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Patterns of Marriage in a Swiss Alpine Village¹

Peasant marriage in that great region north of the Mediterranean lands and west of the Slavic countries clearly shows the distinctive European pattern. This has been characterized by Hajnal (1965) as exhibiting (a) a high age at marriage and (b) a high proportion who never marry at all. Abundant documentation exists of this pattern in parts of sixteenth century western Europe, and its presence has been noted in England during the late fourteenth century (Wrigley 1977). It is possible that a fully evolved European marriage pattern with most women marrying at age 25 or above and 10 to 15% never marrying was present everywhere north of the Pyrenees by 1550 (Chaunu 1974, Monter 1979). The classic example of this cultural complex in anthropology is the Irish case of countrymen with marriages delayed until late in life and a high proportion of celibates (Arensberg and Kimball 1940): Though these social practices may only have appeared in such an exaggerated form after the great mid-nineteenth century famine, anthropologists have examined them with little reference either to their historical development or their demographic consequences. Instead, late marriage was functionally related to land scarcity, the necessity to inherit a farm before establishing a new household, strong patriarchal control of the estate, a close mother/son emotional tie, Irish Catholic sexual prudery, and the out-migration of noninheriting children.

We cannot deal substantively with the variety of psychological, ethnic, and ideological issues raised by multi-causal discussions of age at marriage, but there may be advantages in focusing on a single ethnographic case of interaction between demographic and economic factors. Certainly the economic questions of agricultural land availability, inheritance, farm fragmentation, household labor force, and provision for the elderly have been emphasized by social scientists. Though Homans' (1960) study of thirteenth century English villagers emphasizes the sentiments and values of traditional village life, the manorial court rolls show stringent controls on marriage. Not only was the acquiring of rights to land through inheritance or retirement of a parent necessary before the single heir could gain permission to marry, but the heir's siblings who remained on the holding were also compelled to remain single (Homans 1960: 137, 149). In other cases

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where primogeniture was the rule, living land holders did not turn their property over to the heir until written contracts were made out stipulating in detail the annual amount and type of food, the rights to gardens and fuel, and the lodging set aside for the retired couple. The tension that must have been frequent in the relationship between the unmarried and dependent heir and his elderly father is evident in this Austrian folk song quoted by Lutz Berkner (1972).

> Voda, wann gibst ma denn's Hoamatl, Voda, wann loszt ma's vaschreiben? s' Dirndl is gwoxen wia's Groamatl, Lede wülls a nimmer bleiben.

Voda, wann gibst ma denn's Hoamatl, Voda, wann gibst ma denn's Haus, Wann gehst denn amol in dein Stüberl ein, Und grobst da bra Eräpfoln aus?

[Father, when ya gonna gimme the farm, Father, when ya gonna sign it away? My girl's been growin every day, And single no longer wants to stay.

Father, when ya gonna gimme the farm, Father, when ya gonna gimme the house, When ya gonna retire to your room out of the way, And dig up your potatoes all day?]

If the constraints of maintaining a peasant livelihood were intimately related to the questions of when or if to marry, a relaxation of these economic limitations might decisively alter the context of marriage choices. Professor Braun (1960) has demonstrated convincingly that the appearance of cottage industry in the Zürich hinterland allowed peasant sons and daughters to marry earlier and rapidly increase the number of rural households. A similar drop in marriage age and an associated increase in marital fertility were noted among the framework knitters of Shepshed, England by Levine (1977). Where investment in capital equipment was not great and extra household labor was profitable, people were both enabled and encouraged to marry younger and establish families, though they lacked access to farm land.

The community of Törbel in the Vispertal of Oberwallis provides an example of alpine peasant agriculture within strict environmental constraints (Netting 1972) and in addition an exceptional record of both marriages and

genealogical relationships. Through the cooperation of *Gemeinde* and cantonal officials and the good offices of the *Pfarrer*, we have been fortunate to obtain data on the marriages of 885 men and 896 women over the period .1667 to 1974. A number of consultants in the village have shared with us their knowledge of triumphs and pitfalls on the rocky road to matrimony in the recent past.

