certificates contain information about names of individuals who were born, married, and deceased, as well as the names of parents, witnesses to the vital event, the municipality in which the vital event took place, the ages of the individuals and sometimes of their parents, and occupational titles. To construct the LINKS data set, civil certificates of individuals were linked together on individuals' first and last names.

By linking individuals, the database reached a large scope, enabling the identification of kin across a large geographical area in several generations. In this case, vital events for

[15] Mandemakers and Fons Laan, *LINKS Dataset Genes Germs and Resources: WieWasWie Zeeland, Civil Certificates*, Version 2017.01.

families in Zeeland can be followed for as many as eight generations. LINKS, which permits research about historical life courses, families, and populations, has become established in demographic research about the Netherlands. Recently, it has been subjected to thorough checks of its quality and reliability.[16]

LINKS contains individuals for whom follow-up is available, as well as unlinked information about individuals. Follow-up is sometimes lacking because of out-migration and temporary or seasonal migration, leading to a lapse in the documentation of births, marriages, and, in the case of permanent out-migration, deaths. Persons who migrated between municipalities in Zeeland could be followed over time, but those who left Zeeland were lost to observation. Furthermore, toward the end of the research period, an increasing number of events occurred outside the time frame of the LINKS indexes. Matches between indexed certificates are sometimes unsuccessful due to name changes, or substantial spelling differences between civil certificates. Because administrators checked birth certificates when people married, the matching issue pertains more to deaths than to other vital events.

Marriage certificates revealed whether one of the spouses was remarrying and whether a remarriage involved a sibling of the first spouse, but since this information was not systematically digitized, it cannot be used in our quantitative analyses. Births to unmarried mothers are not linked, because of the large number of potential mothers identified by the

[16] Bras, Jan van Bavel, and Mandemakers, "Unraveling the Intergenerational Transmission of Fertility: Genetic and Shared-Environment Effects during the Demographic Transition in the Netherlands, 1810–1910," *History of the Family*, XVIII (2013), 116-134; Antonie Knigge, "Beyond the Parental Generation: The Influence of Grandfathers and Great-grandfathers on Status Attainment," *Demography*, LIII (2016), 1219-1244; Van Poppel, Marianne Jonker, and Mandemakers, "Differential Infant and Child Mortality in Three Dutch Regions, 1812–1909," *Economic History Review*, LVIII (2005), 272-309; Van Poppel, Christiaan Monden, and Mandemakers, "Marriage Timing over Generations," *Human Nature*, XIX (2008), 7-22; Niels van den Berg, Van Dijk, et al., "Families in Comparison: An Individual-Level Comparison of Life-Course and Family Reconstructions between Population and Vital Event Registers," *Population Studies, 75:1 (2021), 91-110*.

name of only one parent. Furthermore, elderly individuals whose parents' names were missing from the death certificates were difficult to link with their birth and marriage certificates and their family network. Finally, although the province was predominantly Protestant, the absence of religion in the civil records prevents us from distinguishing denominations.

This article includes people with relatively complete information about their life course, their spouse's life course, and their parents. Selection on the basis of a known date of death in Zeeland limited our observation to individuals born before 1877; we can follow them at least until their eightieth birthday in 1957. Furthermore, the ability to identify remarriages within an entire province diminishes the likelihood of biases that might accrue to a focus on a single village or city. Persons who remarried outside Zeeland but lived in Zeeland, however, did not permit observation of a remarriage date. Finally, remarriages involving partners whose parents were unknown because they were not from Zeeland could not be assigned as kin remarriages. As such, the number of kin marriages is a lower-bound estimate.

Marrying and Remarrying Kin After the Napoleonic period, the new Kingdom of the Netherlands retained the French civil code from 1809 until 1838, when the Dutch Civil Code replaced it. Both codes simplified the rules regarding the forbidden degrees of kinship, which had been a bone of contention between church and state in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Marriages in the first degree (parents and children), the second (siblings, grandparents and grandchildren), and third (uncles and nieces and aunts and nephews) were forbidden, but marriages in the fourth degree (cousins) were allowed, though still proscribed under canon law. Hence, Roman Catholics could not marry a cousin unless they opted for a civil instead of a church ceremony or obtained a dispensation.

Marriages with affinal kin followed the same rules; until 1939, marriage to a deceased spouse's sister was possible only with a royal dispensation under extraordinary

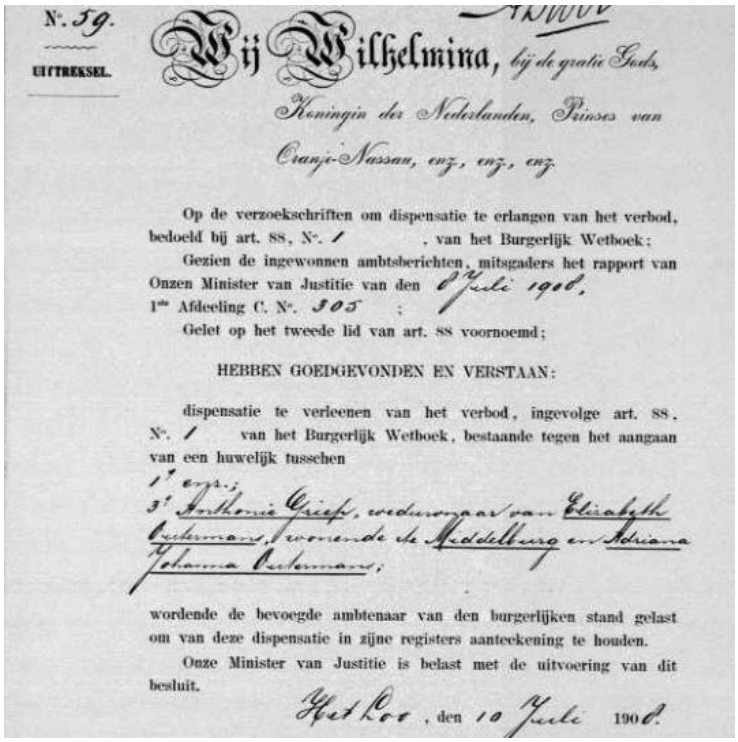
circumstances. All formal rules against (re)marriages with affinal kin were finally abolished in 1983. Remarriages followed the same rules, with the provision that a widow could not remarry within 300 days after her husband´s death.[17]

Figure 2 shows an example of a royal dispensation in Zeeland. In 1906, porter Anthonie Griep (age twenty) married Elizabeth Outermans in Middelburg. Just nine days after the wedding, Elizabeth gave birth to a son but died in childbed. Two years later, Anthonie married Elizabeth's sister Adriana. The reason for the marriage presented to the officials was unlikely to have been childcare because the son had already died. Adriana's pregnancy (already seven months by July 1908) was probably deemed a sufficient reason, since the marriage avoided an illegitimate birth.[18]

Figure 3 shows that the number of remarriages dwindled during the nineteenth century, within a context of increasing survival rates in the population at large. As a result, the absolute number of remarriages and the proportion of remarriages in the total number of marriages dropped. The shown trend resembles observed patterns in Sweden and Flanders. Scholars attribute this decline in remarriage intensity—apart from lower mortality—to the rise of "romantic love" or "companionate marriage" and the disapproval of "instrumental" motives for marriages, such as a farmer's widow remarrying a younger farmhand to maintain the farm.[19]

Fig. 2 Royal Dispensation of the Law against Remarriage with an In-Law, Given to Anthonie Griep and Adriana Johanna Outermans, July 8, 1908

[17] Van Poppel, "Remarriage Patterns"; Kok, "Liefde met hindernissen: Over ongewenste relaties in het verleden," *Justitiële Verkenningen*, 41 (4) (2015), 9-21; Rudolf Frederik Vulsma, *Burgerlijke stand en bevolkingsregister* (The Hague, 2002); Burgerlijk Wetboek (*Civil Code*), Artikel 1:91 (1838).
[18] Griep, "Anthonie Griep."
[19] Van Poppel, "Widows, Widowers and Remarriage"; Lundh, "Remarriages"; Matthijs "Frequency, Timing and Intensity of Remarriage"; Knodel and Lynch, "Decline of Remarriage," 57.



