

Marriage and Internal Migration in Moson County: Féltorony as a Case Study: 1827-1920

Blair R. Holmes

While geographers, historians and demographers frequently employ registers of births and deaths and census records in their examinations of society's trends and changes, there has generally been considerably less implementation of the detailed information contained in marriage registers.¹ In the case of the village of Féltorony (present-day Halbturn, Burgenland), the register of marriages encompasses the period from 1827 to 1920 inclusively and contains details which can be used in describing the lives of the inhabitants of this rural village in extreme eastern Austria. With the exception of the years 1865, 1866, 1881, which are missing, the records usually contain the names, ages, occupations and places of birth and residence of the bride and groom; the names and occupations of the parents of the marriage partners; and, in some cases, birthdates of the bride and groom and the names and occupations of the witnesses to the marriage. Prior to 1896 the marriage records, being under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were written in Latin; while the introduction of civil registration in 1896 required the information to be recorded in Hungarian. Examples of the aspects of the daily life of the village's inhabitants which are possible to examine are the percentage of intra-village marriages (which provides an index of the community's isolation); the distance and direction of inter-village marriages; and the role of age, occupation and marital status in determination of spouse selection.²

Located in the Hungarian border province of Moson, part of which was incorporated into the Austrian Burgenland following World War One, Féltorony was selected at random and is assumed to have been representative of the predominantly German villages in western Hungary.³ The population of the village rose from 1150 in 1821 to 2449 in 1920, an increase of 112.9%, which was a much greater rate of increase than was experienced by the surrounding region.⁴ Between the years 1827-1920 there were 1657 marriages. Few women had occupations

listed, but of the men 57% were engaged in agriculture; approximately 19% were artisans; 9% followed commercial pursuits such as merchants, innkeepers or carters; 5% has pastoral occupations; while the remaining 10% was comprised of day-laborers, domestic servants, public officials, school teachers, military personnel or other miscellaneous livelihoods.

Primary among the factors which influenced a person's selection of a mate were the population of the surrounding territory, the distance from neighboring villages and local customs governing marital choice.. If, for example, the nearest village was at a greater distance than the average person could walk or ride within the space of a few hours, it is unlikely that there would have been much long-range courtship and few inter-village marriages.⁵ If the average person did not possess the means to travel great distances, there would have been little social contact outside one's own village or its immediate environs.⁶ The population of one's native village and the nearby area was also significant. If the population was dense, this provided a large number of potential partners and reduced the desire or necessity to search elsewhere. Also, the belief of the

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND THE DISTANCE OF
BIRTHPLACE FROM FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Distance (km)</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
2-3	64	18
3-4	113	166
4-5	44	23
5-6	6	3
6-7	24	21
7-8	0	0
8-9	0	0
9-10	44	15
10-11	44	14
11-12	28	31
12-13	27	5
13-14	8	10
14-15	22	22
15-16	31	30
16-17	15	8
17-18	13	9
18-19	5	3
19-20	10	10
Total	498	388

Hungarian peasants that “everyone should choose a fitting mate within the village”⁷ militated against selecting a mate who was not well known to one’s family and friends.

Tables 1 and 2 demonstrate that the relationship between the number of marriages and distance decreased sharply as the distance from Féltorony became greater. It is evident, when the places of birth and residence are compared, that there was a general tendency for movement toward Féltorony and, hence, more spouses were chosen from those who resided within a small radius. Table 3 reveals the tendency for a close proximity of residence to determine spouse selection. More of the brides and grooms were residing outside of Féltorony than were born outside and their residences were closer to the village. A large portion either resided in Féltorony or within a small radius. More than half of the men and two-thirds of the women were village residents, while an additional one-quarter of both genders resided within five kilometers. Very few persons lived at a distance exceeding twenty kilometers.⁸

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND THE DISTANCE OF
RESIDENCE FROM FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Distance (km)</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
2-3	50	10
3-4	352	399
4-5	40	14
5-6	3	1
6-7	30	17
7-8	10	0
8-9	26	31
9-10	20	2
10-11	33	7
11-12	17	3
12-13	23	4
13-14	6	2
14-15	16	3
15-16	31	21
16-17	9	1
17-18	3	1
18-19	2	0
19-20	4	1
Total	675	517

TABLE 3
NUMBER OF MARRIAGES AND DISTANCES OF
BIRTH AND RESIDENCE, 1827-1920

<i>Distance</i>	<i>BIRTH</i>						<i>RESIDENCE</i>					
	<i>Men</i>			<i>Women</i>			<i>Men</i>			<i>Women</i>		
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum%</i>
Féltorony	741	51.7	51.7	947	64.5	64.5	905	55.7	55.7	1092	67.3	67.3
0-5km	221	15.4	67.1	207	14.1	78.6	442	27.2	82.9	423	26.1	93.4
5-10km	118	8.2	75.3	53	3.6	82.2	122	7.5	90.4	58	3.6	97.0
10-20km	149	11.1	86.4	128	8.7	90.9	111	6.8	97.2	36	2.2	99.2

These figures, however, do not take into account the important factor of population distribution around the village. Because the probability of Féltorony residents marrying each other was a function both of distance and population, it is necessary to standardize the number of marriages for the surrounding area. This is accomplished by dividing the number of marriages, according to residence within a particular radius, by the corresponding population of the same area. Because the population structures of the neighboring villages are not known, it is assumed that they were similar to Féltorony. The average size of the population of each community and area was determined by calculating the running and weighted averages from years in which censuses were taken.⁹ (Table 4.)

When the standardized number of marriages is multiplied by 1000 ($M = 1000s/\frac{1}{2}p$) and the logarithm of the resulting product is plotted against the distance from Féltorony, as in Figure 1, the relationship approximates a straight line, which indicates a constant rate of change. The correlation coefficient (r) of the distance (D) and the $\log M$ gives further strong and nearly equal evidence of the relationship between the place of residence of a marriage partner and the distance of that residence from Féltorony. For males $r = -0.79$; while for females $r = -0.74$.

The information contained in the marriage registers varied in amount and nature according to the proclivities of the village priest and the demands of the church or state. On occasion, the earliest years of the register excluded the place of birth or residence, while the entries for the years following 1907 periodically omitted the birthplace of those not born in Féltorony or the neighboring villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof.¹⁰ As a result, the calculations for the years following 1907 are somewhat distorted and could be misleading.¹¹