MARRIAGE ANALYSIS

Our general hypothesis is that the age of marriage in Törbel is responsive to economic factors, especially the acquisition of property through inheritance or marriage allowing the individual to establish a viable, agriculturally self-sufficient peasant household within the community. Historical evidence shows that land and farm buildings have been in strictly limited supply for centuries, that such property has had high cash value due to its scarcity and the lack of alternative sources of income (Stebler 1922; 111), that independent land-owning households have been the rule with very few families lacking livestock or depending on wage labor, and that household land holdings have been transmitted largely by partible inheritance with spouses combining the shares passed on to them by parents and other relatives. Inheritance was substantially equal among all siblings, and it was received at the death or retirement of a parent. Children who married before the division of the estate received by right no share, dowry, or portion until a living parent had voluntarily retired. It is true that they might be given use rights, Nutzniessung, in a little land or a few head of small stock. But, as Anneler (1917: 251) noted for turn-of-the-century Lötschental, the young man usually had to seek day labor while his wife looked after the agriculture and household. The couple had to fight for their bread even when their parents were wealthy. Unmarried children could and often did remain as adults in the parental household, and it is probable that in many cases the long wait for control of productive property both delayed marriage and resulted in high rates of celibacy.

There can be little doubt that marriage in peasant society was a matter in which serious economic considerations often took precedence over emotional attachments and in which parents as well as potential spouses were deeply involved. Though parental preferences were often expressed in Törbel and certain partners were judged unsuitable because of relative wealth or membership in a rival political party (Netting, in press), it does not appear that formal matchmaking was important. Since all families were small holders and there were few if any permanently landless laborers, the risks of "marrying down" were not great and the need for close parental supervision correspondingly small (cf. Löfgren 1974). There was ample opportunity for the young people, their parents, and indeed the community as a whole to decide on the prospects for a marriage during the long courtship. This period of acquaintence or *Bekanntschaft* involved public walking together and Sunday visits to the girl's home. It often went on for five to ten years. The pair had probably known each other from childhood because until this century 85% of those people who remained in Törbel married endogamously (Hagaman, Elias, and Netting 1978). All of a family's knowledge was brought to bear on matters of marriage. As a man from Lötschental shrewdly put it,

> Wenn man heiratet, so muß man grim gut achten, daß man nicht mit so untanen Volk zusammenkommt. Manche meinen denn, die Hauptsache sei, Reiche zu heiraten. Ja, pf!! Ich will nicht sagen: es ist gut, wenn der Mensch sein Sachli hat, das weiß man wohl. Aber grad nur darauf achten, das tut nicht gut (Anneler 1917: 249).

In Törbel, the story is told with relish of five brothers who worked together for years as muleteers operating the famous *Maultier Post* and conveying guests and supplies to Saas Fee in the summer. As the custom was until recently, they turned all of their earnings over without question to their father. The savings were used at the end of World War I to erect an imposing many-storied house in the village. Then on the same day in 1921, the brothers all married and moved into their new apartments. They were at the time 39, 37, 34, 32, and 29 years old respectively (Netting 1972).

The average age of marriage over 250 years in Törbel has been high for both men and women (Table 1) and it has risen with population growth and increased pressure on land (Fig. 1). Though the numbers of children per family that themselves married remained remarkably constant, the proportion of those reaching adulthood but never marrying rose steadily (Table 2). By examining available demographic factors related to age of marriage, we may be able to understand some of the bases on which individuals made this major decision. Though we cannot uncover the psychological and idiosyncratic elements in this choice, there do appear to be important social and economic regularities. As Goubert (1971) has noted, "marriage is the main act of demographic significance that depends on the human will ..."

SEX

The consistent difference of 2,5 to 3 years between the average age of males and females at first marriage and the fact that these ages tend to rise and fall together suggest that cultural expectations of marriage and



the appropriate roles of the sexes did not change a great deal in the time being considered. Though both males and females could own property, men were voting citizens in the closed corporate community, and communal rights in the village alp and forest were passed down through the male (Netting 1979 b). Men were at least nominal household heads and had the major responsibility for ensuring a family's adequate subsistence. With advancing age, the chances increased that they would have access to sufficient property and could initiate a marriage. Women could presumably marry somewhat earlier because they could find older men able to support them. There are, however, interesting exceptions to this rule that we will take up later. Because male fertility has a longer span than that of females, males could also marry later and expect to raise a family. About 6% of male first marriages took place after age 45 but only 2% of females married late in life for the first time (Table 3). By age 31, 80% of the women had married compared with 69% of the men. Using the somewhat larger sample than that represented in Table 1, mean male age at marriage was 30.0 with a standard deviation of 6.2. The most frequent age of marriage was 31 for males and 28 for females. The fact that 132 women married at age 28 suggests a cultural preference for this degree of maturity. Almost no one married before age 16, and there were only 10 teen-age marriages among men and 41 among the women.