N°. 59.

UITTREKSEL.

Wij Wilhelmina, bij de gratie Gods,

Koningin der Nederlanden, Prinses van

Oranje-Nassau, enz, enz, enz.

Op de verzoekschriften om dispensatie te erlangen van het verbod, bedoeld bij art. 88, N°. 1 , van het Burgerlijk Wetboek;

Gezien de ingewonnen ambtsberichten, mitsgaders het rapport van Onzen Minister van Justitie van den 6 Juli 1906, 1ste Afdeeling C. N°. 305 ;

Gelet op het tweede lid van art. 88 voornoemd;

HEBBEN GOEDGEVONDEN EN VERSTAAN:

dispensatie te verleenen van het verbod, ingevolge art. 88, N°. 1 van het Burgerlijk Wetboek, bestaande tegen het aangaan van een huwelijk tusschen

1° en 2°;

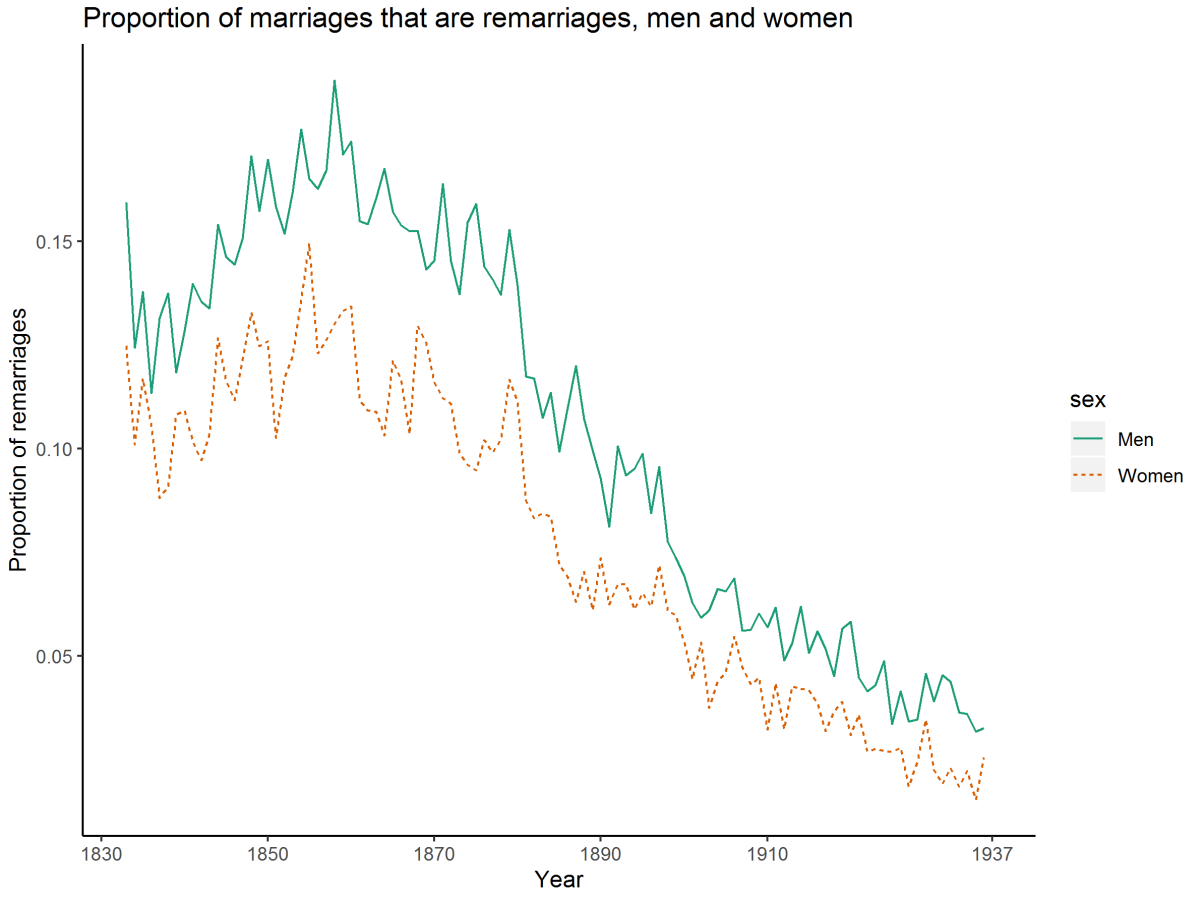
3° Anthonie Grief, weduwnaar van Elisabeth Ouderman, woonende te Middelburg en Adriana Johanna Ouderman;

wordende de bevoegde ambtenaar van den burgerlijken stand gelast om van deze dispensatie in zijne registers aanteekening te houden.

Onze Minister van Justitie is belast met de uitvoering van dit besluit.

's Gravenhage, den 10 Juli 1906.

Fig. 3



NOTE Authors' calculations based on LINKS-Zeeland 2018.

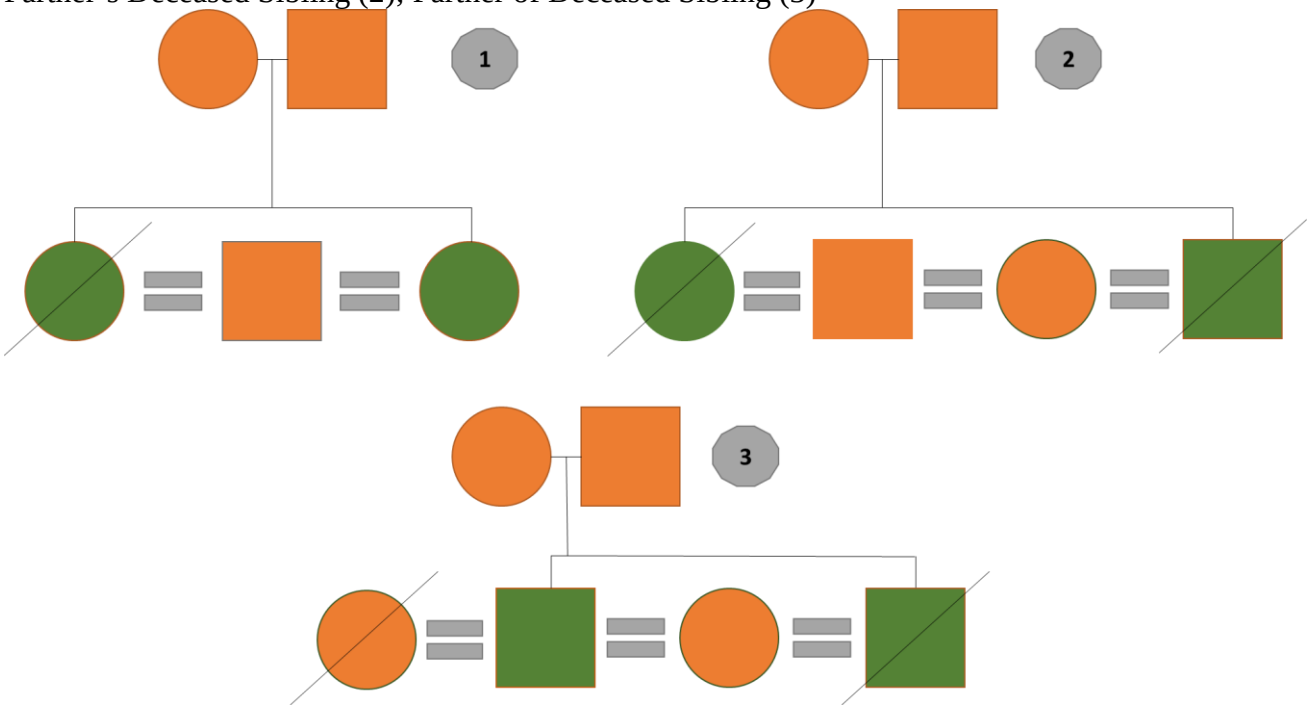
Besides sibling set exchange marriages (one's sibling marries one's brother- or sister-in-law), not considered herein, kin marriages in the Netherlands were rare, in the range of 1 to 2 percent of all marriages, not unlike the range in nineteenth-century France. Although the number of kin marriages in this article is too low to consider its trends over time, kin marriages apparently became more common during the nineteenth century, possibly because the demographic transition brought an increasing supply of relatives to an area. Given the enlarged groups of (surviving) cousins, nephews, nieces, and other relatives, the opportunities for relationship formation with a (distant) relative probably increased. Yet, not all such relationships were likely to have been instrumental; some of them may have resulted from young, unmarried people falling in love, despite their family relationship rather than because of it. The question that rises is under which conditions were such relationships instrumental.[20]

DATA AND METHODS With the aid of LINKS-Zeeland, we use our data about generations of relatives and unrelated individuals in Zeeland to investigate the likelihood of remarriage for men and women and then explore the extent to which remarriages between relatives occurred. We consider not only whether a remarriage occurred but also the time to remarriage (see below for a discussion of the methods), including different affinal and blood kin in the analyses. We look first at the frequency of remarriage with the sibling of a deceased spouse, identified through the siblings' common set of parents. Next, we include affinal kin with a generational difference—a remarriage between nephews or nieces and aunts or uncles.