Although the earliest parish register entries sometimes failed to list

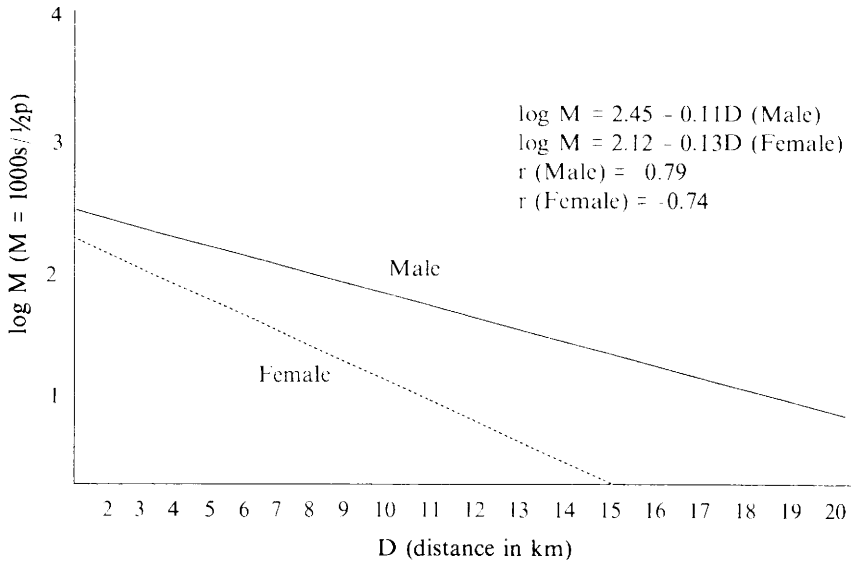
TABLE 4
SPOUSES, ESTIMATED POPULATION, AND
STANDARDIZED NUMBER OF SPOUSES IN
THE VICINITY OF FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Distance (km)</i> <i>from Féltorony</i>	<i>Spouse(s)</i>		<i>Average</i> <i>Population (p)</i>	<i>Standardized Spouses</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>		<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
2-3	50	10	1416	0.0706	0.0141
3-4	352	399	473	1.4884	1.6871
4-5	40	14	2454	0.0326	0.0114
5-6	3	1	2048	0.0029	0.0098
6-7	30	17	missing	—	—
7-8	10	0	145	0.1379	0.0000
8-9	26	31	missing	—	—
9-10	20	2	2234	0.0179	0.0018
10-11	33	7	2533	0.0261	0.0055
11-12	17	3	2757	0.0123	0.0022
12-13	23	4	3995	0.0115	0.0010
13-14	6	2	1710	0.0070	0.0023
14-15	16	3	4577	0.0070	0.0013
15-16	31	21	6894	0.0090	0.0061
16-17	9	1	4056	0.0044	0.0005
17-18	3	1	1605	0.0037	0.0012
18-19	2	0	799	0.0050	0.0000
19-20	4	1	3290	0.0024	0.0006
Féltorony	905	1092	1857	0.9747	1.1761

$$\text{Standardized Spouses} = \frac{s}{\frac{1}{2}p}$$

the place of birth or residence, it is evident that slightly more than half (52.3%) of the grooms and two-thirds (65.4%) of brides were born in Féltorony. When the place of residence is considered, a slightly larger percentage of the grooms (55.7%) and brides (67.4%) were living in Féltorony at the time of marriage. The lower percentage of male spouses resident in Féltorony stems, in part, from the fact that it was more common for men than women to leave the community to obtain employment. Men who changed their residence were also less inclined than women to return to the village of their birth for the marriage ceremony. More often, it was the bride's town of birth or a different village to which both had moved where the wedding occurred. When the neighboring villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof are included, the trend for women to change residence less than men becomes more clear. While three-fifths (60.2%) of the men were born in one of the three villages, in excess of three-fourths (76.9%) of the women were native. Of the men

FIGURE 1
RELATIONSHIP OF LOGARITHM OF STANDARDIZED NUMBER OF MARRIAGES TO DISTANCE FROM FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920



who married in Féltorony, three-quarters (77.5%) were resident in one of the villages, while more than nine-tenths (91.9%) of the women were residents. (Table 5.)

When it is considered that nearly 40% of the men and 23% of the women who were married in Féltorony were not born there or in the adjacent villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof, it becomes apparent that there was a significant amount of residential change in Moson county during the period being studied. This hypothesis is given further credence when a comparison is made between those who spent their lives from birth to marriage in Féltorony and those wed in the community who had either been born there and moved elsewhere or had been born elsewhere and moved into the village. Nearly half of the men and forty per cent of the women who were married in Féltorony were not natives, i.e., persons who were born and resident in the village. (Table 6.) The amount of residential change, however, was less than apparent because of those who were born and resident in a single village other than Féltorony. Approximately one-fifth (18.8%) of the grooms and one bride in nine (11.4%) who were wed in Féltorony were natives and residents of some other village. As a result, a high and similar percentage

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES BORN OR RESIDENT IN
FÉLTORONY, CASIMIR AND WITTMANNSHOF, 1827-1920

<i>Date</i>	<i>BIRTHPLACE</i>					
	<i>Féltorony</i>		<i>Casimir/Wittmannshof</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	58.3	80.2	1.6	5.8	59.9	86.0
1839-1849	53.9	73.8	4.6	9.7	58.5	83.5
1850-1860	43.6	61.3	2.6	5.8	46.2	67.1
1861-1871	52.0	69.5	9.1	7.3	61.1	76.8
1872-1882	50.7	55.7	7.2	14.2	57.9	69.9
1883-1895	47.5	63.7	5.9	7.4	53.4	71.1
1896-1908	51.7	60.1	9.3	13.4	61.0	73.5
1909-1920	66.7	69.4	25.4	25.4	92.1	94.8
Total						
Average	52.3	65.4	7.9	11.5	60.2	76.9

<i>Date</i>	<i>RESIDENCE</i>					
	<i>Féltorony</i>		<i>Casimir/Wittmannshof</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	68.6	77.0	10.1	10.9	78.7	87.9
1839-1849	62.2	73.4	13.4	15.4	75.6	88.8
1850-1860	57.7	73.3	23.7	22.4	81.4	95.7
1861-1871	63.1	79.3	20.1	19.6	83.4	98.9
1872-1882	54.6	66.5	24.8	30.7	79.4	97.2
1883-1895	54.3	70.6	26.0	27.6	80.3	98.2
1896-1908	52.1	59.6	23.6	29.6	75.7	89.2
1909-1920	39.9	48.9	28.5	32.3	68.4	81.2
Total						
Average	55.7	67.4	21.8	24.5	77.5	91.9

of men (68.1%) and women (72.3%) had never changed village of residence prior to marriage.¹²

Approximately one-third (31.4%) of the men married in Féltorony were migrant, i.e., had changed village of residence prior to marriage. Of these 436 persons, only 47 (10.8%) had been born in Féltorony, moved elsewhere and returned to their native village to marry. With only one exception, each returned to Féltorony to marry a native girl. The single exception married a person who had moved from her village of birth and settled near Féltorony. One-third (144) of the migrants had moved to Féltorony, while 245 (56.2%) had been born and changed residence outside of Féltorony. When the number of men who were either born

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES BORN AND
RESIDENT IN FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	54.8	72.2
1839-1849	51.4	61.8
1850-1860	42.4	58.4
1861-1871	50.9	68.6
1872-1882	49.8	55.7
1883-1895	45.2	62.6
1896-1908	47.0	55.2
1909-1920	57.2	60.1
Average	49.3	60.9

and/or resident in the village are totaled, it is somewhat surprising to learn that 37% of the men wed in Féltony were neither born nor resident there. This high figure becomes more credible and is reduced when the figures of those who were born or resident in Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof are added. With the three villages treated as a unit, the percentage of married men who were born and/or resident increases to 74.4%, while those who were born and maintained residence in either Féltony, Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof totaled 56.3% of the grooms.

It was relatively rare for a woman to marry outside of the village in which she resided, as less than one in twenty did so, whereas men were more likely to wed outside their village of residence. Even so, a large majority of both sexes was married in the village of residence. Of the women, three of four (75.4%) were either born or resident in Féltony. Taking in addition Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof, 86.9% of the brides were born and/or resident in at least one of the three villages, while 70.5% of the women were born and resided in the communities. In comparison to the men, a slightly smaller number of women (399), which is 29.8% of all brides whose birthplace and residence are known, were migratory. Of this group, 142 had moved to Féltony, which was only slightly higher (35.6% women; 33.0% men) than the percentage of grooms who had done the same. A larger number of women (66) than men (47) had been born in Féltony, moved elsewhere and returned to marry. In the case of both genders, most of those born in Féltony who left the village settled in Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof. Of the 943 brides born in Féltony, only 18 did not establish residence in one of these villages, while only 11 native-born men did likewise. Only 1.9% of

the women and 14.4% of the men married in Féltorony were born and residing outside the three associated villages. A total of 945 (67.7%) of the men wed in Féltorony never changed residence. Of these non-migrants, slightly more than one-quarter (27.2%) were neither natives nor residents of Féltorony, but 98 of the grooms who had never moved were residents of Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof. A total of 16.8% of the non-migratory men lived outside the three communities. A higher percentage (72.3%) of the women wed in Féltorony had never changed residence, but of the 1040 non-migratory brides, only 25 (2.4%) were not natives of Féltorony, Albert Casimir or Wittmannshof.