SIBLINGS

If inheritance and rights to property are indeed an important determinant of marriage age, the chance of whether an individual is an only child or has siblings with whom the estate must be shared may be significant. Village consultants told me that most relatively wealthy individuals were so because of the luck of an undivided inheritance. A family with only one surviving adult son might encourage that son to marry in order to bring another pair of hands into the household and increase its labor force. A girl who was a sole heiress was expecially desirable as a marriage partner, and men often planned and schemed in order to win her. The most famous case in Törbel is that of the young man with an eye to the future who announced soon after the birth of a daughter to a wealthy family, "Heute taufen sie meine Frau," (today they are baptizing my wife). He then patiently waited for twenty years and outmaneuvered another suitor in order to claim her hand - and her property. Men with no living siblings married on the average 1.5 years earlier than others, and the difference was 2.1 years for women (Table 4). Birth rank showed no consistent relationship with age of marriage, fluctuating up and down at successive birth ranks (Table 4). Though there is no primogeniture or ultimogeniture in Törbel, it might well be hypothesized that first or third or later children in the birth order would be called on to look after their parents or siblings and would therefore have less chance of marrying at all. This is definitely not the case. Table 5 shows that about 25.4% of males and 21.5% of females remained celibate, and that the proportion who never married remained remarkably constant across all birth ranks. Indeed the figures for men prove the null hypothesis by showing a less than 1% probability that the choice of whether or not to marry is influenced by birth order.

Birth rank is, however, correlated with marriage rank, explaining 37% of the variation in marriage rank among men and 31% in women. This suggests that there was at least a tendency for siblings to marry in order of their birth.² The relationship is not stronger because siblings at various ranks of the birth order die before reaching marriageable age and because women marry on the average younger than men. 42.2% of females marry first in their sibling groups and only 37.5% of males.

MARRIAGE RANK

The order in which successive siblings marry is, unlike birth rank, an important factor in marriage age. An analysis of variation in Table 6 shows that the average age of marriage of those who marry first among a group

^{2.} There is no indication, however, that sibling order dictates marriage order as it does in an Andalusian village where an older sibling must formally yield his prerogative if a younger one wants to marry first (Price and Price 1966).

of siblings is lowered from the mean by 2.03 years for men and 1.77 years for women. Though marriage rank contributes most to the explained variance of age of marriage, it also interacts with birth rank to produce a greater range of variation from the mean. If children early in the birth order marry first and at lower average ages while the marriages of those farther down the list are delayed, the number of unmarried and married siblings present should also show a relationship to age of marriage. Indeed there is a clear tendency for the presence of one or more unmarried siblings to decrease marriage age and for one or more married brothers or sisters to increase it (Table 7). One or two unmarried siblings lowers the marriage age only slightly in the sample that pools the sexes. Three or more single and presumably younger siblings still at home lowers marriage age by a year to a year and a half. There is an even stronger progressive tendency for the presence of married siblings to delay the marriage of a brother or sister. Three such siblings who have founded their own households and moved out of the parental family (there is generally a very small percentage of multiple families in Törbel) mean that a remaining sibling married 2.17 years later than normal, while with four or more married siblings, the delay averages 4.97 years.

The use of computer techniques and statistical comparisons has indicated the relative importance of various demographic factors influencing age of marriage and the decision of whether to marry or to remain single. It is obvious that marriage in Törbel was consistently rather late in life, even by European standards, and that many adults remained as celibate members of the community. Variations above and below the average age of marriage indicate that an individual's marital options were affected by the presence or absence of siblings in the household and the rank order in which those siblings married. An only child, one with several or all siblings unmarried or one who was the first of his sibling group to marry had a good chance of entering matrimony at an age younger than the average. On the other hand, having several married siblings delayed marriage in proportion to the number who had already formed their own families. Marrying third, fourth, fifth or later in a sibling set also led to successively higher marital ages. These factors affected the marriage of men and women with similar regularity.

INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION TO PROPERTY

The social causes of these quantitative trends can be suggested though they must necessarily remain speculative. In a family with several children, it appears that the first to marry can often do so at a relatively young age. With several single siblings still in the household, the agricultural labor force would not suffer from the loss of one able-bodied member. Since Törbel holdings were generally large enough to support a family but with few resources for extra adults, an older child could not only be spared, but his departure would mean that there was one less mouth fo feed. Succeeding marriages might be more difficult because the parental couple would be less willing to part with the remaining children who were taking over an increasing part of the farm work. Younger children would have the same chances of marriage as their older siblings in the long run, but it is possible that their parents increasingly sought to keep them at home for support in their old age. This also kept the peasant farmstead together and resisted pressures from married children for the retirement of the older couple and the division of the estate. This is particularly evident when all siblings are married (category "All married" in Table 7) and marriage comes almost 3.4 years later than average. Though an older daughter is evidently not retained in the household to help with the care of smaller children, a younger daughter may well have acted as housekeeper and nurse for aging or widowed parents. The correlation of age at marriage with number of married siblings is higher for women (r = .33) than for men (r = .19). To this day it is common for a daughter to accept the obligation to look after an elderly parent after the other children have married and left home.

The argument that the children who marry first tend to marry young seems to run counter to the contention that inheritance of property was necessary to found a new household. Those marrying ahead of and younger than their siblings would frequently be setting out on their own when the parental couple was still young. If indeed the estate had been divided, children later in the marriage order would have the chance to marry more promptly than their siblings rather than waiting as they obviously do. A possible way out of this enigma is to consider what other means than inheritance there were for setting up an new peasant household. A younger adult without immediate prospects for property could always marry by finding a well-endowed mate.³ In Törbel, the chances that such a person would be older and thus already in possession of an inheritance were high. This pattern actually prevailed as seen when we plot age of marriage against difference in the ages of the spouses. 28% of all men were younger than their wives at marriage, and up to age 25, the majority of men took older spouses. Beyond age 45, practically no men married women older than they. By this time they had almost certainly acquired property of their own and they could afford to marry a woman many years their junior. The correlation is strong and consistent with 40% of the variation in male age of marriage explained by age difference of spouses. It is also evident although less

^{3.} Among the cottar class in Norway, young men often married older servant women, but land owning farmers were often older than their wives (Drake 1969). There were also noteworthy age differences between spouses in England (Wrigley 1966).

consistent among women where age difference accounts for 17% of the variation. Swiss alpine peasants recognize the romantic attractions of youth and a pretty face, but they are eminently practical about obtaining the economic wherewithall to sustain a new household. When asked why some-one married a stolid matronly woman, they reply with the proverb, "Sie hat Ard am Füdle," (she has earth on her bottom).

If succession to land holdings, livestock, and farm buildings was such an important part of the developmental cycle in peasant households, how often was marriage contingent on the death or retirement of a parent? With a tradition of late marriage, a son would on average not establish his own farm until his father was in his 60s and perhaps ready to retire and divide up his meadows. This pattern would seem to be one in which successive generations replace each other on the land rather than overlapping with the families of parents and their children competing for the same land. "Given that late marriage was normal, the rule that each couple on marriage should establish themselves in a separate household could easily be maintained if there was a rough coincidence between the death of a generation of fathers and the marriage of a generation of sons" (Wrigley 1978). Indeed 44% of all males married after the deaths of their fathers, and a total of 68% married when their fathers were either dead or over 64 years old. Because of their somewhat lower age of marriage, 62% of women who married had deceased or aging fathers. There is an obvious positive correlation between age at marriage and parent's age, but this demographic artifact of limited years of reproduction tells us little about why some children marry earlier than others. The death of the father who controlled the estate was more important than that of the mother alone in allowing the son to marry. Törbel married adults had a fairly good life expectancy. A man at age 30 would live on the average to 66 and a woman to 64 (Netting and Elias, 1980). If a man was 35 or older when he married, it was more than likely that both his parents were dead. Individuals who had delayed their own marriages to care for older parents would also fall into this category. Only men who married when their fathers were dead or above 69 showed an increase of an average 2.2 years in age of marriage. All others had lower than average ages of marriage.