[20] Bras, Van Poppel, and Mandemakers, "Relatives as Spouses"; Jean-Marie Gouesse, "Mariages de Proches Parents (XVIe-XXe Siècle): Esquisse d'une Conjoncture," *Le Modèle Familial Européen: Normes, Déviances, Contrôle du Pouvoir: Actes des Séminaires Organisés par l'École Française de Rome et l'Università di Roma (1984) Rome: École Française de Rome* (1986), 31-61.

Furthermore, in a remarriage of cousins, grandparents are shared, and the generation remains the same. Finally, in remarriage with a deceased spouse's (affinal) cousin, the second spouse shared grandparents, not parents, with the deceased spouse. A schematic overview of the family relations is given in Figure 4 and an overview of the frequency of such remarriages in Table 1.

Fig. 4 Marriages with Affinal Kin: Sibling of Deceased Spouse (1); Partner of Deceased Partner's Deceased Sibling (2); Partner of Deceased Sibling (3)



NOTES Family relations are indicated through relation to parents. Sibling pairs are marked in dark green. Men are visualized in squares and women in circles. Scenarios are presented from a male perspective but are also applicable to a female perspective and male spouses. First scenario: Remarriage of a man with his deceased first wife's sister. Second scenario: Remarriage of a man with the widow of his first wife's deceased brother. Third scenario: Remarriage of a man with the wife of his deceased brother.

Demographic Characteristics Included in the Analysis Selected for the analysis were all the men and women between the ages of twenty and sixty who married in Zeeland after 1812, were widowed there (362,683 individuals), and remained there until death before 1956 (179,978), which approximates the residentially stable part of the population. We restricted the study to individuals born after 1782 to ensure that no marriages were missed

(marriage and widowhood information is complete from about 1812) and are observed until 1937, the final year for which marriage information is known (34,411). This selection resulted in 15,540 widowers and 18,871 widows about whom we reconstructed a marital history, including information about age at widowhood, whether they remarried, and if so, age at remarriage, and time from widowhood to remarriage. Individuals were censored at age sixty, death, remarriage, or 1937 (the final year of known remarriages), whichever came first.

Our inclusion of only first remarriages and remarriages before age sixty omits fewer than 4 percent of remarriages from the analysis. Of the 13,104 remarriages remaining, 3.9 percent were with affinal or blood relatives for men (about one in twenty-five) and 2.4 percent for women (about one in forty). Marriages with cousins occurred in less than 1 percent of the first marriages. The frequency estimates are lower-boundary, since the relationships to grandparents—necessary to establish whether a marriage is with a cousins—are known only in about half the cases.

We noted the number of children at the time of widowhood, counting separately the total number of children younger than twelve, the number of boys older than twelve, and the number of girls older than twelve. Age at widowhood is divided into six categories—twenty to twenty-five, twenty-five to thirty, thirty to thirty-five, thirty-five to forty, forty to fifty, and fifty to sixty. We also logged the widows and widowers' highest-known socioeconomic status using HISCLASS-5. Occupations were registered for women only rarely. Furthermore, some of their socioeconomic consequences when widowed, including caretaking arrangements such as pensions, were linked to the socioeconomic status and/or occupation of their deceased spouse. We therefore used the highest known HISCLASS of women's first spouse.[21] Descriptive statistics may be found in Table 2.

[21] Marco van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas, *HISCLASS: A Historical International Social Class Scheme* (Leuven, 2011)

Table 1 Percentage of Men and Women Marrying Kin in Their First and Second Marriage

	REMARRIAGE		FIRST MARRIAGE	
	WIDOWERS	WIDOWS	MEN	WOMEN
TWO-GENERATION FAMILIES AFFINAL KIN				
1. Sibling of deceased spouse	2.4% (191)	0.7% (34)		
2. Partner of deceased sibling	0.1% (10)	0.4% (18)		
3. Partner of deceased spouse"s deceased sibling	0.2% (18)	0.3% (16)		
Total number of cases	15,540	18,837	136,396	140,701
Total number of marriages	8,112	4,992		
% of marriages	2.7% (219)	1,4% (68)	3.0% (4,041)	3.2% (4,535)
THREE-GENERATION FAMILIES AFFINAL KIN				
First cousin	1.2% (42)	1.3% (25)		
Nephew or niece, aunt or uncle	0.7% (23)	0.4% (8)		
Total number of cases	7,252	7,737		
Total number of marriages	3,499	1,934		
THREE-GENERATION FAMILIES BLOOD RELATIVES				
First cousin	0.9% (30)	0.9% (18)	0.8% (664)	0.8% (678)
Nephew or niece, aunt or uncle	0.0% (3)	0.1% (1)	0.1% (12)	0.1% (15)
Total number of cases	7,252	7,737	81,892	84,225
Total number of marriages	3,499	1,934		
Total marriages with kin	3.9% (317)	2.4% (120)	0.8% (661)	0.8% (675)
Total number of cases	15,540	18,837	81,892	84,225
Total number of marriages	8,112	4,992		

NOTES Percentages for remarriages involve remarried widows and widowers who remarried with kin. Total number of cases is the total number of identifiable cases. Widowed partners of spouse's siblings and partners of own siblings concern cases when parents of living spouse and the first spouse are known (two generations). For the first cousins and blood relatives, parents and grandparents need to be known (three generations). In second marriages, the new partner may be both a blood relative and related through the first marriage if the first marriage occurred with a blood relative (three cases).

We take into consideration any indications that the couple lived in a city around the time of death when the first spouse died, as indicated by spouse's place of death; the cities of Vlissingen, Middelburg, Terneuzen, and Goes qualify as urban environments. The interpretation of results based on urban residence ascertained in this manner, however, should

be cautious, since some deaths may have occurred in hospitals or other institutions in larger towns where a couple might not have actually lived.

Finally, we include whether the new spouse had a kin or affinal relationship (see Table 1 for an overview of kin and affinal relationships in this work)—siblings of deceased spouses, first cousins, and nephews and nieces, as well as aunts and uncles of the deceased spouse. Concerning blood relatives, we take into account whether a man's or woman's remarriage was with a first cousin, which was lawful and not in need of any legal dispensation (also applying to a first cousin of the deceased spouse). As mentioned above, a church dispensation was necessary for Roman Catholics, but Zeeland was an overwhelmingly Protestant province. A dispensation was also necessary to remarry a sibling of a deceased first spouse and to marry a nephew/niece and an aunt/uncle of the deceased partner.