It is apparent that the various economic, social and technological changes introduced during the nineteenth century had a minimal effect upon the migratory trends of the population of Féltorony and its environs. One could expect that an increasingly dynamic regional economy and improved transportation systems would result in a marked increase in residential change, but such was not the case. Between 1827 and 1860 the mobility of both males and females tended to increase, but afterward, with one exception, there was a steady decline. When linear regressions are plotted, it emerges that both sexes tended to decrease their residential mobility between 1827 and 1920, although female mobility was always less than that of the men and decreased at a faster rate.¹³ This decrease in migration can be attributed partially to the increase in the village's population and the economic growth of the surrounding area. Greater employment opportunities and a larger choice of mates would logically contribute to the decline in residential change. Women displayed a more consistent pattern of mobility with less pronounced fluctuations than men. The men ranged between 45.6% and 17.6%, a difference of 28%; while the females ranged between 36.5% and 18.6% mobility, a difference of 17.9%. (Table 7.)

Because of the limited possibility that a person would marry someone who was not a resident of his own village or a nearby community, the likelihood of stable, i.e., non-migratory, natives marrying each other was closely related to the amount of inter-village migration. In Féltorony slightly more than half (54.5%) of the marriages were between persons who were non-migratory. However, nearly two-thirds of both sexes (men 67.5%; women 69.8%) had never changed residence. Of the stable women, then, three of four (78.1%) married non-migratory men; while a higher percentage (80.7%) of the stable men married non-migratory women. Nearly one marriage in six (17.2%) was between mutually migratory persons, while 28.3% involved one stable and one migratory spouse. However, short-range migration did not preclude

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGES OF MIGRATORY SPOUSES
1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	23.8	23.4
1839-1849	26.5	32.2
1850-1860	45.6	36.5
1861-1871	35.7	29.3
1872-1882	34.1	33.0
1883-1895	35.4	32.1
1896-1908	33.5	29.9
1909-1920	17.6*	18.6*
Average	32.4*	29.8*

* After 1907 the parish register frequently failed to list the birthplaces of the grooms who were not born in Féltorony. Consequently, the mobility of men was likely higher for the 1909-1920 period. When this period is omitted from the calculations, the average percentage of male mobility is 34.0. When the same period is omitted for the brides, the average percentage of female mobility is 31.3.

marriage between village natives. The percentage of marriages between village natives was higher than is indicated due to the practice of one partner (usually the groom) obtaining employment in a neighboring village and returning to wed someone in the village of his birth. Although nearly half (45.5%) of the marriages contained at least one migratory partner, the distance of migration played a major role in determining whether the persons born in Féltorony married each other.

Throughout the century the majority of marriages was composed of persons who had never changed residence. Only in the period from 1850 to 1860 were less than half of the marriages constituted of mutually stable spouses. Otherwise, there was an increase in the percentage of mutually non-migratory partners. For the mutually migratory couples there was a substantial variation of percentage with a slight increase, i.e., increasingly more marriages were composed of migrants as the century progressed. Overall, there was a trend for both marriage partners to be persons who had changed residence or persons who had not. Increasingly fewer marriages were contracted in which only one member had changed residence. There was also an increase in marriages between non-migratory village natives, which decreased the likelihood that a migrant would marry a non-migrant. Throughout the century there was an increasing trend for fewer persons to return to their native village to

marry, while stable natives became less inclined to marry migrants and fewer persons were changing community of residence. The number of mutually migratory and mutually stable couples increased by 20.2% during the century. In the 1827–1838 period, one-third of the marriages had one member who had changed residence, but by 1909–1920 only one-fifth of the marriages had a partner who had moved. (Table 8.)

Residential change was dependent upon several factors. Age was one partial determinant of the frequency and distance of migration. Young men, who had a potentially larger selection of marriage partners than older men and less apparent reason to choose a spouse from outside the village, were less migratory. Until the age of 36, more than two-thirds (69.0%) of the grooms had not changed residence, but half (53.8%) of the older men had moved. Older men were more likely to be seeking a second wife and were under greater economic pressure to marry, so the goal of finding the ideal spouse would have been less important.¹⁴ Few young men were married under 20 years of age and none had changed residence. The majority of men (70.2%) married for the first time between the ages of 21 and 30, with the average age being 27.5 years. As the century progressed, there was a tendency for the mobility of the men in the 21–25 age group to increase while the older men decreased their migration. In the 1827–1838 period 92.3% of the men between 21 and 25 years of age were stable, but by 1883 the percentage had dropped to less than 57% and remained at that level until after 1908. Beginning at the age of 26, there was a trend for mobility to decrease at a faster rate, i.e.,

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGES OF MIGRATORY AND
NON-MIGRATORY SPOUSES, 1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>Mutually Stable Couples</i>	<i>Mutually Migratory Couples</i>	<i>Husband Stable Wife Migratory</i>	<i>Husband Migratory Wife Stable</i>
1827–1838	58.9	7.4	14.7	18.9
1839–1849	52.9	11.0	20.6	15.4
1850–1860	42.7	24.8	12.1	20.4
1861–1871	51.4	16.0	13.3	19.3
1872–1882	54.4	21.2	11.5	12.9
1883–1895	54.3	21.7	10.4	13.6
1896–1908	54.9	17.8	13.1	14.1
1909–1920	72.4	7.3	11.4	8.9
Average	54.5	17.2	13.0	15.3

men between 26 and 30 years of age experienced a slight decrease in mobility, while each successive older age group witnessed a greater decrease in mobility than the former group.

The relationship between age and migration for women differed from that of the men. Whereas most men (84.4%) were married between the ages of 21 and 35, women entered into marriage younger, within a narrower age span, and with less difference in mobility between age groups. The average age for the first marriage of women was 23.6 years. Nearly two-thirds (65.7%) of the women were married between the ages of 21 and 30, which was less than the men (70.2%), but whereas less than 14 per 1000 of the males were married under the age of twenty, 205 per 1000 of the women did so. Thus 86.6% of the women were married before the age of thirty. With the exception of those over 40 years of age, the brides revealed a relatively constant and low level of migration for all ages. As in the case of the men, there was a trend for those in the 21–25 age group to change residence increasingly often, but unlike the men, the older women (those over 30) also increased their mobility throughout the century. The least amount of migration occurred within the 21–25 age bracket (23.8%) for women and the 26–30 year-old men (30.2%). For both sexes those beyond 40 years of age experienced the greatest amount of residential change (51.4% women; 46.0% men). The higher percentage of migration by persons in the upper age levels could partially be explained by their relative economic freedom. Because they would be less likely to have small children and could pass their holdings on to their heirs, older persons would find it easier to change residence. Also, older persons, because of their longevity, would have had more opportunity to change residence. (Table 9).