MIGRATION

Though a number of Törbel residents have engaged in seasonal migration as agricultural laborers, domestic servants, and more recently tourist-trade employees, we count as migrants only those who left the community permanently (Netting 1979b). Migration might be one answer to the problem

of waiting for an inheritance and delaying marriage in the village. Male marriage under age 25 shows a higher than expected frequency of migrants, while those marrying at 35 or older tended to be stay-at-homes (Table 8). The cash income of the migrant wage laborer allowed earlier formation of a household, while the acquisition of farm property in Törbel and duties to the natal family delayed marriage. Conversely a couple who either married young or who conceived a child out of wedlock and were forced to marry may have found it expedient to leave the community in order to adequately support themselves. About one-quarter of married men are migrants and over 30% of women. Females might marry and live out of the village with no particular economic problems, but until this century, an emigrant male left behind his citizenship rights to the communal alp and forest and he lost the opportunity to directly manage and profit from his inherited property. Marriage rank also influences migration. First sons to marry have a strong tendency to remain in the village. Children from large families who marry in the 4th or 5th rank have a tendency to migrate.⁴ Though they would be entitled to equal shares in the inheritance, it would be obvious to these younger children that already married siblings needed and wanted the property. A later child would probably have felt some pressure to either leave and sell out (his siblings would be offered first chance to buy land from the parental estate) or to remain on in a celibate and eventually dependent role. Migration may have appeared in the circumstances both a better economic opportunity and a quicker route to marriage. Though migration has a significant effect on marriage age, lowering the average age of outmigrant males by 1.06 years and raising that of men who remained in Törbel by .43 years, it is a less important source of variation than whether parents are alive or dead and what the marriage rank of the individuals is (Table 9). Migration and marriage rank are interrelated factors, but they appear to be independent of parent's death status. Both marriage rank and migration have a larger effect on the marriage age of women than of men (cf. Table 9), whereas the life or death of parents is more highly associated with age of marriage in men. It would appear that there was a higher cost in delay of marriage for younger daughters whose siblings had married and on whom the duties of the parental household were more obligatory than on a man. On the other hand, a woman who left the village to work or who married an outsider had less to lose than a male migrant and was enabled to marry somewhat younger.

^{4.} This contrasts with the practice of a nineteenth century Italian village where there was a tendency for older children to migrate. "The eldest brother left first and it was the youngest who stayed on the family plot and, in exchange for caring for aging parents, inherited his fathers's holdings" (Bell 1979). Though the laws required equal inheritance, local custom avoided subdivision of a holding, and surplus sons from land-owning families often left the village.

DISCUSSION

When the contribution of a number of factors to age of marriage is compared (Table 9), and the factors of father's age and mother's age at ego's marriage entered as covariates, only 18% to 22% of the total variation is accounted for. Father's and mother's ages are not significant in themselves, but they add to the explanatory power of parent's death status. Marriage rank goes in a similar direction, especially in the case of women. Though the factor of age difference has not yet been analyzed in conjunction with the other variables, it is possible to give a provisional picture of certain influences on marriage age in Törbel. The best chances of marriage below the average age were for only children or those with several unmarried siblings still at home. Because these individuals tended to be early children in the birth order, their parents were often still alive. To compensate for a lack of inherited property, they often sought an older spouse whose holdings were sufficient to support a household. They tended to remain in the village. Later children, whose parents were older and some of whose siblings were married, frequently had their own marriages delayed, perhaps by demands for care or continued farm labor by the aging relatives. Though marriage was not eliminated as a possibility in these cases, it came later in life when the parents were either dead or sufficiently enfeebled to retire from control of the farm. Women were more subject to the problems of late marriage rank than men. An escape from the constraints of the peasant family was migration which provided an alternate source of income to inheritance and freed the individual to marry at an earlier than average age.