Analytical Approach We use survival analysis to model the risk of remarriage, applying Cox proportional hazard models in a competing-risk approach to examine time from widowhood until remarriage (censoring observations as explained above). Models are estimated separately for men and women and control for age group at widowhood. Part of the models use a cure, or split-population, approach, which is an extension of survival analysis. This methodology allows for the separate estimation of the part of the population that does not experience an event, the cured fraction, and the time-to-transition for the part of the population that does experience the event. In other words, it allows for a separate estimation of the quantum of people experiencing an event, and the transition time to the event. The determinants of these two parts may be different or differ in strength, possibly masking the true effects if not modeled separately. This study employs a mixture-cure model (the alternative being a non-mixture model), in which "cured" and "uncured" subjects are treated

separately—the cured individuals subject to no excess risk and the uncured individuals subject to excess risk, modeled using a parametric survival distribution.[22]

An odds ratio (OR) greater than 1 for the cured fraction of the population means that the variable in the model contributes to the likelihood that someone does *not* remarry. Conversely, a hazard ratio (HR) greater than 1 for the non-cured fraction of the population (the part of the population that at some point remarries) means that the variable contributes to the time to event and thus is associated with a shorter period between bereavement and remarriage. Characteristics of the widows and widowers included in the models can contribute significantly to the cure fraction, but not to the hazard for the non-cured fraction, and vice versa. For example, let us say that widows with several small children remarry quickly, if they remarry at all, which they seldom do. As a result, children may increase a widow's likelihood of being "cured" of marriage but also affect the transition rate to remarriage positively.

[22] Vincent Bremhorst, Michaela Kreyenfeld, and Philippe Lambert, "Fertility Progression in Germany: An Analysis Using Flexible Nonparametric Cure Survival Models," *Demographic Research*, XXXV (2016), 505-534; Jordan Amdahl, "Parametric Cure Models" (2020), available at https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/flexsurvcure/vignettes/flexsurvcure.html.

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics, Widows and Widowers Age Twenty to Sixty in Zeeland, 1812-1937		
	WIDOWS	WIDOWERS
Mean age at first marriage	26.3	27.3
Mean age at widowhood	44.5	42.6
Percentage remarried before age 60, 1937, or death	26.4	52.2
Mean age at remarriage	39.9	40.8
Mean age at censoring	53.3	48.3
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (HISCLASS-5)		
Elite	4.7%	4.9%
Lower middle class	16.5%	18.4%
Skilled workers	22.2%	22.9%
Self-employed farmers	16.2%	19.2%
Workers and farm workers	40.0%	34.4%
NUMBER OF BOYS OLDER THAN 12 AT WIDOWHOOD		
Zero	51.2%	50.8%
One	20.6%	21.1%
Two	13.2%	13.7%
Three or more	15.0%	14.3%
NUMBER OF GIRLS OLDER THAN 12 AT WIDOWHOOD		
Zero	50.9%	49.6%
One	20.5%	21.7%
Two	13.7%	14.0%
Three or more	14.9%	14.7%
NUMBER OF CHILDREN YOUNGER THAN 12 AT WIDOWHOOD		
Zero	48.5%	40.8%
One	16.8%	18.3%
Two	12.8%	14.1%
Three or more	21.9%	26.8%
AGE GROUP AT WIDOWHOOD		
20-30	9.7%	12.6%
30-35	11.3%	14.0%
35-40	13.5%	16.1%
40-45	14.4%	15.0%
45-50	14.6%	13.4%
50-sixty	36.4%	28.9%
Resident in the city at widowhood	9.7%	8.4%
Total number of cases	18,871	15,540

NOTE Censoring occurs to those dying or reaching age sixty. After age sixty, remarriage became a rare event; fewer than 4 percent of the known remarriages occurred after that age.

TIMING AND LIKELIHOOD OF REMARRIAGE The first step is to look into the timing and likelihood of remarriage. Figure 5 offers descriptive analyses for all widowed men and women (top) and for people with at least one child at the time of widowhood (bottom). The chances of remarriage are initially high for both men and women but decline rapidly with age. Men have a shorter interval between widowhood and remarriage than do women (Figure 5, top). However, a large part of these differences between men and women are attributable to the presence of children at the time of widowhood. Men and women without children show no significant differences in the time to remarriage (Figure 5, bottom). Furthermore, the likelihood of remarrying declines strongly with age for men and women without children, although the initial likelihood of remarriage at around age twenty is higher for men and women with children than without children. Hence, men and women with children appear to have been less attractive partners in the marriage market, though these people might have had a weaker economic motivation to remarry. Because older children rather than a new spouse might have provided sufficient reason to satisfy a demand for an adult's labor in a family business or in a household, we do well to consider younger and older children separately. Similarly, in the middle and upper class, enlisting a housekeeper or relative to take care of young children may have been an alternative to remarriage. Unfortunately, no detailed information about changes in household composition is available in our data.

Figure 6 shows the cumulative hazard to remarry for a few selected groups, based on age, number and age of children, and the time since widowhood—(1) widows and widowers younger than thirty-five, with one or two children, one of them younger than two; (2) younger than thirty-five, with three or more children, the youngest older than twelve; and (3) older than thirty-five, with one child older than twelve. The figure illustrates the complexity of remarriage dynamics across different parts of the population. Widows remarried relatively

late in comparison to men, partially due to the requirement that they be widowed for at least 300 days, which ensured that the legal father was also the biological father in the case of a pregnancy. The figure further illustrates how relatively young men (younger than thirty-five) were likely to remarry, especially in the absence of young children. Widows were less likely to remarry, but in this case as well, age, number of children, and age of children appears to have played an important role. Relatively young widows (younger than thirty-five at the time of widowhood) without children in the dependent ages (younger than twelve) were as likely as widowers with a similar profile to remarry in the ten years after widowhood. Older widows and widowers, and widows and widowers with several young children, were relatively unlikely to remarry.

The second step turns to survival analysis of the determinants of remarriage for people aged twenty to sixty, with censoring at death or age sixty. We exclude remarriages at higher ages, since they were rare among both men and women. We include as predictors the number of children at the time of widowhood, counting separately the total number of children younger than twelve, the number of boys twelve and older, and the number of girls twelve and older. Age at widowhood is divided into six categories—twenty to twenty-five, twenty-five to thirty, thirty to thirty-five, thirty-five to forty, forty to fifty, and fifty to sixty. We further include the widows and widowers' socioeconomic status using HISCLASS-5 and whether the new spouse had a kin or affinal relationship (see Table 1 for an overview of kin and affinal relationships included in this work).

Fig. 5 Trajectories to Remarriage: All Widows and Widowers (Top), and Widows and Widowers without Children at the Time of Widowhood (Bottom)