Remarriage was a relatively frequent phenomenon in the village. Slightly more than one-sixth (17.0%) of the grooms and exactly one bride in eight (12.5%) had previously been married.¹⁵ The average age of widowed men who chose to remarry was slightly more than 38, with the women of a similar status averaging 37 years. Because few women beyond the age of 35 and men beyond the age of 40 remarried (only 6.4% of all brides and 8.4% of all grooms), those who chose to marry later in life or remarried, apparently needed to search a wider area to locate a spouse and thus evidenced a higher degree of mobility. On the other hand, those who remarried were limited in their mobility because of children, property holdings or other obligations and would be inclined to select a mate from among the local populace. Most of the inhabitants of Féltorony who had lost a spouse chose not to remarry. Those with adult children or who did not require a marriage partner to manage the

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGES OF NON-MOBILITY ACCORDING TO
AGE GROUP, 1827-1920

Years	Age Groups													
	16-20		21-25		26-30		31-35		36-40		41-50		50+	
	M*	F**	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1827-1838	100	85.7	92.3	100	80.0	75.0	50.0	75.0	66.7	100	—	—	—	—
1839-1849	100	57.1	70.8	83.3	76.9	84.6	33.3	80.0	00.0	100	66.7	—	—	—
1850-1860	100	70.3	75.0	72.7	54.9	34.6	33.3	50.0	11.1	50.0	61.5	—	50.0	33.3
1861 1871	100	76.9	60.4	76.5	75.0	66.7	66.7	73.7	33.3	50.0	42.9	—	—	0.0
1872 1882	—	65.5	71.4	74.2	71.0	55.6	65.4	70.6	47.4	55.6	36.4	30.0	50.0	100
1883-1895	—	64.3	56.8	74.5	65.9	65.9	77.8	50.0	80.0	57.1	66.7	55.6	25.0	66.7
1896 1908	—	66.7	59.4	74.1	67.3	61.9	80.8	66.7	100	50.0	53.8	66.7	100	100
1909-1920	—	75.0	86.1	81.3	83.3	95.3	81.8	66.7	83.3	66.7	66.7	50.0	50.0	—
Totals	100	68.8	67.4	76.2	69.8	67.2	67.6	65.9	52.9	60.5	55.6	45.8	47.4	54.5

* M = Male

** F = Female

home and children or direct the farm or workshop had less reason to wed again. This is demonstrated by the small number of men beyond the age of 50 and women older than 45 who remarried.¹⁶ This also explains why there was only a slight difference in the percentages of migration between single men and widowers. Approximately two of every three men, regardless of marital status (single men 68.2%; widowers 64.1%), did not change residence. These nearly equal percentages are misleading, however. Until 1860 those who had previously been married were slightly less migratory than single men, although both groups revealed the same trend. Between 1861 and 1883 the single men were less apt to change residence. From 1883 to 1908 the situation was reversed, with the widowers becoming increasingly less mobile at a sharp rate. After 1908, however, the movement of previously married men increased rapidly while single men revealed an extreme degree of stability. Considering the period 1827-1920 as a whole, there was a slight tendency for single men to lessen their mobility, while men who had previously been married becoming increasingly migratory.¹⁷

Marital status was a stronger determinant of the mobility of women than it was of men. There were also greater differences between single women and those previously married. On the average, nearly three of every four women (71.1%) who married between 1827 and 1920 had never changed residence, while less than half (49.4%) of the previously

wed had never moved. Throughout the century there was little variation in the percentage of single women who were mobile, although there was a slight trend for residential stability to increase. The range of single female stability was between 66.9% and 82.4%, a difference of 15.5%; whereas the non-movement of widows fluctuated between 77.3% and 23.1%, a range of 44.2%. In spite of such widespread fluctuations, there was only an extremely slight decline in the mobility trend by previously married women.¹⁸ (Table 10.)

TABLE 10
PERCENTAGES OF STABILITY
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS, 1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>MEN</i>		<i>WOMEN</i>	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Previously Married</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Previously Married</i>
1827-1838	75.3	83.3	76.3	72.7
1839-1849	71.4	77.5	66.9	77.3
1850-1860	59.7	53.5	67.2	50.0
1861-1871	67.5	48.4	74.4	23.1
1872-1882	66.9	61.1	68.4	58.1
1883-1895	63.9	68.8	69.8	50.0
1896-1908	66.2	78.6	69.7	73.3
1909-1920	86.3	36.4	82.4	69.2
Average	68.2	64.1	71.7	49.4

It is logical to assume that a person's occupation would influence his mobility. Those with extensive property holdings, for example, would likely find it much more difficult to change residence than an itinerant day-laborer or artisan. The village's parish records list numerous occupations for men, but relatively few for women. Of the 1657 brides wed in Féltony, only 142 had occupations attributed to them. Ninety of the brides were servants, 38 were day-laborers or cottagers, seven were bondswomen, six were cooks, and one was a midwife. For the male population a large number and variety of occupations were recorded, which this author has categorized in seven groups: commercial, artisan, agriculture, service (including domestic servants, day-laborers and bondsmen), professional, pastoral and miscellaneous.¹⁹

A slightly disproportionate share of the men who did not change residence were engaged in agriculture. While composing 47.6% of the

grooms, the tillers of the soil accounted for 57.3% of those who were non-migratory. Four of every five (80.7%) farmers had not moved prior to marriage, while 65.8% of the artisans, 41.7% of the commercial class and 55.7% of the service category were stable.²⁰ Until 1895 those in agriculture maintained a high and dominant level of stability, but between 1896 and 1908 only slightly more than half did not change residence. Following 1908 the non-mobility of farmers rebounded to near its previous level. Throughout the century the non-mobility of those practicing agriculture declined at a rate nearly equal to that of the entire male population, while the stability of the artisans and those in the service and commercial categories increased after experiencing substantial fluctuations. Between 1827-1838, 68% of the artisans had not changed residence and each subsequent decade (except for 1872-1882) until the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a decline in their mobility. By 1895 only 42.9% of the artisans in the preceding decade had not moved. After 1900, however, there was a sharp increase in the stability of artisans. The most migratory occupational category included the domestic servants, day-laborers, manual laborers, cottagers and the like. From 1827 until 1895, 53% of those in the service occupations were migratory. Like the artisans, they too, after the turn of the century, witnessed a tremendous change and became much more residentially stable. Between 1896 and 1902, 80.6% of the service group were non-migratory. During the years 1827-1920 those in agriculture declined only slightly in their residential stability, whereas the artisan and service groups tended to increase their residential permanence at a much faster rate.²¹ (Table 11.)

TABLE 11
PERCENTAGES OF MALE MIGRATION
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Years</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Artisan</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>Commercial</i>
1827-1838	16.7	32.0	—	—
1839-1849	14.5	31.8	45.7	—
1850-1860	22.8	38.5	59.6	—
1861-1871	17.9	50.0	44.8	—
1872-1882	8.2	35.7	52.7	68.8
1883-1895	2.9	57.1	54.9	63.2
1896-1908	42.2	21.7	18.9	50.0
1909-1920	18.5	6.2	21.1	—
Average	19.3	34.2	44.3	58.3

The amount of migration between Féltorony and the surrounding area between 1827 and 1920 clearly indicates that inter-village contact was common and that the possibility of marrying someone from another community was substantial. The alteration of one's residence, however, did not necessarily lessen the likelihood of marrying a person from one's own village. In spite of the frequency of residential change, most of those born in Féltorony married someone from their native village. A total of 852 marriages were conducted of which one or both spouses were stable natives of Féltorony, had moved from the village prior to being wed, or had been born elsewhere but had immigrated to the village. In 66.3% of the cases both partners were natives who had not changed residence. In the neighboring villages of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof a large majority of those who had moved into or emigrated from one of the two hamlets married someone else who has also migratory. In Albert Casimir slightly more than one marriage in six (17.6%) was between stable natives, while only two per cent of the marriages in Wittmannshof were between natives who had not moved. It is evident that Féltorony, whose population grew rapidly, exercised a strong attraction for persons residing in small or declining communities. In Féltorony only one male native in eight (12.4%) and one female native in approximately six (17.4%) married someone who had moved, even if only to a neighboring village to work. In Albert Casimir 56.2% of the men and 47.7% of the women who were stable natives married someone who had moved.