The continuing vitality of what Malthus called the prudential check as it affected marriage in Törbel is indicated not only by the sustained high average age of first marriage in the community for both men and women, but by the manner in which individuals deviated from this mean. The necessity for agricultural resources to maintain a household and the incentives to secure an inheritance that came only at the death or voluntary retirement of parents kept most people from marrying until long after physical maturity. Celibacy and continued participation in the parental household was an attractive economic alternative in many cases. Local rules and customs favored established families over newly created household groups (Netting 1979b). Partible inheritance equalized opportunity (or limitations) among siblings and put a premium on combining properties through marriage, inheritance, and purchase to build a viable peasant enterprise. Birth order did not affect the relative chances of marriage or celibacy. Factors having to do with the division of labor, differential fertility spans of males and females, and the inheritance of citizenship rights in the male line made gender an important determinant of marital age. The evidence that marriage rank and whether siblings were married or not affected

average marriage age suggests that older children who could be spared from the family work force often married young, while their siblings who remained at home had marriages delayed by the need to help out and care for aging parents. Early marringe, often perhaps before a property divison had taken place, was made possible by finding a spouse who already had the necessary land, either as an only child heir or as an older person already possessed of an inheritance or the farm from a first marriage. The economic constraints of peasant landholding were relaxed by migration and the alternative resource of wage labor. As expected, migration acted to lower marriage age. The statistical outcomes of many marriage choices have pointed out the unavoidable economic realities that confronted Törbel adults and the consistent strategic marital choices made in response to them.

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Table 1 Age at First Marriage

	Females'	Males'
50-Year Period	Average Age	Average Age
1700-49	28.33	30.85
1750-99	27.11	31.33
1800-49	28.48	30.05
1850-99	29.10	33.44
1900-49	28.85	32.55
1950-74	27.13	30.60
TOTAL*	28.24	31.49

*Based on 634 families for males and 674 families for females.

	1700-49	1750-99	1800-49	1850-99	1900-49
Number of Families*	147	105	160	160	157
Births per Family	3.84	4.69	4.88	5.07	5.66
Standard deviation	3.20	3.57	3.62	3.34	3.75
Uncomputable Births+	0.76	0.83	0.43	0.27	0.12
Children Reaching Age 1 §	2.44	3.49	3.62	3.71	4.75
Children Reaching Age 20	1.86	2.84	3.09	3.22	4.46
Children Reaching Age					4110
20 as percent of Births					
per family	48%	61%	63%	64%	79%
Gross Replacement Rate					
(children marrying per					
Family)	1.45	2.26	2.20	2.16	3.13
Net Replacement Rate	0.73 -	1.13	1.10	1.08	1.57
Celibate Children	0.41	0.58	0.89	1.07	1.33
Celibates as percent					
Age 20	22%	20%	29%	33%	30%
Emigrating Children**	0.06	0.28	0.79	0.92	2.38

Table 2 Mean Values for Birth, Survivorship, Nuptiality, and Celibacy of Children per Family

*Families formed by marriages taking place during the specified 50 year periods and remaining resident in the village so that family reconstitution and reproductive history are possible.

+Births for which no further dates of marriage, death, or presence in the population exist. Such cases appear to have an unpatterned distribution according to family size, birth order, and the presence of documented siblings in the same families. They may represent unreported infant and child deaths in large proportion, but some cases may be children who migrated permanently from the village before marriage. As documentation improves in the nineteenth century, the number of uncomputables declines.

§Number of births minus those known to have died in the first year and uncomputables.

**Emigrants are those who settle permanently outside of the village. They include both married and celibate offspring. Labor migrants who seek temporary or seasonal migration away from Törbel but maintain permanent residence there are not included.

Aga at	Ma	le	Fem	nale	Age at	M	ale	Fer	nale
Marriage	Number	Cum %	Number	Cum %	Marriage	Number	r Cum %	Numbe	r Cum %
16			2	0	41	8	94	12	97
17	5	1	6	1	42	10	95	8	98
19	3	ĩ	13	2	43	5	96	3	98
10	2	î	20	5	44	5	96	5	99
19	11	2	41	9	45	1	96	1	99
20	13	4	41	14	46	4	97	3	99
21	34	8	57	20	47	6	98		
22	44	13	54	26	48	6	98		
23	56	19	66	33	49	1	98	1	99
27	53	25	64	41	50	1	99	2	99
25	82	34	46	46	51	2	99	1	100
20	64	41	59	52	52	1	99	1	100
21	51	47	132	67	53				
20	57	54	47	72	54	1	99	2	100
30	43	59	39	77	55	2	99		
31	92	69	32	80	56	1	99		
32	45	74	26	83	57	1	99		
22	33	78	19	85 -	58				
34	26	81	16	87	59	1	100		
35	21	83	18	89	60				
36	20	88	7	92	66	1	100		
38	25	91	12	94	68	1	100		
39	17	92	11	95	70			1	100
40	7	93	7	96					