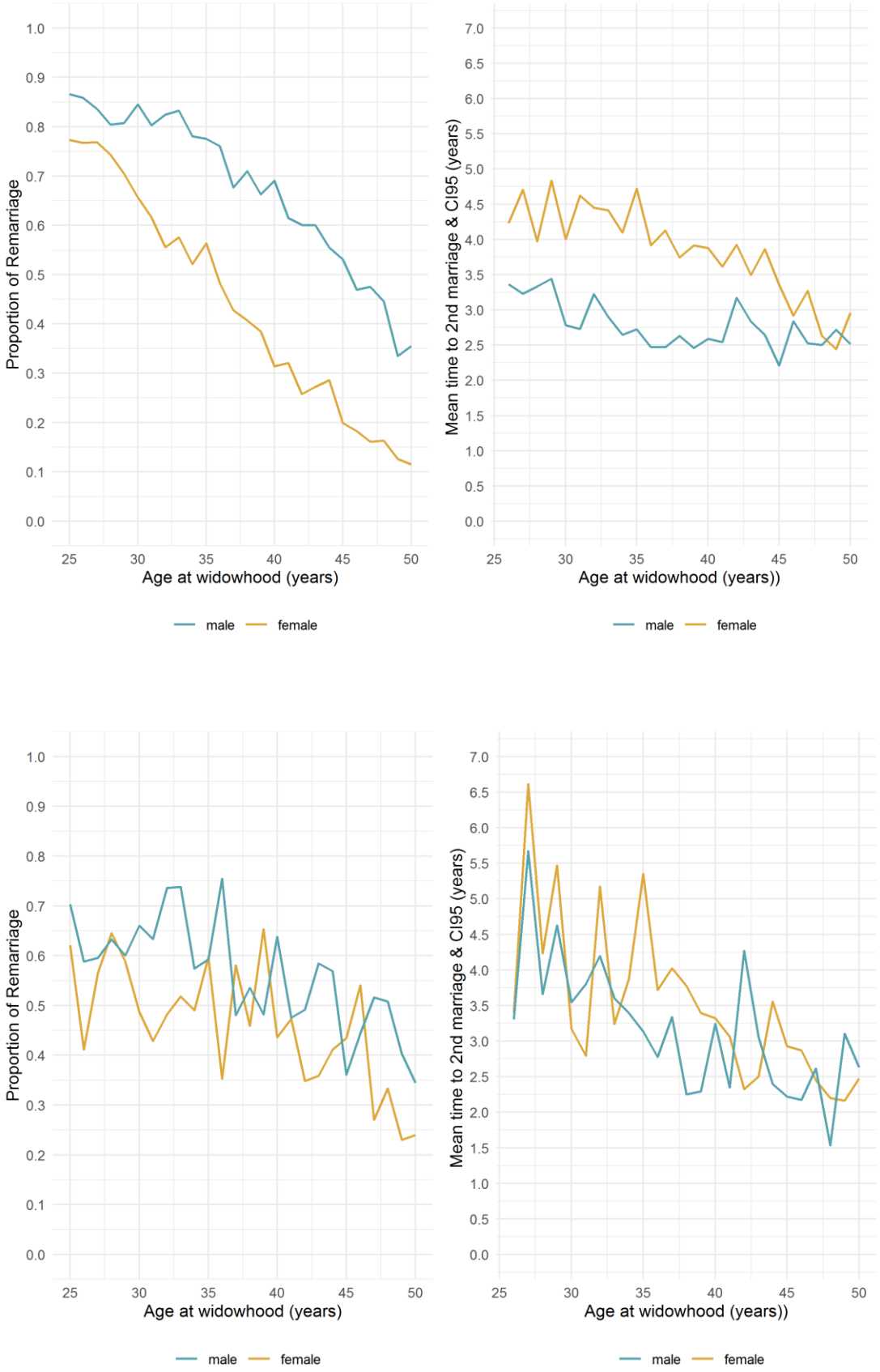
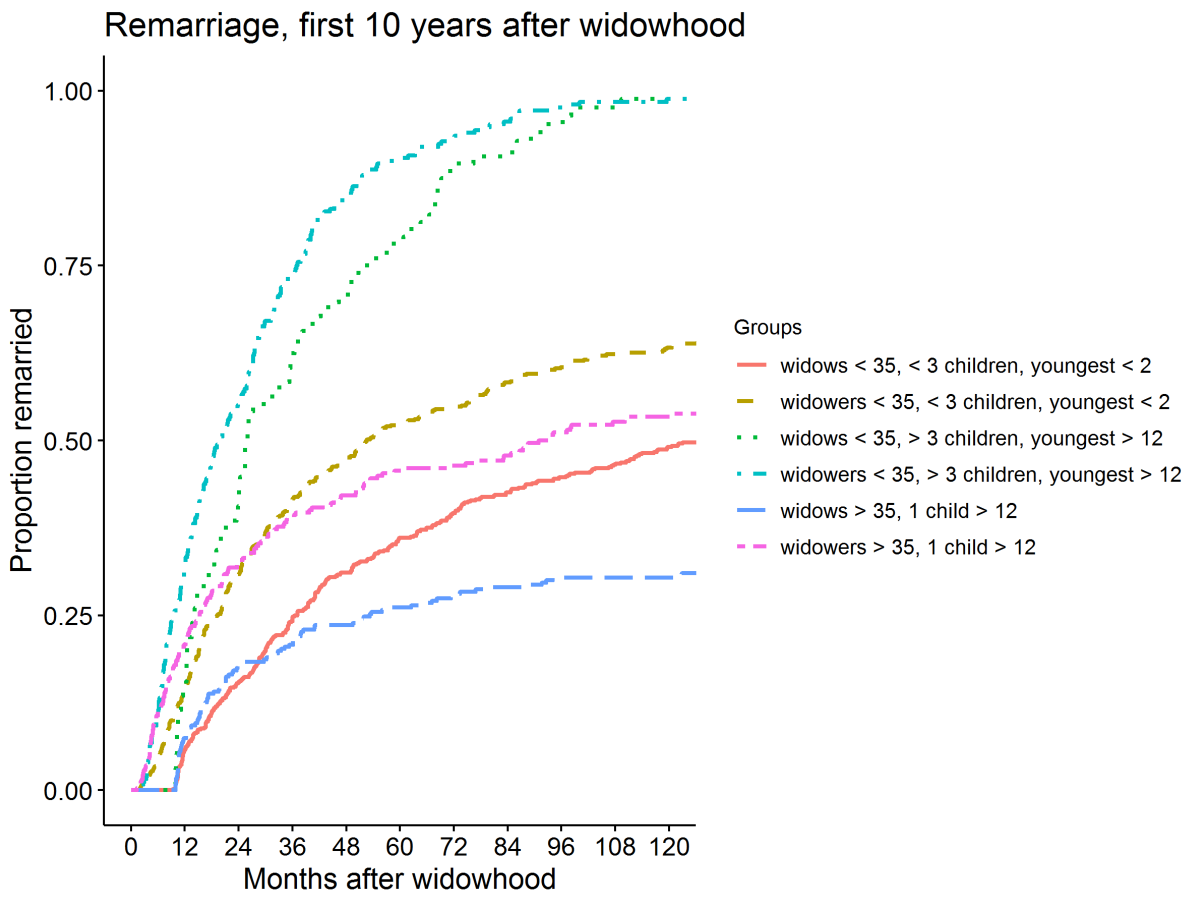


Fig. 6 Remarriage within the First Ten Years after Widowhood



NOTES Curves represent the proportion of widows and widowers who remarried by months since widowhood. Widows could not remarry in the first 300 days after widowhood.
SOURCE Authors' calculations, LINKS-Zeeland.

Table 3 presents results regarding the influences of social class, the number of older sons, and the number of older daughters on widows' and widowers' likelihood to remarry. Widows in the group of skilled workers (reference category) are less likely to remarry than are farm workers, especially farmers (who have a lower "cured" fraction). Skilled workers are also more likely to remarry than upper-class women, but the effect is estimated less precisely and is marginally significant. The longer time to remarriage for widows of farm workers than for widows of skilled workers, along with the shorter interval for farmers and upper-class widows, suggests that if upper-class women intended to remarry, their position on

the marriage market was relatively favorable; cultural constraints against quick remarriage affected them less than they did widows from other social standings. Differences in social class are less pronounced for widowers. Workers are slightly less likely to remarry (a higher cured fraction). As Meints found in Groningen province, the transition to remarriage for widowed farmers was longer than for skilled workers; the transition for (farm) workers was significantly shorter. Workers might have remarried more quickly than others because they could not afford to hire a housekeeper to take care of their children.[23]

For widowers, the number of daughters and sons older than twelve is related to an increased likelihood of remarriage (that is, a lower cured fraction, which implies an increased likelihood to remarry, and a lower likelihood of never remarrying). Although children's presence in family businesses or on farms could substitute for a spouse's labor, older children may have made widows and widowers more attractive on the marriage market as well. The finding does not apply to the presence of several sons older than twelve for widows, which is associated with a lower likelihood of remarriage, complementing Van Poppel's earlier work showing that older children lowered marriage probabilities, who finds that older children lowered marriage probabilities but points to more nuanced processes related to available labor and attractiveness on the labor market. For widows, the presence of children younger than twelve is related to a decreased likelihood of remarriage. The effect is also found for widowers with several young children, but not for those with only one young child at the time of widowhood. Because considerable caretaking and income is necessary from adults at this stage in the family life cycle, widows and widowers with young children probably desired remarriage just as much as widows and widowers with older children. We therefore attribute

[23] Mariska Meints, *Op 's Levens Tweesprong: De Strategieën na Verweduwing van Weduwen en Weduwnaars uit Adorp, 1850-1900*, Ph. D. diss. (Univ. of Groningen, 2015).

this decreased likelihood to remarry to a reduced attractiveness on the marriage market and to difficulties in finding a new spouse.[24]

For widows with several young children who do remarry (the non-cured fraction), the time to remarriage is significantly longer, possibly because their attractiveness or willingness to remarry increased as their children aged. By contrast, the hazard rate for men with three or more young children increased in comparison with that for widowers without children, implying that remarriages occurred earlier for them than for widowers without children. The likelihood of remarriage for widowers in cities was significantly larger than that for widowers outside the cities of Zeeland, but not for women in cities; they were less likely to remarry. The transition rates are not affected significantly by whether they lived in the city or countryside, even though urban marriage markets may have been larger. As discussed above, the likelihood of a remarriage varies strongly with the age of widows and, to a smaller extent, of widowers. The transition to remarriage tended to be shorter for older widowed persons than for the young ones, a pattern that is more pronounced for women than for men.