There was little tendency for those born in Féltorony or any of the surrounding villages who had moved elsewhere to return to their own community of birth to marry. It was exceptionally rare for a non-migratory native of Féltorony to marry someone who was neither born nor residing in the community. Only seven of 645 men (1.1%) and 29 of 684 women (4.2%) did so. In Albert Casimir, the stable, native males found one-fifth of their spouses from among those who had never resided in the community, while only 6.8% of the native women took their husbands from among outsiders.

A person's age also partially determined whether one wed a non-migratory native, someone who had migrated locally, or an outsider. Only one of the native Féltorony men who married prior to the age of 20 had changed residence. Between the ages of 21 and 35 an average of 69.5% of the native men who wed had not migrated. After the age of 35, however, the percentage of non-migratory males native to Féltorony dropped to an average of 55.3%. As age increased, males born in Féltorony became increasingly likely to move from the village prior to marriage. When all age groups are considered, a majority (68.4%) of the

women residing in Féltorony married non-migratory village natives. Stable, native Féltorony women constituted a higher percentage of marriage partners for a wider span of ages. Between 16 and 40 years of age, non-migratory Féltorony women comprised three-quarters (75.2%) of all brides. After 40 years of age the percentage of stability decreased sharply. On the average, 72.1% of the men married in Féltorony wed native, non-migratory women. (Table 12.)

TABLE 12
PERCENTAGES OF STABILITY OF FÉLTORONY NATIVES
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

<i>AGES</i>	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>
16-20	92.3	65.8
21-25	67.3	76.1
26-30	69.9	70.9
31-35	73.3	74.0
36-40	54.8	76.7
41-50	56.1	42.1
50+	53.3	50.0
Average	68.0	72.1

The selection of a mate from one's own native village, in spite of the change of residence, was also a function of the distance of migration. A change of residence within only a short distance of one's village would not effectively remove someone from the influence of friends or family, nor would the choice of potential mates, due to continued contact with one's native village, be greatly altered. Also, because parents commonly participated in the choice of mates for their children, the selection would often fall on someone already well known to the family, usually someone who lived nearby. Obviously, those whose distance of migration was small were less likely to find mates outside their home village. Although age or occupational group might have a high percentage of members who changed residence, a greater understanding of such migration is received when related to the distance of migration. In the case of Féltorony, the strong propensity of the village's natives to inter-marry is attested to by the fact that the vast majority of spouses born in the village did not relocate outside of it. For both sexes an overwhelming portion (93.6% men; 93.0% women) of those born in the community did not change residence prior to marriage. The native women of Féltorony who

migrated but returned to the village to marry demonstrated a higher incidence and distance of outward migration than men. Of 688 grooms born in Féltorony, 47 changed residence, but only 11 settled at a distance greater than five kilometers; whereas 66 brides emigrated, 18 moving more than five kilometers. (Table 13.)

TABLE 13
DISTANCE OF OUTWARD MIGRATION
BY FÉLTORONY NATIVES, 1827-1920

<i>DISTANCE</i>	<i>MALES</i>	<i>FEMALES</i>
0-5 km	36 (76.6%)	48 (72.7%)
5-10 km	1 (2.1%)	5 (7.6%)
10-20 km	3 (6.4%)	7 (10.6%)
20-30 km	3 (6.4%)	4 (6.1%)
30+ km	4 (8.5%)	2 (3.0%)
Total	47	66

Migration from the village by Féltorony natives was rare and largely limited to those of younger ages. Of the 39 men whose ages are known, who moved from the village, all except five were between 21 and 35 years of age. Nine of the males settled at a distance of more than five kilometers. Thirty female natives migrated from the village, most being between 16 and 35 years of age. Only five brides established residence further away than five kilometers. (Table 14.)

Marital status had a slight effect upon emigration. While single men constituted 83.0% of the grooms, they were a higher percentage (87.2%) of the Féltorony emigrants. For the women there was a slight opposite trend. Single females comprised 87.5% of the brides and 86.2% of the out-migrants. Women, whether single or previously married, tended to move further than men. Whereas over three-fourths (76.6%) of the out-migrant native men remained within five kilometers, 72.3% of the women remained equally close. Of the single women born in Féltorony, 93.3% remained in the village, while an additional 4.9% did not move more than five kilometers. Only 15 of 836 single, native-born brides moved further than five kilometers, and only two emigrated more than 20 kilometers. Of the previously married women born in Féltorony, 90.8% remained in the village and 6.1% moved five kilometers or less. Three moved a greater distance, but none more than 30 kilometers. 93.4% of the single men born in Féltorony remained in the village until marriage;

TABLE 14
EMIGRATION FROM FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

<i>MALES</i>						
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Totals</i>
16-20	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-25	6	1	0	0	0	7
26-30	13	0	1	2	0	16
31-35	6	0	1	1	2	10
36-40	2	0	0	0	0	2
41-50	2	0	0	1	0	3
50+	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	30	1	2	4	2	39

<i>FEMALES</i>						
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Totals</i>
16-20	5	1	0	0	0	6
21-25	15	0	2	0	0	17
26-30	7	0	0	0	0	7
31-35	3	0	2	0	0	5
36-40	1	0	0	0	0	1
41-50	2	0	0	0	0	2
50+	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	35	1	4	0	0	40

5.0% settled within five kilometers. Only ten of 617 single, native-born grooms moved further. Of the previously married men born in Féltorony, 94.6% remained in the village and 4.5% moved five kilometers or less. Only one widower, native to Féltorony, moved more than five kilometers. (Table 15.)

Of the native-born Féltorony men who emigrated for whom occupations were listed, more than three-quarters (76.7%) remained within five kilometers of the village. Only six men moved more than 20 kilometers and returned to wed. The largest percentage (41.9%) of the emigrants were day-laborers or domestic servants. There was virtually no emigration of farmers from Féltorony. In fact, 95.9% of those engaged in agriculture, whether owners of land, tenants, or share-croppers, who were born in Féltorony never moved. Of those in agriculture who did move from the village, 81.3% remained within a radius of five kilometers. Artisans born in Féltorony were also highly stable. Only four of 71 left the village and in all cases established residence at least ten

TABLE 15
RESIDENCE AND OUT-MIGRATION OF FÉLTORONY
NATIVES ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS, 1827-1920

<i>FEMALE</i>							
	<i>Féltorony</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Single	780	41	5	5	3	2	836
Previously Married	89	6	0	2	1	0	98

<i>MALE</i>							
	<i>Féltorony</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Single	576	31	1	2	3	4	617
Previously Married	105	5	0	1	0	0	111

kilometers distant. Persons engaged in commercial activity displayed a different pattern. Few (14.5%) were born and resident in Féltorony. Instead, a majority (60.9%) resided within five kilometers and were not natives of the village, although choosing to be wed there. Those village natives classified in the service category were slightly more migratory. 10.1% moved from Féltorony, but only one person relocated his residence a distance greater than five kilometers. (Table 16.)

In contrast to those few natives who emigrated from Féltorony, the in-migrants traveled greater distances and constituted a larger per-

TABLE 16
EMIGRATION FROM FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Non-Migrants</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agriculture	375	13	1	1	1	0	391
Artisan	67	0	0	2	0	2	71
Commercial	10	2	0	0	1	0	13
Pastoral	6	1	0	0	0	1	8
Professional	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Service	160	17	0	0	0	1	178
Miscellaneous	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total	625	33	1	3	2	4	668

tage of the marriage partners. Of 832 men residing in Féltorony at the time of marriage, 144 (17.3%) had migrated into the village, as had 142 (13.9%) of the resident brides. The women who immigrated into Féltorony came from within a smaller radius than the men. Nearly one-third (31.0%) of the women and one-fifth (20.1%) of the men who were in-migrants came from within five kilometers; while three-quarters (76.8%) of the women and five of eight (62.5%) men had immigrated 20 kilometers or less. The cumulative figures reveal that 95.1% of the grooms and 97.7% of the brides residing in Féltorony between 1827 and 1920 were either indigenous to the village or had immigrated from within a radius of 30 kilometers; 89.5% of the men and 92.1% of the women were natives or immigrants of less than ten kilometers. (Table 17.)