Table 3 Frequency of Age at Marriage

Table 4 Influence of Birth and Marriage Rank on Marriage Age

	Male – mea	n age = 30.04	Female – mean age = 27.53		
		Deviation		Deviation	
	Number	from mean	Number	from mean	
Siblings alive at					
ego's marriage				1.40	
None	246	-1.06	274	-1.45	
One or more	640	.41	623	.64	
Birth rank				1010	
1 .	178	.68	171	21	
2	146	62	144	1.10	
3	110	.44	126	.56	
4	123	47	106	17	
5	89	1.05	95	.10	
5	71	- 43	67	-1.04	
7	53	- 70	54	.54	
8 or more	96	47	121	-1.19	
Marriage rank					
1	322	-2.03	373	-1.77	
2	202	.13	226	25	
3	143	1.69	125	2.07	
4	95	1.88	77	2.02	
5 or more	106	1,95	83	3.62	

Table 5 Birth Rank and Marriage

Birth Rank

Male	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8+	Row Total
Celibate	25.2%	25.1%	28.1%	24.5%	23.3%	24.5%	27.4%	25.8%	25.4%
Married	74.8%	74.9%	71.9%	75.5%	76.7%	75.5%	72.6%	74.2%	74.6%
Total No.	238	195	153	163	116	94	73	132	1164
		Chi	Square = 1	.14688	Signi	ficance = .	9932		
Female									
Celibate	20.1%	19.2%	25.4%	22.6%	20.2%	21.4%	27.0%	18.8%	21.5%
Married	79.9%	80.8%	74.6%	77.4%	79.8%	78.6%	73.0%	81.2%	78.5%
Total No.	214	177	169	137	119	84	74	149	+ 1123
		Chi S	Square = 4	.57918	Signi	ficance = .	7112		

Table 6 Marriage Rank and Average Age at Marriage

Marriage Rank							
Average Marriage Age	1	2	3	4	5 and over		
Males	28.01	30.17	31.73	31.92	31.99		
Females	25.76	27.28	29.60	29.55	31.15		

Table 7 Effects of Living Unmarried and Married Siblings on Marriage Age (Both Sexes)

- D

	Number	Deviation from Mean Marriage Age 29.36
Unmarried Siblings		
All married	200	3 38
1	366	21
2	250	24
3	173	-1.29
4	93	-1.41
5 or more	94	-1.96
Married Siblings		
All unmarried	545	-1-86
1	360	1.03
2	162	1.84
3	70	2.17
4 or more	39	4.97

Age at Marria	ge	Male Non-migrant	Migrant	Number	Female Non-migrant	Migrant	Number
Under	25	70.8%	29.2%	168	60.1%	39.9%	301
e na e i	25-29	75.6%	24.4%	307	67.5%	32.5%	348
	30-34	72.4%	27.6%	239	81.8%	18.2%	132
	35 or over	83.1%	16.9%	172	85.3%	14.7%	116
Total	%	75.3%	24.7%		69.5%	30.5%	
Total	No.	667	219	886	623	274	897

Table 8 Migration and Age at Marriage

Table 9 Influence of Parents' Deaths, Marriage Rank, and Migration on Marriage Age

	Male – me	an age = 30.12	Female $-$ mean age = 27.10		
	No.	Deviation from Mean	No.	Deviation from Mean	
Parents' Death Status					
Both alive	293	-2.17	342	-1.49	
Father dead	165	09	148	02	
Mother dead	102	44	112	.49	
Both dead	143	4.85	121	3.80	
Marriage Rank					
1	231	-2.33	300	-1.94	
2	165	09	176	46	
3	122	1.56	111	2.36	
4	84	1.98	58	1.97	
5 or over	101	1.96	78	3.65	
Migration					
Non-migrant	502	.43	495	.76	
Migrant	201	-1.06	228	-1.65	