Table 4 takes a closer look at remarriage with kin. Given the relatively small number of cases, we start by analyzing marriages with any relative—affinal (related via the deceased spouse) or a blood relative. Widows of skilled workers were much less likely to remarry kin than were lower middle-class widows, farm workers, and farmers. Farmers' widows were particularly more likely to remarry a relative than were skilled workers (OR 0.17, CI 0.09-0.33). The transition rates also increased for farm workers (a shorter time to remarriage). Farming widows might have remarried a relative to secure the family's possessions or rights to farm for their existing children. A similar pattern is not identified for widowers, however. In this context, only (farm) workers appear to differ from skilled workers, who are less likely to remarry with kin after widowhood.

[24] Van Poppel, "Widows, Widowers and Remarriage."

Widows with young children were less likely to remarry kin than were widows without young children. The penalty of young children on the marriage market is less strong for widows remarrying with kin than for remarriages in general, regardless of any family relationship to the second spouse (Table 3). The number of daughters older than twelve is related to an increased likelihood of remarriage with a relative, as it was for remarriages with non-relatives. The effect of sons older than twelve on the likelihood of remarriage is not significant, unlike the effect for any spouse (Table 3). For widowers, the number of both sons and daughters older than twelve is related to an increased chance of a remarriage to kin, albeit with only marginal significance. Interestingly, for men, the presence of children younger than twelve is not related to the likelihood of remarriage with kin. The totality of all remarriages shows a negative association between children younger than twelve and remarriage, which does not hold for remarriages with relatives. The implication is that remarriage to kin may have been a solution for some widowers with young children to compensate for their lower likelihood of finding a wife on the wider marriage market. Remarriage with kin appears to be much less common in the towns and cities in Zeeland than in rural areas. Age does not appear to have affected remarriage to kin as much as it did remarriage in general; the effects are nevertheless large and significant.

Table 5 (widowers) and Table 6 (widows) show the analysis of marriages with specific relatives via application of Cox proportional-hazard models, since the numbers are too small for cure models. For widows, several variables are included linearly; they are too few to be categorized as in the earlier analyses. Widowers' tendency to marry their deceased spouse's sister if they had several older sons is in line with the results for *any* marriage (note that the result for two or more sons is marginally significant at p=0.06 and that the result for three or more sons is not significant). When multiple younger children were involved, however, widowers were more likely to marry their sister-in-law (three or more young

children, p=0.06), whereas for marriage in general, including to non-relatives, widowers with multiple young children were less likely to remarry. Widowers in need of someone to take care of their young children may therefore have been inclined to marry their wife's sister, and the sisters may have been relatively more likely to accept such an offer, considering the bond to their nephews and nieces.

The story is different for widows. Their remarriage rates are relatively low in general; in only a few cases did widows remarry a brother of her deceased husband (n=34). Widows who had one or two sons older than twelve were more likely to marry their deceased husband's brother than were widows without older sons. Widows with at least one daughter older than twelve were significantly more likely to marry one of their own blood relatives. These effects resemble those of having children for any remarriage (see Table 3); they do not appear to be related to remarriage with kin in particular.

In remarriages with the sibling of a deceased spouse, one in five brides was pregnant, compared to only one in nine brides being pregnant when the remarriage was not with a relative (Table 7). Some marriages that had to be planned ahead while awaiting a dispensation may have been consummated ahead of the formal wedding. Alternatively, the necessity of acquiring the dispensation may have discouraged some couples from getting married, unless a pressing need, such as a pregnancy, intervened. In any case, remarriages with a sibling of a deceased spouse were also more fertile than were remarriages with spouses in general, producing children in almost two-thirds of the cases. These patterns are less pronounced for remarriage with any affinal or blood relative.

Table 3 Likelihood of Remarriage, Cure Model, Zeeland 1842-1937, Relative Risk and 95 Percent Confidence Intervals

	WIDOWS						WIDOWERS					
	CURED FRACTION			NON-CURED			CURED FRACTION			NON-CURED		
	OR	95% CI		HR	95% CI		OR	95% CI		HR	95% CI	
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (REFERENCE SKILLED WORKERS)	REF			REF			REF			REF		
Elite	*1.24*	*0.99*	*1.55*	**1.27**	**1.09**	**1.47**	1.03	0.84	1.28	1.01	0.89	1.14
Lower middle class	1.10	0.96	1.27	1.04	0.95	1.14	0.96	0.84	1.10	0.96	0.89	1.03
Farmers and fishermen	**0.56**	**0.49**	**0.64**	**1.38**	**1.27**	**1.50**	1.04	0.91	1.19	**0.87**	**0.80**	**0.94**
(Farm) workers	**0.76**	**0.68**	**0.85**	**0.92**	**0.86**	**0.98**	**1.14**	**1.01**	**1.27**	**1.09**	**1.01**	**1.16**
NUMBER OF SONS 12+ (REFERENCE 0)	REF			REF			REF			REF		
1	**0.76**	**0.68**	**0.85**	1.03	0.97	1.10	**0.64**	**0.57**	**0.72**	1.05	0.98	1.12
2	1.06	0.92	1.24	**1.10**	**1.00**	**1.21**	**0.65**	**0.57**	**0.75**	**1.12**	**1.04**	**1.22**
3 or more	**1.43**	**1.20**	**1.70**	**1.24**	**1.11**	**1.39**	**0.50**	**0.43**	**0.58**	**1.14**	**1.05**	**1.24**
NUMBER OF DAUGHTERS AGE 12+ (REFERENCE 0)	REF			REF			REF			REF		
1	**0.78**	**0.70**	**0.87**	**1.11**	**1.04**	**1.19**	**0.70**	**0.63**	**0.79**	1.03	0.97	1.10
2	0.96	0.83	1.11	**1.19**	**1.08**	**1.30**	0.91	0.80	1.05	1.01	0.93	1.09
3 or more	1.10	0.92	1.30	**1.17**	**1.05**	**1.31**	**0.85**	**0.74**	**0.98**	1.01	0.92	1.10
NUMBER OF CHILDREN YOUNGER THAN 12 (REFERENCE 0)	REF			REF			REF			REF		
1	**1.47**	**1.29**	**1.67**	**0.89**	**0.83**	**0.96**	1.10	0.97	1.25	0.96	0.89	1.04
2	**1.85**	**1.61**	**2.12**	**0.85**	**0.78**	**0.91**	**1.23**	**1.07**	**1.41**	1.06	0.98	1.14
3 or more	**2.44**	**2.16**	**2.75**	**0.81**	**0.75**	**0.87**	**1.23**	**1.10**	**1.39**	**1.15**	**1.07**	**1.23**
Resident in the city (reference not in the city)	**1.18**	**1.02**	**1.37**	0.94	0.86	1.03	**0.82**	**0.70**	**0.96**	1.02	0.94	1.12
AGE GROUP AT WIDOW-HOOD (REFERENCE 20 TO 30)	REF			REF			REF			REF		
30-35	**2.23**	**1.91**	**2.61**	1.04	0.97	1.twelve	**1.26**	**1.03**	**1.54**	**1.21**	**1.12**	**1.31**
35-40	**4.76**	**4.09**	**5.54**	**1.10**	**1.02**	**1.18**	**2.48**	**2.07**	**2.98**	**1.35**	**1.25**	**1.46**
40-45	**10.24**	**8.77**	**11.96**	1.07	0.99	1.16	**4.74**	**3.96**	**5.67**	**1.24**	**1.14**	**1.35**
45-50	**25.44**	**21.40**	**30.23**	**1.25**	**1.12**	**1.38**	**10.69**	**8.89**	**12.84**	**1.20**	**1.08**	**1.32**
50-60	**84.87**	**69.08**	**104.29**	1.05	0.92	1.12	**26.02**	**21.43**	**31.60**	0.98	0.87	1.10
Events		4,992						8,112				
N		18,837						15,540				

NOTES Boldface: significant at p=0.05 level; italic: significant at p=0.10 level. SOURCE Authors' calculations based on LINKS-Zeeland 2018.