According to age, men who moved into Féltorony revealed a pattern similar to those who emigrated. No groom under twenty years of age and only six men under 25 had moved into the village. Those who were

TABLE 17
IN-MIGRATION TO FÉLTORONY, 1827-1920

<i>MALES</i>						
<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
1827-1838	2	2	7	4	4	19
1839-1849	6	2	3	0	6	17
1850-1860	2	3	8	1	11	25
1861-1871	3	10	7	1	3	24
1872-1882	5	3	1	2	4	15
1883-1895	2	7	2	4	7	22
1896-1908	7	1	5	1	6	20
1909-1920	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total	29	28	33	13	41	144

<i>FEMALES</i>						
<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
1827-1838	2	2	3	1	2	10
1839-1849	3	3	7	0	1	14
1850-1860	4	5	10	1	5	25
1861-1871	4	3	10	0	3	20
1872-1882	8	1	8	6	2	25
1883-1895	8	1	4	1	7	21
1896-1908	8	3	5	1	3	20
1909-1920	7	0	0	0	0	7
Total	44	18	47	10	23	142

immigrants, however, continued to change residence over a greater span of ages than did Féltorony's emigrants. The village's emigrants usually moved between 26 and 40 years of age. Immigration, though also declining after age 35, continued at a relatively significant rate beyond 50 years of age. Men over age 40 constituted one-fifth (21.6%) of the male in-migrants, but only 10.3% of the male emigrants. There was also a more equitable distribution of in-migrants among the age categories. Two-thirds of the males who emigrated from Féltorony did so between the ages of 26 and 35, whereas the same age groups accounted for 59.5% of the immigrants; 84.6% of the emigrants were between 21 and 35 years, but immigrants of similar ages totaled 64.9% of the grooms migrating into the village.

Women who moved into Féltorony changed residence at younger ages and over a shorter span of life than men. Eight brides had moved into the village prior to the age of 20, and more than one-third (34.4%) had settled in Féltorony prior to age 25. Most female immigration (80.3%) occurred between 21 and 35 years of age. By the age of 40, 92.6% of the women who were to move into Féltorony had done so. While the majority (75.4%) of the immigrant brides came from within 20 kilometers, there were some differences, depending upon age, in the distance of migration. (Table 18.)

Age, however, apparently had only a slight influence upon the distance of in-migration. When the average distance of each in-migrant is calculated, interesting patterns emerge. For both sexes the members of two consecutive age groups moved less distance than their respective percentages of in-migrants would appear to warrant. Men between the ages of 26 and 35, while 59.4% of the male immigrants, accounted for slightly less (53.1%) of the total cumulative distance of male in-migration. The women between 21 and 30 years of age totaled 57.4% of the female immigrants, but only 46.8% of the total distance moved. The youngest immigrant age group of each gender displayed a surprisingly lengthy distance of in-migration. Among the men, the 21-25 age group members, on the average, immigrated further than any other group prior to age 40; whereas the youngest group of female immigrants (16-20 years) migrated further than all other females. Migrating the least distance for their respective genders were men aged from 26 to 35 and women between 21 and 30 years; while persons over 50, for both groups, moved distances similar to those of the youngest. (Table 19.)

In consideration of their marital status, men who moved into Féltorony differed from the village's emigrants. First, a high proportion (17.7%) of the male immigrants had previously been married. Second,

TABLE 18
IN-MIGRATION TO FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

MALES

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
16-20	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-25	1	0	3	0	2	6
26-30	12	7	7	3	7	36
31-35	5	9	6	3	7	30
36-40	2	5	2	3	3	15
41-50	3	1	2	1	7	14
over 50	1	2	2	1	4	10
Total	24	24	22	11	30	111

FEMALES

<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
16-20	3	0	1	1	3	8
21-25	11	6	11	2	4	34
26-30	15	3	13	0	5	36
31-35	8	3	6	5	6	28
36-40	1	0	5	1	0	7
41-50	1	1	1	0	1	4
over 50	1	1	1	0	2	5
Total	40	14	38	9	21	122

men moving into Féltorony usually traveled greater distances. Over three-fourths (76.6%) of the male emigrants remained within five kilometers, but only one-fifth (19.8%) of immigrants came from within the same radius. Nearly three of five immigrants moved more than ten kilometers, with nearly one-third (31.2%) moving more than 30 kilometers. Generally, single men tended to move shorter distances than widowers, although the difference was minor.

As in the case of the men, previously wed women constituted a significant portion (16.2%) of the immigrants and migrated greater distances than those who moved from Féltorony. Nearly three-quarters (72.7%) of the brides who emigrated from Féltorony remained within five kilometers, while only 31.0% of the immigrants came from within an identical radius. For the female immigrants, marital status had virtually no influence upon the distance of immigration.

The largest (34.6%) group of male immigrants was made up of those in the service category, e.g., servants, day-laborers. Persons engaged in

TABLE 19
AVERAGE DISTANCE OF IN-MIGRATION
TO FÉLTORONY ACCORDING TO AGE, 1827-1920

<i>MALES</i>				
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>%(p) of Grooms</i>	<i>%(d) of Distance Moved</i>	<i>Difference (p - d)</i>	<i>Avg. Distance</i>
21-25	5.4	6.2	+0.8	17.9 km
26-30	32.4	27.2	-5.2	13.1
31-35	27.0	25.9	-1.1	15.0
36-40	13.5	13.6	+0.1	15.8
41-50	12.6	16.1	+3.5	20.0
Over 50	9.0	11.1	+2.1	19.3
<i>FEMALES</i>				
<i>Age Groups</i>	<i>%(p) of Brides</i>	<i>%(d) of Distance Moved</i>	<i>Difference (p - d)</i>	<i>Avg. Distance</i>
16-20	6.6	8.9	+2.3	17.2 km
21-25	27.9	20.5	-7.4	9.3
26-30	29.5	26.3	-3.2	11.3
31-35	23.0	28.5	+5.5	15.6
36-40	5.7	6.7	+1.0	14.6
41-50	3.3	3.6	+0.3	13.8
over 50	4.1	5.5	+1.4	17.0

agriculture constituted 29.2% and the artisans were one-sixth (16.9%) of those who moved to Féltorony. While these groups supplied 80.7% of the immigrants, significant differences existed among them. The practice of agriculture had little bearing upon the distance of immigration, as nearly equal numbers came from the various distance radii around Féltorony. From the artisan class, however, only two had moved into the village from within ten kilometers. Approximately 90% of the immigrant artisans moved more than 10 kilometers and nearly half (45.5%) had moved more than 30 kilometers. Persons employed in some form of service came from a widely dispersed area, but significant number migrated from within five kilometers, ten to 20 kilometers, and more than 30 kilometers. (Table 20.)

Most of the persons married in Féltorony apparently spent their lives within a small geographical area. Two-thirds (66.8%) of the men and three-fourths (78.0%) of the women were born and resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers, while a radius of ten kilometers included

TABLE 20
MALE MIGRATION INTO FÉLTORONY
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>5-10 km</i>	<i>10-20 km</i>	<i>20-30 km</i>	<i>over 30 km</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agriculture	8	11	8	3	8	38
Artisan	1	1	7	3	10	22
Commercial	1	1	1	2	1	6
Pastoral	1	2	0	0	2	5
Professional	3	0	1	1	2	7
Service	12	7	14	2	10	45
Miscellaneous	0	2	0	0	5	7
Total	26	24	31	11	38	130

74.1% of the men and 81.2% of the women. In addition, seven of eight grooms (87.8%) and 97.4% of the brides were born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers. (Table 21.)