Table 4 Likelihood of Remarriage with Affinal and Blood Kin, Cure Model, Zeeland 1842-1937, Hazard Ratio (Non-Cured), Odds Ratio (Cured) and 95 Percent Confidence Intervals

	WIDOWS						WIDOWERS					
	CURED FRACTION			NON-CURED FRACTION			CURED FRACTION			NON-CURED FRACTION		
	OR	95% CI		HR	95% CI		OR	95% CI		HR	95% CI	
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (REFERENCE SKILLED WORKERS)							REF			REF		
Elite	0.54	0.17	1.73	0.91	0.38	2.20	0.91	0.49	1.66	0.92	0.54	1.58
Lower middle class	**0.39**	**0.19**	**0.80**	0.71	0.41	1.25	1.11	0.76	1.63	1.20	0.84	1.70
Farmers and fishermen	**0.17**	**0.09**	**0.33**	**0.55**	**0.33**	**0.90**	1.13	0.77	1.66	0.99	0.70	1.41
(Farm) workers	**0.50**	**0.26**	**0.95**	**0.51**	**0.31**	**0.84**	**2.08**	**1.44**	**3.00**	1.30	0.92	1.83
Number of sons 12+ at widowhood	0.97	0.79	1.19	0.99	0.86	1.13	*0.89*	*0.78*	*1.02*	1.01	0.89	1.14
Number of daughters age 12+ at widowhood	**0.81**	**0.67**	**0.97**	0.98	0.86	1.11	*0.86*	*0.76*	*0.97*	0.94	0.84	1.04
Number of children younger than 12 at widowhood	**1.14**	**1.01**	**1.29**	0.98	0.90	1.06	0.97	0.90	1.04	0.99	0.92	1.06
Resident in the city	**2.53**	**1.00**	**6.40**	1.73	0.84	3.56	**2.04**	**1.15**	**3.60**	1.33	0.77	2.28
AGE GROUP AT WIDOWHOOD (REFERENCE 20-30)							REF			*ref*		
30-35	0.99	0.57	1.73	**0.60**	**0.40**	**0.91**	1.27	0.85	1.91	*1.40*	*0.97*	*2.01*
35-40	**2.06**	**1.15**	**3.68**	0.88	0.57	1.35	**1.86**	**1.23**	**2.81**	**1.59**	**1.10**	**2.31**
40-45	**5.04**	**2.60**	**9.77**	0.93	0.56	1.51	**3.81**	**2.40**	**6.06**	1.35	0.88	2.07
45-50	**7.23**	**3.63**	**14.38**	1.31	0.79	2.18	**7.20**	**4.16**	**12.45**	1.27	0.74	2.17
50-60	**32.51**	**9.19**	**115.02**	0.57	0.23	1.40	**10.24**	**6.10**	**17.19**	**1.75**	**1.07**	**2.88**
Events	119						316					
N	18,837						15,540					

NOTES Boldface: significant at p=0.05 level; italic: significant at p=0.10 level.

SOURCE Authors' calculations based on LINKS-Zeeland 2018.

Table 5 Cox Proportional-Hazard Models in a Competing Risk Approach, Zeeland 1842-1937, Hazard Ratio and 95 Percent Confidence Intervals

	WIDOWERS' REMARRIAGE (AGE 20 TO 60)					
	SIBLING OF DECEASED SPOUSE		OTHER AFFINAL KIN		BLOOD RELATIVES	
	HR	95% CI	HR	95% CI	HR	95% CI
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS						
Skilled workers	Ref		ref		ref	
Elite	1.13	0.64-1.99	0.55	0.07-4.36	2.00	0.52-7.76
Lower middle class	0.88	0.60-1.29	*2.95*	*1.30-6.70*	0.34	0.07-1.62
Farmers and fishermen	**0.58**	**0.38-0.89**	**2.22**	**0.96-5.13**	1.54	0.59-3.99
(Farm) workers	**0.40**	**0.26-0.60**	1.40	0.61-3.23	0.83	0.31-2.17
NUMBER OF SONS 12+ AT WIDOWHOOD						
0	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
1	**1.59**	**1.07-2.36**	*1.87*	*0.92-3.79*	0.57	0.18-1.78
2	*1.56*	*0.97-2.51*	**2.44**	1.17-5.47	1.24	0.44-3.52
3 or more	1.39	0.82-2.37	**2.75**	1.27-6.49	0.84	0.24-2.94
NUMBER OF DAUGHTERS AGE 12+ AT WIDOWHOOD						
0	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
1	1.25	0.84-1.86	1.08	0.54-2.16	**3.27**	**1.32-8.10**
2	1.19	0.73-1.95	1.24	0.57-2.69	2.18	0.64-7.45
3 or more	1.21	0.73-2.01	0.94	0.37-2.22	*3.01*	*0.89-10.17*
NUMBER OF CHILDREN YOUNGER THAN 12 AT WIDOWHOOD						
0	*ref.*		*ref.*		*ref.*	
1	0.98	0.63-1.52	0.80	0.37-1.71	0.81	0.32-2.06
2	1.02	0.64-1.65	1.36	0.67-2.77	0.91	0.34-2.40
3 or more	*1.46*	*0.99-2.17*	0.86	0.43-1.73	0.47	0.17-1.28
Resident in the city	1.03	0.60-1.76	0.38	0.09-1.56		-
AGE GROUP AT WIDOWHOOD (REFERENCE 20-30)	*REF*		*REF*		*REF*	
30-35	0.79	0.53-1.18	1.35	0.60-3.02	1.06	0.42-2.67
35-40	**0.48**	**0.31-0.74**	1.41	0.64-3.11	0.68	0.24-1.88
40-45	**0.29**	**0.18-0.48**	**0.24**	**0.08-0.78**	**0.22**	**0.06-0.81**
45-50	**0.11**	**0.05-0.21**	**0.36**	**0.14-0.95**	**0.13**	**0.02-0.53**
50-60	**0.10**	**0.06-0.19**	**0.32**	**0.13-0.79**	**0.06**	**0.01-0.28**
Events		191		65		33
N		15,540		15,540		15,540

NOTES Boldface: significant at p=0.05 level; italic: significant at p=0.10 level.

SOURCE Authors' calculations based on LINKS-Zeeland 2018.

Table 6 Cox Proportional-Hazard Models in a Competing Risk Approach, Zeeland 1842-1937, Hazard Ratio and 95 Percent Confidence Intervals

	WIDOW'S REMARRIAGE (AGE 20 TO 60)					
	SIBLING OF DECEASED SPOUSE		OTHER AFFINAL KIN		BLOOD RELATIVES	
	HR	95% CI	HR	95% CI	HR	95% CI
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS						
SKILLED WORKERS	*REF*					
Elite	1.48	0.17-13.32				
Lower middle class	2.58	0.75-8.83				
Farmers and fishermen	**3.66**	**1.11-12.04**				
(Farm) workers	1.43	0.46-4.46				
Number of sons twelve+ at widowhood	*1.28*	*0.96-1.69*	0.99	0.64-1.52	0.83	0.49-1.40
Number of daughters twelve+ at widowhood	**1.32**	**1.00-1.73**	1.09	0.73-1.62	**1.53**	**1.09-2.15**
Number of children under twelve at widowhood	1.05	0.86-1.27	0.88	0.71-1.09	0.75	0.53-1.06
Resident in city	1.00	0.30-3.39	-		-	
AGE AT WIDOWHOOD (REFERENCE 20-30)	REF		REF		REF	
30-35	0.75	0.29-1.93	0.86	0.35-2.13	0.52	0.15-1.83
35-40	**0.34**	**0.12-0.97**	**0.33**	**0.11-0.99**	0.20	0.04-0.96
40-45	**0.11**	**0.03-0.40**	**0.31**	**0.11-0.87**	0.12	0.02-0.59
45-50	**0.08**	**0.02-0.29**	**0.08**	**0.02-0.41**	0.04	0.01-0.37
50-60	**0.02**	**0.00-0.11**			0.03	0.01-0.20
Events	34		33		19	
N	18,871		18,871		18,871	

NOTES Boldface: significant at p=0.05 level; italic: significant at p=0.10 level.

SOURCE Authors' calculations based on LINKS-Zeeland 2018.

Table 7 Remarriages and Fertility

	ANY REMARRIAGE	REMARRIAGE WITH SIBLING OF DECEASED SPOUSE	REMARRIAGE WITH ANY KIN
Bride pregnant at remarriage	11.1% (1,456)	18,2% (41)	17.7% (77)
Remarriage leads to children	56,4% (7,390)	65.3% (106)	59.7% (259)
Age at widowhood	36.9 year	35.8 years	36.9 years
Age at remarriage	40.0 year	38.2 years	39.1 years
Time to remarriage	3.1 year	2.5 years	2.7 years
N	13,104	225	434

Widows' and widowers' age at bereavement and the number and ages of their children were important factors in their likelihood of remarriage. The likelihood of remarriage rapidly declined with age, albeit with differences between men and women. Widows outnumbered widowers. Women, however, tended to live longer than men but to remarry less often and less quickly. Hence, widowers spent less time unmarried than widows did. The higher and faster remarriage rates of men were partly attributable to gender imbalances in the remarriage market due to the higher mortality of women in childbearing ages. Older widowers could also seek and take younger spouses more successfully than older widows could. Furthermore, men in the past, not unlike those in the present, had more to gain from remarriage. Older men benefit more from the assistance of wives than women do from that of husbands (witness, for example, the differential mortality after widowhood that Nystedt discovered in Scania, Sweden), and men stand to gain more from wives' social networks than the other way around. In America, this gendered pattern of remarriage has led to the blunt adage "women mourn, men replace."[25]

[25] Grigg, "Toward a Theory of Remarriage"; Ida Blom, "The History of Widowhood: A Bibliographic Overview," *Journal of Family History,* XVI (1991), 191-210; Paul Nystedt, "Widowhood-Related Mortality in Scania, Sweden during the 19th Century," *History of the Family*, XVII (2002), 451-478; Sara Moorman and Karen Fingerman, "Women's Romantic Relationships after Widowhood," *Journal of Family Issues,* XXVII (2006), 1281-1304;

This article demonstrates that, for remarriage, the attractiveness of a widow or widower to a new partner appears to be more important than the "costs and benefits" of remarriage. That is, widows running a farm were more likely to remarry, and to remarry quickly, than what might be expected from the cost-benefit perspective. Also, widows with older sons often appear to have had better prospects entering the marriage market than attempting to replace the labor lost in their household without a new marriage. These findings are in line with a study on a comparable region where widows who had property or income were more likely to remarry than those who did not. Upper-class widows, widows of workers, and lower middle-class workers were more unlikely to remarry.[26]

The principal aim herein is to discover whether kin remarriages "followed their own logic." The finding that farming widows, but not widowers, were likely to remarry kin suggests a strategy to keep the property within the family and to avoid dealing with opposition from the children. Marriage to a late husband's brother tended to occur when older sons and daughters were present, suggesting they had a say in the matter or at least that their interests weighed heavily. The literature suggests, however, that Dutch farmers, especially in commercialized regions such as Zeeland, had ample legal means to protect the interests of children produced in the first marriage. Remarrying with kin probably happened more for emotional than for strategic reasons. Rented farms may have been threatened with discontinuation if no male spouse were working the farm, creating a huge incentive for women to remarry. To understand the way in which remarriage with kin or non-kin is related to the logic of farm succession, further research would need to combine the wills, marriage contracts, and account books (showing hired labor) of farms.[27]

Deborah Carr, "The Desire to Date and Remarry among Older Widows and Widowers," *Journal of Marriage and Family*, LXVI (2004), 1051-1068.

[26] Meints, "Op 's Levens Tweesprong."

[27] Lanzinger, "Widowers and Their Sisters-In-Law," 177; Van Poppel, *Trouwen in Nederland*.

As expected, widowers with multiple young children tended to remarry their wife's sister. The widower's desire to remarry was certainly part of the reason, but the motivation of a deceased spouse's sister to support her young nieces and nephews through marrying into their household was also a factor. Older sons were associated with an increased likelihood of a widower remarrying a sister of a deceased wife, as well as other affinal kin, whereas older daughters were associated with an increased likelihood of remarriage with blood relatives of the widow and widower (cousin marriage). The reasons are difficult to discern. We need to know more about the expectations and roles of different types of kin in this particular society and period.

A further consideration for future research is the extent to which sibling remarriage was a viable option for widows and widowers. Although we do not observe these remarriages with great frequency—between 1.4 percent of remarriages for widows and 2.7 percent of remarriages for widowers—in many cases remarriage with a sister or brother was not an option at all, since the deceased spouse did not have an unmarried sibling of the right age. Considering these limitations, sibling marriage was a favored strategy, if at all possible, despite the low observed frequencies. The likelihood of such marriages may have eventually decreased as a result of declining mortality, fewer widows and widowers, smaller family sizes, and lower celibacy rates. Fewer siblings may have been available for marriage after the death of a spouse.

Given the current state of our database, we might have underestimated the extent to which kin marriages occurred after bereavement. Although extensive information about kinship is available, failed linkages have an amplifying effect, and shared great-grandparents between a late spouse and a bereaved spouse are not always evident in the current database.

Hence, the patterns discovered herein are likely to be an underestimation of the extent to which they truly affected remarriage.[28]

Earlier research has shown that sibling-exchange marriages were common in the province of Zeeland—reaching about 5 percent of all marriages by the end of the nineteenth century—revealing an interest in keeping property in the family, as well as keeping families together, through strategic kin marriage. Further research should shed light on the dynamics behind the likelihood of such marriages, as well as the effects of such marriages on the children in case of parental loss or even orphanhood. These marriages may have functioned as insurance against adverse consequences.

This article unravels the determinants of remarriage with kin through the use of a large number of genealogies from a broad region. As noted above, a proper understanding of the patterns found herein require a more "micro-historical" approach, especially with regard to the financial situation of a bereaved spouse and the legal opportunities to safeguard the interests of children (the cost-benefit perspective). The costs of marriage involving kin included moral censure of the community and, for some types of kin, even the costs of formal requests for dispensation. The benefits were probably largely emotional; children would not have perceived kin as strangers to be opposed.

The attractiveness of a widow or widower played a major role as well (the matching perspective). Older widows and widows with many young children stood poor chances on the remarriage market, and kin offered no recourse. Future research should further explore the extent to which the characteristics of new partners, in relation to their availability on the marriage market, deserve to be taken into account. For instance, did people prefer to remarry

[28] Johannes Johow, Kai P. Willführ, and Eckhart Voland, "High Consanguinity Promotes Intergenerational Wealth Concentration in Socioeconomically Privileged Krummhörn Families of the 18th and 19th Centuries," *Evolution and Human Behavior*, XL(II) (2019), 204-213.

a single person of more or less the same age (or younger in case of men), the same religious denomination, and the same or higher social status? Census data can provide some insight in the (re)marriage market and help to analyze the resort to remarriage with blood relatives or in-laws vis-á-vis the availability of alternative (preferred) partners.

Finally, a marriage with kin may often have taken place simply to avoid an embarrassing situation. Dispensations were probably granted in cases of pregnancy to avoid illegitimate births. So far, the original requests for dispensation have not come to light, but the comparison of pregnancy rates of women involved in a remarriage with kin or non-kin should provide a good indication.[29]

[29] Grigg, "Toward a Theory of Remarriage"; Barbara Todd, "Demographic Determinism and Female Agency: The Remarrying Widow Reconsidered … Again," *Continuity and Change*, IX (1994), 421-450.