There was a slight correlation between age at marriage and the area of birth and residence for both men and women. Surprisingly, grooms under the age of 20 years were born and resident within a narrower radius than were brides of identical ages. For the increasingly older age groups there was a gradual broadening of the radius of existence, so that only slightly more than half of the men between 36 and 50 years of age and women over 40 years were confined to Féltorony or a five-kilometer radius. For each gender there was little difference in the radius of birth and residence for those between the ages of 21 and 35 (in the case of men) and 16 and 40 (in the case of women). Between 21 and 35 years of age, 70.0% of the grooms; and, between the ages of 16 and 40, 78.7% were born in Féltorony or within five kilometers. For men over 35, however, only 56.8% resided within an identical area, and only 57.9% of the women who were over 40 years spent their lives within five kilometers. The age groups with the smallest percentages to spend their lives in Féltorony or within five kilometers were men between 36 and 40 (53.7%) and women between 41 and 50 (51.9%). High percentages of brides and grooms were either born or resident in Féltorony or nearby, which is a result to be expected when the amount of immigration into the village is considered. Of the women, 97.2% were either born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers; while 88.6% of the men did the same. Except for the grooms under 20 years of age, there was relatively little difference among male age groups. The same situation applied to the women, except that all of the women between 36 and 50 years of age

TABLE 21
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	67.7	82.5	73.3	86.0
1839-1849	67.7	77.8	74.5	83.4
1850-1860	56.9	71.4	62.2	75.8
1861-1871	67.1	77.7	78.1	80.6
1872-1882	64.2	74.1	72.3	77.0
1883-1895	63.0	75.6	72.2	76.6
1896-1908	65.7	75.4	71.4	78.6
1909-1920	87.7	92.5	93.5	98.8
Average	66.8	78.0	74.1	81.2

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Years</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1828-1838	83.7	98.1	88.5	98.1
1839-1849	84.7	98.1	88.1	98.1
1850-1860	88.7	97.7	91.4	97.7
1861-1871	90.2	99.4	95.5	99.4
1872-1882	86.7	97.7	92.5	99.6
1883-1895	87.3	99.1	93.3	99.1
1896-1908	86.3	94.0	88.0	95.2
1909-1920	96.4	95.4	99.3	100
Average	87.8	97.4	92.3	98.4

were born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers. Only 34 (2.8%) of the brides, whose ages are known, were either born or resident at a distance greater than five kilometers. (Table 22.)

The marital status of those who wed in Féltorony also influenced their residential mobility and the area in which they were born and resident. For both sexes those who had never been married came from within a smaller radius than those who were re-marrying. Higher percentages of women than men, however, spent their lives closer to the village. The marital status of men made less difference upon their area of existence than was the case with females. Approximately two-thirds (68.4%) of the single men and three of five widowers (61.1%) were either born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers, a difference of 7.3%;

TABLE 22
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO AGE
PERCENTAGE OF SPOUSES

<i>Ages</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
16-20	100.0	74.4	100.0	79.7
21-25	69.8	82.4	77.0	84.5
26-30	70.5	74.9	76.8	78.8
31-35	66.9	77.0	75.3	78.2
36-40	53.7	75.7	64.2	78.4
41-50	58.4	51.9	70.1	59.3
over 50	61.1	54.5	61.1	63.6
Average	68.2	78.0	75.6	81.1

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO AGE
PERCENTAGE OF SPOUSES

<i>Ages</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
16-20	100.0	94.3	100.0	98.0
21-25	87.8	98.3	91.8	98.8
26-30	90.2	97.4	93.2	98.3
31-35	89.2	96.6	92.8	97.7
36-40	83.6	100.0	91.0	100.0
41-50	84.4	100.0	93.5	100.0
over 50	88.9	90.9	88.9	90.9
Average	88.6		92.6	98.4

while four of five single brides (79.3%) but only two-thirds (68.3%) of the widows, a difference of 11.0%, spent their lives within the same area. When a radius of ten kilometers from Féltorony is considered, there is an expected increase in the number who were born and resident within the enlarged area, but the increase is rather small, which indicates that most persons who wed in the village were residents of Féltorony and nearby communities, while the remainder were born and resident within a widely dispersed area. The smallest percentage of any group which had neither been born nor resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers was comprised of males who were widowers. Even so, five of six widowers were born or resident in Féltorony or within five kilometers, while it was the same for nine of every ten single men (89.1%). For the women,

marital status made virtually no difference and only one bride in forty had neither been born nor resident in the village or nearby. (Table 23.)

TABLE 23
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Status</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Single	68.4	79.3	75.5	82.5
Previously Married	61.1	68.3	68.8	71.9

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE
ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS
PERCENTAGES OF SPOUSES

<i>Status</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>		<i>0-10 km</i>	
	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Single	89.1	97.5	93.0	98.6
Previously Married	83.3	97.6	89.6	98.2

Among the men wed in Féltorony who engaged in agriculture, nearly two-thirds (63.5%) were native-born residents and three-fourths (78.7%) had always lived in the village or within five kilometers. The artisans, day-laborers and servants, and the commercial element, however, displayed different characteristics. Less than half (45.6%) of the artisans who married in Féltorony were natives and only 57.1% had been born or resident within five kilometers, with only three of five (59.9%) coming from within a radius of ten kilometers. Still fewer of those engaged in commerce or business (14.5%) were natives of Féltorony, while less than half (49.3%) had always lived in the village or within five kilometers. Of the laborers and servants, slightly less than half (45.8%) were natives, but nearly two-thirds (64.8%) had always lived within five kilometers of Féltorony. When the average distances are calculated for those who moved and settled in Féltorony, it becomes expectedly evident that the servants, laborers and agrarians were drawn predominantly from the nearby population, while the commercial and business elements and the

artisans, who had fewer restraints and could travel more easily, migrated to Féltorony from greater distances. (Table 24.)

TABLE 24
AREA OF BIRTH AND RESIDENCE OF GROOMS
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>0-10 km</i>
Agriculture	78.7	86.0
Artisan	57.1	59.9
Commercial	49.3	52.2
Service	64.8	70.2
Professional	12.5	25.0
Pastoral	38.7	45.2
Miscellaneous	37.5	37.5

AREA OF BIRTH OR RESIDENCE OF GROOMS
ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION, 1827-1920

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>0-5 km</i>	<i>0-10 km</i>
Agriculture	90.5	94.2
Artisan	81.6	83.0
Commercial	89.9	91.3
Service	94.8	97.4
Professional	37.5	75.0
Pastoral	83.9	87.1
Miscellaneous	79.2	83.3

There was a significant amount of migration within western Hungary during the period from 1827 to 1920. Except for those who permanently emigrated, however, there was little long-distance internal migration, regardless of age, sex, marital status or occupation. Also, the mobility and marriage patterns of the inhabitants of Féltorony were scarcely influenced by the general improvement of transportation during the nineteenth century. For most rural inhabitants of Moson life continued to be contained within a small area and social contact was narrowly circumscribed. The local populace was not likely to travel far from home or marry someone who had formerly been unknown to friends and family, or was of a dissimilar background. Clearly, the traditional patterns of spouse selection were largely unaffected and continued well into the modern age.

NOTES

1. Notable exceptions are the geographers Peter Perry and R. F. Peel whose studies of internal migration, rural isolation and marriage-distance relationships on New Zealand and England stimulated some of the ideas contained in this paper.

2. Microfilm copies of the parish registers employed in this study are contained in the Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A. The following rolls of film were used:

- No. 0700861. Births, Marriages, Deaths, 1827-1864; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700862. Births, Marriages, Deaths, 1865-1895; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700273. Marriages, 1895-1920; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0623508. 1828 Census of Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0719825. Census of Moson County, Hungary, 1848.
- No. 0623058. Census of Moson County, Hungary, 1828.
- No. 0700271. Births, 1895-1904; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700272. Births, 1905-1920; Féltorony, Hungary.
- No. 0700274. Deaths, 1895-1920; Féltorony, Hungary.

3. In 1934 the portion of the Austrian Burgenland east of the Neusiedler See was estimated to have a population which was 84.46% German. The village of Halbturn's (Féltorony) population was 96.9% German, while the immediately surrounding area was 94.4% German. Cf. Lendl, Hubert. "Das gesellschaftliche Gefüge des Landvolks im deutsch-madjarischen Grenzraum östlich des Neusiedler Sees." *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung*, Jahrgang 2 (1938), pp. 800-835.

4. Féltorony's population throughout the century was the following:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>
1821	1150
1833	1218
1842	1282
1851	1262
1863	1961
1869	2093
1880	2473
1890	2263
1900	2429
1910	2460
1920	2449

Féltorony's population increased 112.9% between 1821 and 1920, while the villages within a 5 km. radius, whose population change is known, increased an average of 62.1%; villages from 5 to 10 km. increased an average of 59.1%; and villages from 10 to 20 km. increased an average of 55.3%.

5. Peter Laslett's observation that "before the coming of the bicycle and paved highway, there was a fixed distance from the labourer's cottage beyond which a full day's work was out of the question—it took too long to get there and back," applies also to the courtship process. *The World We Have Lost*, 2nd ed. London: Methuen, 1971, p. 80.

6. The 1828 census of Féltorony, which had a population of approximately 1190, contained 331 horses. In 1852 the parish registers began to list the occupation of carter, which was the occupation of 1.8% of the grooms between 1852 and 1920.

7. Fel, Edit and Tamas Hofer, *Proper Peasants: Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969, pp. 138-143.

8. Because nearly every person who was wed in Féltorony was resident within 20 km., this distance will serve as the outer limit of the study.

9. The years of the censuses and the sources of information are as follows:

1821 Csaplovics, Johann v. *Topographisch-statistisches Archiv des Königreiches Ungarn*. 2 Bde. Wien, 1821.

1833 Thiele, J. C. v. *Das Königreich Ungarn*. Kaschau, 1833.

1836 Hungary. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal. *A népmozgalom főbb adatai közésként 1828-1900*. Vol. I. Budapest, 1972.

1842 *Universalis Schematisus Eccl.* Budae, 1842.

1851 Fényes, Elek. *Magyarország geographiai szótára*. 4 Bde. Pest, 1851.

1863 *Ortslexikon des Königreiches Ungarn*. 1863.

1869 *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*.

1870 same source as 1836.

1880 *Ungarische Statistische Mitteilungen*.

1890 Ibid.

1900 Ibid.

1910 Ibid.

1920 Ibid.

10. Wittmannshof (population in 1934 - 265) and Albert Casimir (population in 1851 was 338) were so small that they had no church. As a result, all of the births, deaths and marriages involving residents of these villages were recorded in Féltorony and are included in this study.

11. For the years following 1907 slightly more than one-fourth of the places of birth for males are unrecorded. The male and female places of residence and the female places of birth are nearly all recorded, but reveal a tendency to list few villages other than Féltorony, Wittmannshof and Albert Casimir. As a result, the figures for the post-1907 period are questionable.

12. For the purposes of this study the terms mobile and migratory are applied to persons who change their village of residence prior to marriage. Those at the time of their marriage who were residing in the village of their birth are designated as non-migratory or stable. Persons born in Féltorony who married elsewhere are not included in this study. Because of the possibility of an unusually large migration out of the village, it is conceivable that the trends described will not be totally accurate. However, the fact that the population of Féltorony increased at a much faster rate than other villages within a 20-kilometer radius indicates that Féltorony did not experience a significant loss of its native population. This conclusion is further corroborated by a perusal of the family groups which this author has compiled from the village's parish registers. When a projected study of the villages near Féltorony is completed, it will be more nearly possible to determine accurately the number of migrants in the region and the distances and directions of their moves.

The reason for the apparent discrepancies in some of the figures quoted in this study results from the fact that the places of birth and/or residence of some spouses was not recorded, hence rendering their inclusion in certain analyses impossible.

Of the men who were non-migratory natives of villages other than Féltorony, 37.3% were born and resident in Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof. Of the non-migratory women outside of Féltorony, 84.1% were natives of Albert Casimir and Wittmannshof.

13. The linear regression calculated for men from 1827 to 1920 is: $y = 33.7 - 0.48x$; and for women is: $y = 32.3 - 0.65x$. When the data from 1907 to 1920 is omitted, the mobility trends for both sexes change from negative to positive, i.e., mobility, on the average, increased from 1827 to 1906, with the men revealing a faster rate of increase. For the shorter period (1827-1906) the linear equations are: men: $y = 28.5 + 1.26x$; women: $y = 28.7 + 0.56x$.

14. Indications from data not included in this study are that of a large majority of those who remarried did so within one to three months of the death of their previous spouse. The immediate need for a spouse might have contributed to a higher percentage of mobility. Only those in the upper age levels who remarried did so after an extended period of time.

15. These figures appear to disagree with those given in note 16. The difference results from the fact that in some cases the ages of those who remarried are unknown.

16. MARITAL STATUS ACCORDING TO AGE

Ages	Men		Women	
	Single	Previously Married	Single	Previously Married
16-20	20 (1.5%)	1 (0.08%)	282* (21.4%)	1 (0.08%)
21-25	425 (31.9%)	6 (0.5%)	604 (45.9%)	8 (0.5%)
26-30	469 (35.2%)	39 (2.9%)	222 (16.9%)	21 (1.6%)
31-35	160 (12.0%)	30 (2.3%)	62 (4.7%)	33 (2.5%)
36-40	39 (2.9%)	37 (2.8%)	8 (0.6%)	31 (2.4%)
41-50	24 (1.8%)	61 (4.6%)	4 (0.3%)	29 (2.2%)
50+	4 (0.4%)	17 (1.3%)	2 (0.2%)	10 (0.8%)
Total	1141 (85.7%)	191 (14.3%)	1184 (89.9%)	133 (10.1%)

* Three brides were married before the age of 16.

17. For single men the linear regression trend was $y = 64.8\% + 0.93x$; for widowers the trend was $y = 77.6\% - 3.15x$.

18. For single women the linear regression was $y = 68.8\% + 0.70x$; for widows the trend was $y = 59.4\% - 0.06x$.

19. Because those classified in the professional, pastoral and miscellaneous groups comprised less than four per cent of all grooms and only 10.3% of those who changed residence, an analysis of the frequency and distance of their migration would be unjustified.

20. Percentages of Grooms according to Occupation and Stability

Occupation	% of Occupations	% of Stable Grooms
Agriculture	47.6	57.3
Artisan	12.3	12.0
Service	29.0	24.1
Commercial	5.8	3.6
Pastoral	2.5	1.2
Professional	0.7	0.4
Miscellaneous	2.1	1.3

21. The regression trends for the major occupations were as follows:

Agriculture $y = 86.4 - 0.97x$

Artisan $y = 55.7 + 2.26x$

Service $y = 31.6 + 5.18x$

A possible, partial explanation for the increasing stability of the artisan and service categories is that the increased population of the village rendered a change of residence for employment or economic improvement less necessary, whereas the population growth would have been disadvantageous to those needing land to cultivate.